POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY
States, Power, and Societies

Summer 2009

SYMPOSIUM ON PUBLIC POLICY

Editor's Note: For this issue, I've asked a handful of scholars appointed in public policy units to discuss the relevance of public policy to sociology and how sociology and public policy could (or cannot) be better integrated.

"Where Are All the Sociologists?" by Philip J. Cook, ITT/Sanford Professor of Public Policy, Sociology and Economics, Senior Associate Dean of Faculty, Sanford School of Public Policy, Duke University

Duke's Sanford School of Public Policy began operations in 1972. Since then we've hired scores of social scientists, but it wasn't until 2007 that we hired our first sociologist (Elizabeth Frankenberg). And we're not alone. A tabulation of tenure-line faculty in the top 15 public policy schools, conducted by David Gastwirth, provides the following disciplinary distribution as of December, 2007:

33%	Economics
21%	Political Science
14%	Interdisciplinary social science & public policy
11%	Psychology, sociology, or management
5%	Math, engineering, or natural sciences
3%	History
4%	Other

Within that fourth category, we identified fewer than 20 (out of 412 total tenure-line faculty members) who could reasonably be identified as sociologists – about one per school. Some of them are household names, including William Julius Wilson Christopher Jencks, and Kathryn Edin at Harvard's Kennedy School, Paul Starr at Princeton, EJ Dionne at Georgetown, Susan Mayer at Chicago, and James House at Michigan. But there's no indication that this is a growth area, since there are only three at the assistant professor level. (On the other hand, I'm proud to say that last year the Sanford School doubled its "sociologist" count by hiring the demographer Giovanna Merli.)

Is it any concern that fewer than 5% of tenure-line faculty in public policy schools are sociologists? At the annual research conference of our association (APPAM), the dominant substantive concern is social policy: that is, policies to address problems in education, housing, family stability, poverty, child development, racial discrimination, health, crime, community development, and so forth. Needless to say, these are issues on which sociology and sociologists have something to say. But they are not well

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POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY OF CALIFORNIA

EXCERPT FROM: *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994, Elizabeth Armstrong (University of Chicago Press, 2002)*
(pp.113-115)
The period from 1970 through 1972 was crucial to the formation of gay San Francisco. By 1973, the goals, identity, and strategies of a gay identity movement had coalesced. The building of gay identity became the central task. The pursuit of gay rights and the elaboration of a sexual subculture were defined as complementary to this project, as they contributed to the expansion of possible ways to be gay.

In the 1970s, the gay community in San Francisco acquired an unprecedented power and visibility. The number of organizations, both nonprofit and commercial, exploded. Most of the organizational growth took place in the Castro, a neighborhood that was rapidly becoming a gay mecca. Gay men from all over the country migrated to the city. Sexual possibilities seemed infinite, with gay bars filled with young men. And in 1977, the community demonstrated its political power by electing Harvey Milk to the Board of

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represented in the conversation being orchestrated in the academic public-policy forums. Why is that? Since I myself am trained as an economist, it occurs to me to consider this puzzle from both the supply and demand perspectives. On the demand side, I note that searches are sometimes directed by the need to cover particular courses, and that the required coursework of the MPP programs typically does not include a sociology course (although sociologists "fit" well in the quantitative and qualitative methods areas, as well as in public management and leadership). Still, I can testify from first-hand experience that the Sanford School has frequently advertised positions that were defined in terms of substantive area (e.g., child and family policy) and open as to social-science discipline. While we have been inundated by applications from economists, the sociologists are generally missing in action. So I'm inclined to think that the answer lies on the supply side. And there I can only speculate.

It may be an identity issue. Academic public policy takes its research agenda from the policy arena rather than from a disciplinary frontier, and the academic audience for the work is often defined by the substantive issue rather than the discipline. That may seem "unscientific," regardless of how rigorous the research methods, to someone imbued with the sociological tradition. Furthermore, academic public policy does not avoid normative judgments, but rather makes the "so what" question central to the enterprise. For economists and political theorists, normative analysis is central to the discipline, but there is no obvious counterpart in sociology. More fundamentally, policy research necessarily is concerned with estimating or predicting the consequences of government programs (actual or proposed), rather than seeking to explain why things are the way they are in terms of deep causes such as culture and social structure.

On a more personal level, there is the obvious fact that sociologists may anticipate being a bit lonely in a public policy school. Actually, I suspect it's common enough for students motivated by concern for social problems to choose sociology precisely to avoid economics, and thereafter to have no interest in hanging out in a group where economists are hard to avoid.

Let me just add to all this speculation that the issues here should not be confounded with the debate over the merits of "public sociology." At least as I understand that debate, it is focused on whether sociologists should write and speak for the general public, rather than just to each other – that is, should sociologists become involved directly in the issues of the day. The award of tenure in public policy schools is not much influenced by public engagement – it's not the OpEds and Congressional testimony that go into the dossier, but rather publications in refereed journals. While of course we admire colleagues who are able to have a positive influence on the public debate over important issues, we still, for better or worse, honor the traditional norms for evaluating academic research.

Public policy is a growing academic field. For the most part, public policy schools would welcome applications for faculty positions from sociologists. While I can't say with confidence what the growth areas are in public policy, it's a sure bet that social policy will remain a strong focus – which in the case of Duke and some other schools includes a concentration in social demography. Public policy faculty from hybrid fields that have a strong sociological basis, such as organizational behavior and human development, may make sociologists feel more welcome. And by the way, the economists in public policy programs tend to be what a friend of mine calls "low testosterone," inclined to be respectful of other disciplines, at least relatively speaking.

"Sociology in a School of Policy Studies: Tales from Northern Ireland" by Julia S. O'Connor, Professor of Social Policy, School of Policy Studies, University of Ulster

I have had a varied career experience since graduating with a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Toronto in 1987 and in all of these have seen my primary identity as sociologist. Immediately after graduating I taught for nine years in the Department of Sociology at McMaster University, with a cross-appointment to the Ph.D. Programme in Public Policy run by the Political Science Department. This was followed by five years as Director of the National Economic and Social Council in Dublin. This involved research on key social and economic issues for the Council composed of representatives of the trade unions, industry, farmers, voluntary sector and government departments. It had an explicit applied policy focus. I was appointed Professor of Social Policy in the School of Policy Studies at the University of Ulster in 2001 with a brief for comparative analysis. While I was in a minority as a sociologist what struck me most forcibly when appointed was the division between those who perceive themselves as in the field of social policy and those who perceive themselves as in public policy. Most of the former have academic qualifications in social policy and administration and are involved in delivering undergraduate programmes in Social Policy and Health and Social Care and graduate programmes in Social Policy. All of these programmes include some input of sociology. Social policy and administration programmes have traditionally been strongly represented in the UK system. According to Alcock, Erskine and May's Blackwell Dictionary of Social Policy (2002: 240) social policy "[r]efers to the process of developing and implementing measures to combat social problems in society, and the academic study of these measures and their broader social context. The academic study of social policy is sometimes contrasted with social administration, which pays less attention to broader contextual analysis." The public policy group members in the School of Policy Studies have educational backgrounds in public administration, politics or economics and are involved in delivery of programmes in politics, public administration and increasingly criminology. While the research of the social policy group tends to be more focussed on 'social problems' and policy to address them including social services and social protection, members of both groups are involved in policy research on health and education. A common concern of both groups is the issue of devolution in the UK and its consequences for the financing, governance and delivery of public services.

All research active staff in the School are members of the Social and Policy Research Institute and this is the structure through which our submission to the UK-wide Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) is delivered (http://www.rae.ac.uk/). Achievement in this exercise determines the public funding of research in universities. The most recent of these exercises took

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place in 2008 covering the period 2001-2008. The School of Policy Studies at the University of Ulster made its submission in Unit of Assessment 40, Social Work and Social Policy and Administration. Its description on the RAE website is as follows:

The UOA covers all forms of social work and social policy and administration, including governmental, voluntary and community, and private for profit and not for profit. Research in this area covers:

Theory, methodology, ethics and values and pedagogy as they apply to social work, social care, social policy, criminology and criminal justice policy, and substantive issues in these areas of study.

Comparative research and research into international institutions, policy and practice.

Relevant links with other disciplines – most importantly demography, development studies, economics, education, health studies, history, law, politics, psychology and sociology – and with other stakeholders, professionals, service users and carers.

Policy-making processes, practice, governance and management, service design, delivery and use, and inter-professional relationships.

In contrast, Unit of Assessment 41, Sociology, is described as follows: "The UOA includes quantitative and qualitative, empirical and theoretical study of the social structures, cultures and everyday practices of societies, including styles and material standards of living, opinions, values, and institutions. It covers all areas of social theory, historical and comparative studies, and social research methodology, philosophy of social science, and research on pedagogy in sociology." The UOA includes women's studies. The submission of each institution to the RAE was a wide-ranging report on research activity and environment for faculty and graduate students and included four examples of the research of each faculty member involved in a research unit of assessment (RUA). While some of the research in our submission was strongly applied theoretical contributions were strongly encouraged.

As a sociologist with a research focus on comparative social policy with primary research interests in social inequality and exclusion and comparative welfare state research focussing on European Union and OECD countries my primary research peers are outside my school in international for a such as ESPANET and RC19 of the International Sociological Association (ISA RC19). The former is the European Social Policy Network and is explicitly multi-disciplinary in its focus on the analysis of European social policy (http://www.espanet.org). The purpose of ISA RC19 Research Committee on Poverty, Social Welfare and Social Policy is: "to promote theoretically grounded empirical research on: the sources and character of social problems; the planning and administration of social programs; and more generally, public policies and intervention strategies aimed at alleviating social problems and influencing the society in that regard (Article I of the Statutes of RC 19). The Committee especially encourages comparative research. Thus, membership to RC19 is open to scholars actively engaged in research and/or teaching on the subjects mentioned above. (http://www.isa-sociology.org/rc19.htm)" The presidents and vice-presidents of RC19 have always been sociologists. Its current president is Professor Ann Orloff (Northwestern University).

Working in a School of Policy Studies has advantages for me as a sociologist with a comparative policy focus. It has afforded an opportunity for multidisciplinary research and more importantly an opportunity for supervision of M.Sc. and Ph.D. students with an interest in comparative social, economic and employment policy and the European Union. The experience has been most fulfilling and enjoyable when they have had strong backgrounds in sociology but irrespective of starting point they have all had to end up with the skills to analyse the key determinants of policy outcomes, i.e. the interaction of structure and agency, social institutions and power relations which are all key sociological skills.

"Sociology & Public Policy: Perspectives From a Sociologist in a Public Policy School" by David A. Reingold, Professor & Associate Dean, School of Public & Environmental Affairs, Indiana University-Bloomington

Having been trained as a sociologist who embarked on an academic career in a public policy school, I am a marginal man. I am mindful that parts of the mainstream sociological community have little or no interest in scholarship that falls outside of narrow disciplinary boundaries, while at the same time cognizant that many of my public policy colleagues have little or no understanding of the sociological discipline. In the words of Robert Ezra Park, I find myself as someone "whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic cultures" (1937).

