

Symposium: Gender, Power, and Politics

If one scans political news from recent years, the increased visibility of contemporary women compared to women of earlier generations becomes evident. Women legislating and leading (whether as Secretary of State, Chancellor, or Prime Minister) have become a typical feature of many political systems. Global messages continue to emphasize the importance of women's political participation for successful development and governance. Yet, progress has remained uneven and limited in some countries. What lessons can we learn about gender, politics, and power from reflecting on these developments? How large and meaningful are these political gains for women? The contributions to this symposium address these questions and the importance of political sociology giving serious consideration to gender.

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Bringing Gender Back In

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Certainly women are more visible in formal politics today than in the past. Turning on the television to a summit of world leaders, a debate in the British Parliament, or a United Nations Security Council meeting is more likely to reveal female faces than ever before. But political sociologists may be unaware of the sheer magnitude of change that has occurred in this arena over the past 100 years.

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Women do remain underrepresented in electoral politics. Women make up half of the population of every country in the world. But the worldwide average percentage of women in national parliaments is only 20%. Of the more than 190 countries in the world, a woman is the head of government (president or a prime minister) in only 13. Since 1960, when Sirimavo Bandaranaike became the first female to lead a modern country, only 48 women have become the top political executive of their country.

But a focus on current levels of women in politics belies the striking growth in women's representation over time. In fact, it is arguable that the expansion of women's formal political representation ranks among the most significant trends in international politics of the last 100 years. Over the course of little more than a century, women first gained the right to vote nationally (New Zealand, 1893), appeared in parliament for the first time (Finland, 1907), reached 10% of a national legislature (USSR, 1946), reached 30% of a national legislature (German Democratic Republic, 1967), and recently passed the 50% barrier (Rwanda, 2008). In the ten years between 2000 and 2010, the average number of women in parliaments nearly doubled, from 11.7% to 19.4% (Paxton and Hughes 2013).

Along with the worldwide growth in women's political representation there is substantial country variation in patterns of growth and change (Paxton, Hughes, and Painter 2010). In some countries, women became commonplace as members of parliament, reaching 20, 30, and even 50% of legislatures (e.g., Sweden, Mozambique). In many other countries, however, the struggle for representation has proceeded slowly, and women remain barely visible in political life (e.g., Sri Lanka, Kuwait). Still other countries demonstrate that women can lose political power even after they have gained it (e.g., Hungary, Mongolia).

The pace of women's access to positions of power was also very different from country to country. Some countries made their gains in female representation in the 1980s (Iceland, Canada, Spain), whereas in others it would take until the 1990s to gain political clout (Australia, Austria, Germany). There are even countries that have yet to elect their first female representative, such as Micronesia. In short, there has been immense change and extensive variation over the last 100 years in women's representation in formal politics.

Does it matter? Certainly, even if women act and

legislate exactly the same way as men, justice arguments imply that, as half the population, women should appear in formal political positions. In principle, most laws are gender-neutral, and elected representatives pay attention to all of their constituents equally. In practice, however, feminist political theorists have argued that the appearance of neutrality actually hides substantial gender inequality. Without women, the state, being populated only by men, could legislate in the male interest. Simply put, if women are not around when decisions are made, their interests may not be served.

Further, including women in politics can increase the quality of political decision making. When women are included among potential politicians, it doubles the pool of talent and ability from which leaders can be drawn. When women are not included, valuable human resources are wasted. Including women increases the overall diversity of ideas, values, priorities, and political styles. Biologists know that ecological niches dominated by a single species are more vulnerable to changes in the environment than niches with a diversity of species. In a similar manner, having only the ideas and perspectives of men represented in a country's polity could make a country less flexible to changes in its internal or international environment (Paxton and Hughes 2013).

But arguments for women's representation are even more powerful if women bring to office interests and priorities that are different from those of men. There is increasingly strong evidence that men and women differ in their attitudes and policy priorities, and that these differences lead them to sponsor and support different bills (see Paxton and Hughes 2013: chapter 7 for a review of this literature). For example, despite years of calls for change in the military's sexual assault policies, it is only in 2013, when seven women are serving on the Senate Armed Services Committee (27%), that the issue has been pushed to the forefront of committee hearings and bills have been written (Steinhauer 2013).

