STATES, POWER, AND SOCIETIES

SUMMER 2014
VOLUME 19 / ISSUE 2

Political Sociology Section
American Sociological Association

In this Issue

ASA Participation Initiative 2

ASA 2014 Sessions 3

Celebrating Life of Rod Bush 6

Book Abstracts 7

Article & Chapter Abstracts 13

Political Sociology Announcements 26

Interview with Book Award Co-Recipient: *Cybelle Fox* 30

Interview with Book Award Co-Recipient: *Monica Prasad* 37

Journal Review: *Sociological Science* 40

Recent PhD Profiles 42

ASA Annual Meeting 2014:

Note from the Chair

The Political Sociology section has a terrific lineup of sessions at the ASA meetings, with six sponsored sessions in addition to our reception and business meeting. Please join us for our Reception (joint with the Culture Section) on Monday August 18, from 6:30-8:00pm. Our business meeting will be held the following day, on Tuesday, August 19, from 3:30-4:10 (immediately following the Roundtables). Yes, I know it's the last session of the conference, but we still hope to see many of you there!

Please note that one of our sessions, the Participation Initiative, has an unusual format, inviting a more inclusive, workshop style conversation without formal paper presentations. Please read the message below from David Smilde, with details on the **Participation Initiative,** sponsored by the Political Sociology section. We are experimenting with an unusual format this year, featuring moderated discussion centering around three themes related to the problematics of participation. You can find details below, as well as on the associated blog, Participation and its Discontents, which has a number of recent posts. Feel free to comment and join the conversation on the following site:

http://participationanditsdiscontents.tumblr.com/

We hope to see many of you there on **Tuesday August 19, 10:30-12:10.**

The complete listing of sessions can be found below. I hope to see many of you in San Francisco!

All Best,
Ann

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Participation Initiative

ASA 2014 San Francisco (Tuesday, August 19, 10:30-12:10)

During the course of 2014 the Political Sociology Section has sponsored a participation initiative that builds upon informal discussions during ASA 2013. Its primary goal is to examine and debate some of the fundamental dilemmas in the social scientific study of participation. A secondary goal is to push forward the search for alternative forms of scholarly participation.

Lines of inquiry and debate that originally emerged last year have continued on a blog called *Participation and its Discontents.* http://participationanditsdiscontents.tumblr.com/

The San Francisco session will be divided into three equal parts based on three questions drawn from the blog discussion. Each question will receive short statements from the moderator and exponent, and then open up to a free flowing discussion.

Question 1: Do people want to participate? (10:30-11:00)
We tend to assume that everyone wants to participate. Is this anything more than academics' projections of themselves onto the people they study?

Gianpaolo Baiocchi, *moderator*
Paul Lichterman, *exponent*
Open discussion

Question 2: Does participation discriminate? (11:05-11:35)
Does participation inherently overrepresent the interests of active, articulate or very interested citizens? Wouldn't we be better off with public institutions that provide universal citizenship benefits to all people regardless of whether they participate?

David Smilde, *moderator*
Nina Eliasoph, *exponent*
Michael McQuarrie, *exponent*
Open discussion

Question 3: Is participation still participation when it's supported by other institutions? (11:40–12:10)
Many robust cases of participation are driven by institutional actors, be they states, NGOs, or political parties. Can such institutional participation ever escape the logics of the sponsoring institution?

Pablo Lapegna *moderator*
Ruth Braunstein *exponent*
Open discussion

ASA 2014 Political Sociology Sessions

Political Sociology Section Reception and Business Meeting

All section members are invited and encouraged to attend
the annual section reception on Monday evening.
On Tuesday, we invite you to attend the section's business meeting,
which immediately follows the refereed roundtables.
We look forward to having you there.

Monday, August 18, 6:30-8:00
Joint Reception (with Culture Section)

Tuesday August 19, 3:30-4:10
Section on Political Sociology Business Meeting

SECTION SESSIONS:

1. Reconceptualizing the Politics of Corruption
Monday, August 18, 10:30-12:10
Organizers: Nicholas Hoover Wilson (Yale) and Siri J. Colom (UC Berkeley)

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

"Institutionalizing a Global Anti-Corruption Regime: Perverse Effects on Country Outcomes, 1984 to 2007."
Wade M. Cole (University of Utah) and Patricia Bromley (University of Utah)

"Micro-Dynamics of Corrupt Interactions: Theory Development and Moroccan Health Sector as Test Case."
Diana Dakhlallah (Stanford University)

"Reconceptualizing Corruption after the Financial Bailout: A Weberian Approach."
Rahul Mahajan (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

"The Political Economy of Administrative Corruption: Boundary Politics and Development Policies in Post-Colonial Tanzania."
Ronald R. Aminzade (University of Minnesota)

Discussant: Emily Erikson (Yale University)

ASA 2014 Political Sociology Sessions

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

Monday, August 18, 2:30-4:10
Organizer and Presider: Ann Mische, University of Notre Dame

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

"The Arab Spring: A Global March Toward Democracy, or a Revolt Against Neoliberal Capitalism?"
Nurulah Ardic (Istanbul Sehir University)

"When do small events trigger massive protests? The case of 2013 Gezi Protests."
Defne Over (Cornell University) and
Basak Taraktas (University of Pennsylvania)

"Capabilities of Movements and Affordances of Digital Media: Paradoxes of Empowerment."
Zeynep Tufekci (Princeton University)

"Costa Rica, the Prototype for Local Mobilization against Global Neoliberalism."
Paul D. Alameida (University of California-Merced)

"Social Movement Networks and Changing Patterns of Global Authority, 1983-2013."
Jackie Smith (University of Pittsburgh),
Melanie M. Hughes (University of Pittsburgh),
Brittany Julia Duncan (University of Pittsburgh)

3. The New Politics of Firms and Industries

Monday, August 18, 4:30-6:10
Organizer: Edward Walker (UCLA)
Presider: MaryAnn Glynn (Boston College)

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

"The American Corporation: Anti-Corporate Thought, Party Politics, and Corporate Chartering, 1787-1860."
Carl E. Gershenson (Harvard University)

"Casting Call: The Rise of Firms as Social Actors, 1960-2010."
Patricia Bromley (University of Utah) and
Amanda J. Sharkey (University of Chicago)

"A Dynamic Process Model of Contentious Politics: Activist Targeting and Corporate Receptivity to Social Challenges."
Mary-Hunter McDonnell (Georgetown University),
Brayden G. King (Northwestern University),
Sarah A. Soule (Stanford University)

ASA 2014 Political Sociology Sessions

"Fuel for Institutional Change: The Diffusion of Local Anti-Fracking Ordinances in New York State, 2010-2013."
Fedor Dokshin (Cornell University)

Discussant: MaryAnn Glynn, Boston College

4. The Politics of Immigration and Citizenship

Tuesday, August 19, 8:30-10:10
Organizer and Presider: Catherine Lee (Rutgers University)

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

"Colorblindness in a European Context: Restricting Immigration, Citizenship, and Islam in Germany."
Daniel Williams (Macalester College)

"From Mono to Dual Nationality: Reshaping the Legal Boundaries of Citizenship in Korea and Japan."
Naeyun Lee (University of Chicago)

"Geopolitics and Prospects for Racist Immigration Policy."
David A. Cook-Martín (Grinnell College), and David Scott FitzGerald (University of California-San Diego)

"Lessons on the Boundaries of Belonging: Mapping Boundary Constellations within the French Civic Integration Program."
Elizabeth Anne Onasch (Northwestern University)

Discussant: Mara Loveman, University of California-Berkeley

5. Participation Initiative (see page 2)

Tuesday, August 19, 10:30-12:10
Organizers: David Smilde (University of Georgia), Gianpaolo Baiocchi (New York University) and Pablo Lapegna (University of Georgia)
Presider: Phillip George Lewin (Florida Atlantic University)

Discussions of civic and political participation seem to go through waves of enchantment and disenchantment. This workshop-style session will invite a broad conversation that looks at participation in context, avoiding assumptions that it is inherently transformative or irremediably regressive. Beginning with an open blog discussion (which has been active since February 2014), this session will not include formal paper presentations, but rather rely on short memos and moderated discussion among scholars working in this area. Please check out the blog of the Participation Initiative, entitled "Participations and its Discontents": http://participationanditsdiscontents.tumblr.com/

ASA 2014 Political Sociology Sessions

6. The Politics of Representation

Tuesday, August 19, 12:30-2:10
Organizer and Presider: Stephanie Mudge (UC-Davis)

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

"Populist Claims-Making in the Fifth European Parliament, 1999-2004."
Bart Bonikowski (Harvard University) and Naom Gidron (Harvard University)

"Professionalizing the Representation of Publics."
Caroline Lee (Lafayette College)

"Re-Engineering Democracy: The Insertion of International Engineering Firms into the Politics of Representation."
Siri Colom (UC-Berkeley)

"Representing the Future: The Latino Vote, Electoral Demonstrations, and the Politics of Statistics." Michael Rodríguez-Muñiz (Brown University)

7. Roundtables

Tuesday, August 19, 2:30-3:30
Organizer: Isaac Martin (UC-San Diego)
Please see the Online Program for the full list of Political Sociology Roundtables.

Please watch for *Tensions in the American Dream: Rhetoric, Reverie or Reality*:
http://roderickbush.files.wordpress.com/2014/02/tensionsintheamericandreamdiscount.pdf

http://www.temple.edu/tempress/titles/1975_reg.html

Celebrating the Life of Dr. Rod Bush 1945-2013

On August 18 two **Critical Sociology conference sessions** will be held in San Francisco
http://www.sssp1.org/index.cfm/m/598/index.cfm/m/598/pageID/1785/

Please see the website **http://rodbush.org/** for videos and statements from other events. Access Rod's publications, presentations, photos and tributes to a life well lived. Add reflections and participate in a community forum where one can post questions that might have been asked of Rod and/or respond to those raised by others.

Eternal and infinite love for you, yours & the ongoing struggle for dignity, justice, wisdom and peace.

Abstracts

Book Abstracts

Paul D Almeida (University of California, Merced). 2014. *Mobilizing Democracy: Globalization and Citizen Protest*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Based on extensive field research, archival data of thousands of protest events, and interviews with dozens of Central American activists, Mobilizing Democracy brings the international consequences of privatization, trade liberalization, and welfare-state downsizing in the global South into focus and shows how persistent activism and network building are reactivated in these social movements. Almeida enables our comprehension of global and local politics and policy by answering the question, "If all politics is local, then how do the politics of globalization manifest themselves?" Detailed graphs and maps provide a synthesis of the quantitative and qualitative data in this important study. Written in clear, accessible prose, this book will be invaluable for students and scholars in the fields of political science, social movements, anthropology, Latin American studies, and labor studies.

William T. Armaline (San Jose State University), Davita Silfen Glasberg (University of Connecticut), and Bandana Purkayastha (University of Connecticut). Forthcoming (Fall, 2014). *The Human Rights Enterprise: The State, Resistance, and Human Rights.* Polity Press.

Jerome Braun. 2013. *Democratic Culture and Moral Character: A Study in Culture and Personality*. Springer.

This book returns critical theory to its roots in both psychology and the social sciences. It shows some relationships between equality in a political and social sense and personal identity that either relates well to such equality, or rebels against it. This reflects processes of social and cultural influence that involve not only random change but also processes of social and cultural evolution that themselves have effects regarding potentials for self-fulfillment and even public morality. This book provides a framework for studying the interaction between individual aspirations and social opportunities.

Jerome Braun, known for his writings in interdisciplinary social science, an approach he calls pragmatic critical theory, provides a book that discusses issues relevant to the moral underpinnings of democratic society, including issues of social evolution, of culture, and personality.

This book will be of particular interest to scholars and students of Psychology (particularly in the areas of Political Psychology, Psychology of Personality and Cultural Psychology), Sociology (especially Sociology of Alienation and Sociology of Culture, as well as Historical Sociology, Political Sociology and Sociology of Mental Health), Anthropology (particularly in the areas of Psychological Anthropology and Political Anthropology), Cultural Studies, and Social Theory as well as Political Theory in general.

Abstracts

Paul Burstein (University of Washington). 2013. *American Public Opinion, Advocacy, and Policy in Congress: What the Public Wants and What It Gets.* Cambridge University Press.

Between one election and the next, members of Congress introduce thousands of bills. What determines which become laws? Is it the public? Do we have government "of the people, by the people, for the people?" Or is it those who have the resources to organize and pressure government who get what they want? In the first study ever of a random sample of policy proposals, Paul Burstein finds that the public can get what it wants—but mainly on the few issues that attract its attention. Does this mean organized interests get what they want? Not necessarily—on most issues there is so little political activity that it hardly matters. Politics may be less of a battle between the public and organized interests than a struggle for attention. American society is much more complex than it was when the Constitution was written that we may need to reconsider what it means, in fact, to be a democracy.

- The first book to examine a random sample of policy proposals addressed by Congress, and so can generalize about congressional action in a way no other book can.
- Shows that Congress is not responsive to public opinion on most issues—not because the public loses out to special interests, but because the public has no opinions on most issues.
- Searches much more widely than others for evidence of publicly reported attempts to influence Congress—and finds that on most issues there is almost no political activity at all.

Cynthia M. Duncan (University of New Hampshire). 2014. *Worlds Apart: Poverty and Politics in Rural America*. Second Edition. Yale University Press.

This book will be available in September of 2014 as a paperback and e-book. Twenty years ago, Duncan interviewed hundreds of people from all walks of life in two poor communities, in Appalachia and the Yazoo Delta, and in one more prosperous mill town in northern New England to better understand persistent rural poverty. In 2013, she revisited those communities and conducted new interviews. The second edition includes a new segment on each place twenty years later, a new conclusion, and a new foreword by Angela Glover Blackwell.

Sean F Everton. (Naval Postgraduate School). 2012. *Disrupting Dark Networks*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Disrupting Dark Networks focuses on how social network analysis can be used to craft strategies to track, destabilize and disrupt covert and illegal networks. The book begins with an overview of the key terms and assumptions of social network analysis and various counterinsurgency strategies. The next several chapters introduce readers to algorithms and metrics commonly used by social network analysts. They provide worked examples from four different social network analysis software packages (UCINET, NetDraw, Pajek and ORA) using standard network data sets as well as data from an actual terrorist network that serves as a running example throughout the book. The book concludes by

Abstracts

considering the ethics of and various ways that social network analysis can inform counterinsurgency strategizing. By contextualizing these methods in a larger counterinsurgency framework, this book offers scholars and analysts an array of approaches for disrupting dark networks.