I have always been puzzled by this state of affairs. After all, sociology is filled with leading scholars who, as Weber once described, operate in the "world of the living." These individuals take an active part in shaping the social structure. I was first introduced to sociology by the demographer Karl Tauber as an undergraduate at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the mid-1980s. I recall being captivated by the intellectual and analytic rigor of his work and his insights on population problems from briefings with the President of the United States (Richard Nixon) on world population growth. Sociology was presented to me as a discipline that embraced serious scholarship while addressing pressing problems of the day. I was hooked and continued my studies at the University of Chicago where I encountered a vibrant faculty engaged in the world: James Coleman's work on education reform, Bill Wilson's work on urban poverty, and Richard Taub's work on community development, among many others. I recall Edward Shills providing a new student orientation to the history of Chicago Sociology where example after example of the disciplines luminaries were keenly focused on being among the living. Shills ran through Park's work on social problems, Burgess' work on family, Wirth's work on urbanism and ethnicity, Frazier's work on race, Stouffer's work on military service, and Janowitz's work on civil-military relations. Each example clearly demonstrated the deep roots of American sociology as a discipline not only focused on theory building and testing but on the development of knowledge that could be applied to address real world problems.

As I progressed through graduate school, it became apparent to me that something in the discipline had changed. "Applied" work which had been in vogue in prior periods of sociological life was downgraded as methodologically weak and divorced from the more traditional activity of theory building and testing. Expectations surrounding the appropriate audience for scholarship became

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increasingly constrained, highlighting the importance of publishing in the traditional sociological outlets and downgrading the importance of publishing in outlets that would reach into desperate parts of the academic community. Service to non-academic organizations was viewed with skepticism and its value called into question.

My desire to become a sociologist was grounded in a belief the discipline and its way of understanding human organization was important for how we conceptualize and address problems facing modern society. Over time it became clear to me segments of the sociological community had a very different view of the discipline. Perhaps the most compelling evidence is the wide-spread practice of sociological innovations moving outside of the discipline, frequently finding a home in other parts of the academy (particularly professional schools). For example, the sphere of marketing research and formal organizational behavior began as sociological innovations but now reside largely in business schools; research on nonprofit organizations and philanthropy have sociological roots but are now more frequently associated with schools of public policy; methodological techniques such as regression analysis and network analysis were pioneered by sociologists but have found homes in other parts of the academy; demography has been compartmentalized as a separate field with only marginal links to its sociological roots; and behavioral economics is making claims on social psychology and other spheres of sociology by another name without any reference or acknowledgment of sociological contributions over the past 125 years.

For the most part, some of the most innovative frontiers of sociology have been outsourced, frequently to professional schools, without much thought to how this impacts the discipline and its future.

Schools of public affairs and public policy have their origins in political science and economics. In many respects, they are the product of disciplinary infighting that at particular points in history where ambivalent about embracing a wider rationale for research that moves beyond theory building and testing, while meeting the needs of highly-specialized segments of the labor market. As a result, the past twenty five years have witnessed the emergence and rapid growth of over 250 schools, departments and programs designed to foster public policy scholarship, while training undergraduates and graduate students for careers in government, the nonprofit sector, and highly regulated industry.

Sociologists interested in pursuing careers in public affairs and public policy need not shed their disciplinary interests; however, they need to embrace a view of scholarship and pedagogy that moves beyond a traditional disciplinary-based view of the academy.

Unfortunately, segments of the sociological community somehow believe their relevance (or lack thereof) is a product of poor marketing and public relations. Accordingly, sociology's standing in American society can be elevated by its members spending more time writing opinion editorials and presenting their research in outlets designed for non-technical audiences. This myopic view fails to understand the gravity of the situation sociology confronts in the 21st Century.

Today, sociology is best known as a discipline that is overly focused on what is wrong with the modern world; it is a discipline that out-sources its innovations to professional schools of business, public policy, and public health, among others; it is a discipline without institutional links to the labor market for its graduates; and it is a discipline that in many ways is not among the living.

Reflecting back on my decision to pursue a career in a public policy school, I recall a conversation with a mentor. I asked whether I should be concerned with leaving the discipline knowing I would not have a chance to return. His response: "What are you leaving behind? The discipline is in decline and the public policy schools have a much brighter future." While I continue to believe sociology's rich intellectual history and unique understanding of human organization are critical to the social sciences, twelve years later this continues to be sage advice.

"Structure, Action, Change and Agency: The Living Lab of Public Policy" by Danny Breznitz, Assistant Professor, Sam Nunn School of INTA & the School of Public Policy, Georgia Institute of Technology

Ever since I dissuaded myself from becoming a political philosopher, having found the temptation of studying social reality and change irresistible, I have been struck with one of our major weaknesses as socio-political-economists. That weakness is, of course, our inability to predict and understand change and the role of agency in bringing it about. On one level this should not come as a surprise. Following the road set by Durkheim's publication of Suicide as an example of what a Sociological inquiry should look like we have been at our best when describing how social structures define, direct, enable, and constrain actors', be they organizations or individuals, actions. Within this mode of analysis, we excel in two things, brilliantly understanding how the stable state of the social environment influences actions and agency, or historically analyzing change bringing action, or action failing to bring change, and explaining it by social structures. How such social structures came to be is still a bit mythical in our minds. Questions about how social structures are changing, and even more importantly how can we actively affect change, we have effectively delegated to our "lesser" cousins – those who left sociology for other disciplines or left Academia to become "practitioners." However, even there, we and our colleagues have not yet come up with a systematic theory of social change and the role of agency in bringing it about.

Nonetheless, Public Policy is all about change, especially the studies which occupy most of my research – the growth of rapid-innovation-based industries in emerging countries and backwards regions. In essence, true public policy is the application of our scientific knowledge to bring about change which increases, and preferably broadens, welfare and the quality of life and the environment. As such, a sociologist in a school of public policy must always strive against the borders of her discipline, demand more from theory, and find herself always on the cutting edge of the latest examinations of society. For sociologists with an open curious mind, public policy is a living lab which allows us that most fleeting of all tools in social science – experimentation.

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An example of how a sociologist in public policy must strive against the limits of our understanding is the interaction of two major fields of sociological inquiry: social networks and institutions. Through the study of social networks we have significantly advanced our understanding of individual and organizational action. We now know not only how important specific social network structures are in enabling particular agents in specific nodes of the network to achieve certain goals and mobilize resources, but we also know which structures are most suitable for regional economic growth in the case of knowledge intensive industries. For example, in recent cases of rapid-innovation-based regional economic growth in the US, Powell et al noticed that while there were differences in the networks of the biotechnology industries in Boston and the Bay Area, both are characterized by organizationally diverse and structurally cohesive networks (Powell et al. 2005). Using network analysis of the biotechnology industry in San Diego, Casper showed that due to labor mobility within the region, the industry developed a large network of managers that had been associated with multiple companies. This network maintained its efficiency over several years and was robust to failure (Casper 2007). In the case of industrial renewal, McDermott and his co-authors used network analysis to present how in order for a cluster to be successful firms need a "public-private" network that ties tying them to associations, cooperatives, schools, and publicly supported institutions. Accordingly, they contend that institutions can assist firms by providing them with better networks, allowing them to improve their capabilities, and providing access to knowledge sources (McDermott et al. 2007). In a different vain, Safford clarifies the argument that networks' density, that is having a high number of connections, is the most important variable. Analyzing the cases Allentown and Youngstown he showed that more important than the mere density of the networks is "that the structure of social relationships facilitate interaction—and mobilization—across social, political, and economic divisions" (Safford 2009).

Those examples, out of many, clearly show the critical importance of sociological inquiry to public policy. Furthermore, in the cases of McDermott and Safford, the argument about renewal versus failure is politics in its most basic form – the ability of political leaders and cohesive social groups to affect action and cement cohesive public policy to enhance (successfully or not) economic growth and renewal. In both studies the explanation lies in the particular social networks within the various regions, which enables or limits effective collective action and social learning. Similarly, in both cases we learn a lot about how, over time the interactions of specific institutions with companies and individuals have shaped these networks. Nonetheless, in neither, and nowhere else for the matter, my own research included, do we have a comprehensive theory of how institutions enable the growth of specific social networks, how these networks co-evolve with their institutional environment, and finally how agency impacts these processes in critical ways and times.

It is not a surprise that such theory does not exist. Not only is it extremely hard to develop, but to date no science has come up with a good theory explaining creative agency bent on bringing about change (apart of course from some subfields of economics which manage this feat only by simplifying agency until it is agency no longer, and simplifying creative change until it resembles the answer sheet from a multiple choice exam). Furthermore, our own toolset with its inherent focus on social structure as the explanatory variable makes it nay impossible to develop and test such theory systematically. Nevertheless, such theory should be one of the ultimate goals of sociological inquiry – how does social change happen and how can we affect it?

It is here that public policy lends a most helpful hand since there is no option of avoiding the subject when devising policy. Hence, when a sociologist in a public policy school engages with the field she must take the implicit lessons from our studies of social networks and advise policy makers on how to improve the situation of the constituency for which they are responsible. In so doing, she directly engages with experimentation. Granted, the experimentation is usually not systematic nor under optimal lab conditions, but still is some of the best experimentations we have available considering the limitations of empirical reality (also known as the real world). It is through these constraints and needs, and through careful analysis of such real-life experimentation that public policy can not only help us to advance sociological inquiry, but demand from us better and more clearly articulated theories and explanations.

ASA SESSIONS ON POLITICS AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

RECEPTION (Joint with Sections on Comparative/Historical Sociology and History of Sociology) Monday, Aug 10, 6:30pm - 8:10pm, Parc 55 Hotel

Section on Political Sociology Paper Session. Citizenship and the New Politics of Community in the Global South, Monday August 10 - 2:30pm - 4:10pm, Parc 55 Hotel
Organizers and Presiders: Kathleen M. Fallon (McGill University) and Brian J. Dill (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
Liza J. Weinstein (University of Chicago) "Building Politics: Gender and Political Power in Globalizing Mumbai"
Marco Z. Garrido (University of Michigan) "Civil and Uncivil Society: Symbolic Boundaries and Civic Exclusion in Metro Manila"
Joel D. Andreas (Johns Hopkins University), Yao Li (Johns Hopkins University Sociology) "Membership Rights and the Erosion of
        Paternalistic Democracy in State-owned Chinese Factories"
Gianpaolo Baiocchi (Brown University), Brian T. Connor (University of Massachusetts) "Between the Political and the
        Governmental: Local Politics and Democratizing Projects in Brazil"
Discussant: Valentine M. Moghadam (Purdue University)

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Supervisors, making him the first openly gay person to be elected to public office in a major city in the United States.

The dynamism of the gay movement in the 1970s built upon the crystallization of the gay identity movement in the early part of the decade. The crucial cultural work was accomplished prior to the beginning of the tremendous growth in the 1970s. The various parts of the project – identity-building, gay rights, and the sexually focused commercial sector – proved to be synergistic. The accomplishments of each fed the others, producing a mutually reinforcing cycle of growth. Expansion in the numbers of gay identity organizations, the forging of the Castro as a gay neighborhood, and the growth of the sexual subculture provided the numbers and spatial concentration that made for a powerful gay rights voting bloc. Protections from repression won by activists devoted to consolidating gay electoral power encouraged further cultural and commercial development. The Gay Freedom Day Parade provided a marvelous opportunity for bars to advertise. The success of bars provided financial support for nonprofit organizations and political campaigns. This chapter demonstrates how synergistic relationships, revealing the peculiar strength and generativity of the gay identity movement.