Research finds that it is not simply that women prioritize traditionally-defined "women's issues" such as sexual harassment or curbing domestic violence, but that female legislators view many issues differently than men do (Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007). For example, Lyn Kathlene (1995) found that female and male state legislators saw both the origins of, and solutions to, crime very differently.

Female legislators viewed criminals as connected to others and society and as victims of circumstance as well as perpetrators of crimes. Women viewed crime as the result of life-long issues stemming from early childhood, poor education, and lack of adult opportunities. In contrast, men viewed criminals as independent individuals who are individually responsible for their actions. Men focused more on the crime, rather than the fact that it was committed by a person. Their different views of the people involved led the men and women to have different policy recommendations. Female legislators were more concerned with prevention (e.g., early childhood education, youth diversion programs, increased job opportunities), whereas men were more reactive in their response (e.g., stricter sentencing, longer prison terms).

What does all of this mean for political sociologists? We suggest both that political sociologists have much to offer the study of gender and politics and that gender and politics

can offer important insights to political sociologists. First, let's consider a classic concern of political sociologists—democratization. On the one hand, the relationship between democracy and women's political empowerment has long been a puzzle. Because women's political equality is often justified on grounds of democratic justice, it seems logical that women would be better represented in countries where democratic processes are more firmly entrenched. But, study after study found that level of democracy had no effect (or even negative effects) on women's legislative representation.

Recent work by sociologists has re-examined these relationships in a new way. When looking over longer periods of time, research finds that expanding civil liberties can help explain growth in women's political representation, that effects of *democratization* may be nonlinear, and that it is democratization (rather than level of democracy) that matters for women (Paxton, Hughes, and Painter 2010; Fallon, Swiss, and Viterna 2012).

Insights from the gender and democratization literature may have important implications for political sociologists more broadly. For example, some have contended that the rights and inclusion of groups such as women should be

understood as a component of democracy itself (Paxton 2000; Coppedge et al. 2011). As an example, consider the United States during much of the 19th and early 20th centuries, when women were generally excluded from the polity: was the U.S. really a full-fledged democracy (Coppedge et al. 2011)? Should Switzerland have been considered a full democracy in 1970, before women were granted suffrage? Taken seriously, these arguments suggest that political sociologists interested in democracy and democratization should be bringing indicators of gender equality into their analyses.

We suggest that political sociology has much to offer the study of gender and politics. Take economic develop-

ment as another example. As with democracy, much of the cross-national research on women's legislative representation shows no effect of economic development on the numbers of women elected to national legislatures. Soci-

ologists have begun to look at these relationships, disaggregating countries by level of development. And a handful of scholars have considered how industrialization affects attitudes toward gender more broadly. But, to a large extent, the ways in which macro-economic forces influence gender equality in politics are still not well understood. Sociologists have yet to really weigh in.

Gender also offers new research opportunities for political sociologists interested in institutional change and/or policy adoption and diffusion. Over the span of just the two most recent decades, gender quotas—policies that require a certain percentage of candidates or legislators to be women—have exploded onto the political scene. Whereas gender quotas existed in only a handful of countries in 1970, today over 91 countries have some type of gender quota (Paxton and Hughes 2013). Quotas take numerous forms, interact in complex ways with local institutions, have variable effects, and have transformed the face of national legislatures in every region of the world. Gender quotas have had such success that they are even spilling over into the corporate world: countries have legislated the number of public boardroom seats that must

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go to women. Yet, to date sociologists have largely ignored these policies, leaving explanation to political scientists and their singular focus on institutions.

Numerous important questions at the cross-section of gender and politics have been almost untouched by any political sociologists. A cursory look at almost any political sociology comprehensive exam reading list will reveal, if it includes a section on gender, one that is dominated almost exclusively by political science. But opportunities for synergy abound. For example, for researchers of electoral politics, much work is left to be done to disaggregate the category of “women.” Scholarship is just beginning to take seriously insights from feminists and to engage with gender in an intersectional way. Indeed, the first studies to consider how gender intersects with race, ethnicity, and religion are making their way into journals. Taking intersectionality seriously may be important to ensure that our conclusions about the factors that help women get into political power actually apply to all women (Hughes 2013).