Thomas Janoski (University of Kentucky), David Luke (University of Kentucky), and Christopher Oliver (University of Kentucky). 2014. *The Causes of Structural Unemployment*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

There is a specter haunting advanced industrial countries: structural unemployment. Recent years have seen growing concern over declining jobs, and though corporate profits have picked up after the Great Recession of 2008, jobs have not. It is possible that "jobless recoveries" could become a permanent feature of Western economies. This illuminating book focuses on the employment futures of advanced industrial countries, providing readers with the sociological imagination to appreciate the bigger picture of where workers fit in the new international division of labor. The authors piece together a puzzle that reveals deep structural forces underlying unemployment: skills mismatches caused by a shift from manufacturing to service jobs; increased offshoring in search of lower wages; the rise of advanced communication and automated technologies; and the growing financialization of the global economy that aggravates all of these factors. Weaving together varied literatures and data, the authors also consider what actions and policy initiatives societies might take to alleviate these threats. Addressing a problem that should be front and center for political economists and policymakers, this book will be illuminating reading for students of the sociology of work, labor studies, inequality, and economic sociology.

Thomas Janoski (University of Kentucky), Darina Lepadatu (Kennesaw State University). 2013. *Dominant Divisions of Labor*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan. Pivot Series.

The past century of production was dominated by Fordism and Taylorism, but how do we make sense of global production today? This book takes a panoramic view of the new theories of production: post-Fordism, flexible accumulation, McDonaldization, Waltonism, Nikeification, Gatesism and Siliconism, shareholder value, and lean production with Toyotism. The authors argue that lean production in a somewhat expanded version presents three variations: Toyotism (the full model), Nikeification (off-shored plants lacking teamwork) and Waltonism (the merchandising form that presses for off-shoring). While all three share strong elements of "just in time" inventory through supply chain management, they differ in how teamwork and long-term philosophies are valued. This critical review of dominant established theories shows how the contemporary division of labor is structured. The authors also preview the newly emerging "additive" or 3-D production process.

Abstracts

James M. Jasper (City University of New York). 2014. *Protest: A Cultural Introduction to Social Movements*. Polity Press.

Every day around the world there are dozens of protests both large and small. Most groups engage the local police, some get media attention, and a few are successful. Who are these people? What do they want? What do they do to get it? What effects do they ultimately have on our world?

In this lively and compelling book, James Jasper, an international expert on the cultural and emotional dimensions of social movements, shows that we cannot answer these questions until we bring culture squarely into the frame. Drawing on a broad range of examples, from the Women's Movement to Occupy and the Arab Spring, Jasper makes clear that we need to appreciate fully the protestors' points of view - in other words their cultural meanings and feelings - as well as the meanings held by other strategic players, such as the police, media, politicians, and intellectuals. In fact, we can't understand our world at all without grasping the profound impact of protest.

Anna Korteweg (University of Toronto) and Gökçe Yurdakul (Humboldt University). 2014. *The Headscarf Debates: Conflicts of National Belonging.* Stanford University Press. http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?id=20234

All countries promote national narratives that turn historical diversities into imagined commonalities, appealing to shared language, religion, history, or political practice. *The Headscarf Debates* explores how the headscarf has become a symbol used to reaffirm or transform these stories of belonging. Anna Korteweg and Gökçe Yurdakul focus on France, Germany, and the Netherlands—countries with significant Muslim-immigrant populations—and Turkey, a secular Muslim state with a persistent legacy of cultural ambivalence. The authors pay unique attention to how Muslim women speak for themselves, how their actions and statements reverberate throughout national debates.

Michael Omi (University of California, Berkeley) and Howard Winant (University of California Santa Barbara). 2014. *Racial Formation in the United States*. Routledge.

Twenty years since the publication of its last edition and more than thirty years since the publication of the original book, Michael Omi and Howard Winant are pleased to offer the third edition of *Racial Formation in the United States* (July 2014). The book has been substantially revised, but our overall purpose and vision remains the same: to provide an account of how concepts of race are created and transformed, how they become the focus of political conflict, and how they come to shape and permeate both identities and institutions. The steady journey of the U.S. toward a majority nonwhite population, the ongoing evisceration of the political legacy of the early post-World War II civil rights movement, the initiation of the 'war on terror' with its attendant Islamophobia, the rise of a

Abstracts

mass immigrants rights movement, the formulation of race/class/gender 'intersectionality' theories, and the election and reelection of a black President of the United States are some of the many new racial conditions *Racial Formation* now covers.

Andrew Perrin (University of North Carolina). 2014. *American Democracy: From Tocqueville to Town Halls to Twitter*. Polity Press.

The book shows that rules and institutions, while important, are not the core of democracy. Instead, as Tocqueville showed, democracy is first and foremost a matter of culture: the shared ideas, practices, and technologies that help individuals combine into publics and achieve representation. Re-interpreting democracy as culture reveals the ways the media, public opinion polling, and changing technologies shape democracy and citizenship.

Mildred A. Schwartz (University of Illinois at Chicago and New York University). 2014. *Trouble in the University: How the Education of Health Care Professionals Became Corrupted*. Brill.
http://www.brill.com/products/book/trouble-university

In *Trouble in the University*, Mildred A. Schwartz analyzes how changes in U.S. higher education affecting the health care professions and in the relations between universities and the state have created conditions that can give rise to corruption. Explanations for how the connections between changing conditions and organizational structures can lead to illegal and unethical behavior are uncovered through the study of the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey. Because that University's experiences were not unique, they can be used to demonstrate how higher education has become vulnerable to corruption. Identification of the structural and cultural sources of corruption also suggest possible ways it could be avoided.

Peter Stamatov (Yale University). 2014. *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism: Religion, Empires, and Advocacy.* Cambridge University Press.

Whether lauded and encouraged or criticized and maligned, action in solidarity with culturally and geographically distant strangers has been an integral part of European modernity. Traversing the complex political landscape of early modern European empires, this book locates the historical origins of modern global humanitarianism in the recurrent conflict over the ethical treatment of non-Europeans that pitted religious reformers against secular imperial networks. Since the sixteenth-century beginnings of European expansion overseas and in marked opposition to the exploitative logic of predatory imperialism, these reformers—members of Catholic orders and, later, Quakers and other reformist Protestants—developed an ideology and a political practice in defense of the rights and interests of distant 'others'. They also increasingly made the question of imperial

Abstracts

injustice relevant to growing 'domestic' publics in Europe. A distinctive institutional model of long-distance advocacy crystallized out of these persistent struggles, becoming the standard weapon of transnational activists.

Aili Mari Tripp (University of Wisconsin-Madison), Myra Marx Ferree (University of Wisconsin-Madison), and Christina Ewig (University of Wisconsin-Madison). 2013. *Gender, Violence, and Human Security: Critical Feminist Perspectives*. New York University Press.

The nature of human security is changing globally: interstate conflict and even intrastate conflict may be diminishing worldwide, yet threats to individuals and communities persist. Large-scale violence by formal and informal armed forces intersects with interpersonal and domestic forms of violence in mutually reinforcing ways. *Gender, Violence, and Human Security* takes a critical look at notions of human security and violence through a feminist lens, drawing on both theoretical perspectives and empirical examinations through case studies from a variety of contexts around the globe.

This fascinating volume goes beyond existing feminist international relations engagements with security studies to identify not only limitations of the human security approach, but also possible synergies between feminist and human security approaches. Noted scholars Aili Mari Tripp, Myra Marx Ferree, and Christina Ewig, along with their distinguished group of contributors, analyze specific case studies from around the globe, ranging from post-conflict security in Croatia to the relationship between state policy and gender-based crime in the United States. Shifting the focus of the term "human security" from its defensive emphasis to a more proactive notion of peace, the book ultimately calls for addressing the structural issues that give rise to violence. A hard-hitting critique of the ways in which global inequalities are often overlooked by human security theorists.

W. Paul Vogt (Illinois State University), Elaine R. Vogt, Dianne C. Gardner (Illinois State University), and Lynne M. Haeffele (Illinois State University). 2014. *Selecting the Right Analyses for Your Data: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods.* New York: Guilford Press.

This book reviews the selection criteria for coding and analyzing any set of data—whether qualitative, quantitative, mixed, or visual. The authors systematically explain when to use verbal, numerical, graphic, or combined codes, and when to use qualitative, quantitative, graphic, or mixed-methods modes of analysis. Chapters on each topic are organized so that researchers can read them sequentially or can easily "flip and find" answers to specific questions.

Lu Zhang (Temple University). 2014. *Inside China's Automobile Factories: The Politics of Labor and Worker Resistance.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Abstracts

http://www.amazon.com/Inside-Chinas-Automobile-Factories-Resistance/dp/1107030854

In *Inside China's Automobile Factories*, Lu Zhang explores the current conditions, subjectivity, and collective actions of autoworkers in the world's largest and fastest-growing automobile manufacturing nation. Based on years of fieldwork and extensive interviews conducted at seven large auto factories in various regions of China, Zhang provides an inside look at the daily factory life of autoworkers and a deeper understanding of the roots of rising labor unrest in the auto industry. Combining original empirical data and sophisticated analysis that moves from the shop floor to national political economy and global industry dynamics, the book develops a multilayered framework for understanding how labor relations in the auto industry and broader social economy can be expected to develop in China in the coming decades.

Article and Chapter Abstracts

Colin J Beck (Pomona College). 2014. "Reflections on the Revolutionary Wave in 2011." *Theory and Society* 43(2):197-223.

The "Arab Spring" was a surprising event not just because predicting revolutions is a difficult task, but because current theories of revolution are ill equipped to explain revolutionary waves where interactive causal mechanisms at different levels of analysis and interactions between the units of analysis predominate. To account for such dynamics, a multidimensional social science of revolution is required. Accordingly, a meta-framework for revolutionary theory that combines multiple levels of analysis, multiple units of analysis, and their interactions is offered. A structured example of theory building is then given by detailing how the development of world cultural models and practices challenge existing political structures, affect mobilization processes, and make diffusion more likely. A structured example of study design using qualitative comparative analysis of 16 Middle Eastern and North African countries provides support for the interaction of subnational conditions for mobilization, state-centered causes, and transnational factors, including a country's linkage to world society, as one explanation of the Revolutions of 2011.

Jeremiah Bohr (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign). Forthcoming. "Public Views on the Dangers and Importance of Climate Change: Predicting Climate Change Beliefs in the United States through Income Moderated by Party Identification." *Climatic Change*. DOI 10.1007/s10584-014-1198-9.

Previous research has identified the interaction between political orientation and education as an important predictor of climate change beliefs. Using data from the 2010 General Social Survey, this article looks at the moderating effect of party identification on income in predicting climate change beliefs in the U.S. Probing this interaction reveals that increased

Abstracts

income predicts a higher probability of dismissing climate dangers among Republican-leaning individuals when compared with Independents and Democrats. Alternatively, increased income predicts a higher probability of ranking climate change as the most important environmental problem facing the United States among Democratic-leaning individuals compared with Republicans. The results indicate that income only predicts climate change beliefs in the presence of certain political orientations, with poorer Republicans less likely to dismiss climate change dangers than their affluent counterparts.

Ruth Braunstein (University of Connecticut), Brad R. Fulton (Duke University), and Richard L. Wood (University of New Mexico). 2014. "The Role of Bridging Cultural Practices in Racially and Socioeconomically Diverse Civic Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 79(4): 705-725.
http://asr.sagepub.com/content/79/4/705.abstract

Organizations can benefit from being internally diverse, but they may also face significant challenges arising from such diversity. Potential benefits include increased organizational innovation, legitimacy, and strategic capacity; challenges include threats to organizational stability, efficacy, and survival. In this article, we analyze the dynamics of internal diversity within a field of politically oriented civic organizations. We find that "bridging cultural practices" serve as a key mechanism through which racially and socioeconomically diverse organizations navigate challenges generated by internal differences. Drawing on data from extended ethnographic fieldwork within one local faith-based community organizing coalition, we describe how particular prayer practices are used to bridge differences within group settings marked by diversity. Furthermore, using data from a national study of all faith-based community organizing coalitions in the United States, we find that a coalition's prayer practices are associated with its objective level of racial and socioeconomic diversity and its subjective perception of challenges arising from such diversity. Our multi-method analysis supports the argument that diverse coalitions use bridging prayer practices to navigate organizational challenges arising from racial and socioeconomic diversity, and we argue that bridging cultural practices may play a similar role within other kinds of diverse organizations.

Amy M. Denissen (California State University, Northridge) and Abigail C. Saguy (University of California, Los Angeles). 2014. "Gendered Homophobia and the Contradictions of Workplace Discrimination for Women in the Building Trades." *Gender & Society* 28:3:381-403.
http://gas.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/12/04/0891243213510781.abstract

Drawing on 63 interviews with a diverse sample of tradeswomen, this article examines how the cultural meanings of sexual orientation—as well as gender presentation, race, and body size—shapes the constraints that women face

Abstracts

in the construction industry and the specific resistance strategies they develop. We argue that women's presence in these male-dominated jobs threatens (1) notions of the work as inherently masculine and (2) a gender order that presumes the sexual subordination of women. Tradesmen neutralize the first threat by labeling tradeswomen as lesbians—and therefore not "real" women—and respond to the second by sexualizing straight and lesbian tradeswomen alike. In turn, tradeswomen develop individual resistance strategies, which are shaped by the intersections of their sexual identity, gender presentation, race, and body size. Finally, we show how tradesmen deploy homophobia to stymie collective action and solidarity by tradeswomen, gay or straight.

Malcolm Fairbrother (University of Bristol). 2014. "Economists, Capitalists, and the Making of Globalization: North American Free Trade in Comparative-Historical Perspective." *American Journal of Sociology* 119:5:1324-79.

Why did globalization happen? Current explanations point to a variety of conditions under which states have made the free market policy changes driving international economic integration since the 1980s. Such accounts disagree, however, about the key actors involved. This article provides a reconciliation, showing how two different combinations of actors, and two different political economic pathways, have led to globalization in recent decades. In developed countries, mobilization by business has been central; elsewhere, technocrats both constrained and empowered by international finance have pursued globalization more independently of business. In both contexts, economists' technical authority has helped legitimate liberalization, despite the limited diffusion of their ideas. The article validates and elaborates this model using a comparative-historical study of how the United States, Canada, and Mexico proposed, negotiated, and ratified agreements for free trade in North America.