These successes provoked repression from a fundamentalist religious movement gathering strength in the late 1970s. The effects of this repression were mixed. On one hand, responses to this repression led to further mobilization, ultimately leading to the crystallization of the gay movement on the national level in 1979. On the other hand, right-wing mobilization was able to slow and reverse passage of local gay rights ordinances around the country and continue to keep stigma about homosexuality at high levels.

My claim that the dynamism of the gay movement in the later 1970s resulted from the crystallization of a multifaceted, reinforcing gay identity movement in the early 1970s challenges conventional wisdom. It challenges resources resource-rationalist understandings of what movements are, where the boundaries of movements lie, the processes through which movements grow, what it means for them to become institutionalized, and the relationship between culture and politics. In order to understand the nature and development of the gay identity-building project even the commercial sector must be considered to be within the boundaries of the gay identity movement. Political process approaches to movements, based on distinguishing between the political and the nonpolitical, miss the importance of the mutually reinforcing relationships among the cultural, political, and commercial aspects of the movement. The presence of these synergistic relationships is implicit in all historical accounts of gay San Francisco, but because of the descriptive nature of these accounts historians have not highlighted their theoretical salience.

My emphasis on the internally generative features of the gay identity building project also contrasts with a view that sees the success of San Francisco's gay movement in the 1970s as an inevitable response to a positive political cultural and political environment. I show that the gay identity movement did not simply benefit from opportunities, but in fact helped create those opportunities.

A third way this argument contrasts with conventional wisdom is with respect to the dates that historians of sexuality see as pivotal. Scholars generally credit the contemporary shape and success of the gay movement either to the beginnings of gay liberation (usually dated to the Stonewall uprising in New York in 1969) or to the mid to late 1970s, when the movement's new shape and obvious successes became visible in San Francisco. Scholars who have studied San Francisco have focused on the mid to late 1970s, as it was in these years that the career and assassination of Harvey Milk brought national attention to the city. I argue, however, that by focusing on these two periods, scholars overlook the importance of the years in between the height of gay liberation and the visible ascendance of a dynamic gay community. Earlier chapters showed that the decline of the New Left – not the birth of gay liberation – marked the crucial moment when the field crystallized. This chapter extends and reinforces my earlier argument by showing the importance of that moment of crystallization (1970-1972) in the visible successes of the gay movements in San Francisco in the later 1970s and beyond.

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(p.123-127)

Culture, Sex, and the Ascendance of Gay Political Power

More than any other single event, the election of Harvey Milk to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in November 1977 signaled the ascendance of gay electoral power in San Francisco. Explanations of the growth of gay political power in San Francisco usually emphasize highly fortuitous changes in San Francisco's economy and demography. In this section, I argue that these changes were only part of the story. Without the prior crystallization of the gay identity movement, the gay movement would not have been able to transform economic and demographic changes into political opportunities. The cultural and sexual aspects of the gay identity movement also contributed to the growth of political power by increasing the size and concentration of a gay voting bloc.

The single most important reason why the gay movement acquired political power in San Francisco in the 1970s was that it was able to play a crucial role in advancing the careers of a cohort of ambitious liberal politicians. Liberal politicians discovered that the gay community represented an organized, reliable voting bloc, leading them to be highly solicitous of this important constituency. This mutually beneficial relationship between the gay community and liberal politicians not only contributed to the growth of gay political power, but played a pivotal role in the political careers of some of California's most powerful politicians (e.g., Dianne Feinstein and Willie Brown). This relationship depended on two conditions: that the liberals were actually viable candidates and that the gay community could deliver votes.

The viability of liberals as political candidates was enhanced by changes in the demographics of the city. In the 1960s San Francisco underwent a profound transformation from an industrial city with a heavily blue-collar population to a financial center with a much more professional population. Much of the traffic of the port of San Francisco moved to Oakland. The factories and warehouses south of Market Street closed down. Blue-collar workers followed their employment and left the city, emptying

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neighborhoods such as the Haight and the Castro. To stabilize the city's economic base, Mayor Joseph Alioto and other influential politicians pushed to build the financial sector and to make San Francisco appealing for tourism and for corporate headquarters. These new businesses lured white-collar workers, professionals, and service industry personnel to the city – young people with college educations. FitzGerald describes how Alioto "changed the city and at the same time swept away the very base of his own power. As manufacturing left, so did his supporters." The young professional moving to the city were more liberal, improving the electoral prospects of liberal politicians. But liberal politicians needed to reach these votes. They needed organized voting blocs. As it happened, the gay movement was able to provide such a bloc.

The gay community entered the 1970s able to deliver votes. In fact, liberal candidates quickly realized that they could not win elections without garnering gay support. The gay movement was able to deliver these votes only because of the history of homosexual organizing in the city and the more recent crystallization of the movement. In chapter 4, I showed that as the 1960s drew to a close the Society for Individual Rights remained strong. San Francisco's most established homophile organization had survived the challenge of gay liberation, abandoned its reticence about public display, and emerged from the 1960s espousing a politics of gay rights and gay pride. And given its homophile roots, SIR had no ambivalence whatsoever about leaving behind the radical, multi-issue, revolutionary politics of the New Left. Working within the established political system was, as far as SIR was concerned, the way to improve life for homosexuals in the city.

Dianne Feinstein was the first to realize the benefits of courting the gay vote. Running for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, her first political office, "she so charmed the men of SIR when she showed up at a candidate night in 1969 that they outdid themselves in creating a gay vote for her at the polls that fall." Feinstein not only got elected, she won more votes than any other candidate elected to the Board of Supervisors that year, making her president of the board. Attributing her success to the gay vote, Feinstein continued to cultivate the gay male community. They gay vote played a crucial role in returning Feinstein to the presidency of the Board of Supervisors in 1973.

Richard Hongisto, a liberal police officer, also sought the support of the gay movement. In fact, it was gay leader Jim Foster who suggested to Hongisto that he run for sheriff in 1971. In his campaign, Hongisto ran on issues near and dear to the hearts of gay men – reforming California's laws on sexual conduct. The Tavern Guild provided financial support for Hongisto's campaign. Hongisto won the election. According to Clendinen and Nagourney, "the new sheriff-elect made no bones about who had put him into office. His 'biggest single source of support was gay and lesbian,' he told people. 'Hands down.'"

From 1971 onward, the gay voting bloc was a factor in all San Francisco elections. This reality was hard to miss when the San Francisco Chronicle reported in October 1971 that
San Francisco's populous homosexual community, historically non-political and inward looking, is in the midst of assembling a potentially powerful, political machine. A sustained and determined effort is underway to raise money and political consciousness, organize precinct workers, distribute campaign literature and pursue all other avenues classically associated with the development of political muscle.

San Francisco's politicians were certainly highly attuned to this fact. In 1975, according to Clendinen and Nagourney, "Diane Feinstein's campaign manager told the *Los Angeles Times* [that the gay vote was] probably the largest liberal voting bloc in the city." The result, the *Times* story said, was that the city's "politician's are rushing virtually en masse toward what they see as a rich new source of campaign strength." Politicians appeared to SIR and to the Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club, formed by Jim Foster in December 1971, for endorsements. Candidates participated in the Gay Freedom Day Parade. Clendinen and Nagourney report that "one candidate told a crowd assembled by the Gay Voters League at Bo-Jangles, a dimly lit gay bar in the Tenderloin, that in September, 'I rode in the Gay Freedom Parade and am *proud* of it.'"

When liberal candidates competed for office, the gay community could select among multiple candidates vying for their loyalty. In 1975, Moscone and Feinstein competed for the gay vote in the mayoral election. In spite of Feinstein's long-standing relationship with the gay community, she did not win the endorsement of the Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club, George Moscone secured gay support with his role in the 1975 passage of consenting adults legislation in the California state senate. Clendinen and Nagourney report that as majority leader of the state, Moscone called in every important political chip. The Senate had deadlocked in a tie, 20-20, and Moscone had literally held it there by locking the doors of the chamber until the lieutenant governor could fly back from Denver and arrive to break the tie by voting with Moscone.
In a runoff against conservative John Barbagelata, Moscone won by 4,400 votes.

Moscone credited gays with his victory. He gratefully responded with political appointments to gay movement leaders. Moscone appointed Harvey Milk to the Board of Permit Appeals. Milk was a logical choice. In 1975, Milk "had nearly won his second race for supervisor, coming seventh in the citywide voting for all candidates for a six-person board." This made him "the city's principal, – if not yet elected – gay politician." The near-victory of the 1975 campaign revealed that Harvey Milk would win if he could "run for office in the precincts where he was strong, and not the rest of the city." In 1976, Harvey Milk, in a challenging feat of coalition building, persuaded labor unions and neighborhood organizations to work with gays to mount a grassroots campaign to get district elections on the November 1976 ballot. Newly elected mayor George Moscone campaigned for the initiative. Districtwide elections were approved in 1976, clearing the way for Milk's successful campaign.

By playing a deciding role in electing Moscone and other liberal politicians, the gay movement actively reshaped its political environment. The ability of the gay movement to remake its environment in this way rested not only on the power of its political organization, but also on the size and concentration of its constituency. Those devoted to electoral politics did not control the growth

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and concentration of the population. Gay migrants moved to the Castro because of its social, cultural, and sexual possibilities – not simply to contribute to a gay voting bloc. But once they became part of this spatially concentrated gay world, they were more likely to vote for gay-friendly candidates.

"The Golden State Theatre State: Lessons from California Elections" Christian Ferney and Elizabeth H. Essary, Duke University and Pepperdine University

The idea that American politics might be somewhat theatrical is not new, but the issue often gets disproportionate attention in California. The state has elected not one, but two, Hollywood actors as its governor, enduring ridicule and extra scrutiny as a result. Articles in the local and national media count Reagan and Schwarzenegger's day jobs as clear evidence that something has gone awry in California politics. This critique is also reflected at the national level, though, manifesting in the numerous detailed accounts of the staging of Barack Obama's political events, pre- and post-election (cf. Alexander 2009). Theatricality is not new in the sphere of American election politics, nor, we suggest, is it necessarily a problem. Indeed, once theatrics and its structural components are removed from the politics of high office, precious little remains. Elections are elaborate rituals that carry stories about ourselves, always replete with a crisis, a hero, and at least one false prophet. However, that does not make them false; "the real is as imagined as the imaginary" (Geertz 1980: 136).

To illustrate this, our recent work examines the campaigns of three notable California gubernatorial candidates: Ronald Reagan, Pete Wilson, and Arnold Schwarzenegger. We focused on California exclusively because in many ways it presents a more obvious variation on American themes, ones that dominated the last presidential election cycle: political theatre, the spectre of celebrity, and what it means to be charismatic. Theoretically, we follow the classic work of Clifford Geertz on political theatre. In seeking to recover Geertz, we are not arguing that political sociology should discard measures of income or class, or that it should stop paying attention to candidates' verifiable ties to power structures. Rather, we suggest that sociologists should consider Geertz's more expansive view of what constitutes politics. This entails pondering the extent to which politics in general and elections in particular *require* candidates to adopt highly ritualistic roles. A corollary is that we should neither be shocked nor upset when politicians act like actors or when politically conscious actors emulate politicians.