Questions of whether and how women politicians are transforming political institutions and policy also have been rarely considered by sociologists. Given the magnitude of changes in women’s political representation identified herein, attempting to understand what these changes mean for politics and policy is a task sociologists should undertake. Furthermore, it is only very recently that researchers have begun to investigate women’s impacts in non-Western countries. The way much research discusses women’s impact is often Western—defining women’s issues as Western feminist issues. Sociologists, in particular, may be well suited to explore women’s impact in the Global South.

Despite the demonstrated power of a gendered perspective, as illustrated by authors such as Ann Orloff, Mournia Charrad, Val Moghadam, Holly McCammon, and Evelyn Nakano Glenn, bringing gender back into political sociology is still needed for three reasons. First, the staggering rise of women in politics, and its consequences for both elites and publics, rivals topics more commonly studied by political sociologists such as democracy, welfare state policies, globalization and world society. Gender can also powerfully contribute to theories and research of classic interest by political sociologists, such as democracy, the welfare state, and economic development. Finally, there are a wide range of important topics involving gender and politics that remain largely under-re-

searched by sociologists, leaving the door wide open for the next generation of budding political sociologists on the hunt for good research questions.

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Gender, Power and Political Parties: The Dynamics of Candidate Recruitment and Selection

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In recent months, the issues of women's political participation and power have repeatedly hit the headlines. In October 2012, Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard's "misogyny speech" critiquing Opposition Leader Tony Abbott went viral worldwide. The end of Hillary Clinton's tenure as United States Secretary of State in February 2013 and former UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's death in April prompted public discussion on their respective legacies for women in politics. Meanwhile, debates over gender quotas as a means for increasing women's participation in public life have become increasingly prominent—most notably in recent European Union efforts to implement quotas for corporate boards.

Although the increased visibility of women in political life is to be welcomed, these developments need to be situated within the wider global context of women's continuing minority status in politics. Only 20.8% of parliamentarians worldwide are female, while only 17 countries are led by female prime ministers or presidents.¹ While these numbers represent a historic high, global progress on women's political representation has been slow overall and has moved much faster in some places than others. For example, in the 2012 US elections, record numbers of women were elected, with women holding 98 of the 535 seats in the 113th US Congress (18.3%). Yet, these results continue to fall well short of gender parity, with the US ranked 78th in the world for women's representation by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, behind such countries as Canada, Australia, and Rwanda, among others.

What explains this continuing democratic deficit? Much of the early work in this area focused on the political, socioeconomic and cultural influences that explain cross-national variations in women's numerical representation. For example, comparative research in the field initially focused on the important role of electoral

systems, arguing that the proportion of women elected tends to be higher in countries with proportional representation rather than majoritarian electoral systems (Rule 1987). Yet, cross-national studies of women's representation often miss variations between political parties, which differ in the proportion of women they nominate and send to parliament. Political parties are key actors in the democratic process that link the represented and the representatives. In most countries, they are also the key gatekeepers to political power. They control which candidates are recruited and selected for political office and are, therefore, the main vehicles for delivering women's numerical presence in parliaments and governments. They are also the central actors involved in adopting candidate selection reforms, such as gender quotas, and provide the main route through which these measures are implemented. Thus, in order to explain women's numerical under-representation, we need to better understand how parties encourage or inhibit women's access to political office.

In studies of gender and political parties, the main framework for understanding the dynamics of the recruitment process has been (and continues to be) the supply and demand model (Norris and Lovenduski 1995). This model understands the outcome of particular parties' selection processes in terms of the interaction between the *supply* of candidates wishing to stand for political office and the *demands* of party gatekeepers who select the candidates. While early accounts of the political recruitment process largely focused on supply-side explanations for women's under-representation, subsequent work has overwhelmingly highlighted the limiting power of party demand. This is not to suggest that research in the field is no longer concerned with supply-side factors, but rather to acknowledge a convergence in the field around two main points of agreement: first, that party demand shapes supply and, second, that in most cases, there are generally sufficient numbers of women candidates to be selected for win-

1 Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2013 "Women in National Parliaments: Situation as of 1 April 2013." <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>

nable seats or places, if political parties choose to do so (Childs and Webb 2012). This shift in focus, in turn, has important implications for reform strategies, putting pressures for change on political parties (rather than on prospective women candidates) and highlighting the need for special measures—such as party or legislative gender quotas—to ensure that women are selected and elected.