Dorit Geva (Central European University). 2014. "Of Bellicists and Feminists: French Conscription, Total War, and the Gender Contradictions of the State." *Politics & Society* 42: (June):135-165.

How did the state protect and then subvert men's household authority when the state was exclusively staffed by men? I answer the above question by critically fusing neo-Weberian scholarship on modern state development with feminist political sociology on gender and the state, and by examining establishment of the French conscription system. When first creating a mass army in the nineteenth century, the French state offered family-based exemptions, balancing between expanding state power and maintenance of men's household authority. However, intensification of twentieth-century total war led to a decrease in family-based exemptions, and the state's diminished support of men's household authority. I thereby identify how the fiscal-military state first supported then diminished men's household authority through one of the state's most masculine arms.

Abstracts

Peter Hart-Brinson (University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire). 2014. “Discourse of Generations: The Influence of Cohort, Period, and Ideology in Americans’ Talk about Same-Sex Marriage.” *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*. 2:2:221-252.

How does cohort affect discourse about same-sex marriage? Existing research shows that both cohort replacement and intra-cohort attitude change are causing public opinion to liberalize, but it has not explained how and why members of different cohorts develop distinct attitudes or how these phenomena vary within cohorts. This paper shows how the cultural analysis of social generational change complements demographic studies of cohort replacement to create a more comprehensive solution to Mannheim’s “problem of generations.” Qualitative analysis of interviews with two cohorts of Midwestern Americans shows, first, how discourses emerge based on the interaction of cohort and ideology in an informant’s cultural repertoire. Further analysis shows that cohort shapes attitudes about homosexuality because of the mainstream cultural construction of it that informants encountered when they came of age. Finally, in an analysis of exceptional cases, I show that countercultural immersion can insulate cohort subgroups from cultural change and that period effects are challenging older liberals to change their preexisting worldviews. I argue that the analysis of social generational processes, which distinguish the “generation as an actuality” from the cohort, is an essential complement to the demographic perspective in generational theory.

Karen Hébert (Yale University) and Diana Mincyte (New York University). 2014. "Self-Reliance Beyond Neoliberalism: Rethinking Autonomy at the Edges of Empire." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 32:2: 206-22.

Across scholarly and popular accounts, self-reliance is often interpreted as either the embodiment of individual entrepreneurialism, as celebrated by neoliberal designs, or the basis for communitarian localism, increasingly imagined as central to environmental and social sustainability. In both cases, self-reliance is framed as an antidote to the failures of larger state institutions or market economies. This paper offers a different framework for understanding self-reliance by linking insights drawn from agrarian studies to current debates on alternative economies. Through an examination of the social worlds of semisubsistence producers in peripheral zones in the Global North, we show how everyday forms of self-reliance are mutually constituted with states and markets, particularly through interactions with labor institutions and hybrid property regimes linking individual and collective interests. We draw on empirical data from two ethnographic case studies connected by a shared colonial history and continuing local mythologies of frontier self-sufficiency: salmon fisheries in rural Alaska in the US, and agrofood economies in socialist and postsocialist Lithuania. In each site we find that although local expressions of self-reliance diverge in critical respects from neoliberal visions, these forms of everyday autonomy are nevertheless enlisted to promote market

Abstracts

liberalization, ultimately threatening the very conditions that have long sustained semisubsistence producers' self-reliance in the first place.

Gabriel Hetland (University of California, Berkeley). In Press. "The Crooked Line: From Populist Mobilization to Participatory Democracy in Chávez-Era Venezuela." *Qualitative Sociology*.

This article argues that populist mobilization and participatory democracy are less incompatible than many scholars think. Ethnographic data from Chávez-era Venezuela shows that under certain conditions populist mobilization can set in motion a process that indirectly facilitates participatory democracy. By showing that this can occur in municipalities governed by the Left or Right, this article also complicates the widely accepted view that successful participatory democracy requires a left-of-center party.

Gabriel Hetland (University of California, Berkeley). Forthcoming. "From System Collapse to Chavista Hegemony: The Evolution of the Party Question in Chávez's Venezuela." *Latin American Perspectives.*

This article traces the collapse of Venezuela's party system in the 1980s and 1990s, Chávez's rise as an "anti-party" leader and the re-consolidation of a new party system in the mid-to-late 2000s. I argue that Chavismo became hegemonic in a Gramscian sense from roughly 2005. A surprising consequence of this is that from 2006 until 2012 the opposition began to accept many of the basic tenets of Chavismo, while criticizing the government for poor implementation.

Gabriel Hetland (University of California, Berkeley). In Press. "Emergent Socialist Hegemony in Bolivarian Venezuela: The Role of the Party," in Jeffrey Webber and Susan Spronk (eds) *From Crisis to Crises: Marxist Perspectives on Latin America in the Global Economy*. Brill Academic Press.

Examines how to move from participatory democratic control over political decision-making to economic decision-making. Using a case study from Venezuela, the article explores the role of a new type of political party in the construction of emergent socialist hegemony, arguing that this party form must be internally democratic, horizontally connected to popular class social movements, committed to the prefigurative construction of socialism, and linked to but autonomous from the national state.

Gabriel Hetland (University of California, Berkeley) and Jeff Goodwin (New York University). 2013. "The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies," in Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky and Alf Nilsen (eds) *Marxism and Social Movements.* Brill Academic Press.

This chapter documents the disappearance of

Abstracts

capitalism as an analytical category from social movement studies in the last twenty-five years, ironically at the moment when capitalism's global predominance has made it more relevant than ever. Using a 'hard' case study of the LGBT movement, the chapter shows that capitalism is relevant to social movements in several clearly-identifiable ways.

Kristen Hopewell (University of British Columbia). 2014. "Different Paths to Power: The Rise of Brazil, India and China at the WTO." *Review of International Political Economy.* Available at: http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/9CbTjwaVyciMAWfUBNNR/full

New powers, such as China, India and Brazil, are challenging the traditional dominance of the US in the governance of the global economy. It is generally taken for granted that the rise of new powers is simply a reflection of their growing economic might. In this article, however, I challenge this assumption by drawing on the case of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to show that the forces driving the rise of new powers are more heterogeneous and complex than suggested by a simple economic determinism. I argue that these countries have in fact taken different paths to power: while China's rise has been more closely tied to its growing economic might, the rise of Brazil and India has been driven primarily by their mobilization and leadership of developing country coalitions, which enabled them to exercise influence above their economic weight. One important result is that Brazil and India have assumed a more aggressive and activist position in WTO negotiations than China and had a greater role in shaping the agenda of the Doha Round. Thus, although the new powers are frequently grouped together (as the "BRICs", for example), this masks considerable variation in their sources of power and behavior in global economic governance.

Evelyne Huber (University of North Carolina) and John D. Stephens (University of North Carolina). 2014. "Income Inequality and Redistribution in Post-Industrial Democracies: Demographic, Economic, and Political Determinants." *Socio-Economic Review* 12:2:245-67.

This article analyzes the determinants of market income distribution and governmental redistribution. The dependent variables are LIS data on market income inequality (measured by the Gini index) for households with a head aged 25 to 59 and the percent reduction in the Gini index by taxes and transfers. We test the generalizability of the Goldin/Katz hypothesis that inequality has increased in the United States because the country failed to invest sufficiently in education. The main determinants of market income inequality are (in order of size of the effect) family structure (single mother households), union density, deindustrialization, unemployment, employment levels, and education spending. The main determinants of redistribution are (in order of magnitude) left government, family structure, welfare state generosity,

Abstracts

unemployment, and employment levels. Redistribution rises mainly because needs rise (that is, unemployment and single mother households increase), not because social policy becomes more redistributive.

Rory McVeigh (University of Notre Dame), Kraig Beyerlein (University of Notre Dame), Burrel Vann Jr. (University of California, Irvine), and Priyamvada Trivedi (University of Michigan). 2014. "Educational Segregation, Tea Party Organizations, and Battles over Distributive Justice." *American Sociological Review* 79(4):630-652.

Competing visions of who is deserving of rewards and privileges, and different understandings of the fairness of reward allocation processes, are at the heart of political conflict. Indeed, social movement scholars generally agree that a key component of most, if not all, social movements is a shared belief that existing conditions are unfair and subject to change (Gamson 1992; McAdam 1982; Snow et al. 1986; Turner and Killian 1987). In this article we consider the role that residential segregation by education level plays in shaping perceptions of distributive justice and, in turn, providing a context conducive to conservative political mobilization. We apply these ideas in an analysis of Tea Party activism and show that educational segregation is a strong predictor of the number of Tea Party organizations in U.S. counties. In a complementary analysis, we find that individuals with a bachelor's degree are more likely than people who do not have any college education to support the Tea Party; this relationship is strongest in counties with higher levels of educational segregation.

Rory McVeigh (University of Notre Dame), David Cunningham (Brandeis University), and Justin Farrell (Yale University). 2014 (December). "Political Polarization as a Social Movement Outcome: 1960s Klan Activism and its Enduring Impact on Political Realignment in Southern Counties, 1960-2000." *American Sociological Review*.

Jonathan Jan Benjamin Mijs (Harvard University). 2014. "Detroit's Wealth of Ruins." *Contexts* 13(2): 62-69.

Detroit's fall has been long in the making. The largest city ever to declare bankruptcy, it has suffered out-migration since the 1950s, as people followed the jobs that left the city. Auto manufacturing declined and eventually collapsed, taking Motor City down with it. In its wake, Detroit has come to symbolize the changing economy of America, and many see it as a victim of structural forces. For some people, Detroit's demise represents the consequences of a new age of globalization and the end of an era of American hegemony. Detroit is all of that—victim, symbol, sign of the times—but it is something else, too. In this photographic essay, I explore the theme of agency. I want to show how the structural shifts that led to the city's decline also afford human creativity, play, and entrepreneurship. The photographs presented here highlight the ways Detroit blurs the boundaries between art and

Abstracts

ruins, occupied and vacant spaces. Detroit's citizens have made the city an urban museum.

David G Ortiz (Tulane University). 2013. "Rocks, Bottles and Weak Autocracies: The Role of Political Regime Settings on Contention-Repression Interactions." *Mobilization* 18(3):289-312.

Scholars have recently begun to explore more nuanced ways of looking at the links between protest and repression, including consideration of the regime and other structural impacts on this dynamic relationship. This work contributes to this growing literature by employing Cox proportional hazards models to analyze daily data from 98 countries to study the exchanges between violent and nonviolent contention and repression under different regime settings. Results highlight the importance of considering the political setting when examining the dynamic contention-repression interaction, the need to account for both contentious actions' effects on state repression and state repression's effects on contention, and the fact that regime type categories should be further disaggregated in order to fully capture the particularities of this complex relationship.

David G Ortiz (Tulane University) and Sergio Béjar (University of Texas–Pan American). 2013. "Participation in IMF-sponsored Economic Programs and Collective Action in Latin America, 1980-2007." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30(5):492-515.

This paper investigates the relationship between International Monetary Fund (IMF)-sponsored economic programs and contentious collective action in Latin America from 1980 to 2007, hypothesizing a positive relationship between participation in IMF programs and the likelihood of social protest. Specifically, we suggest that people in recipient countries protest the unpopular IMF mandates not only because of the negative effects that orthodox economic policies have on their livelihood, but mainly because they perceive a loss of legitimacy and question the sovereignty of their domestic governments. That is, deciding to participate in an IMF program can make governments more prone to being perceived as caving in to the pressures of international agents, increasing the likelihood of contentious collective action. Results from two-stage negative binomial selection models provide strong statistical support for our main hypothesis, remaining robust to different specifications of the second-stage equation and other procedures that correct for potential statistical problems.

David G Ortiz (Tulane University) and Stephen F Ostertag (Tulane University). 2014. "Katrina Bloggers and the Development of Collective Civic Action: The Web as a Virtual Mobilizing Structure" *Sociological Perspectives* 57(1):52-78.

Scholarship on collective civic action helps link collective-level contentious actions and individual-level civic engagement. Using longitudinal data from a group of New Orleans residents who started blogging in the wake of

Abstracts

hurricane Katrina, we highlight the digitally mediated social processes linking individual civic engagement with collective civic actions. Through a developmental approach, we analyze the progression from individual blogging to the creation of social networks, the formation of a community of "Katrina bloggers," and their engagement on a range of offline collective civic actions. We argue that the Web serves as a "virtual" mobilizing structure, enabling individuals with shared concerns to organize across time and space, without the need of co-presence or preexisting formal ties, networks, or organizations. Our analysis provides insights into the development of virtual communities and social movements formed around collective identities and processes of collective efficacy that highlight the dynamics of contention in civil society.

Stephen F Ostertag (Tulane University) and David G Ortiz (Tulane University). 2013. "The Battle over Meaning: Digitally Mediated Processes of Cultural Trauma and Repair in the Wake of Hurricane Katrina." *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 1(2):186-220.

In this article, we highlight the social processes involved in the construction of cultural trauma and repair, and how these processes are digitally mediated. In national news coverage following hurricane Katrina, a number of displaced residents saw threats to a particular cultural identity they shared with the city. This motivated them to blog. Through their blogging, they took part in constructing cultural trauma and repair. Drawing largely on interview data and qualitative content analyses of blog posts of New Orleans resident bloggers, we show how geographically scattered individuals used blogs to foment cultural trauma by directing each other's attention to these threats. We then demonstrate how they engaged in cultural repair by producing culturally affirming counter-narratives and physical collective actions. With this research, we build on existing literature in cultural trauma theory in three ways. We identify the nuanced and long-term processes that underlie the construction of both cultural trauma and repair. We highlight how digital media allow users to transcend the boundaries between carrier agents and audiences. We illustrate the duality of digital media in the creation of cultural trauma and repair, where the media serves as both the field upon which collective identity is contested, and a tool wielded in these battles.

Stephen F Ostertag (Tulane University) and David G Ortiz (Tulane University). Forthcoming. "'Katrina Bloggers Activate!' The Long-Term Effects of Digital Media on Civic Participation." *Sociological Inquiry*.

There is a lively debate on the relationship between digital media and civic participation. Some scholars argue that digital media adversely affect civic participation, others that the effect of digital media on civic participation is negligible, and still others claim that digital media strengthens civic participation. Yet, most of this research is based on cross-sectional methodologies, treats digital media as a uniform entity, and overlooks new civic

Abstracts

formations that better resonate with current social and technological environments. We address these criticisms with a retrospective case study of blogging in the wake of hurricane Katrina. Through in-depth interviews, supplemental survey data, and field notes, we show how a number of New Orleans residents used blogs to organize and take part in a variety of civic actions in the months and years after hurricane Katrina. Thus, we find support for positive effects of blogging on online and offline civic participation. We discuss the implications of these findings for current debates on the relationship between digital media and civic participation.