Ronald Reagan made national headlines when Californians elected him governor in 1966. In those articles, his actorhood was not merely an attribute, it was his defining attribute, explaining his political poise and, implicitly, his success as a politician. We can assume that voters elected his persona as much as they acceded to his politics. Almost four decades later, the similarly inflated media attention paid to the California gubernatorial race also emphasized Arnold Schwarzenegger's stardom. However, if we are to assume that Reagan's success came as a result of his ability to project sincerity to voters, can we use the same rubric for Schwarzenegger? After all, few people have ever accused Arnold of being a particularly convincing actor. On the other side of the stage, Pete Wilson was a famously bland career politician who nonetheless triumphed over his more engaging opponent for the role of the chief executive. What, then, does it take to govern the most populous state in the union? We suggest the answer can be found in a Geertzian definition of charisma.

Elections provide an opportunity for a level of introspection in the polity, a chance to assess the current state of affairs. But to justify the passing of the political torch, electing someone new into office, seekers of office *must* construct a crisis. No matter how idyllic the current state of the economy or how low the crime rate, the polity's future must be in doubt, for out of crisis comes charismatic leadership. In election cycles, candidates have the opportunity to demonstrate their worth, not through charm and magnetism (in a Weberian understanding of "charisma"), but by showing that they are able to resolve those crises. Being in control of these issues – as Geertz put it, being in touch with the "animating centers" of society – defines charisma. Thus, heroism comes from control of important things, not from a smile and a handshake.

Looking at campaign coverage from the *Los Angeles Times*, a patterning of elections and recurring themes become clear. First, candidates construct crises facing the state population. In any polity at any time, one can find no shortage of problems of collective importance. Candidates echo these back to the populace, fanning the flames of the issues to elevate them, if necessary, in the public imagination. In this way, corruption or educational funding or abortion become seemingly insurmountable obstacles to progress. In identifying these, candidates also demonstrate their understanding of the polity and what "animates" it. Implicitly, they (but not their opponents) clearly see the meaning of the dark clouds on the horizon. Second, candidates position themselves as the solution to the crises. Because only they see the state's problems in the correct light, and because only they possess the qualities to avert disaster, they must be elected. Otherwise calamity will assuredly fall on the state. In our sample of articles, heroic qualities most often related to candidates' ability to bridge the divides of political partisanship, an especially important issue for Republican candidates in the Democratic stronghold of California.

Geertz suggested that what Bali's kings and elite spent most of their time doing was performing. The day-to-day running of the polity continued because bureaucrats and city governors made certain that basic needs were met. But rather than cater to people's physical needs, the Balinese court showed them *who* they were and how they fit into the metaphysical world. They performed the myth of the polity and in so doing made it "real," made it powerful. In California, governors like Reagan, Schwarzenegger and Wilson are no less concerned with the polity's cosmological understanding of itself – what it means to be Californian and what makes the state so golden – and thus they are no less theatrical. As much as they may oversee policy, they are publicly occupied with providing the symbolic link between the polity's mythological understanding of itself and current events.

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In democracies, elections are less about deciding who should lead the people and more about affirming who The People are. That collective, constantly reinterpreted, and contested mythos is what politics is all about. To win a California election, then, a candidate should intimate a future of technology-fueled prosperity and cleaner air; a bridge across the political aisle; and a hard stance towards criminals and conservatives. Regardless of what the media declares about a candidate's oratory skills or good looks, he is charismatic to the extent that we recognize ourselves in this narrative. As members of the polity, we applaud with our votes and shout "Encore!" every four years.

<center>**References**</center>

Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2009. "The Democratic Struggle for Power: The 2008 Presidential Campaign in the USA." *Journal of Power* 2:1, 65-88.

Geertz, Clifford. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Elizabeth Holzer, University of Wisconsin-Madison, "I Am Only Looking Up To God: Protest, Repression and Homecoming in a West African Refugee Camp"

Social protest brings unspoken beliefs about authority into open contention; repression brings the character of authority to light. This dissertation uses a case study of social protest and repression in a West African refugee camp to analyze the development and consequences of compassionate authoritarianism as a form of rule. This authority is compassionate in that refugee-subjects and those in charge believe that authorities strive to relieve the suffering of refugees. It is authoritarian in that refugee-subjects have little or no access to grievance procedures and authorities have little or no accountability in the face of political failures. In analyzing the consequences of compassionate authoritarianism, the project maps the direct trajectory of compassionate politics to repression. This is not a study of false compassion or of authorities who use the pretenses of compassion for their own ends, but rather an empirical investigation into the tacit assumption of humanitarianism that authority based on compassion would necessarily serve the interests of subjects.

Rebekah Burroway, Duke University, "Structural Violence and Child Health in Developing Countries: A Multi-Level Analysis"

More than 26,000 children under the age of 5 die every day on average, mostly in the developing world. Malnutrition accounts for up to half of those deaths, and diarrheal diseases account for another 17 per cent. The concentration of child malnutrition and diarrhea in certain areas of the world should be of particular interest to sociologists because of the potential role of structural violence in accounting for such cross-national disparities. This study focuses on gender inequality, human development, and political rights as three specific dimensions of structural violence at the country level that could have important effects on child health in developing countries. In addition to these macro, country-level factors, the analysis also incorporates household and maternal characteristics that have already been shown to affect child health at the individual level. Using data from the Demographic and Health Surveys and several other archival sources, I employ a multi-level methodological approach that examines individuals nested in a sample of approximately 50 developing countries. Specifically, I estimate a hierarchical generalized linear logit model (HGLM) that predicts the likelihood that a child is stunted, wasted, underweight, or has had a recent episode of diarrhea, based on a set of country- and individual-level explanatory variables.

Kai Heidemann, University of Pittsburgh, "Giving Voice to Language: Ethnolinguistic Mobilization and the Cultural Politics of Education in France"

This dissertation is a qualitative exploration of minority language rights activism and the politics of education reform in the Basque and Occitan territories of southwestern France. Bringing social movement theories into dialogue with scholarship on ethnicity and education, the main objective of the study is to theorize on the struggles, strategies and successes of grassroots language activists working to gain increased recognition within the French education system. On the one hand, it is shown how state-based processes of ideological and institutional gate-keeping have historically thwarted the capacity of activists to influence educational policies. On the other hand, it is also demonstrated how Basque and Occitan activists have challenged the boundaries of state-based governance by mobilizing through alternative community-based schooling associations. In addition it is also shown how the transnational movement for linguistic rights in Europe has helped to legitimate the efforts of Basque and Occitan activists within the French political arena. Merging cultural and political theories of mobilization, it is ultimately argued that the grassroots expansion of the Basque and Occitan schooling movements has allowed linguistic minorities in France to re-appropriate and re-ethnicize French citizenship from within the civic sphere. By way of conclusion, an anaytical framework is proposed for pursuing future research on the dynamics of minority language rights activism in educational settings.

ASA Sessions...

Section on Political Sociology Paper Session. Classes, States, and Movements: Piven and Cloward's Contribution to Political Sociology, Monday August 10 - 8:30am - 10:10am, Parc 55 Hotel
Organizer: Gay W. Seidman (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Presider: Chad Alan Goldberg (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Jonathan D. Shefner (University of Tennessee) "Moving Beyond Poor People's Movements: Global Change and New Opportunities"
Howard Winant (University of California-Santa Barbara) "Piven and Cloward: On Self-activity, Movements, and Politics"
Gay W. Seidman (University of Wisconsin-Madison) "Structuring Transnational Activism: Grievances, Protests and Mobilization"
Fred Block (University of California-Davis) "Obama Politics Through a Piven and Cloward Lens"
Discussant: Frances Fox Piven (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

Section on Political Sociology Paper Session. Democratic Paths and Trends, Tuesday August 11 - 8:30am - 10:10am, Parc 55 Hotel
Organizer and Presider: Barbara Wejnert (University at Buffalo)
Diogo Lemieszek Pinheiro (Emory University), Alexander Hicks (Emory University) "Conditional Welfare: IGOs, NGOs, and the Latin American Welfare State"
Christopher J. Kollmeyer (University of Aberdeen) "Globalization and Democracy: The Triumph of Liberty over Equality"
Eunhye Yoo (University of Minnesota) "Individual and Structural Bases of Public Sphere Participation: A Multilevel Analysis across 55 Countries"
Stephen K. Sanderson (University of California, Riverside), Kristopher R. Proctor (University of California, Riverside) "World Democratization, 1900-2005: A Cross-National Test of Modernization, Power Resource, and Diffusion Theories"
Barbara Wejnert (University at Buffalo) "Development of a Threshold Model of Democratization
Rakkoo Chung (State University of New York-Albany) "The Worldwide Spread of Democracy in 1972-1998"

Section on Political Sociology Paper Session. New Dynamics in American Electoral Politics, Monday August 10 - 4:30pm - 6:10pm, Parc 55 Hotel
Organizer: Sarah Sobieraj (Tufts University)
Presider: Paul Luebke (University of North Carolina-Greensboro)
Josh Pacewicz (University of Chicago) "Obama Takes the Rich: Heuristic Pairing and Political Preference Change During the 2008 Election Cycle"
Jeff Manza (New York University), Clem Brooks (Indiana University) "Rights Reversal? Public Opinion and the War on Terror in the Post-9/11 Era"
Robert Biggert (Assumption College), David Weakliem (University of Connecticut) "Economics, Culture, and Electoral Outcomes in the United States, 1952-2004"
Susan Eckstein (Boston University) "Making of An Ethnic Electoral Policy Cycle: Cuban Americans in the Post Cold War"
Discussant: Paul Luebke (University of North Carolina-Greensboro)

Section on Political Sociology Paper Session. Transnational Movements / Local Politics, Tuesday August 11 - 10:30am - 12:10pm, Parc 55 Hotel
Organizer and Presider: Erik W. Larson (Macalester College)
David John Frank (University of California-Irvine) "Cross-national Variations in the Criminal Regulation of Sex, 1965-2005"
Kiyoteru Tsutsui (University of Michigan) "Globalization of Human Rights and Minority Social Movements"
Kai A Heidemann (University of Pittsburgh) "The Transnational Dynamics of Minority Language Activism in France: Evaluation, Empowerment and Embodiment"
Sarah Dodge Warren (University of Wisconsin-Madison) "Transnational Mapuche Activism in Chile and Argentina"
Nitsan Chorev (Brown University) "What Price for AIDS Drugs? Rethinking International Diffusion"

Section on Political Sociology Roundtables, Monday, August 10, 10:30am-11:30am, Parc 55 Hotel

Plenary Session. Why Obama Won (and What that Says About Democracy and Change in America), Saturday, August 8, 12:30 – 2:15 PM
Organizer and Presider: Patricia Hill Collins, University of Maryland-College Park
Panel: Melissa V. Harris-Lacewell, Princeton University, Peter Levine, The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, Jose Z. Calderon, Pitzer College, Lawrence D. Bobo, Harvard University

ASA Sessions...