Yet while the important role of political parties in shaping representative outcomes is widely recognized, there have been surprisingly few systematic studies into the ‘shadowy pathways’ prior to election. My new book,

Gender and Political

Recruitment (Kenny

2013), takes an

in-depth look at this

under-researched

area, investigating

the gendered dy-

namics of political

recruitment in

post-devolution

Scotland. Constitu-

tional change and

the devolution of

political power in the United Kingdom in the 1990s opened up unprecedented opportunities for women’s political participation in Scotland. In the run-up to the first elections to the Scottish Parliament in 1999, a broad coalition of women activists put internal and external pressure on Scottish political parties to ensure gender balance in representation, pushing for far-reaching reforms—including the implementation of gender quotas—in established party selection procedures. Of the 129 Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) elected for the first time in 1999, 48 were women (37.2%), a “gender coup” that was all the more dramatic given the historically poor record of both Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom on women’s numerical representation.

Yet, evidence from Scotland also illustrates the difficulties of reforming and redesigning recruitment in the face of powerful gendered and institutional legacies. The third elections to the Scottish Parliament in 2007 resulted in a significant decrease in the number of

women MSPs elected. While the recent 2011 elections represent a small improvement on these results, these outcomes are set within an overall pattern of decline in the recruitment and election of female candidates over time. Overall, progress on women’s representation remains fragile and contingent; gains have been achieved largely by accident rather than design. While the presence of women in the Scottish Parliament has, to some extent, become a “routinized” feature of post-devolution Scottish politics, trends over time raise questions as to the sustainability of current levels of women’s representation and suggest that gender equal-

ity measures like quotas have been poorly institutionalized within parties.

The book explores these gendered patterns in more detail by providing a fine-grained analysis of the candidate selection process within the Scottish Labour Party. In

telling the story of a selection contest, it puts a central focus on the internal dynamics and inner life of political parties, allowing us to see the ways in which the rules of the recruitment process (both formal and informal) play out on the ground. The book draws attention to an increasing gap between the formal rules of the selection process and the implementation of these rules, highlighting the extent to which Scottish Labour’s selection process increasingly operates in accordance with informal practices and shared understandings. It argues that in the absence of active maintenance of existing rules, participants in the selection process have been left with considerable leeway to circumvent and subvert formal gender equality reforms such as quotas. In doing so, they have fallen back on familiar formulas, resurrecting informal and traditional conventions around “localness”—including masculinist party practices of local patronage and the privileging of “favorite sons”—in order to counteract women’s increased access and presence in formal decision-making arenas.

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We cannot fully grasp the relationship between gender, power and politics without a thorough understanding of political parties as complex (and gendered) organizations in their own right. An emphasis on the internal dynamics of parties offers a potentially more nuanced understanding of the bounded nature and variable outcomes of gender equality reforms intended to promote women’s political participation.

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What lessons can we learn about gender, politics and power from these and other related developments? First, guaranteeing women's equality through measures such as gender quotas works. The considerable achievements of the first Scottish Parliament are largely the result of Scottish Labour's use of gender quotas and its main electoral rival the Scottish National Party's use of informal measures to promote women's representation in the run-up to the 1999 elections. Indeed, quotas delivered gender equality (or better) in Labour's Scottish Parliament cohort until 2011. But, at the same time, quotas do not in themselves remove all barriers to women's political participation, nor do they necessarily transform party and parliamentary culture. Quota reforms need to be situated within a wider strategy aimed at reforming the underlying practices and norms of the recruitment process (Lovenduski 2012). Implementation is also key. For quotas to be effective in increasing women's numerical presence, they need to be appropriately designed, well-implemented, and accompanied by sanctions for non-compliance.