Z Fareen Parvez (University of Massachusetts). 2014. "Celebrating the Prophet: Religious Nationalism and the Politics of Milad-un-Nabi Festivals in India." Nations and Nationalism 20:2:218-38.

Based on ethnographic research in India in a year of elections and nationalist riots, the article paper explores the political production of Muslim ethno-nationalism and the intra-community debates over the legitimacy and piety of celebrating the Prophet's birth date. It argues that the festival is a (re)invented tradition that is part of the struggle for material, political and symbolic goods of the nation-state. However, as the festivals highlight community divisions and religious ambiguities, they ultimately reveal the fragility of ethnic groups.

Abigail C Saguy (University of California, Los Angeles), David Frederick (Chapman University), and Kjerstin Gruys (University of California, Los Angeles). 2014. “Reporting Risk, Producing Prejudice: How News Reporting on Obesity Shapes Attitudes about Health Risk, Policy, and Prejudice.” *Social Science and Medicine*. 111:June:125-33. http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/24785268

News reporting on research studies may influence attitudes about health risk, support for public health policies, or attitudes towards people labeled as unhealthy or at risk for disease. Across five experiments (N = 2123) we examined how different news framings of obesity research influence these attitudes. We exposed participants to either a control condition, a news report on a study portraying obesity as a public health crisis, a news report on a study suggesting that obesity may not be as much of a problem as previously thought, or an article discussing weight-based discrimination. Compared to controls, exposure to the public health crisis article did not increase perception of obesity-related health risks but did significantly increase the expression of antifat prejudice in four out of seven comparisons. Across studies, compared to controls, participants who read an article about weight-based discrimination were less likely to agree that overweight constitutes a public health crisis or to support various obesity policies. Effects of exposure to an article questioning the health risks associated with overweight and obesity were mixed. These findings suggest that news reports on the

Abstracts

"obesity epidemic" - and, by extension, on public health crises commonly blamed on personal behavior - may unintentionally activate prejudice.

Eric W Schoon (University of Arizona). Forthcoming. "The Asymmetry of Legitimacy: Analyzing the Legitimacy of Violence in 30 Cases of Insurgent Revolution." *Social Forces*.

This article demonstrates that there is a causal asymmetry between legitimate and illegitimate violence in civil conflict, and advocates turning analytic attention to illegitimacy. Fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis is used to assess patterning in the conditions for civilians' perceptions that state-sanctioned violence was legitimate versus illegitimate in 30 cases of insurgent revolution that occurred between 1978-2008. Findings show no substantive patterns in the conditions for legitimacy, but reveal three causal pathways to illegitimacy that transcend regional and national boundaries. Comparative historical analysis of these pathways details general causal mechanisms that result in perceptions that state-sanctioned violence is illegitimate. This research shows that while the conditions for legitimacy vary by case, the conditions for illegitimacy transcend regional contexts, representing a more global phenomenon.

Michael Stambolis-Ruhstorfer and Abigail C Saguy (University of California, Los Angeles). 2014. "How to Describe it? Why the Term 'Coming Out' Means Different Things in the U.S. and France." *Sociological Forum*. 29:4

Drawing on 30 in-depth interviews with U.S. and French lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals, we find important similarities in how U.S. and French respondents strategically managed the visibility of their sexual identities but differences in the vocabulary used to discuss those experiences. Specifically, all of the Americans used the expression coming out spontaneously while only five French respondents did so. Instead, French respondents typically rejected coming out in favor of other words or expressions. Rather than simple effects of speaking different languages, these differences stemmed from distinct connotations given to the same – widely diffused – expressions within each local context. Unlike their American peers, who saw the expression's origin in their own history and used in everyday lives, most French respondents resisted what they perceived to be an American cultural object imported by the French media. We also find evidence that the meaning of coming out is changing in both contexts such that, in the future, the French and Americans may perceive and use it more similarly. This research contributes to our understanding of the intersection between language, meaning, and political context, within a cross-national setting.

Michael Vasseur (Indiana University). 2014. "Convergence and Divergence in Renewable Energy Policy among U.S States from 1998-2011." *Social Forces* 92(4) p.1637-1657

Actors at the state level in the U.S. are attentive to the actions of others in their broader political

Abstracts

context when enacting policies. For all that is known about the diffusion of policies in a political context, less is understood about why some states ultimately end up with policies that are similar in structure, but vastly different in content. Do the forces that drive states to policy action also shape the content of the enacted policies? Examining the case of renewable energy policy among U.S. states over a fourteen year period, this paper addresses this question using event history analysis and an original longitudinal dataset of state political and economic characteristics. State's energy economy, the presence of Democratic politicians, and environmental movement organizations are found to be important for determining the kind of policy a state ultimately enacts, while regional policy adoption explains why some states choose to enact largely symbolic renewable energy policies. Policy adoption should be conceptualized as a multifaceted process, with different factors acting as the impetus for action and others shaping the content of the policy. Understanding the nuanced roles of state characteristics and policy diffusion in the policy adoption process requires avoiding binary outcomes of passage or inaction in favor of simultaneously examining both policy action and policy content.

Dan Lainer-Vos (University of Southern California). 2014. "Brothers' Keepers: The United Jewish Appeal and the Production of Jewish American National Attachments in the United States." *Socio-Economic Review* 1-26.

This article examines gift giving as a nation-building mechanism. Instead of treating giving to the nation as a sign of existing sentiments, it treats national giving as an organizational accomplishment and studies how this practice informed Jewish American sense of belonging. Specifically, the article examines the establishment of the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) during the 1940s. The UJA provided donors with an institutional setting within which the nation became relevant. Through participation in UJA events, the Jewish nation turned into a more practicable and meaningful category for donors. Interestingly, rather than simply emphasizing the unity of the nation, the UJA engaged in simultaneous marking and blurring of the boundaries between different groups of Jews. This observation suggests a model of nation building that is based not simply on imagined homogeneity but on a simultaneous drawing and erasing of internal differences that generate a sense of unequal commonality.

Dan Lainer-Vos. 2014. "Israel in the Poconos: Simulating the Nation in a Jewish-American Summer Camp." *Theory and Society* 43(1): 91-116.

This article develops a theory of simulation as a nation building mechanism by exploring the production of national belonging in Massad, a Jewish-American summer camp that operated in the Pocono Mountains, Pennsylvania, between 1941 and 1981. Trying to inspire campers to Zionism, the camp organizers shaped Massad as a "mini Israel." This simulation engendered national attachments by

Abstracts

lending credence to the belief that others, in Israel, experience more authentic national belonging. Rather than tempting campers to imagine the nation as a "horizontal camaraderie" (Anderson 1991), national simulations allow members to account for their distinct and often ambivalent position from within the nation. From this perspective, nation building is not simply a matter of relativizing internal differences and dramatizing differences between the groups that make up the nation and "outsiders." Instead, nation building also is centrally a matter of creating institutional routines and practices that allow members to account for their differential position from within the nation.

M. A. Yerkes (Utrecht University). "Collective Protection for New Social Risks: Childcare and the Dutch Welfare State." *Journal of Social Policy*, FirstView Article pp 1-18. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0047279414000385

Issues such as caring and family policy have received increased attention within the sociological literature on the welfare state during the past decades. At the same time, there has been much debate about the protection of social risks. In particular, scholars have questioned the ability of welfare states to respond to so-called new social risks, such as reconciling work and care. The literature on new social risks assumes welfare states will have difficulty addressing these risks due to pressures for reform and assumed individual responsibility for new social risks. In contrast, the Dutch welfare state has been successful in re-orienting existing institutions to develop a semi-collectivised yet market-driven form of childcare policy. Using qualitative interview data and document analysis, this article analyses the development of Dutch childcare policy from 1995 to 2009. The development of childcare policy is attributed to three social mechanisms: a common perception among actors viewing childcare as a solution to improve women's employment; a party politics mechanism, which creates a distinct Dutch approach to childcare; and a corporatist mechanism, referring to the interaction between the state and industrial relations, which failed in the area of childcare policy. The development of childcare policy has not been wholly unproblematic, however, and therefore a critical discussion of these developments is offered. Also, an update of policy developments through to 2013 is provided.

Call for Submissions: States, Power, and Societies

We invite your contributions for the next issue.

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

Please send your materials to Benjamin Lind at:
blind@hse.ru

Political Sociology Announcements

Award Announcements

Kathleen C. Schwartzman is the recipient of the William M. LeoGrande Prize for the best book on U.S.-Latin American relations published in 2012-2013. This award for *The Chicken Trail: Following Workers, Migrants, and Corporations across the Americas* (2013 Cornell University Press) was given by American University School of Public Affairs and Center for Latin American and Latino Studies.

Robert D. Woodberry won the 2013 Award for Excellent Research from the National University of Singapore, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. It recognizes the NUS faculty member who had the most significant research accomplishment in the previous year.

Robert D. Woodberry, National University of Singapore, won both the 2014 Best Article Award, Global and Transnational Sociology, American Sociological Association and the 2014 Distinguished Article Award, Association for the Sociology of Religion for his article "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." (2012. *American Political Science Review* 106[2]:244-274). To date the article has won eight awards including two from the American Sociological Association and four from the American Political Science Association.

Job Posting

The Center for European Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill invites applications for the position of Center Executive Director, employment beginning on October 15, 2014. The Center is composed of a Title VI National Resource Center, a European Union Center for Excellence, and the Trans-Atlantic Masters program. The Executive Director is the chief administrative officer for these programs and is responsible for writing Center grants and administering Center programs. Teaching in the Trans-Atlantic Master is an optional duty. The Center for European Studies is one of four Centers in the United States with both Title VI and EUCE grants and thus ranks in the top tier of European Studies programs in the US.

Further information about the Center can be obtained at http://europe.unc.edu/ or http://unc.peopleadmin.com/postings/47762. A Master's degree, preferably in modern European Studies, is required. PhD or ABD preferred. Fluency in a European language in addition to English strongly preferred. Experience in higher educational administration preferred. Please submit a letter of application, three letters of recommendation, and a curriculum vitae. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is an equal opportunity employer that welcomes all to apply, including protected veterans and individuals with disabilities. Review of applications will begin September 1, 2014 and will continue until the position is filled. Application materials should be submitted to http://unc.peopleadmin.com/postings/47762.

Political Sociology Announcements

Call for Papers

Call for Papers for the Conference of the Society for Romanian Studies (SRS) Bucharest, 17- 19 June 2015

The SRS is an international inter-disciplinary academic organization that promotes professional study, criticism, and research on all aspects of Romanian culture and civilization, particularly concerning the countries of Romania and Moldova.
For information about SRS visit www.society4romanianstudies.org.
The 2015 SRS conference will be hosted by the Faculty of Political Science, the University of Bucharest.
We thank them for their support.

Linking Past, Present and Future: The 25th Anniversary of Regime Change in Romania and Moldova (1989/1991)

Anniversaries represent opportunities to reflect on past events, re-assess their impact on the present, and draw lessons for the future. Together with other 20th century historical events—including World War I, World War II, and the communist take-over—the overthrow of the communist regime represented a watershed event for Romania and Moldova, the most recent *great transformation* it is seen as having led to the end of the communist dictatorship, democratization of the political system, the introduction of market economy, cultural liberalization, the opening of borders, and a re-alignment with the West. At the same time, given Romania's and Moldova's persistent problems with political instability, pervasive corruption, slow economic growth, populism, and nationalism, the significance of the 1989/1991 regime change and its outcomes remains a source of contestation. The aim of this conference is to take a fresh look at the transformative events of a quarter century ago. We wish to examine their significance for the two countries' post-communist trajectories, past, present, and future both domestically and in the wider European and Eurasian contexts with the help of broad historical, political, literary, and cultural disciplinary and interdisciplinary inquiries.

Keynote Speakers: Dennis Deletant (Georgetown University) and Mihaela Miroiu (SNSPA).

We welcome proposals for papers, panels and roundtables from junior and senior scholars working in a variety of disciplines: history, sociology, anthropology and ethnography, political science, philosophy, law and justice studies, literature and linguistics, economics, business, international affairs, religious, gender, film and media studies, art history, music, and education, among others. Possible topics might include, but are not limited to:

Political Sociology Announcements

• Precursors of 1989 (anti-Stalinist revolts and resistance, resistance through culture, the1989 (anti-Stalinist revolts and resistance, resistance through culture, the role of dissidents, everyday forms of resistance, Braşov 1987, etc.)
• The external context (Gorbachev's Soviet Union, the events in East and Central Europe)
• Western propaganda and the Romanian diasporas
• 1989 in popular and official memory, historiography, film, literature and the arts
• Legacies of World War I and World War II
• Sources and archives
• Communism, post-communism, and the arts
• Writers and artists in post-communism
• The Romanian new wave and the legacy of communism
• European Union accession
• Moldova between West and East
• Legal and constitutional reforms
• Party and electoral politics, voting behavior
• Free markets, neoliberalism and state paternalism
• Romania's place in Europe and in the region
• Romania's relationship with the Republic of Moldova
• Moldova's place in Europe and the region
• The status of ethnic, religious and sexual minorities in Romania and Moldova
• The reconfiguration of social stratification
• Post-communist media and journalism
• The role of the Orthodox Church, and of other religious groups
• Dynamics of migration from and into Romania and Moldova
• Policy analysis and public administration
• Urban policies and architecture in communism and post-communism

Individual paper proposals should include the title of the presentation, a brief abstract of up to 500 words, a short c.v., and contact information of the presenter. They should be sent in a single attached Word document by August 1, 2014 to srs2015conference@gmail.com.

Proposals for 2-hour panels including 3-4 papers, one chair, and 1-2 discussants should provide a title and description of the panel topic, abstracts of all papers, short vitae, and contact information for all participants. Panel participants should be drawn from at least two different universities.

Roundtable proposals of 3-5 participants should include title and description of the topic, short vitae and contact information for all participants. In addition, the conference organizers will accept proposals for book panels. Submissions and presentations in French will be accepted, as long as they are for full panels and roundtables including members from more than one university. Participants will be notified of the acceptance of their proposal by October 15, 2014.

In order to assure that the conference is accessible to scholars from across the Atlantic region and to those from Romania and the Republic of Moldova, the conference fees will be quite modest.