Presidential Panel. A Defining Moment? Youth, Power and the Obama Phenomenon, Saturday, August 8, 10:30 AM – 12:10 PM
Organizer: Patricia Hill Collins, University of Maryland-College Park
Presider/Discussant:: Amanda E. Lewis, Emory University
Panel: Gurminder K. Bhambra, University of Warwick, Douglas McAdam, Stanford University, Cathy J. Cohen, University of Chicago, Enid Lynette Logan, University of Minnesota

Presidential Panel. Through the Lens of Gender, Race, Sexuality and Class: The Obama Family and the American Dream, Sunday, August 9, 10:30 AM – 12:10 PM
Organizer: Patricia Hill Collins, University of Maryland-College Park
Presider: Elizabeth Higginbotham, University of Delaware
Panel: Barrie Thorne, University of California-Berkeley, Alford A. Young, Jr., University of Michigan, Charles A. Gallagher, La Salle University, Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, Colby College

Thematic Session. Understanding Democratic Renewal: The Movement to Elect Barack Obama, Sunday, August 9, 8:30 AM – 10:10 AM
Organizer: Dana R. Fisher, Columbia University
Presider: Elisabeth S. Clemens, University of Chicago
Panel: Peter Dreier, Occidental College (What It Will Take to Make Obama a Successful Transformational President), Dana R. Fisher, Columbia University (Harnessing Technology to Mobilize the Ground War), Marshall Ganz, Harvard University (Organizing to Win: How the Obama 2008 Campaign Really Worked), Heidi Jean Swarts, Rutgers University-Newark (Community Organizing Goes National: The 2008 Presidential Campaign)

Thematic Session. The Future of Community Organizing During an Obama Presidency, Sunday, August 9, 2:30 – 4:10 PM
Organizer: John D. McCarthy, Pennsylvania State University
Presider: Edward T. Walker, University of Vermont
Panel: Steve Kest, ACORN, Gabe Gonzales, Center for Community Change, George Goehl, National People's Action, Kim Grose, PICO National Network, Matt Hammer, People Acting in Community Together - San Jose, Discussant: Spence Limbocker

Thematic Session. Asian-American Movements, Identities, and Politics: A New Racial Project in the Obama Years? Saturday, August 8, 4:30 – 6:10 PM
Organizer: Michael Omi, University of California-Berkeley
Panel: Taeku Lee, University of California-Berkeley, Dina G. Okamoto, University of California-Davis, Yen Le Espiritu, University of California-San Diego, Discussant: Michael Omi, University of California-Berkeley

Open Forum. Does the Obama Administration Need a Social Science Scholars Council?: A Public Forum, Saturday, August 8, 2:30 – 4:10 PM
Organizer: Donald-Tomaskovic-Devey, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Regular Session. Comparative Political Participation, Sunday, August 9, 2:30pm - 4:10pm, Parc 55 Hotel
Organizer and Presider: Jonathan D. Shefner (University of Tennessee)
Christopher L. Gibson (Brown University), Patrick G. Heller (Brown University) "Participation in Local Democracy and Public Goods Provision: Evidence from Kerala's Panchayats"
Zeynep Atalay (University of Maryland) "The Blind Spot of Global Civil Society: Religious NGO Networks in the Muslim World"
Ates Altinordu (Yale University) "The Incorporation of Religious Politics: Political Catholicism and Political Islam in Comparison"
Leslie C. Gates (Binghamton University) "Venezuela's 1998 Presidential Election: Anti-business Sentiment and Popular Support for Chávez"
Discussant: Paul K. Gellert (University of Tennessee)

Regular Session. Authority Challenged, Authority Change, Monday, August 10, 10:30am - 12:10pm, Parc 55 Hotel
Organizer and Discussant: Alexander Hicks (Emory University)
Presider: Edgar Kiser (University of Washington)
Pavel I. Osinsky (Knox College) "Modernization Interrupted? Total War, State Breakdown, and the Communist Conquest of China"
Michael Hechter (Arizona State University), Steven Pfaff (University of Washington) "Social Order and the Genesis of Rebellion: A Study of Mutiny in the Royal Navy"
Dan Slater (University of Chicago), Nicholas Rush Smith (University of Chicago) "The Power of Counterrevolution: Origins of Durable Ruling Parties in Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa"
Djordje Stefanovic (Oxford University) "The Unintended Consequences of Ethnic Federalism: How Yugoslav Communists Dug Their Own Graves"

ASA Sessions...

Regular Session. Culture and the State, Tuesday, August 11, 8:30am - 10:10am, Hilton San Francisco
Organizer: Diane Barthel-Bouchier (Stony Brook University)
Presider and Discussant: Alexandra Marie Kowalski (Central European University)
Victoria D. Alexander (University of Surrey) "Excellence, Audiences, the Creative Economy and British Arts Policy"
Christine Slaughter (Yale University) "Gender and the Non-civil Construction of Civil Legitimacy: The Case of Nancy Pelosi"
Francesca Polletta (University of California-Irvine), Pang Ching Bobby Chen (University California- Irvine) "Is the Public Sphere
          Becoming Feminized—and at What Cost?"
Marshall D. Smith (University of Colorado Boulder) "Making A Spectacle of Suits: A Discursive Analysis of The R.I.A.A. Music
          Sharing Lawsuit Campaign"

**Regular Session. Political Culture in the Process of Politics and Policy-making, Saturday, August 8, 2:30pm - 4:10pm,
Hilton San Francisco**
Organizer: Magali Sarfatti-Larson (Temple University)
Presider and Discussant: Robin E. Wagner-Pacifici (Swarthmore College)
Nikole Hotchkiss (Indiana University) "Cultural Categories of Threat and the Origins of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy"
Elizabeth Popp Berman (University at Albany, SUNY), Nicholas D. Pagnucco (University at Albany) "Economic Ideas and the
          Political Process: Debating Tax Cuts in the U.S. House of Representatives"
April Linton (Univ of California-San Diego) "Language Politics and Policy in the United States: Implications for the Immigration
          Debate"
Gordon C. Chang (University of California, San Diego), Hugh Mehan (Univ of California-San Diego) "Political Threat, Risk, Cost,
          Benefit: Mundane Reasoning Practices in Technical Assessment"

Regular Session. Politics and Ideology, Saturday, August 8, 8:30am - 10:10am, Hilton San Francisco
Organizer and Discussant: Jonathan D. Shefner (University of Tennessee)
Presider: Julie Stewart (University of Utah)
Carolyn L. Hsu (Colgate University) "Chinese NGOs and the State: Institutional Interdependence rather than Civil Society"
Ashraf Zahedi (University of California-Berkeley) "Intricacies of Exclusion and the Making of Muslim American Communities"
Mark S. Mizruchi (University of Michigan) "Social Networks, Corporate Liberalism, and CEO Ideology: Classwide Identification
          among American CEOs, 1960-2008"
Jeffrey D. Howison (Binghamton University) "'This is Not a Cotton Picker's Dream': Baker v. Carr and New Conservative Alliances"

Regular Session. Trends in the US Electorate, Tuesday, August 11, 12:30pm - 2:10pm, Parc 55 Hotel
Organizer and Presider: Jonathan D. Shefner (University of Tennessee)
Ziad W. Munson (Lehigh University) "Becoming Conservative: The Causes and Consequences of the Pro-Life Alliance with the
          Republican Party"
Ellis Prentis Monk (University of California, Berkeley) "Calling Into Question the Theory of Black Electoral Success"
Mindy S. Romero (University of California, Davis) "Critical Mass: The Power of Community on the Latino Vote"
Yasemin Besen Cassino (Montclair State University), Daniel R Cassino (Fairleigh Dickinson University) "Youth and Politics: Political
          Involvement of Youth in America"

**Regular Session. Welfare State: Institutional and Intersectional Analyses, Saturday, August 8, 10:30am - 12:10pm, Parc 55
Hotel**
Organizer: Lisa D. Brush (University of Pittsburgh)
Judith Raven (Erasmus University-Rotterdam), Peter Achterberg (Erasmus University-Rotterdam) "An Institutional Embeddedness
          of Welfare Opinions?"
Lena Hipp (Cornell University) "Contracts, Confidence, and Continuous Employment: The Effects of Employment Institutions on
          Perceived Job and Employment Security"
Maureen Ann Eger (University of Washington) "International Migration and Support for the Welfare State"
Hadas Mandel (Tel Aviv University) "Welfare state and Gender Stratification Across Classes"

**Regular Session. Welfare State: Risk, Citizenship, Mobilization, and Eligibility, Monday, August 10, 2:30pm - 4:10pm, Parc
55 Hotel**
Organizer: Lisa D. Brush (University of Pittsburgh)
Cybelle Fox (UC Berkeley) "A New Nativism? Federal Citizenship and Legal Status Restrictions in American Social Welfare
          Programs"
Ellen R. Reese (Univ of California-Riverside) "Fighting Cutbacks & Expanding Social Services: Community-Labor Coalitions in Los
          Angeles"

ASA Sessions Continued...

Yuval Feinstein (UCLA) "Money and Sympathy: Exploring Biological Citizenship among US Veterans"
Yeheskel Hasenfeld (UCLA) "The Welfare State, the Non-Profit Sector and the Politics of Care"
Mara Yerkes (Erasmus University-Rotterdam) "Social Risks in Modern Welfare States"

Regular Session: Voting and Electoral Processes, Tuesday, August 11, 10:30am - 12:10pm, Hilton San Francisco
Organizer and Presider: G. Donald Ferree Jr. (University of Wisconisn)
Matt Schroeder (University of Minnesota) "Economic Inequality, Economic Segregation, and Political Participation"
Deanna Pikkov (University of Toronto) "Electoral Turnout of First and Second Generation Immigrants: Untangling the Effects of
        Origin and Exposure"
Kyle Dodson (Indiana University) "Have Americans Become Politically Isolated? Trends in Interpersonal Political Activity, 1984-
        2004"
Renee A. Monson (Hobart and William Smith Colleges), *Jo Beth Mertens (Hobart and William Smith Colleges) "The Color Purple:
        Postmodern family patterns in red and blue states, 2000 and 2004"

**Section on Comparative and Historical Sociology Paper Session. Political Turning Points? Monday, August 10, 2:30pm -
4:10pm, Parc 55 Hotel**
Presider: Elisabeth S. Clemens (University of Chicago)
Ivan Ermakoff (University of Wisconsin-Madison) "Groups at the Crossroads: Turning Points and Contingency in Revolutionary
        Conjunctures"
Mabel Berezin (Cornell University) "Events as Templates of Possibility: Reformulating the European Right Populist Moment as
        Historical Surprise"
Jason L. Mast (University of California-Los Angeles / Yale University) "Political Turning Points: Clinton, Gingrich, and the
        Oklahoma City Bombing"
Christopher A Bail (Harvard University) "Sleepwalking to Segregation: Drift, Layering, and Synchronization of Multicultural and
        Counter-terrorism Policy in the U.K., 2000-2007."
Discussant: Julian Go (Boston University)

**Section on Racial & Ethnic Minorities Paper Session. Race, Social Class, Gender and U.S. Presidential Elections,
Tuesday, August 11, 8:30am - 10:10am, Hilton San Francisco**
Organizer and Presider: Lauren Langman (Loyola University-Chicago)
Roderick D. Bush (St. Johns University) "Black Solidarity, Black Internationalism, and the Obama Election"
Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (Duke University), David Dietrich (Duke University) "Explaining the 'Miracle': Towards a Sociological
        Interpretation of Obama's Election"
Nancy DiTomaso (Rutgers University) "Party Alignment and the Search for an Emerging Majority in Post-Civil Rights Politics"
Enid Lynette Logan (University of Minnesota) "Post Civil-Rights, Post Jesse Jackson & Nearly Post-Racial? Lessons from the 2008
        Presidential Election"
Martha E. Gimenez (University of Colorado) "Reflections on Presidential Politics"
Discussant: Thomas Ponniah (Harvard University)

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EDITOR'S NOTE

        This is my last issue editing the newsletter. Thanks to John Myles and Gay Seidman, the section chairs during my tenure.
Thanks also to all the scholars that have written contributions for the newsletter. It has been an intellectually rewarding experience to
work with them all. The section officers should be able to announce soon the next newsletter editor(s). Until then, please send any
newsletter inquiries to the section officers. Best regards,

                                                                                        Dave Brady
                                                                                        brady@soc.duke.edu

                                    Check us out at www.asanet.org/sectionpolitic

Dissertation Abstracts...