Second, in heralding the increased visibility of women in formal political settings, we must also remain vigilant to the possibility for backlash, resistance and reversal. Without active maintenance, gender equality gains and reforms can easily slip off the political agenda or be co-opted by other interests. In Scotland, organized women played a significant role in engendering mainstream debates and shaping new political institutions. Consequently, they were able to successfully lobby for women's equal political representation in the new Scottish Parliament. Post-1999, however, the issue of women's representation does not appear to have retained high salience for Scottish political parties, nor has it remained a prominent feature of inter-party competition. In the absence of sustained commitment and strong action on women's representation post-1999, the number of female candidates selected and elected has stalled or declined in most of the political parties. Thus, even in favorable environments—with the creation of new political institutions, the insertion of new issues and conceptions of politics on the agenda, and the inclusion of new actors—it can be difficult to keep up the momentum, and actors may start to fall back on familiar (and gendered) institutional repertoires (see Mackay 2009).

As such, we cannot fully grasp the relationship between gender, power and politics without a thorough understanding of political parties as complex (and gendered) organizations in their own right. An emphasis on the internal dynamics of parties offers a potentially more nuanced understanding of the bounded nature and variable outcomes of gender equality reforms intended to promote women's political participation, pointing to how changes in formal rules—including the introduction of gender quotas—do not necessarily translate into changes in the day-to-day practices of recruitment and selection. In order to unravel these complexities, additional studies are needed in the form of careful case-by-case analysis of the political recruitment process, as well as comparative research across space and time. These kinds of studies are likely to generate a range of new insights into the “secret garden” of candidate selection that will, in turn, contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the gendered dynamics of political power, continuity and change.

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America's Missing Women Politicians: Lessons from Comparative Analysis

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Women's progress in formal political representation in the United States has been slow and uneven. This situation is problematic for many reasons. An implicit message of women's underrepresentation is that women cannot, or should not, govern. Women's underrepresentation undermines democratic legitimacy, and shuts women out of political decision-making. Research consistently shows that women parliamentarians are more actively involved in promoting gender-salient issues and integrating them into political agendas (e.g., Bratton 2005; Swers 2002), such that women's exclusion from elected office influences policymaking in ways that are detrimental to women. Women politicians are also more responsive to their constituents (e.g., Fox and Schuhmann 1999). At a symbolic level, women's parliamentary participation challenges gender stereotypes and promotes gender equality both within government and in the society more broadly. However, when women constitute only a minority of parliamentarians, their efficacy is limited as they continue to be subjected to gender stereotypes and gendered norms that support men parliamentarians interrupting them and women and men colleagues alike viewing them as less effective (Karpowitz, Mendelberg, and Shaker 2012). Unfortunately, such a situation persists in the US.

Jeanette Rankin was the first woman elected to the US Congress in 1917. Almost a century later, the United States has seen women candidates for president and vice president, and women have held the position of Secretary of State for twelve of the last sixteen years. Yet women constitute less than 20 percent of the US Congress. Only three other advanced industrialized democracies rank lower than the US in terms of women's political representation in national legislative bodies (Interparliamentary Union 2013). At subnational levels of governance, the data are only slightly more encouraging: women constitute 24 percent of state-level legislators.

The American media has cheerfully declared any number of recent years the Year of the Woman. The 1992

election was the first—and arguably the most significant—Year of the Woman. The years 2003, 2008, 2011, and 2012 were all touted as years marking great strides for women—but in most of these years, women's electoral gains were modest, at best. In fact, women's representation in the US Congress has remained functionally stagnant for more than a decade.

The yawning gender gap in women's formal political representation is particularly problematic for a nation that claims to be a beacon of democracy globally. Several major democracies have had women heads of state (and German Chancellor Angela Merkel is arguably one of the most powerful women in the world). Is there any hope for a sea change in women's formal political representation in the US? What can we learn from women's legislative gains in other countries that can help increase women's representation among elected policymakers in the US? Do the policies and practices of other nations offer the US a path towards increased representation of women among elected parliamentarians?