For scholars from North America, the fee will be 40 USD; for those from the Eurozone and Western Europe, 40 Euros, and from Romania, Moldova and parts east, 40 Romanian Lei. Graduate students will be exempt from this fee. SRS membership will also be required and additional for those paying in USD and Euros, but included for those paying in Lei.

Political Sociology Announcements

Call for Papers

The American Election 2014: Contexts and Consequences

On March 13-14th, 2015, Saint Anselm College and the New Hampshire Institute of Politics will host the second biannual day-long academic symposium, The American Election 2014: Contexts and Consequences. This conference will explore the dynamics of the 2014 elections, including trends at the national and state levels, their causes and consequences across the political spectrum, and the implications for the future of American politics, including looking forward to the 2016 elections.

Papers are welcome exploring a wide range of topics connected to the 2014 elections. We anticipate receiving proposals in the areas of campaign and election strategies, foreign and domestic policy and the election, President Obama at the midterms, the role of faith, race, and gender in electoral politics, political party dynamics, and elections at the state level.
Selected papers presented at the conference will serve as drafts of chapters in an edited volume. The draft chapters will be submitted to Palgrave MacMillan as a follow-up to the American Election 2012 volume, which was printed this past May.

The symposium format is designed to facilitate feedback and discussion; therefore, participants are expected to attend the full day of sessions.

Proposals of not more than 250 words must be submitted by December 15th, 2014, to ensure full consideration. Please submit proposals to Tauna Sisco at tsisco@anselm.edu. Further details about the conference, including registration fees, accommodations, and a tentative schedule of events, can also be found on the conference website.

About Saint Anselm College and the New Hampshire Institute of Politics:

Saint Anselm College and its New Hampshire Institute of Politics has become a locus of presidential campaigning, serving as ground zero for New Hampshire's first-in-the nation primary, and hosting more election events than any other venue in America. http://www.anselm.edu/election-conference.

[The American Election 2012 - Edited By R. Ward Holder and Peter B. Josephson]

Interview with Book Award Recipient

Cybelle Fox

Interviewed by Rachael R. Chatterson
University of California-Irvine

Cybelle Fox was the co-recipient of the Political Sociology Section's Book Award in 2013 for her book *Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (2012, Princeton University Press). Fox' book, based on her dissertation in Harvard's Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy, is one title in a series of books edited by Ira Katznelson, Martin Shefter, and Theda Skocpol entitled *Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives*. Fox is currently Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley.

RRC: *Congratulations on your book award from the Political Sociology Section!* (CF: Thank you so much.) *In your book, you argue that the American welfare policies and poverty relief practices in force between the Progressive Era and the New Deal give us leverage on today's welfare policies, especially in regards to relief practices towards Mexican immigrants and African-Americans today. What should readers take away from this in regards to politics, race relations, and immigration in America today?*

CF: Part of what I wanted to do is put the contemporary politics of restriction in its proper historical perspective. Over the last decade we have seen this flurry of legislative activity designed to exclude non-citizens from access to various social welfare programs. We had California's Proposition 187 in 1994 that kind of kicked everything off which barred undocumented immigrants from non-emergency social services and it tried to link immigration officers with social welfare providers. And then in 1996, of course, as part of its overhaul of welfare, the federal government placed the five-year bar on most recent new legal immigrants' access to social welfare programs, among other restrictive measures.

Opponents of these legislative efforts argue that these federal restrictions in 1996 are "unprecedented," that they represent a major

departure from previous federal policy, that it's a "new nativism," distinct from the old because of its emphasis on immigrants' consumption of public benefits and also in its kind of blatant targeting of Mexicans in particular. Proponents, on the other hand, have a very different reading of these events. They argue that this contemporary restriction is nothing more than about simple cost considerations or maybe a continuation of America's historic unwillingness to extend social welfare benefits to non-citizens.

My research was really meant to intervene in those debates. I chose that it's clear that these sorts of efforts are not unprecedented. While the federal government did for the first time bar legal non-citizens from social welfare programs in 1996, the federal government did impose citizenship requirements on work relief programs, notably the WPA during the Great Depression, and it did allow states to have their own citizenship requirements on the kind of jointly-funded means-tested programs, like Aid to Dependent Children, Old Age Assistance, and Aid to the Blind. But, while those citizenship restrictions aren't exactly unprecedented, I also found that they were actually quite rare. In fact, except for a very brief period, most non-citizens had access to Progressive Era and New Deal welfare programs. There were no federal citizenship or legal status restrictions in Social Security and Unemployment insurance, and there were actually virtually no citizenship or legal status restrictions in federal or state law for welfare, for food stamps, and for Medicaid. And this was true from 1935 all the way up until the 1970s.

This relative dearth of citizenship and legal status requirements though, I argue, primarily benefitted European immigrants. The research shows that local welfare officials have this long history of singling out Mexicans for very different treatment. I want us to kind of think about both our welfare and immigration policies today in light of this historical perspective. From my perspective, ever since the 1920s, public officials have been trying to reconcile their desire for a large, cheap labor force to meet the demands of employers without giving that labor force any recognized rights to social assistance. We want a large labor pool at the ready, but we want to minimize any social or economic costs. This is the logic behind the Bracero Program, behind various contract worker proposals, and it's even the logic behind a large unauthorized population in the country right now, ten to twelve million strong, that's performing so much labor in the United States but without any recognized rights to social assistance or social insurance programs.

"From my perspective, ever since the 1920s, public officials have been trying to reconcile their desire for a large, cheap labor force to meet the demands of employers without giving that labor force any recognized rights to social assistance. We want a large labor pool at the ready, but we want to minimize any social or economic costs. This is the logic behind the Bracero Program, behind various contract worker proposals, and it's even the logic behind a large unauthorized population in the country right now, ten to twelve million strong, that's performing so much labor in the United States but without any recognized rights to social assistance or social insurance programs."

RRC: *Certainly, and it seems that in this way [the U.S.] is a very unique kind of a welfare*

state, which brings me to my second question. The "Three Worlds" concept is a reference to Gøsta Esping-Andersen's Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, a classic book offering a political sociology breakdown of different types of welfare states—i.e. the liberal, the conservative, and the social-democratic. How does your concept of "Three Worlds of Relief" speak to Esping-Andersen's concept? Based on what you say above, it sounds like the United States is a unique kind of welfare state, and maybe you could talk about that too.

CF: The book compares the incorporation of Mexicans, Blacks, and European immigrants into our social welfare system and it examines the influence of race and immigration on the scope, form, and function of social welfare provision in the North, the South, and the Southwest. In the book I argue that Blacks, Mexicans, and European immigrants are treated very differently by both the Progressive Era relief system and the New Deal welfare state. European immigrants are largely included within the contours of social citizenship, Blacks are largely excluded, and Mexicans kind of straddle the boundaries of social citizenship precariously until relief officials force them out, both from the boundaries of social citizenship but also the nation. In other words, we see a general pattern of inclusion for European immigrants, whether they're citizens or not, we see exclusion for Black Americans, and we see expulsion for Mexican immigrants as well as Mexican Americans.

"In the book I argue that Blacks, Mexicans, and European immigrants are treated very differently by both the Progressive Era relief system and the New Deal welfare state. European immigrants are largely included within the contours of social citizenship, Blacks are largely excluded, and Mexicans kind of straddle the boundaries of social citizenship precariously until relief officials force them out, both from the boundaries of social citizenship but also the nation… I developed the "three worlds" concept to try to help us understand these three different trajectories of incorporation."

I developed the "three worlds" concept to try to help us understand these three different trajectories of incorporation. And to understand why these groups are treated so differently, I thought it was useful for us to think about these groups as living in three distinct worlds in the first third of the twentieth century. These worlds are each characterized by their own race and labor market systems and own distinct political systems. And from these worlds, and each group's place within them, there are these three separate perspectives that emerge about each group's proclivity to use relief. And the distinct political systems, race and labor market relations, and ideologies about each group's proclivity to use relief in turn influence the scope, reach, and form of American relief systems that emerge across these American communities.

It's not just a story about regional variation—it is a story about regional variation, but I argue that it's much more. I'm linking it mostly based on the title to Esping-Andersen's work, but he uses this concept of "three worlds of welfare capitalism" to discuss these differences in the scope, form, and function of welfare provision across these three different types of countries—liberal, corporatist, and social-democratic. I use "three worlds" in my book to refer to local and regional differences in racial, political, and labor market contexts as well as group-level differences in labor market position, political incorporation, and racial and color status. In

other words, "three worlds" in my book refers both to region- and group-level differences, not just one or the other.

RRC: *You take an historical perspective, suggesting that today's circumstances are based on and/or linked to experiences in the past. I'm trying to think about this deeply here, this notion of historical perspective, historicism. Different scholars have addressed varying historical continuity processes, such as cycles in social movements (e.g. Tarrow 1993) and institutional "newness" versus institutional "legacies" (e.g. Comisso 1995). Historical-comparativists also often point out the limitations of human capacity, as well as slowness and resistance to change. So, which continuity processes do you observe in your study that link today's politics to those in the past? And, how "embedded" is racialization in the American system? If racial discrimination is embedded, within persons and institutions, will anything actually change over time, or will we continue to see racialized welfare policies and practices, and how does this relate to the historical process that you observe?*

CF: There's a lot going on here. I will take the first question first which is about the linking of past and contemporary. I don't actually really try to do that in this book—I don't actually try to link the contemporary moment of restriction, in any deep way, to the past that I delve into in the book. Rather, in the introduction and conclusion to the book, what I am trying to do is I am linking the contemporary period and the past because I think that many Americans, white Americans in particular, often try to justify contemporary restriction by saying that this is how we have always treated non-citizens, or saying my ancestors didn't come to the United States with their hands out for welfare checks, and they came here legally. You know, we have this myth of rugged individualism that suggests that European immigrants pulled themselves up by their bootstraps, they didn't get any help from the government, and immigrants today should just do the same. Partly my effort to link the contemporary efforts to the past is about exploring whether or not the lore stands up to the reality. Because if we are justifying contemporary restriction based on an incorrect reading of the past, then maybe that means we could have different policies today.

But I think the question about linking past and present is a really important one, and that's actually what my next book is going to try to do. My next book is going to be like a Part 2. I am going to be looking at the rise of citizenship and legal status restrictions in the American welfare state from the New Deal to the present. There I am very much going to be trying to tease that out, what is going on. It's very much a work in progress. It's something I have really started to work in earnest on this year. One of the stories that seem to be emerging in that new book is the story about institutional legacies or path dependence. I hint at it a little bit in the conclusion to the first book. What happens is that it's not until the 1970s that we first get legal status restrictions for social welfare programs. It's in the 1970s for the first time that undocumented immigrants are barred from Social Security and Unemployment insurance, barred for the first time by federal law from welfare programs, from Medicaid, from Food Stamps. Every major social welfare and social insurance program on the book gets a legal status restriction in the 1970s, starting in the Nixon years. I want to argue in the next

book that there are a whole variety of unanticipated consequences to federal legal status restrictions that ultimately helped put us on a path toward greater and greater restriction in the present. It's going to be very much of a path dependent story. I think it is a very important question, but I am not quite there with the answer. I am starting to think about it very carefully because I think it is very important.

In terms of your second question, in terms of racialization, kind of how embedded is race in American society. It's pretty embedded. That's my reading of the literature; that's what I teach in my classes. But I don't think that means that we don't observe change as well. I think California is a really good case in point for this question. For much of the twentieth century, California was one of the worst places to live if you were an immigrant—especially Mexican immigrant or other non-White immigrant. California adopted some of the harshest policies, especially having to do with welfare. This was the state where, during the 1920s and 1930s, you get this very tight cooperation between welfare offices and the immigration service where they're inviting the immigration service in to try to deport as many people as possible and they're using their own funds to re-patriate those individuals that can't be deported. This is also the state that passed Proposition 197 in 1994 barring unauthorized immigrants from social welfare services and kind of kicking off the contemporary restrictive turn.

But California today in 2013 is a very different state; at least as far as welfare policies are concerned. California is really one of the most generous states in the country for non-citizens. This change is relatively recent and it occurred very quickly. I think it is due in large part to massive political mobilization on the part of Latinos and others. By mobilization I mean cross-racial social movements in the state of California that tried to roll back some of the most Draconian measures, but also naturalization and voter registration campaigns, Get Out the Vote drives, which really helped change California legislature in some fundamental ways. In the late 1990s, they elected a variety of Latino legislators for the first time—a critical mass. It also helped bring us a Democratic supermajority in the legislature. I think that change can go both ways—so it's not just that you get progress, you can also get regressive policy—so you have to stay vigilant.

RRC: *So you are seeking to tell the story of racial politics in America and you bring together many different subfields—political sociology, race and ethnicity, sociology of labor. I wonder how did you arrive at these perspectives and why were they best for telling your story?*

CF: Honestly, it was a very inductive process. I didn't come into this work with very strong theoretical priors. Many of the assumptions I did have coming into the project turned out to be wrong. The draft of the dissertation that I sent to my committee had the elements of the "three worlds" perspective—I talked about race, I talked about labor, I talked about politics. But I didn't have that explicit frame. The frame really came about because my advisors really pushed me very hard to come up with a comprehensive narrative that really explained all of the different outcomes that I was studying, some kind of comprehensive frame to organize the whole book. Also, because some of my advisors were really pushing me to take

politics and labor more seriously. I think I came in focusing much more on the race part of the story even though I acknowledged the other elements there. I had two political science advisors—Theda Skocpol (who is also a sociologist) and Jennifer Hochschild—and they really pushed me to read the political literature and to engage in those debates in a very serious way. That is part of why the book is the way that it is, because of the wonderful committee that I had that was pushing me to focus not only the story on race, but also the labor and politics part of the story.

"The first lesson for me from that was don't be afraid to stray from your dissertation prospectus if the data are taking you in a new direction… The second thing I would take from that is that just because the secondary literature doesn't talk about a particular topic doesn't mean that topic is not important."