María José Álvarez-Rivadulla, University of Pittsburgh (now Facultad de Ciencias Humanas-Universidad del Rosario, Bogotá, Colombia), "Contentious Urbanization From Below: Land Squatting in Montevideo, Uruguay"
What explains the evolution and dynamics of land squatting in Montevideo, Uruguay? Over the last few decades squatter settlements have increased dramatically in this city that lacked a "frontier" of poor illegal settlements until the 1980s, with the exception of a handful of very precarious neighborhoods dubbed *cantegriles* that started appearing around the 1950s. Today, about 11 % of the city's population lives on illegally occupied land (INE 2006). Squatter settlements mushroomed without natural disasters setting people in motion and without population growth due to rural to urban migration processes, frequent causes of land squatting elsewhere. Thus, both knowing how and why land squatting has developed constitute interesting puzzles. No one has yet written about the history of land squatting in Montevideo. This dissertation recovers this history from oblivion and puts it in dialog with the literature on popular politics. From a social movement/contentious politics perspective, in this dissertation I challenge the assumption that socioeconomic factors such as poverty were the only causes triggering land squatting. I test whether political factors also shaped the cycle of land invasions and examine the mechanisms through which those factors – known as political opportunities in the literature - translated into different types of mobilization. Through statistical analysis, in-depth interviews, document analysis, and multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork, this dissertation describes and explains the origins and trajectories of squatting as an elusive form of collective action during the last half of the 20th century (1947-2004).

Deborah Lynn Becher, Princeton University, "Valuing Property: Eminent Domain for Urban Redevelopment, Philadelphia 1992-2007"
Growth-oriented government policy can conflict with ideals about individual property security. In this project, flexibility in the concept of private property helps political communities confront this tension and judge government power. A comprehensive study of Philadelphia's recent use of eminent domain for economic growth draws on observations, archives, and interviews. A quantitative overview of citywide practice combines originally collected data on eminent domain with City of Philadelphia and U.S. Census data on properties and neighborhoods, showing that eminent domain has been largely uncontroversial though fairly common (approximately 7,000 properties and 400 development projects pursued from 1992 to 2007). I argue that government generally receives support when its policy goals correspond with the perception of the neighborhood's real estate market health. Government investment receives support in neighborhoods where real estate markets are healthy and provide reliable returns. Where real estate markets are devastated, government substitution for (rather than investment in) those markets, through tangible goods like affordable housing, earns praise. Conflicts over government policy arise in a third kind of neighborhood, where the real estate market is what I call ailing, lingering between growth and decline. Case studies of two large, contested development projects reveal how government investment is both desired and precarious when that market is ailing. Unpredictability in the real estate market and government policy implementation process makes the effects of government plans uncertain. Hope for positive results draws support for government; skepticism invites resistance. If forecasts become dreary, and conflict erupts, citizens attempt to drive government out by claiming property security as a right to possession. During the much more common times when conflict is not evident, people expect government to cultivate investment, not possession. Investment, often through less contentious programs like tax incentives and credit supports, is the unstated but often-present goal of government policy related to property in neighborhoods with healthy, ailing, and devastated real estate markets. It is only when attempts to encourage investment threaten to destroy existing value that property security as possession is leveraged to force government to change course. This project addresses Kelo v. City of New London (2005).

John Boy, CUNY-Graduate Center, "Churching Postmoderns: Evangelical Missionaries and Religious Change in Europe"
What is the place of religion in the contemporary European metropolis? For the longest time, sociologists could only imagine the trajectory of religious change pointing downward: Lower attendance at religious services and less sway of religious institutions in everyday life, culture and politics were sure to ensue in modern society. While this component of secularization theory has come under revision in recent decades, it is still largely undisputed with regard to Europe, which some have argued is the exceptional locus of a secular modernity. Because of such broad structural assumptions, sociology has a Kuhnian blind spot for the ways in which social and cultural changes underway actually lead to a reinvigoration of religion in European societies. One trend, which so far has received mostly journalistic and little scholarly attention, indicates that Europe, as far as religion is concerned, has become "provincialized." Today it is the destination of evangelical missionaries from North America and elsewhere who, using sophisticated "church-planting" methods and newly "inculturated" theologies, are successfully gaining a foothold in the urban cultures of European metropolises and penetrating into political discourse and cultural production. As yet a miniscule phenomenon, it is difficult to gauge its implications. My exploratory study will employ ethnographic study of several "church-plants" in German metropolises—including Berlin, "the capital of secularity and secularism" (Davie)—to illuminate the phenomenon with reference to debates in the sociology of religion (including secularization) as well as critical theories of modernity, the public sphere, identity, and everyday life.

David William Woods, Fordham University, "Rebuilding Lower Manhattan: Participatory Democracy, Civic Renewal & the Question of Citizen Voice"
In the wake of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, middle class professionals organized a civic renewal movement to give citizens a voice in expressing the meanings of this event and in the rebuilding of Lower Manhattan. Their aim was to help ordinary

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citizens influence decision-makers with institutional power to decide the future of the 16-acre World Trade Center site and surrounding areas. The sociological questions focus on the motives and efficacy of leaders of the four coalitions – The Civic Alliance to Rebuild Downtown New York, New York/New Visions, Imagine New York, and Rebuild Downtown Our Town – in assessing the extent to which middle class leaders really believed in participatory democracy, and consistency and effectiveness of their efforts to empower the democratic participation of other citizens. I analyze what constitutes "effective empowerment," and what kinds of tools, processes, and resources seem to work best in such disaster-linked American context. In framing my analysis I draw on three strands of social theory: (1) contextual participatory and deliberative democracy, (2) classical American pragmatism, and (3) contemporary feminist standpoint theory. My methods research included participant/observation, interviews with 36 leaders, and archival review. In the first year, Phase One, September 2001 to September 2002I found both consistency in leaders' motivations and significant effectiveness of their efforts; I also describe a drop off in effectiveness, after the leaders were drawn into "expert" consulting roles in a longer, less publicized Phase Two, October 2002 to December 2005. While this study is unique in focusing on middle class professional leaders, it offers lessons for other civic renewal movements in the United States and elsewhere, whether or not disaster-related.

Keith Gunnar Bentele, University of Arizona, "Rising Earnings Inequality in the United States: Determinants, Divergent Paths, and State Experiences"
Earnings inequality had been rising in the United States since the late 1970s. However, at the level of individual states earnings inequality has been rising, stable, and even falling in some states at different points in time. States vary in both the degree and character of change in earnings inequality, the extent to which they have experienced various inequality-increasing developments, and their institutional capacity to mediate these developments. I argue in this dissertation that this variation offers a rich opportunity for comparative analysis and an excellent lens for exploring the dynamics of the recent rise in earnings inequality. In this dissertation, I utilize multiple methods and a state-level analysis to identify the major factors driving rising state earnings inequality between 1980 and 2007 and explore the extent to which states have taken distinct causal paths to higher levels of inequality. A broad finding of this dissertation is that the net impact of many inequality-increasing factors is contingent upon a state's economic condition and institutional character. In particular, state institutional arrangements, such as union strength and minimum wage rates, have powerfully mediated the impact of various inequality-increasing developments. Also, these analyses suggest that industry shifts are extremely important to state experiences of change in inequality and are critical to understanding regional patterns of change in earnings inequality. In closing, I suggest that much research on rising inequality at the national-level does not fully capture the substantial diversity of state experiences with rising inequality or the complexity of the interactions between the various factors producing those distinct experiences.

Liza Weinstein, University of Chicago (now Northeastern University) "Redeveloping Dharavi: Toward a Political Economy of Slums and Slum Redevelopment in Globalizing Mumbai"
While slums have once again garnered policy and media attention, research on global urbanism has remained virtually silent on the topic of residential informality. Based on historical and ethnographic research in Dharavi, Mumbai's largest and most notorious slum settlement, this dissertation reveals the social relations and political and economic arrangements that facilitate the emergence, maintenance, and transformation of slums. Pushing past incomplete explanations rooted "over-urbanization" and "bureaucratic failure," it highlights the structural reasons why bureaucracies fail and how certain levels of urbanization are deemed excessive. Divided into two historical periods, the first section traces Dharavi's emergence and resilience from the late nineteenth century through the early 1980s, when tacit agreements between bureaucrats, workers, and industrial elites resulted in the illegal (but state supported) appropriation of land and formation of largely illicit social networks that sustained the settlements and provided their inhabitants with basic services. Amidst transformations associated with India's liberalization and global integration in the 1980s and 1990s, however, the state's response to residential informality began to change. The second part of the dissertation examines the new context of state intervention through a case study of the Dharavi Redevelopment Project, an ongoing effort to transform Dharavi into a middle class residential enclave and commercial area. The dissertation examines the changing conditions for state intervention as the land on which slums sit has become more valuable than the labor provided by their inhabitants.

Erzsébet Fazekas, Columbia University (now University at Albany), "Institutional Entrepreneurship and Cross-National Diffusion: The Project of Civil Society Development in Hungary"
Civil society aid has become a sizeable industry since the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. As part of this project, building nonprofit sectors has burgeoned into a transnational initiative to cement the transition away from state socialism to market democracy. How have change agents propagated a new form of organizational activity to build nonprofit sectors in formally one-party and one-sector states? The dissertation reconstructs the emergence and development of the institutional project of civil society development as it follows the flow of ideas, organizational forms and charitable dollars from American foundations to recipients in Hungary. I argue that a mechanistic model of diffusion cannot adequately explain how civil society as an institution-building target spreads across national boundaries. This global project emerged organically through the convergence of collective organizational action to realize divergent interests and visions. Fuelled by the discourse of civil society in Eastern Europe, a core group of U.S.

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foundations converged their programming over time into a set of prescriptions, techniques and philanthropic vehicles, and facilitated the emergence of a local field of civil society development organizations in Hungary, which was then further promoted by the Hungarian government. Hungarian institutional entrepreneurs built on local cognitive-cultural schemes and organizational models, some with origins in communist Hungary, and linked them to institutional logics and models indigenous to the American polity. American foundations' theorizing and framing helped sell their project in post-communist countries and entrench the tripartite model of social order—the state, the market and nonprofit sectors.