The US presents a particularly challenging environment for increasing women's political representation due to resistance to positive action programs, as well as a continued lack of concern about the gender gap both among those in political power and within the electorate in general. Unsurprisingly, women's political ambitions in the US are significantly lower than men's, as women view the political arena as hostile, hyper-competitive, and sexist. This gender gap in political ambition is stagnant across cohorts; that is, men are significantly more political ambitious than women even among younger Americans. Even more discouraging, the gender gap in interest in seeking future political office actually *increased* between 2001 and 2011 (Lawless and Fox 2012).¹

Current research on women's political representation both in the US and in comparative perspective provides a

1 Feminist political philosophers have further problematized the state as inherently masculine and exclusionary to women, which may further dissuade women from seeking to participate.

number of possible pathways for addressing women's low rates of participation as parliamentarians in the US. Barriers to women's formal political representation include structural, institutional, and cultural obstacles. Quotas help overcome all of these types of barriers and have been consistently shown to increase women's political representation significantly, particularly at the party level. Quotas are typically institutionalized through one of two paths: either constitutional amendments establish that a minimum number or percentage of parliamentary seats must be occupied by women or major political parties voluntarily agree that a certain

number or percentage of candidates must be women. Since 1995, at least 40 countries have instituted legal quotas in some form, while an estimated 50 nations have introduced voluntary party quotas. Countering the effects of both interactional and structural discrimination against women, quotas are remarkably effective in increasing women's political representation across a range of national and institutional contexts, enabling a number of countries, such as Argentina, Costa Rica, Rwanda, and South Africa, to rocket toward the top of the rankings of women's parliamentary representation, where Nordic countries have typically stood far above other countries.

Women's continued activism within political parties can also help increase women's formal political representation, both by agitating for quotas and pushing for other changes that would increase women's political representation. Many people wrongly assume that the Nordic countries achieved their high ranking primarily through the use of quotas. In fact, these countries did not start out with quotas; their success in supporting women's participation in elected office was initially precipitated by feminist activism within and outside of political parties. Center and left parties in some of these countries responded to the demands of feminists by introducing voluntary quotas, but some parties resisted quotas for decades.

Even as quotas have taken off on international agendas, quotas have never gained traction in the US as a possible tool

for remedying women's dismal underrepresentation among elected officials. Quotas rankle Americans because they challenge meritocratic and individualistic ideologies. Some feminists also view quotas as problematic because of how they can essentialize gender. Furthermore, the US model of electing a single person to represent a district makes the implementation of gender quotas challenging.² Nevertheless, quotas for

primaries would increase women's political participation, especially if parties commit resources specifically for women candidates in these races. Several US states also have multi-representative districts for state legislatures, which would be promising sites for introducing quotas in

anticipation that they would establish a pipeline to national office (Jones 2005). As Miki Caul Kittilson (2005) has argued, "Gender quotas are a mechanism for enriching democratic inclusion" (638) and both major American political parties could—and should—discuss them.³

Furthermore, women activists within and outside of party structures must demand that parties take concrete steps towards increasing women's representation among elected parliamentarians through quotas and other mechanisms and practices. The major political parties should demonstrate their commitment to gender parity in elected office by doing far more to promote women as candidates. Actions should include affirming gender parity in party platforms and allocating far more resources to developing women politicians and supporting women candidates in both primaries and general elections. Interventions aimed at politically empowering younger women and girls and getting them involved in electoral politics also need development and expansion in order to close the gender gap in political ambition.

Feminist challenges to sexist media depictions of wom-

2 As Jones 2005 discusses, diversity along racial/ethnic and class lines has been easier to achieve than gender diversity because of how Congressional districts are drawn—but there are no Congressional districts inhabited by all women.

3 The Democratic Party has already enacted quotas for selecting delegates to its national conventions.

en—especially of those in or running for elected office—are also necessary.⁴ While sure to be a slow and arduous process, only through a continuous and multi-pronged approach is the US likely to achieve descriptive representation among elected officials.

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From the Editor

This issue marks the end of my two-year term as editor of *States, Power, and Societies*. Even though most section news is communicated quickly through email announcements, *States, Power, and Societies* continues to serve the section and its members well. It offers a space for more in-depth, yet timely, reflective insight on important issues and developments. It collects and preserves key news about the section. It provides a venue for sharing ideas for all of the ways that we practice political sociology.