RRC: *You just mentioned that the book went through these various framings, and you talk about it in the book very candidly—you wrote in the book about the multiple drafts, framings it went through, integrating different rounds of comments and adjusting the book's framings. As a graduate student, that sounds like quite the journey! For me and other graduate students, could you perhaps speak about this process, the tools you used to get through it, and offer some general advice on what "writing a book" actually involves?*

CF: Right, ok, I will do my best. I should start by saying that I didn't intend to write this book at all. I actually intended to write a book about race, immigration, and the politics of welfare in the contemporary period. That's what I was interested in and that's what I thought I was going to write about. I thought that as part of that project, I should have a chapter or two, maybe background chapters, on the historical context. I thought that, in part, because I assumed that people would want to know, especially if I was going to write about race today, people would want to know how immigrants were treated in the past and I thought I should have an answer to that question. I started looking at the secondary literature, and I found there just wasn't very much on the subject. I assumed at first that meant that there was a reason why there wasn't very much, in other words, that there wasn't much of a story to tell. I was wrong. As soon as I started looking at some of the archives in California, I was overwhelmed with data and information, a story that hadn't been told before. I realized quite quickly that there was a book here just in the historical period.

The first lesson for me from that was don't be afraid to stray from your dissertation prospectus if the data are taking you in a new direction. Sometimes those new directions can be quite valuable. The second thing I would take from that is that just because the secondary literature doesn't talk about a particular topic doesn't mean that topic is not important. I am not quite sure why I had that perspective—I just assumed that there was a reason why we didn't talk about non-citizens during the Depression.

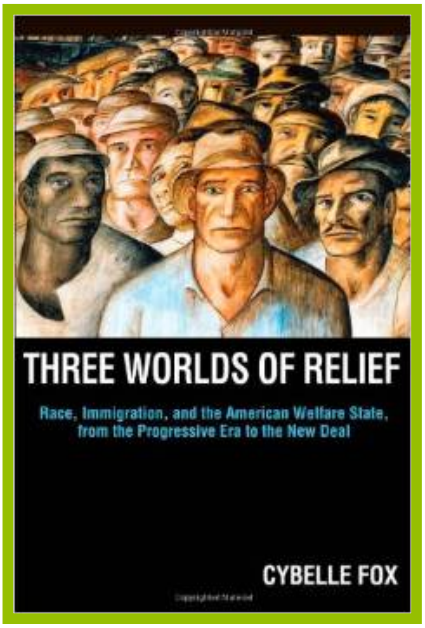
Another bit of advice that I would give, or what I would say about my process, is that data availability wasn't really a problem for me with my research—there was this array of sources, kind of untapped sources, that I could use—but even then it took me a long time to discover exactly what the book was about. That's partly

because it took me a long time to really understand the story about my dependent variable so to speak, in part because what was the trajectory for each of the three groups, in part because I think I was interested not only in the laws on the books or the laws and policies on the books, but I was interested in the implementation and practice. Gathering the material necessary to make those kinds of claims took me..um..ya know at least...six years. It took a long time where I not only went to archives, but then I had to seek out new ones. I had to revisit old archives. I was trying to find existing datasets that could shed light on my question, putting together datasets on my own and adding new variables and refining it over the years as I was refining my arguments. The data gathering took me six years, but I was writing throughout and that's something I would recommend.

From my very first archival visit, I was writing notes and outlines and memos and bad chapter drafts—many of which I had to scrap entirely. It's hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of pages of writing—I was writing every day, all the time. The writing helped me make sense of my material. It helped me determine the holes in my story, and the new data I was going to have to search out. It helped me think through the alternative explanations that I had to make sure I addressed in that story.

I write in order to figure out what I think about something—I don't wait until I figure it out to start writing. That process decreases my anxiety about writing, because I didn't have to figure it out before I sat down. I was going to figure it out in the process of writing it out and so then it wasn't as scary. I didn't suffer from writer's block as a result because I was just writing everyday all the time. It also helped me manage that kind of writing everyday and continual data gathering helped me manage what could have been a really unwieldy story because it is a broad brush covering three groups across three regions and over a fifty-year period.

RRC: *Excellent. Well, I think that is all. Thank you very much for agreeing to talk with me today.*



Available from Princeton University Press, 2012

Interview with Book Award Recipient

Monica Prasad

Interviewed by Polina Kolozaridi
National Research University-Higher School of Economics

Monica Prasad was the co-recipient of the Political Sociology Section's Book Award in 2013 for her book *The Land of Too Much: American Abundance and the Paradox of Poverty* (2012, Harvard University Press). Prasad is currently Professor of Sociology at Northwestern University and Faculty Expert in the Institute for Policy Research.

1. Beyond the development of neo-liberalism in the late-1970s and 1980s, which intellectual traditions motivated the key ideas behind The Land of Too Much to compare the US to Western Europe?

MP: The book emerged from a clash between the intellectual traditions that study the advanced industrial countries (power resources, varieties of capitalism, etc), and what the research on the ground was finding. I knew—from the research I conducted for my first book—that scholars had identified dozens of cases where the American government is more interventionist or more hostile to capital than European governments. But all of that work was isolated in single histories or case studies that saw the areas they studied as exceptions to the rule. None of that work was being read as contributing to a larger picture that might call into question our vision of the United States in the twentieth century, or our understanding of capitalism more generally. Eventually I realized that until we could explain *why* the United States might be more interventionist in some areas, these cases would always be treated as exceptions and ignored. So the motivation for the book was to explain in a systematic way how the allegedly laissez-faire U.S. can have such a strong state, and especially to explain why, given this strong state, the U.S. nevertheless can't reduce poverty to European levels—that is, why the strong state does not include a strong welfare state.

"The motivation for the book was to explain in a systematic way how the allegedly laissez-faire U.S. can have such a strong state, and especially to explain why, given this strong state, the U.S. nevertheless can't reduce poverty to European levels—that is, why the strong state does not include a strong welfare state."

2. What is your opinion of today's consumption and welfare state rhetoric and legislative initiatives? Does it correspond with the previous period or are there some differences in Obama's intentions?

MP: In a speech at Knox College last summer President Obama said "when middle class families have less to spend, businesses have fewer consumers...an economy that grows from the middle out, not the top down, that's where I will focus my energies not just for the next few months but for the remainder of my presidency" (speech at Knox College, July 24, 2013). "Middle out" is intended to be a response to "trickle down," but anyone who knows the history can see it is completely of a piece with the consumption-oriented policies of the postwar period. The intentions are also the same: if you can make the economy grow while caring for your constituents, everyone wins. But, as I show in the book, this approach has some damaging consequences, including greater poverty and economic instability than if we followed the strategy of building the public welfare state.

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3. Your book identifies the agricultural reforms of the late nineteenth century as a significant turning point in the development of economic life. Do you see any other spheres that can be as influential triggers today or in the near future?

MP: One of the main theoretical lessons of the book is that in any process of economic change, don't forget about the losers. We tend to think that industrialization is all about factories and workers. So when we study the welfare state we note that it emerged with industrialization, and we study labor. But of course, industrialization was a long process, and agrarians were politically influential at important moments—even more influential than labor in the early stages. I am not sure if the argument can be applied so schematically to the present and future (no single economic sphere seems as strong as agriculture was then), but I suppose the lesson would be that if we ever do manage to transition to an economy that does not depend so heavily on finance or coal, we still have to keep our eyes on finance and coal.

4. Your book casts significant doubt at the "governments versus markets" dichotomy. Did you initially intend to challenge this dichotomy by presenting an alternative?

MP: The initial goal was much more pragmatic: to come up with a better explanation for why there is so much poverty in the U.S., given what I knew about the ability of the American state to intervene on behalf of consumers and workers in other areas. In general I advise my students to begin with a real question in the real world, rather than beginning by trying to challenge a scholarly dichotomy. If the dichotomy gets challenged in the course of

answering the question, that can be intellectually fascinating, but I feel the focus should be on answering the question. Otherwise it starts to feel like an academic parlor game to continually generate dichotomies and continually challenge them.

5. Would you mind speculating whether other countries beyond your study (e.g., those in Latin American) follow either the American or European model?

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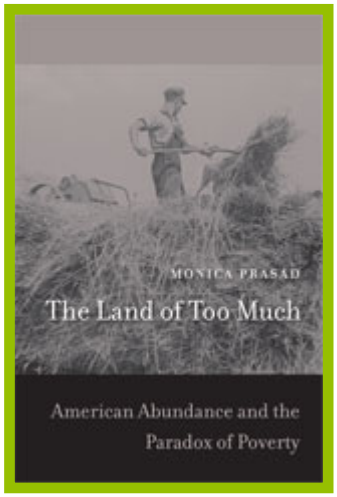
MP: Latin America is a good case. I would expect those countries which were agricultural exporters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and which therefore could not appease their farmers as readily with protectionist policies, to have different patterns of politics from those which imported their agricultural products.

6. You pay significant attention to movement activity in your book. Which, if any, lessons from these past movements may apply to contemporary social movements?



Available from Harvard University Press, 2012

MP: The main thing I learned that contemporary movements need to pay attention to is how much Americans are neglecting what Frederick Wherry calls the "sleeper social justice issue" of our time: the proportion of Americans who have little or no access to checking and savings accounts, and who rely on alternative methods such as payday lenders. This affects up to fifty million Americans. In the seventies we spent a lot of time and effort helping people get into debt. This is the effort that [the book] *American Apartheid* is a part of, for example—the issue then was restriction of access to credit for certain groups, and activists and scholars fought that. And that was of course important and necessary, because in a society that runs on credit, if you exclude African Americans or women from access to credit you are dooming them to a second-class existence. But now that we have helped people get into debt, we have to finish the other side of the story: we have to help them build savings. It's what I think of as the missing savings rights revolution. That's what I'd like to bring to the attention of contemporary social movements.

Journal Review

Sociological Science

http://www.sociologicalscience.com/

Diliara Valeeva
National Research University-Higher School of Economics

Sociological Science is an open-access, online, peer-reviewed journal published by the Society for Sociological Science. The journal encourages novel ideas and insights from different sociological sub-fields.

There are two main facts making this journal innovative. First, *Sociological Science* appeared as a response to a traditional review, revise and resubmit process that can take years. Here, the decision is made by the Editorial Staff – carefully chosen specialists in their areas, there is no “revise and resubmit” system, and final decision on an article publication will take no more than 30 days. Second, *Sociological Science* is aimed at the stimulation of scientific discussions. Here, after each article’s publication there are “reactions”--short responses to any article published in *Sociological Science*--and “comments”--broader discussions of an article. Both reactions and comments are not anonymous and not reviewed for

Findings and Ideas from *Sociological Science*

Simon Cheng and David L. Weakliem’s 2014 article “Beyond the One-Drop Rule: Views of Obama’s Race and Voting Intention in 2008” (1:70-80) considers American voting behavior and Obama’s biracial background. Although Obama is traditionally studied as "the first black president", there are not enough studies paying attention to his biracial background.

Trying to fill this gap, Simon Cheng and David Weakliem analyze the association between the voting behavior of Americans in 2008 and their perceptions of Obama's race. They use data from a national survey conducted before the elections and show that voters who see Obama as biracial were more likely to vote for him. Additionally, this result was stronger for Democrats than for Republicans. In their discussion, Cheng and Weakliem state that the election of a non-white president was a big step towards racial equality. However, the results show that race is still important for Americans.

substance by the editors. It is believed that these types of communication will encourage discussion between authors and reviewers in the public sphere. Although the journal is new and broad, several articles on political sociology had been published there yet.

Findings and Ideas from *Sociological Science*

Charles Kurzman and Asseem Hasnain's 2014 article "When Forecasts Fail: Unpredictability in Israeli-Palestinian Interaction" (1:239-59) take on the issue of predictability and social change.

Prediction is still perceived as one of the main aims of social scientists. However, the authors note that most scholars fail at predicting dramatic social changes, such as economic crashes, civil conflicts, and revolutions. This idea is proven by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict event data they analyze. Although they use statistical models that are traditional for such kind of data, these models were unsuccessful in predicting most critical and unstable events.

The authors then identify four types of shocks that might undermine the predictive power of time series analyses: effect, input, duration, and actor shocks. The work contributes to the methodological studies of structural breaks.

Findings and Ideas from *Sociological Science*

Kevin Lewis, Kurt Gray, and Jens Meierhenrich's 2014 article "The Structure of Online Activism" (1:1-9) take on the issue of online activism and its links to protest.

The authors pose the question of how active online activists are and whether their activism results in any real protest participation. Using the data of Facebook users participating in the Save Darfur "Cause" movement, Kevin Lewis and colleagues show that the majority of people participating in this online movement recruited no one else and contributed no money to the movement. The article generated a discussion in its "reactions" regarding the article's literature review, the differentiation between online and offline spheres, as well as the choice of the case.

Recent PhD Profiles

The Political Sociology Section is pleased to feature the following profiles of section members who are nearing completion or who have recently completed their Ph.D. requirements. In addition to exposure for these young scholars, the feature may be of interest to members whose departments are in the process of hiring or who want to learn of emerging research.

Marie Berry

Department of Sociology
University of California, Los Angeles

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Dissertation Summary:
How does mass violence impact societies in its aftermath? At its most fundamental level, war is an accelerated period of social change. Often in the period of days or weeks, the social structures in society are destroyed, institutions are dismantled, and power relations at all levels of society shift. My dissertation seeks to understand how violence can transform social structures in society, and uses the experience of women after violence as a lens through which to do so. It proceeds in two parts. First I engage in two in-depth case studies on Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which illustrate how war can serve as a period of rapid social change that can trigger a reconfiguration of gender roles. My conclusions are based on 10 months of fieldwork and over 230 semi-structured interviews with women in both countries. In the second part of the dissertation, I employ a global quantitative analysis to investigate the impact of mass violence on various measures of women's status, including the percentage of women in parliament and the number of NGOs in a given country. A concluding chapter offers possible extensions of this argument to other cases of mass violence in the second half of the 20th century—including Liberia, Guatemala, East Timor, and Sudan.

Dissertation Committee: Andreas Wimmer (Co-Chair, Princeton), Abigail Saguy (Co-Chair), Gail Kligman, Michael Mann, and Bill Roy

Research Interests: Political Sociology, Political Violence, Gender, Comparative Sociology, and the Sociology of Development

Recent PhD Profiles

Kate Pride Brown

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Dissertation Summary:
This dissertation explores the ways in which problems are constructed and solutions made plausible by activists and the public they seek to engage in two contrasted contexts: contemporary global capitalist modernity and behind the Iron Curtain of the single-party state-planned political economy of the U.S.S.R. To ground this investigation, I examine environmental activism in Irkutsk, Russia, near the ecologically unique and globally significant Lake Baikal. Data come from ten months of ethnographic field research amongst environmental organizations in Irkutsk and collected archival materials on local environmental activism from the last decade of the Soviet Union and during the period of post-Soviet transition. Preliminary findings show two countervailing forces influencing civil society under conditions of globalization. The first involves creative inspiration, as locals encounter new fodder for thought in the global public sphere. But there are also powerful stakeholders who seek to constrain and channel the activist gaze. Corporations use the "carrot" of philanthropy to steer activists' efforts toward non-threatening projects, and the state exerts the "stick" of law to shore up its own power sources against insurgent civil society. Both of these tactics are reminiscent of Community Party politics in confronting environmentalism in the USSR. These findings point to a more complex analysis of power under condition of global modernity, both for contentious civil society and for its elite opponents.