Nikole Hotchkiss, Indiana University, "Taking Aim: A Comparative Study of Target Groups and the Formation of Contemporary Counterterrorism Policy in France and the United States"
The war against terrorism has come to define, even dominate, the current era. Although terrorism is increasingly a topic of sociological inquiry, the study of counterterrorism has been neglected. Following a terrorist incident, nations are faced with questions about how to protect their citizens. Not only have recent events, such as the 2005 London bombings, the 2004 Madrid subway bombings, and the September 11, 2001 attacks on the U.S., brought renewed attention to terrorism, but current debates about the treatment of suspected terrorists, and specifically interrogation procedures, have highlighted the importance of state how states respond to terrorist threat. This dissertation examines policy approaches to counterterrorism from 1980 through 2001 in France and the United States in order to answer three broad questions: 1) how do states decide the policy response following a terrorist attack?; 2) Do these responses vary over time? And if so, why?; 3) Are there cross-national differences in state responses to similar types of terrorist threat? What might explain these differences? The findings support a three-dimensional approach to studying policy change: through discourse, legal change, and policy implementation. These dimensions are driven primarily by policy elites who conceptualize threat according to two main approaches: cultural categories of threat and functionalism. Discourse was the most likely to change over time, according to the political and social climate. Legal change and policy implementation were more likely to shift gradually. As with many historical studies, the ability to understand past policy outcomes may give scholars a better chance to predict future policy outcomes in times of crisis.

Christian Ferney, Duke University, "Particular Universality: Science, Culture, and Nationalism in Australia, Canada, and the United States, 1915-1960"
This dissertation seeks to augment the world polity theory of globalization by examining how global cultural scripts are internalized within the nation-state. While the world polity model posits increasing convergence on a single global cultural frame, I suggest that national concerns limit the adoption of "world culture" by actors and institutions. Instead of adopting world cultural models wholesale, they are *adapted* through a process I call translated global diffusion. Nation-states often faithfully accept nascent "global" concepts such as science or human rights, but they necessarily filter them through a national "reality." This process produces diffusion of recognizably similar but nonetheless distinct institutional iterations in each national context. In order to assess my theory, I follow the creation and development of organizations founded by Australia, Canada, and the United States to foster scientific development within their borders. All three nation-states initiated national science organizations around 1915, part of an international wave of institutionalization of state science that prima facie appears to support the world polity thesis. Through a comparative historical analysis that combines archival material and secondary histories from each case, I demonstrate that multiple concerns tied to national identity mediate the incorporation of models sanctioned as part of a "world cultural canopy" of institutional scripts. Federal legislatures circumscribe new organizations to fit preexisting ideas of proper government; the scientists effectively running state science organizations negotiate often conflicting nationalistic and professional impulses; and the national news media report about science in a selective and nationally filtered way. The result is a kind of particular universality, science layered with national import only fully visible from within the nation-state.

Manjusha Nair, Rutgers University, "Unsure Militants: Workers' Identities and Politics in Two Central Indian Towns, 1977-2006"
I compare two sites of a single labor movement in central India, to see how workers' identities and politics evolve differently among different communities in the periphery. Scholars have challenged and replaced the prototypical working class identity with allegedly more grounded concepts like citizenship and community. I contradict them by showing that communities do use working class identities to engage in productive politics with state and capital, though with limited effectiveness. The two sites I study, point to the social, cultural and temporal situatedness of workers' politics. The first site exemplifies a state-socialist context, where native manual mine workers organized against state- employers in the state-owned iron-ore mines of Chhattisgarh region in 1977. The second site exemplifies the shift from state-centered to neo-liberal paradigm, where native contract workers organized against state and private-industrialists in an industrial town in 1989. Both workers combined ethnic and nationalist symbols with working class icons in their contentions. Based on archival and ethnographic research in Chhattisgarh, I argue that workers in the two sites maintain two different working class identities, though both are predicated on the existence of a powerful state protecting workers. In the mining township, the workers displayed orthodox militancy: a fierce sense of collective agency and defiant resistance to change in movement goals or adaptation of new tactics. In the industrial town, the workers showed restrained radicalism: passive agency and ambivalence to radicalizing tactics. I conclude that working class identities empower people in manifold ways, but are limited in their effectiveness.

BOOK ABSTRACTS

David Brady, Rich Democracies, Poor People: How Politics Explain Poverty (Oxford University Press, 2009)

Poverty is not simply the result of an individual's characteristics, behaviors or abilities. Rather, as this book demonstrates, poverty is the result of politics. This book investigates why poverty is so entrenched in some affluent democracies whereas it is a solvable problem in others. Drawing on over thirty years of data from eighteen countries, the author argues that cross-national and historical variations in poverty are principally driven by differences in the generosity of the welfare state. An explicit challenge to mainstream views of poverty as an inescapable outcome of individual failings or a society's labor markets and demography, this book offers institutionalized power relations theory as an alternative explanation. The power of coalitions for egalitarianism, Leftist political groups and parties, and the social policies they are able to institutionalize shape the amount of poverty in society. Where poverty is low, equality has been institutionalized. Where poverty is widespread, exemplified by the U.S., there has been a failure to institutionalize equality. A comprehensive and state-of-the-art study, this book places the inherently political choices over resources and the political organization of states, markets, and societies at the center of the study of poverty and social inequality.

Kevin T. Leicht and J. Craig Jenkins, The Handbook of Politics (Springer, 2010)

This volume provides a comprehensive review of recent theory and research in the study of politics. Drawing on scholars from political science and sociology, it provides an integrative perspective on current research on the nature of politics and the state, political institutions, political change and methods of political research. Unique sections are the discussion of methods for studying politics and the role of globalization in creating political change in the 21st century. The book contains 33 chapters plus an introduction by the editors. Major sections: Introduction, Theory in the Study of Politics, Political Change and Transformation, Methods in the Study of Politcs. (see website: http://www.springer.com/social+sciences/sociology/book/978-0-387-68929-6)

Rory McVeigh, The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics (University of Minnesota Press, 2009)

In *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan*, Rory McVeigh provides a revealing analysis of the broad social agenda of 1920s-era KKK, showing that although the organization continued to promote white supremacy, it also addressed a surprisingly wide range of social and economic issues, targeting immigrants and, particularly, Catholics, as well as African Americans, as dangers to American society. In sharp contrast to earlier studies of the KKK, which focus on the local or regional level, McVeigh treats the Klan as it saw itself—as a national organization concerned with national issues. Drawing on extensive research into the Klan's national publication, the *Imperial Night-Hawk*, he traces the ways in which Klan leaders interpreted national issues and how they attempted—and finally failed—to influence national politics. More broadly, in detailing the Klan's expansion in the early 1920s and its collapse by the end of the decade, McVeigh ultimately sheds light on the dynamics that fuel contemporary right-wing social movements that similarly blur the line between race, religion, and values.

Richard Croucher and Elizabeth Cotton, Global Unions, Global Business: Global Union Federations and International Business (Middlesex University Press, 2009)

This book looks at a little-understood aspect of globalisation: the role of the Global Union Federations in international employment relations. The book outlines the way that trade unions at international level relate to multinational companies using detailed and up-to-date illustrations of their activities. Importantly, the book includes an in-depth case study of one GUF's dealings with a major multinational company. Throughout the book the authors also explore the previously unknown internal lives of the Global Union Federations and propose ideas about how they can strengthen their position internationally. This book is a unique contribution to existing literature on globalisation and international employment relations, throwing new light both on the international trade union movement and its relations with multinational companies. The book will be of interest to all those interested in the future of trade unionism, multinational companies and the future of international industrial relations.

Vanessa Barker, The Politics of Imprisonment: How the Democratic Process Shapes the Way America Punishes Offenders (Oxford University Press, 2009)

The attention devoted to the unprecedented levels of imprisonment in the United States obscures an obvious but understudied aspect of criminal justice: there is no consistent punishment policy across the U.S. It is up to individual states to administer their criminal justice systems, and the differences among them are vast. For example, while some states enforce mandatory minimum sentencing, some even implementing harsh and degrading practices, others rely on community sanctions. What accounts for these differences? This book seeks to document and explain variation in American penal sanctioning, drawing out the larger lessons for America's overreliance on imprisonment. Grounding her study in a comparison of how California, Washington, and New York each developed distinctive penal regimes in the late 1960s and early 1970s—a critical period in the history of crime control policy and a time of unsettling social change—Vanessa Barker concretely demonstrates that subtle but crucial differences in political institutions, democratic traditions, and social trust shape the way American states punish offenders. Barker argues that the apparent link between public

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participation, punitiveness, and harsh justice is not universal but historically contingent and dependent upon the varying institutional contexts and patterns of civic engagement within the U.S. and across liberal democracies. A bracing examination of the relationship between punishment and democracy, *The Politics of Imprisonment* not only suggests that increased public participation in the political process can support and sustain less coercive penal regimes, but warns that it is precisely a lack of civic engagement that may underpin mass incarceration in the United States.

Matthew Lange, Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power (University of Chicago Press, 2009)
This book explores the developmental legacies of British colonialism and provides strong evidence that the type of colonialism had important effects on the subsequent development trajectories of former colonies. Combining cross-national statistics with a comparative-historical analysis, it finds that countries once under direct British imperial control have developed more successfully than those that were ruled indirectly and points to colonial state legacies as the most influential cause of variation. Direct rule promoted cogent and coherent states with high levels of bureaucratization, infrastructural power, and inclusiveness, all of which contributed to implementing development policy during late colonialism and after independence. On the other hand, indirect British rule created patrimonial, weak states that not only proved incapable of providing developmental goods but frequently preyed on their own populations.

James Mahoney, Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
In this comparative-historical analysis of Spanish America, James Mahoney offers a new theory of colonialism and postcolonial development. The book explores why certain kinds of societies are subject to certain kinds of colonialism and why these forms of colonialism give rise to countries with differing levels of economic prosperity and social well-being. Mahoney contends that differences in the extent of colonialism are best explained by the potentially evolving fit between the institutions of the colonizing nation and those of the colonized society. Moreover, he shows how institutions forged under colonialism bring countries to relative levels of development that may prove remarkably enduring in the postcolonial period. The argument is sure to stir discussion and debate, both among experts on Spanish America who believe that development is not tightly bound by the colonial past, and among scholars of colonialism who suggest that the institutional identity of the colonizing nation is of little consequence.

James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
This book contributes to emerging debates in political science and sociology on institutional change. Its introductory essay proposes a new framework for analyzing incremental change that is grounded in a power-distributional view of institutions and that emphasizes ongoing struggles within but also over prevailing institutional arrangements. Five empirical essays then bring the general theory to life by evaluating its causal propositions in the context of sustained analyses of specific instances of incremental change. These essays range widely across substantive topics and across times and places, including cases from the United States, Africa, Latin America, and Asia. The book closes with a chapter reflecting on the possibilities for productive exchange in the analysis of change among scholars associated with different theoretical approaches to institutions.