In producing the newsletter, I have drawn on the experience, thoughts, and work of many colleagues, whom I would like to thank for all they have done. My predecessor, Kathleen Schwartzman, shared her wisdom and provided a solid foundation for continuing the newsletter's high quality. Current and past section chairs Judy Stepan-Norris, Robin Stryker, and Ron Aminzade each offered intelligent guidance and timely advice. Council members of the section provided valuable feedback about the content and aims of the newsletter, often times turning a partially formed thought into a compelling feature. In addition, a team of Macalester sociology students and alumni made the production of the newsletter possible. Evgenia Grinblo designed and developed the layout templates. Mara Aussendorf and Hannah Johnson completed the layouts for each issue. Ethan Johnson, Josh Rubin, Hazel Schaeffer, Carley Davenport, and Joe Macula (most of whom completed our seminar in Political Sociology) read through every submission to help with both big picture and detailed editing.

Most of all, I would like to thank all the contributors to this issue and the past five issues. The content that you have provided makes for compelling reading and has brought forth many compliments from colleagues. (A special thanks in this regard to Amanda Pullum, who came up with an outstanding journal profile for this issue on short notice when our initial plans fell through.) It has been gratifying to read this work as it comes in and then to hear from others how much they enjoyed it after the issue goes out. Thanks once again and I look forward to seeing you in New York. *E.L.*

⁴ Although research shows that Americans share similarly positive attitudes towards women in political office as their counterparts in nations with much greater representation of women in elected office (e.g., Norris and Inglehart 2001), gendered and sexist media representations of women candidates continue.

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BOOK ABSTRACTS

Jack A. Goldstone, Eric P. Kaufmann and Monica Duffy Toft (ed.). 2012. *Political Demography: How Population Changes are Reshaping International Security and National Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/Politics/American-Politics/PoliticalSociology/?view=usa&ci=9780199945962>

This volume offers essays by expert demographers and political scientists advancing the new field of political demography. Essays examine the impact of aging in rich countries, the youth surge in developing countries, how age structure affects prospects for democracy, where changes in ethnic composition are causing shifts in party alignments in the U.S., the impact of differential fertility on democracy in Israel, the risks of ethnic civil wars in Africa; and how immigration is reshaping European religion and citizenship, among other topics. An ideal text for courses in political sociology seeking to show how various aspects of social structure are shaping political issues around the world.

Mark S. Mizruchi. 2013. *The Fracturing of the American Corporate Elite*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

<http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674072992>

Following World War II, American business leaders observed an ethic of civic responsibility and enlightened self-interest. Steering a course of moderation and pragmatism, they accepted the legitimacy of organized labor and federal regulation of the economy and offered support, sometimes actively, as Congress passed legislation to build the interstate highway system, reduce discrimination in hiring, and provide a safety net for the elderly and needy. In the 1970s, however, faced with inflation, foreign competition, and growing public criticism, corporate leaders became increasingly confrontational with labor and government. As they succeeded in taming their opponents, business leaders paradoxically undermined their ability to act collectively. The acquisition wave of the 1980s created further pressures to focus on shareholder value and short-term gain rather than long-term problems facing their country. Today's corporate elite is a fragmented, ineffectual

group that is unwilling to tackle the big issues, despite unprecedented wealth and political clout. Mizruchi's sobering assessment of the dissolution of America's business class helps explain the polarization and gridlock that stifle U.S. politics.

Simone Polillo. 2013. *Conservatives versus Wildcats: A Sociology of Financial Conflict*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

For decades, the banking industry seemed to be a Swiss watch, quietly ticking along. But the recent financial crisis hints at the true nature of this sector. As Simone Polillo reveals in *Conservatives Versus Wildcats*, conflict is a driving force. Conservative bankers strive to control money by allying themselves with political elites to restrict access to credit. They create new financial instruments in order to consolidate and reproduce their wealth over time, turning money into an instrument of exclusion, and couching their practices in ideologies of sound banking. Barriers to credit, however, create social resistance, so rival bankers—wildcats—attempt to subvert the status quo by using money as a tool for breaking existing boundaries. For instance, wildcats may increase the circulation of existing currencies, incorporate new actors in financial markets, or produce altogether new financial instruments to create change. Using examples from the economic and social histories of 19th-century America and Italy, two decentralized polities where challenges to sound banking originated from above and below, this book reveals the collective tactics that conservative bankers devise to legitimize strict boundaries around credit—and the transgressive strategies that wildcat bankers employ in their challenge to this restrictive stance.