Dissertation Committee: Richard Lloyd (chair), Larry Isaac, David Hess, George Becker and Francis Wcislo

Research Interests: Political sociology, globalization, environmental sociology, Soviet and post-Soviet society

Recent PhD Profiles

Rachael Russell Chatterson

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http://www.sociology.uci.edu/files/sociology/Grad_CVs/2014-7-23_chatterson_cv.pdf

Dissertation Summary:
My dissertation integrates findings from political sociology, international relations, social movements, and cultural sociology 1) to understand the evolution of women's global civil society expanding initially from the West since 1870, 2) to explain structural expansion in state concern since 1960 to include a women's ministry, particularly in non-West nations, and 3) to explain women's institutional power outcomes cross-nationally since 1960. Based on neo-institutional theory, I argue that world society is a locus of messages regarding women which are diffused to nation-states through links to international organizations. Both women's empowerment and national institutional incorporation are cultural constructions from world society that diffuse to nation-states through international organizations and have increasingly come to define legitimacy of nation-states. Because the international non-governmental and governmental solutions to women's empowerment are culturally constructed, and many times based in Western imaginations of women's empowerment, there is likely to be decoupling between intended solutions and actual power outcomes for women, particularly in the non-West and United Nations-designated Least Developed Countries (LDCs). I analyze descriptive statistics on women's international non-governmental organization (WINGO) foundings and national memberships, along with an Exploratory Factor Analysis of organization categories on a sample of 183 WINGOs over the period since 1870, offering evidence of expansion and change in the structure and discourse of world society devoted to women. Second, I analyze rate of women's ministry establishment across all nations since 1960 in an Event History Analysis (EHA), showing positive and significant effects of national WINGO membership and LDC status, supporting world society theory. Lastly, I analyze women's national institutional power outcomes across all nations since 1960 using EHA methods considering social power as measured by female tertiary enrollment ratios, economic power as measured by women's labor force participation rates, and political power as measured by percentages of women in parliament.

Dissertation Committee: Evan Schofer (chair), Catherine Bolzendahl, David J. Frank, and Ann Hironaka

Research Interests: Quantitative Methods; Cultural and Political Sociology; Global and Transnational Sociology; Gender; Religion; Comparative-Historical

Recent PhD Profiles

Angèle Christin

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Dissertation Summary: My dissertation examines the process of quantification taking place in web journalism. The internet is transforming journalism in many ways. Yet one of the most fundamental differences between print and online news is the multiplication of internet metrics: web journalists now receive a constant stream of quantitative information about the online popularity of their work. Does quantification always foster standardization? My dissertation argues instead that metrics take on radically different meanings when they travel between countries. Focusing on the case of online news, I compare the reception of web analytics in two countries, the United States and France, which have different journalistic traditions and relations to market forces. Drawing on ethnographic analysis of a pair of news websites in the United States and France, as well as additional qualitative and quantitative material, I find that web journalists in both countries are faced with conflicting definitions of journalistic value. Traditional "editorial" evaluation based on original reporting and peer judgment is at odds with "click-based" evaluation, which focuses on the number of page views.

In spite of these commonalities, American and French journalists manage the tension between qualitative and quantitative evaluations in different ways. At the U.S. website, journalists distinguish sharply between editorial and click-based modes of evaluation and keep them separate in their daily work. In contrast, French journalists constantly switch back and forth between qualitative and quantitative criteria of value. These different organizational styles manifest themselves in each website's editorial formats, newsrooms routines, and compensation practices, which are explored in turn in the different chapters of the dissertation. These differences between the American and French news organizations can usefully be analyzed as distinct "arrangements" between modes of evaluation. Such arrangements stem from the respective trajectories and structures of the American and French journalistic fields. The American journalistic field has a long history of strong market forces, professionalization, and specialization. These features emerged more recently in the French journalistic field. Growing economic pressures in the form of "clicks" affect American and French web journalists in different ways, with important effects on the content of online news in the two countries. My dissertation thus underscores how American and French journalists actively reproduce national differences at a time of economic and technological convergence.

Dissertation Committee: Kim Lane Scheppele (Chair), Viviana Zelizer, Paul DiMaggio
Research Interests: Culture, Media, Economic Sociology, Work, Theory, Politics, Organizations, Comparative Sociology, Ethnography

Recent PhD Profiles

Barry Eidlin

Department of Sociology
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Dissertation Summary:

Why is working class organizational power weaker in the U.S. than in Canada, despite the two countries' striking socio-economic similarities? Against explanations that focus on long-standing differences in political cultures and institutions, I find that it is actually a relatively recent divergence resulting from different processes of working class political incorporation during the Great Depression and World War II. My central argument is that in Canada, this incorporation process embedded "the class idea"—the idea of class as a salient, legitimate political category—more deeply in policies, institutions, and practices than in the U.S., where class interests were reduced to mere "special interests." Using archival and statistical data gathered over a year from collections across the U.S. and Canada, I advance my "political incorporation" explanation through comparative studies of party-class relations, postwar Red scares, and labor policy regime development in both countries.

The analysis uses the cross-national comparison with Canada to offer a fresh reinterpretation of the problem of American exceptionalism. Additionally, in emphasizing the active role of parties in shaping social cleavages and class alliances, my dissertation contributes to an emerging body of scholarship that challenges common understandings of the relation between parties, politics, and society. A book based on the dissertation is currently under review at Cambridge University Press and Stanford University Press.

Dissertation Committee: Kim Voss (chair), Neil Fligstein, Dylan Riley, Margaret Weir, and Paul Pierson

Research Interests: My research examines how class conflict and political struggle shape social classes, states, and dynamics of power and inequality. In addition to my dissertation research, I am pursuing projects that re-interrogate American Exceptionalism, revisit and revise class analysis, and study the politics of fiscal austerity in comparative and historical perspective.

Recent PhD Profiles

Emily P. Estrada

Department of Sociology & Anthropology
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Dissertation Summary:
My dissertation is a frame analysis of the symbolic boundary-work performed in newspaper articles as it relates to immigrant and nonimmigrant groups, and gives consideration to how this work emerges from specific contextual configurations. I selected newspaper outlets from four areas that vary based on level of incorporation into the global economic system (global/non-global) and immigrant destination type (new/traditional). Many of the frames advocating for immigration reform or for expansive immigration legislation do so in a way that focuses primarily on the benefits the legislation will offer to native-born groups, contributing to boundaries that maintain the dominant group's privilege. Further, while it is no surprise that much of the anti-immigrant language in these articles serves to reinforce the immigrant boundary of "Other," a key finding from my project is that even passages that are seemingly sympathetic towards immigrants reinforce boundaries between nonimmigrant and immigrants. This is accomplished through frames that suggest immigrants are beneficial to America because of their exploitability. This discourse praises immigrants as being hard-workers who will labor for low-wages in jobs that Americans will not deign to do. While messages such as these are advocating on behalf of immigrants, they suggest that immigrants' worthiness of inclusion is dependent on their ability to service the dominant group. Other positive frames that also speak to immigrants' servile nature suggest that they will contribute taxes to the system that will never come back to them and that they represent an important and growing consumer population.

Dissertation Committee: Sarah Bowen (Chair), Kim Ebert, Martha Crowley, and Sinikka Elliott

Research Interests: Political Sociology, Immigration, Race/Ethnicity, Symbolic Boundaries, Sociology of the Mass Media

Recent PhD Profiles

Erin M. Evans

Department of Sociology
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Dissertation Summary:
Activists rarely get everything they want from policy demands. During the policy making process their demands are tempered into political compromises. Do these policy concessions co-opt movements or do they provide activists a foothold for further change? The debate surrounding this question is long-standing among activists and scholars. It represents a fundamental question of democracy: Can movements promote the change they want through democratic processes like policy reform? I use literature from both science studies and social movements studies to theorize how federal regulatory oversight and policy reforms influence consequent mobilization and the organizational practices movements target. The movement for animal protection provides a good case for examining the sorts of reforms that aid mobilization and the sorts that stymie it. This project uses a longitudinal analysis of this movement and its campaigns to reform or abolish animal research. I examine the impact of federal regulation at the laboratory level by interviewing scientists, bioethicists, veterinarians, and other professionals involved in research with animals. I also use ethnographic and archival data to capture changes that are related to increasing scrutiny of research using animals, and the recursive effects between policy reform and mobilization. I find that the culture of targeted organizations may be influenced by outside actors who get access to institutional practices. In this case, policy reforms that created bureaucratic oversight facilitated the intersection between animal research, veterinarians, and bioethics. This indicates that policy reform can lead to further mobilization and change when provisions bring in outsiders who may alter organizational cultures over time. I also find that the disputes these compromised policy reforms cause within movement causes a beneficial diversification of the movement through organizational splintering.

Dissertation Committee: David S. Meyer (chair), Edwin Amenta, Ann Hironaka, Su Yang, and Claire J. Kim

Research Interests: Social Movements, Political Sociology, Media, Culture, Policy Reform, Environmental Sociology, and Animal Rights

Recent PhD Profiles

Laura R. Ford

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Dissertation Summary:
This historical and comparative dissertation shows that intellectual property – a legal category that encompasses patents, copyrights, trademarks, and trade secrets – emerged in the Eighteenth Century, in tandem with the emergence of the modern nation-state. The thesis of semantic legal ordering that I develop in the dissertation explicates the social process through which cultural understandings and practices rooted in legal traditions have contributed form and meaning to these quintessentially modern institutions. Drawing on contractual sources from the history of the telecommunications industry, and from diplomatic sources connected to intellectual property treaties, I also show how the process of semantic legal ordering has contributed form and meaning to the global expansion of intellectual property. Building on Robert Bellah's theory of cultural traditions, together with Max Weber's sociology of law and property, I argue that certain experiential characteristics of our modern, globalized economy – the mobilization of possessive love in the service of national economic growth – have been shaped, in very real ways, by legal traditions with deep historical roots, as seen in the case of intellectual property.

Dissertation Committee: Richard Swedberg (Chair), Mabel Berezin, Stephen L. Morgan

Research Interests: Political Sociology, Economic Sociology, Sociology of Law, Theory and Culture, Historical Sociology

Recent PhD Profiles

Gabriel Hetland

Department of Sociology
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Dissertation Summary:
Drawing on 19 months of ethnographic fieldwork in Venezuela and Bolivia, my dissertation examines participatory budgeting, a practice giving citizens control over local budget decisions. Scholarship suggests participatory reform is most likely to be effective in a narrow set of conditions: when a non-populist Left party that is closely linked to an autonomous and mobilized social base controls the municipal executive. To examine the assumptions embedded in this argument I compared participatory budgeting in cities governed by the (populist and non-populist) Left and the Right in Venezuela and Bolivia. I expected to find greater success – meaning that citizens can effectively control budget decisions – in my two Left cases. I also expected greater success in my Bolivian cases due to (1) the greater strength/autonomy of civil society in Bolivia vs. Venezuela and (2) the distinct trajectories through which Hugo Chávez and Evo Morales rose to prominence (Chávez via a failed military coup and Morales through social movements), with these factors suggesting that Venezuela is more populist (in the sense of the state orchestrating and seeking to control popular mobilization) than Bolivia. Surprisingly I found robust participation in my Left and Right Venezuelan cases and limited participation in my two Bolivian cases. I argue that this doubly unexpected finding can only be explained by examining the interaction of national and local politics in Venezuela and Bolivia. My findings and analysis push scholars to rethink a number of relationships: between the Left and Right, local and national, populist mobilization and participatory democracy, hegemony and counter-hegemony and the state and civil society.

Dissertation Committee: Michael Burawoy (Chair), Peter Evans, Laura Enriquez, Dylan Riley, Michael Watts (Geography, UC Berkeley)

Research Interests: Political Sociology, Social Movements, Development, Ethnography, Theory, Democracy, Labor

Recent PhD Profiles

Yao Li

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Dissertation Summary:

Yao's doctoral dissertation, titled "Informal Norms and Protest Space in China," investigates a puzzling phenomenon: despite the fact that China remains a strong authoritarian state, this regime seems to be increasingly tolerant of some types of protests. Through an original dataset of 1,418 protest events across China from 2001 to 2012, this research shows that the space for protest in the country is substantial and its boundaries are wider than they appear to be in law. Yet the protest space varies according to distinct types of contention. The state generally tolerates what I call regime-engaging protests, while it harshly represses what I call regime-threatening protests. In my dataset, the majority of protests in China are regime-engaging. While regime-engaging protesters constantly pushing the boundaries of the protest space, they also endeavor to limit their actions, demands, and types of organization. Meanwhile, authorities may be lax in law enforcement. In the process, informal norms are created and play a role in guiding the actions of both the authorities and protesters. Ultimately, I argue, regime-engaging protests contribute to regime legitimacy. Besides quantitative method, I have also conducted 18 month field work for seven case studies of regime-engaging protests to examine informal norms of contention.

Overall, using China as an example, this research challenges the conventional wisdom that the relationship between authoritarian regimes and protest is mainly characterized by repression and transgression. My study also helps explain the resilience of authoritarian regimes amid mounting protests. Finally, it not only broadens our understanding of the complex state-society relationship in authoritarian regimes, but also deepens our exploration of the essential distinction between democracy and authoritarianism regarding contentious politics.

Dissertation Committee: Joel Andreas (Chair), Ho-fung Hung, and Rina Agarwala

Research Interests: Political sociology; social movements; development; comparative and historical sociology; China

Recent PhD Profiles

Joseph B. Johnston

Department of Sociology
Indiana University

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Dissertation Summary:
My dissertation builds on insights from political and cultural sociology to understand state variability in charter school policy adoption. I use a variety of textual data sources from three state cases, including over 3,000 newspaper articles. Methodologically, I use comparative/historical methods to trace contrasting processes surrounding charter and public schools over a decade. The first empirical chapter (forthcoming Sociology of Education) compares two cases that have resisted the national trend of charter adoption: Washington (Seattle) and Kentucky (Louisville). I find that supporters framed charters as the solution in both cases, but varied in their ability to name public schools as the problem in the first place. I identify the source of the discursive resources used by opponents of charter schools in state-level "educational ecosystems": the cultural and institutional legacies of a range of state educational policies. The second empirical chapter compares Indiana and Kentucky to analyze divergence. Scholars have proposed that the key mechanism inducing charter adoption is information "infecting" states from media sources and policy influentials in neighboring "strong" charter law states. I show that while the diffusion mechanisms from Indiana (a national charter leader) traveled across the border, they did not succeed in convincing actors in Kentucky of the efficacy of charters. I argue that the different composition of the school districts in the counties surrounding Indianapolis and Louisville are key to understanding the divergent responses to charter schools. This paper is currently in preparation for journal submission. The third chapter compares all three cases to develop a framework for understanding the state-level factors shaping school reform battles.