Ho-fung Hung, China and the Transformation of Global Capitalism (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009)
With one of the world's fastest-growing economies and a population quickly approaching two billion, China holds substantial sway over global financial, social, and cultural networks. This volume explains China's economic rise and liberalization and assesses how this growth is reshaping the structure and dynamics of global capitalism in the twenty-first century. China has historically been the center of Asian trade, economic, and financial networks, and its global influence continues to expand in the twenty-first century. In exploring the causes for and effects of China's resurging power, this volume takes a broad, long-term view that reaches well beyond economics for answers. Contributors explore the vast web of complex issues raised by China's ascendancy. The first three chapters discuss the global and historical origins of China's shift to a market economy and that transformation's impact on the international market system. Subsequent essays explore the ability of large Chinese manufacturers to counter the might of transnational retailers, the effect of China's rise on world income distribution and labor, and the consequences of a stronger China for its two most powerful neighbors, Russia and Japan. The concluding chapter questions whether China's growth is sustainable and if it will ultimately shift the center of global capitalism from the West to the East.

William J.M. Claggett & Byron E. Shafer, The American Public Mind: The Issue Context of Mass Politics in the Postwar United States (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2009)
What is the real nature of substantive conflict in mass politics during the postwar years in the United States? How is it reflected in the American public mind? And how does this issue structure shape electoral conflict? The authors answer by developing measures of public preference in four great policy realms - social welfare, international relations, civil rights, and cultural values - for the entire period between 1952 and 2004. They use these to identify the issues that were moving the voting public at various points in time, while revealing the way in which public preferences shaped the structure of electoral politics. What results is the restoration of policy substance to the center of mass politics in the United States.

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Donald W. Light, Advanced Market Commitments (HAI Europe/Medico International Publication, 2009 www.haiweb.org)
A history and critical analysis of the most prevalent strategy for funding new vaccines, being used by the World Bank and the Gates Foundation's constellation of organizations set up to reduce the burden of disease in poor countries. Commissioned by HAI and Medico as two international organizations concerned with addressing the institutional, political, and economic causes of global inequality and health injustice. Endorsed by OxFam, the report details the way a small elite have constructed AMCs so they serve as a vehicle for multinationals to profit from subsidized sales to nations that have not previously been able to buy new vaccines, while keeping their intellectual property intact. The AMC campaign is described and its claims of lives saved deconstructed. Alternate strategies that result in much cheaper vaccines and do not keep poor nations dependent on charity are described. The conclusion outlines new ways to design advanced purchases. The report is part of a 3-year public sociology campaign to reduce high-price lockout and make new vaccines affordable to low-income nations.

Robert B. Smith, Cumulative Social Inquiry:Transforming Novelty into Innovation (Guilford Publications, 2008)
This book explores strategies and examples for the transformation of novelty into innovation. Novelty here means original topics and new perspectives for inquiry. Innovation here means empirically sound theories, evidence-based policy recommendations, and new methods that advance social inquiry. The process of cumulative social inquiry takes novel topics and insightful perspectives as inputs, refines these ideas through chains of theoretically-driven cumulative empirical research, and produces as outputs innovative analytic theories and evidence for policy studies—it transforms novelty into innovation. Because this book develops new approaches for making social inquiry more cumulative, collaborative, and innovative, it should interest political sociologists, theoretical social scientists, and students. The book contains: a rich explication of the paradigm concept that discusses how different disciplinary values influence social inquiry; systematic reviews of successful classic and contemporary research programs; a thorough exposition showing how qualitative and quantitative approaches can be articulated to produce mixed-methods studies; numerous examples showing how qualitative data can inform survey research thereby improving the latter's fit validity; a selective review of qualitative and quantitative social structural theories at four levels of analysis: micro, meso, macro, and the world; unification of statistical and process models as structural methods; and a detailed exposition of how the sociological imaginations of Festinger, Coleman, Bell, and Verba led them to produce cumulative political research programs that have bridged novelty and innovation. The book's Conclusion emphasizes that basic research skills enhance innovative ability and that even findings from scattered social inquiries can lead to innovations. This new evidence-based knowledge could help guide social and political change.

Jane Banaszak-Holl, Sandra R. Levitsky, and Mayer Zald, Social Movements and the Transformation of American Health Care (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)
This book examines dynamics of change in health care institutions through the lens of contemporary theory and research on collective action. Bringing together scholars from medicine, health management and policy, history, sociology, and political science, the book conceptualizes the American health care system as being organized around multiple institutions—including the state, biomedical fields, professions, and health delivery organizations. By shifting attention toward the organizing structures and political logics of these institutions, the essays illuminate the diversity in both sites of health-related collective action and the actors seeking transformations in health institutions. The book considers health-related social movements at four distinct levels of analysis. At the most macro level, essays analyze social movements that seek changes from the state in the regulation, financing, and distribution of health resources. A second set of essays considers field-level analyses of institutional changes in such wide-ranging areas as public health, bioethics, long-term care, abortion, and AIDS services. A third set of essays examines the relationship between social movements and professions, examining the "boundary crossing" that occurs when professionals participate in social movements or seek changes in existing professions and the health practices they endorse. A final set of essays analyzes the cultural dominance of the medical model for addressing health problems in the United States and its implications for collective attempts to establish the legitimacy of particular issues, framings, and political actors in health care reform.

Bill Winders, The Politics of Food Supply: US Agricultural Policy in the World Economy (Yale University Press, 2009)
This book deals with an important and timely issue: the political and economic forces that have shaped agricultural policies in the United States during the past eighty years. It explores the complex interactions of class, market, and state as they have affected the formulation and application of agricultural policy decisions since the New Deal, showing how divisions and coalitions within Southern, Corn Belt, and Wheat Belt agriculture were central to the ebb and flow of price supports and production controls. This focus on agricultural coalitions departs from other studies of this policy, which tend to focus on the shrinking farm population, opposition from non-farm groups, and changes in prices or partisan politics. In addition, the book highlights the roles played by the world economy, the civil rights movement, and existing national policy to provide an invaluable analysis of past and recent trends in supply management policy.

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Lynne M. Woehrle, Patrick G. Coy, and Gregory M. Maney, Contesting Patriotism: Culture, Power, and Strategy in the Peace Movement (Rowman & Littlefield, 2008)
During war, space for debate shrinks. Narrow ideas of patriotism and democracy marginalize and silence opposition to militarism abroad and repression at home. Although powerful, these ideas encounter widespread resistance. Analyzing the official statements of 15 organizations from 1990-2005, the authors show that the U.S. peace movement strongly contested taken-for-granted assumptions regarding nationalism, religion, security, and global justice. This book engages cutting-edge theories in social movements research to understand the ways that activists promote peace through their words. Concepts of culture, power, strategy, and identity are used to explain how movement organizations and activists contribute to social change. The diversity of organizations and conflicts studied make this book a unique and important contribution to peace building and to social movements scholarship.

Barbara Wejnert, Suzanne K. Steinmetz, Nirupama Prakash, Safe Motherhood in a Globalized World (Routledge Press, 2009)
This book provides cutting edged information on safe motherhood in a global context. The chapters focus on research, program development and implementation, and policy dealing with various aspects of pregnancy, labor and delivery. Safe motherhood is a critical issue since healthy, safe motherhood is the prerequisite for a healthy, productive society. Writing about the situation in their countries, the authors are from Eastern Europe, America, Asia and Africa and are academic scholars and health practitioner. The book is multidisciplinary with scholars from sociology, gender studies, economics, social policy, social geography, population management and political science. Topics include lactation policy and misunderstandings of lactations in African countries and in the United States; postnatal stress disorder that is either understudied or not considered as a problem in many developing countries; potential causes of a decline of maternal health in democratizing states; the effect of geographical environment on reproductive health; and revelation of mysteries of consequences of pre-birth pain in early life of children. Case studies provide examples of successful model programs. Solutions offered are based on utilizing available resources and technology in ways that maximize education and training of local health professionals and family members.

Barbara Wejnert, Gender within the Global Development (Kendall/Hunt 2009)
This book highlights the ways in which feminist analysis has contributed to a richer understanding of international development and globalization. By combining theoretical, empirical, and political perspectives, it includes cutting-edge debates on development, globalization, economic restructuring, global health and feminist theory. The manuscript attempts to answer several questions pertaining contemporary situation of women in a global world. Among these concerns are--does global development alleviate feminization of poverty or contribute to it? Has free trade hurt women especially poor women more than helped? What are globalization's effects on women rights and education? Does global development bring women together or harm their closeness?

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Submissions Invited for Special issue of Journal of Race and Policy on "Race and Policy in the Age of Obama"
The historic election of Barack Obama marked a significant and dramatic turning point in American government and politics. In a country that is still coping with the legacy of its painful history of slavery, segregation, and other forms of continued institutionalized inequality, a self-described black man decisively won election to the nation's highest office. Much recent commentary has focused on the important implications of this event. Other analyses seek to determine what this election means for understanding race and racism in U.S. society. While the racial significance of Obama's victory is both important and noteworthy, it is also necessary to consider the ways in which the new administration's policies will impact various groups of color. Indeed, this likely takes on heightened significance given that the country now has its first president who has lived his life as a member of a racial minority group. Yet, in many ways, Obama's expressed policy priorities are standard centrist Democratic fare. What consequential impact, if any, will his political goals have a particular impact on communities of color? In this special issue, rather than considering the implications of Obama's presidency for racial matters in the United States, we focus on the impact that an Obama administration will have on various areas of public policy, particularly those that disproportionately impact racial and ethnic groups. We are looking for manuscripts (empirical or theoretical) that address the policy implications of Obama's presidency for people of color, but will give particular attention to those that consider the following topics: Affirmative Action, Criminal and juvenile justice, "Don't Ask Don't Tell" or the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), Environmental racism and justice, Foreign policy towards sub-Saharan Africa and the African Diaspora, Health care reform, HIV/AIDS crisis in the United States and abroad, Immigration reform, Poverty and the "underclass", Urban renewal and job creation in central cities. Please contact Adia Harvey Wingfield (aharvey@gsu.edu) or Adolphus Belk Jr. (belka@winthrop.edu).

Announcements...

Donald W. Light has been selected by Stanford University to be the Lorry Lokey Visiting Professor in human biology and international health policy for 2009-2010. He will teach a course on comparative advanced health care systems with an eye to the structure and politics of their universal health care services.

"Cambridge Series on Business and Public Policy"
Cambridge University Press has recently launched a new book series, Business and Public Policy, which seeks to play a pioneering role in shaping the emerging field of business and public policy. This Series focuses on two central questions. First, how does public policy influence business strategy, operations, organization, and governance, and with what consequences for both business and society? Second, how do businesses themselves influence policy institutions, policy processes, and other policy actors and with what outcomes? In recent years the notion of public policy has become more expansive. The policy environments which businesses negotiate might be supplied by governmental as well as nongovernmental actors. Across issue areas, nongovernmental actors have established institutions that shape market opportunities as well as introduce a new kind of (private) regulatory context that businesses are obliged to consider. Whether they cohere with or undermine government-supplied institutional context, businesses need to responsive to both types of policy environments. We welcome manuscripts whose scope might be national, comparative, or international. These submissions might focus on a given issue area or compare across issue areas. Given the multi-disciplinary nature of the field, we are particularly interested in books which appeal to multiple audiences located in social science departments, business schools, public policy schools, and law schools. For inquiries, please contact General Editor, Aseem Prakash, University of Washington, aseem@u.washington.edu