Dissertation Committee: Pamela Barnhouse Walters (chair), Brian Steensland, Arthur S. Alderson, and Brian Powell

Research Interests: Sociology of Education, Political Sociology, Comparative & Historical, Cultural Sociology, Stratification, Qualitative & Quantitative Methods

Recent PhD Profiles

Josh McCabe

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University of Albany, SUNY

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Dissertation Summary:
Social policy reforms in the 1990s create a paradox for sociologists studying the welfare state. While traditional welfare programs aimed at the poor, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, were subject to spending cuts, workfare requirements, and new time limits on benefits, policymakers also introduced or expanded functionally similar tax expenditures, such as the Child Tax Credit and Earned Income Tax Credit, aimed at "working work pay." Rather than retrenchment, I argue that this represents the fiscalization of social policy. Furthermore, I argue that power resource and state-centered theories cannot fully explain this phenomenon. A full explanation requires that we account for the importance of "cultural categories of worth" tied to welfare and tax expenditures which draw boundaries between "deserving" and "undeserving" social groups. Specifically, we find that welfare and tax credits constitute what Viviana Zelizer calls "special monies" each with their own cultural boundaries. Tax expenditures flourished, in part, because they successfully redrew the boundaries between the deserving and underserving poor. This dissertation will explore this topic through an examination of relevant policymaking episodes in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. This project will rely on historical-comparative case studies based primarily on government documents from published primary and archival sources, newspaper and other media sources, and interviews with important policy actors when possible.

Dissertation Committee: Elizabeth Popp Berman (chair), Richard Lachmann, Aaron Major, and Peter Brandon.

Research Interests: Fiscal and Economic sociology, Comparative Welfare States and Social Policy, and the Relationship between Markets and Morality

Recent PhD Profiles

Peter B. Owens

Department of Sociology
University of California-Irvine

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Dissertation Summary:
In my dissertation research, funded by the National Science Foundation (Proposal 1433629), I use mid-nineteenth century California (ca. 1850-1865) as a critical case study to explicate the collective dynamics of ethnic violence and social exclusion targeting indigenous peoples. To do so, I extend conventional competition and threat theories of reactive mobilization to account for the specific colonial context of American territorial invasion, and incorporate recent insights from the collective action literature to specify the structural and meso-level foundations for the mobilization and demobilization of state and civic violence in different locales. My use of formal qualitative methods (fsQCA and process tracing) allows me to identify both cross-case patterns and deviant cases, providing the basis for nuanced regional comparisons. Preliminary findings identify distinct regional trajectories of state and civic violence. Specifically, in northern frontier regions, the low administrative and surveillance capacities of state institutions enabled violent settlers to collectively influence the trajectory of state indigenous policies. This contrasts with central mining districts where federal ethnic policing policies prevailed after initial violence.

Dissertation Committee: David A. Snow (chair), Judith Stepan-Norris, Yang Su, and Geoff Ward

Research Interests: Collective Violence, Social Movements, Culture, Historical Sociology, Formal Qualitative Methodology

Recent PhD Profiles

Zeynep Ozgen

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Dissertation Summary:
My dissertation is an ethnographic and historical study of the relationship between rapidly growing sites of religious socialization and pedagogy and mobilization efforts by Islamic movements in Turkey. Beginning in the 1970s, a widespread sociopolitical mobilization, variously referred to as an Islamic "trend," "awakening," or "resurgence," has swept across the Middle East, including Turkey. The process exhibited itself in the visible roles religion assumed in the public sphere, foremost in the extraordinary growth and popularity of religious sites of preaching and pedagogy. My dissertation traces the historical origins and contemporary manifestations of this social movement that aims to create a more pious society under a historically secular government. Against social movement theories that interpret Islamist movements as "political" and "militant" if they contest state power and "civil" and "apolitical" when they do not, I find that putatively apolitical movements concerned with ethical refashioning on the surface are deeply political and transformative in nature. This is because they aim to render an alternative conception of morality and subjectivity natural to the organization of society; an issue of central concern to the modern nation-state, the construction of its power, and the maintenance of its hegemony. My dissertation draws on 18 months of fieldwork in Turkey in formal and clandestine sites of religious socialization and pedagogy, one-hundred interviews with key local and national actors, and archival work in national libraries and broadens our conception of social movements, power, and sociopolitical change.

Dissertation Committee: Rogers Brubaker (Chair), Andreas Wimmer, Cihan Tuğal, Stefan Timmermans, and James Gelvin

Research Interests: Political sociology, Social Movements, Religion, Education; Sociological Theory; Comparative Nationalism, Ethnicity, Citizenship; Comparative-Historical and Ethnographic Methods; Islam and the Middle East

Recent PhD Profiles

Andrew C. Patterson

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Dissertation Summary:
Using 50 years of annual comparative data as well as a replicable imputation strategy for missing data, my dissertation tests political democracy as a determinant of health. On average, compared to people in non-democracies those living in democratic nations have up to 10.8 years of added life expectancy, 57% less infant mortality, and 21% less overall mortality. Constraints on decision-making powers of elected leaders partially mediate the association between democracy and health, while competitive participation of non-ruling actors in the political arena partially mediates both executive constraints and democracy. Gross domestic product fully or (in the case of infant mortality) partially explains the impact of democracy and its mediators on health. Findings suggest democracy promotes stronger health, although it may do so in large part by providing a business-friendly environment that encourages long-term growth in national income.

Dissertation Committee: Gerry Veenstra (Chair), Sean Lauer, and Francesco Duina

Research Interests: Statistics, Population Health, Political Sociology, Multilevel and Macrosocial Causality, Social Isolation and Health, Urban Sociology, Family and Friendship Formation

Recent PhD Profiles

Michael Rodriguez-Muñiz

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Dissertation Summary:
Demographers and other social scientists have long forecast that ethnoracial "minorities" will numerically surpass the white "majority" by the middle of the new century. Seizing the public imagination in profound yet ambivalent ways, the mass circulation of this projection (and others) has fueled growing anxieties and anticipations over the political, economic, religious, cultural, and linguistic "future" of the United States. Despite the growing intensity of debate about "demographic change," sociologists have yet to systematically investigate the ways in which demographic knowledge and projections are publicly dramatized and narrated, and further, how ideas about the so-called "Browning of America" are intervening in political life and identity formation. As entrée into the broader cultural politics of "demographic change," my dissertation explores the intersection of demographic knowledge, imagined futures, and ethnoracial projects among national Latino civil rights leaders and organizations in the wake of the historic 2008 presidential election. With a specific focus on Beltway politics and advocacy, this research examines the role of statistics in public attempts to demonstrate and leverage the size and projected growth of the "Latino demographic." Conceptualizing statistics as a multivalent cultural artifact, which in this empirical context are embedded in complex and competing narratives of race and nation, I analyze efforts to encourage mass Latino/a participation in the 2010 census, campaigns to register and turnout the "Latino vote" in the 2012 election, and post-election demands for immigration reform and political appointments. Based on over eighteen months of qualitative and ethnographic research, this analysis illuminates the processes and practices through which "statistical effects" are produced, represented, and contested in contemporary U.S. ethnoracial politics. Drawing upon the sociology of quantification, cultural sociology, and science studies, I contend that accounting for the potential capacity of demographic projections of the future to provoke, incite, and catalyze political action requires grounded analysis of their public narration and political deployment across social domains.

Dissertation Committee: José Itzigsohn (Chair), Michael Kennedy, Gianpaolo Baiocchi (New York University), and Ann Morning (New York University)

Research Interests: Sociology of Knowledge and Quantification, Cultural Sociology, Race and Ethnicity, Political Sociology, Latino/a Panethnicity, Coloniality, Philosophy of Science, Ethnography and Qualitative Methodologies

Recent PhD Profiles

Alvaro Santana-Acuna

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Dissertation Summary:

How does a cadastre, one of the modern state's most omnipresent and yet self-effacing instruments of power over territory and people, become national? How are the processes of nation-state formation and rise of modern scientific expertise connected to the nationalization of a cadastre? This dissertation tackles both questions by studying the nationalization of the French cadastre between 1763 and 1807. This is one of the most influential national cadastres for it became the blueprint followed by many emerging nation-states in Europe and beyond.

The literature has explained its nationalization as the outcome of straightforward state centralization. This dissertation, on the contrary, argues that the shift from local cadastres to a national cadastre was the result of a dual uniformization process: political (the spread of a discourse of administrative uniformity) and scientific (the emergence of professional land surveyors). To advance this argument, the dissertation uses historical methods and analyzes unstudied documentation from five archives. Contrary to the available literature, it finds that cadastral nationalization faced royal intendants' resistance (conventionally portrayed as hardcore state centralizers) and benefited from citizens' enthusiastic input (traditionally presented as opponents to projects of territorial nationalization). Furthermore, it finds that cadastral nationalization was implausible without the transformation of land surveying from a local manual art into a national scientific profession: the engineer-geographer. This modern expert produced standardized cadastral facts for the rising nation-state. Hence, the nationalization of the cadastre helped to reconcile the political ideal of revolutionary egalitarianism with the scientific practice of disciplinary impartiality. The approval of the national cadastre in 1807 marked the successful intersection of political and scientific uniformization.

Due to the French cadastre' international influence, the dissertation makes three distinct and larger contributions. First, it brings to the forefront administrative uniformization as an understudied process of nation-state building. Second, it provides a new framework to understand how changes in bodily practices and instruments can enable the emergence of a modern scientific profession. And third it emphasizes that nation-state formation relies not only on the production of standardized individuals (citizens), but also the creation of a standardized "national nature," a lesser-studied phenomenon.

Dissertation Committee: Michèle Lamont (Chair), Filiz Garip, Philip Gorski (Yale), Patrice Higonnet, and Antoine Picon

Research Interests: Political sociology; Cultural sociology; Theory; Historical sociology; Qualitative Methods; and the sociology of Science, Knowledge, and Technology

Recent PhD Profiles

Michael Stambolis-Ruhstorfer

Department of Sociology
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Dissertation Summary:
Stambolis-Ruhstorfer examines how and why political stakeholders in France and the United States use divergent knowledge as "expertise" in legal debates on relationship and parenting for same-sex couples. Through interviews, observation, and archival data, he analyzes "experts" and the information they provide to the media, courts, and legislatures since 1990 in both countries. He finds systematic cross-national variation. Some disciplines, like psychology, are common to both, but others, like economy in the U.S. and psychoanalysis in France, are pervasive in one context but not the other. Moreover, the content of knowledge provided by identical categories of experts differs by country. He argues that these patterns are due to embedded institutional logics, legal structures, and social movements that impact how "expertise" is produced, made available, and rendered legitimate both nationally and historically. By re-conceptualizing how a controversial "social issue" becomes a political debate about the value of contested kinds of knowledge, he brings together currently under-theorized analyses of expertise, social movements, political change.

Dissertation Committee: Abigail Saguy (Chair), Eric Fassin (Université Paris VIII), Hannah Landeker, Edward Walker, and Juliet Williams

Research Interests: Culture, Knowledge, Law & Society, Politics, Sexualities, Gender, Family, Social Movements, Comparative and Historical Sociology, Qualitative Methods

Recent PhD Profiles

Eric W. Schoon

Department of Sociology
University of Arizona

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Dissertation Summary:
From academic scholarship to military policy and international law, legitimacy is widely regarded as critical in shaping the course and outcome of violent political conflict. Yet, our understanding of the conditions for legitimacy and its effects has been limited by the fact that there is wide variation across contexts in how legitimacy is defined and evaluated. My research advances longstanding debates in the literature on violent political conflict by turning attention to illegitimacy. Combining comparative analysis with in-depth historical research, I show that the conditions for illegitimacy transcend the social and cultural boundaries that shape legitimacy, providing a more stable and consistent means for understanding how evaluations of rightness and acceptability shape violent conflict. Further, through original historical research, discourse analysis, and longitudinal statistical analyses, I examine how diverse forms of illegitimacy differently affect violent social movements versus the states they oppose. By turning attention to illegitimacy, this work reveals previously unobserved patterns in how evaluations of rightness and acceptability are made across space and time, and suggests significant revisions to existing theories of legitimation in violent civil conflict.

Dissertation Committee: Ronald Breiger (Chair), Joseph Galaskiewicz, Charles Ragin, and Robin Strkyer.

Research Interests: My research examines the dynamics of political conflict and the emergence and consequences of cultural and political categories, using relational, historical, and statistical methods of analysis.

Recent PhD Profiles

Michael Vasseur

Department of Sociology
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Dissertation Summary:
Despite initial legislative successes in the 1970's, renewable energy policy at the federal level has largely stalled. This inaction has made states the driving force behind innovation in renewable energy policy over the past forty years. State actions vary widely, both in terms of the number of policies adopted and the content of those policies. What accounts for this subnational variation? To address this question I compiled a unique longitudinal dataset gathered from a variety of secondary sources including information's on state's political, economic, and institutional-cultural characteristics. Using this data my dissertation makes two key contributions. First, in contrast to existing studies, I demonstrate that the factors that prompt states to take action on renewable energy are not the same as those that shape the actual content of their policies. Across the three substantive chapters I show that accounts that focus only on the binary outcome of policy adoption obscure the substantively important differences between types of policies. Research must examine both policy adoption and policy content. My second contribution is the addition of institutional-cultural factors to models of state energy policy. Prior research on renewable energy policy has focused largely on the influence of economic and political factors. I rally evidence throughout the dissertation that, especially to understand variation in policy content, more attention should be paid to a state's policymaking institutions and political culture.

Dissertation Committee: Brian Steensland (Co-Chair), Clem Brooks (Co-Chair), Patricia McManus, and Fabio Rojas

Research Interests: Political Sociology and Policymaking, Environmental Policy, Quantitative Methods, Political Culture, Fiscal Sociology