Liliana Riga. 2012. *The Bolsheviks and the Russian Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

A comparative historical and political sociology of the Bolshevik revolutionaries, this book offers a reinterpretation of political radicalization in the last years of the Russian Empire. Finding that two-thirds of the Bolshevik leadership were ethnic minorities—Ukrainians, Latvians, Georgians, Jews, and others—it explores shared experiences of assimilation

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lation and socioethnic exclusion that underlay their class universalism. It suggests that imperial policies toward the Empire's diversity radicalized class and ethnicity as inter-sectional experiences, creating an assimilated but excluded elite: lower-class Russians and middle-class minorities universalized particular exclusions as they disproportionately sustained the economic and political burdens of maintaining the multiethnic Russian Empire. Political exclusions and quasi-assimilated social worlds enabled reinventions, as the Bolsheviks' social identities and routes to revolutionary radicalism show how a class-universalist politics was appealing to those seeking secularism in response to religious tensions, a universalist politics where ethnic and geopolitical insecurities were exclusionary, and a tolerant "imperial" imaginary where Russification and illiberal repressions were most keenly felt.

BOOK AWARD

Drew Halfmann received the 2013 Distinguished Scholarship Award from the Pacific Sociological Association for his book *Doctors and Demonstrators: How Political Institutions Shape Abortion Law in the United States, Britain and Canada* (University of Chicago Press, 2011).

ARTICLE ABSTRACTS

Ron Aminzade. 2013. "The Dialectic of Nation-Building in Post-Colonial Tanzania." *The Sociological Quarterly* 54: 335-366.

The contradiction between capital accumulation in a global economy and political legitimation within the nation-state has shaped the contentious politics of citizenship and exclusion in post-colonial Africa. An historical analysis of the early post-colonial, state socialist, and neoliberal eras in the African nation-state of Tanzania reveals that this contradiction generated conflicts within the country's political elite over various public policies that defined inclusion and exclusion from the community of the nation and defined the rights of citizens and non-citizens. Political contention over these policies concerned who should be allowed access to citizenship, what rights should be granted to foreigners, and whether all citizens should be granted the same rights regardless of race. Although the institutional expression of the contradiction varied over

time, a key divide was between central government administrators who prioritized economic growth in a global economy and political party leaders and members of parliament who were more focused on securing political legitimacy and electoral support within the nation-state.

Jennifer Bair and Phillip A. Hough. 2012. "The Legacies of Partial Possession: From Agrarian Struggle to Neoliberal Restructuring in Mexico and Colombia." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 53(5-6): 345-366.

How have communities in Latin America responded to neoliberal agrarian reforms? We address this question via an incorporated comparison of two regions affected by rural restructuring: La Laguna, Mexico and Viejo Caldas, Colombia. Prior to the introduction of market-led reforms, agricultural producers in both regions were heavily dependent on state support, yet in neither did they mobilize to resist neoliberal policies that were incompatible with the prevailing system of state-managed commercial agriculture. What explains this outcome? We argue that acquiescence to neoliberalism was, paradoxically, a legacy of agrarian unrest: In response to major mobilizations, historic land reforms were carried out in La Laguna and Viejo Caldas during the 1930s that created regional political economies organized around cotton and coffee, respectively. Over time, these economies evolved into regimes of "partial possession" wherein the social reproduction of rural livelihoods came to depend on specific state institutions: the Ejido Bank in Mexico and Fedecafé in Colombia. We attribute the absence of organized opposition to neoliberal reforms in La Laguna and Viejo Caldas to the conservatizing political transformation that partial possession engendered. In so doing, we highlight the importance of regional histories in shaping popular responses to neoliberal restructuring across the variegated landscape of Latin America's countryside.

Eric Bonds. 2013. "Assessing the Oil Motive after the U.S. War in Iraq." *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 25: 291-298.

Much opposition to the U.S. invasion of Iraq was based on the idea that it had little or nothing to do with threats to

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national security, but was instead motivated by a U.S. drive to control or at least influence Iraqi oil production. What then does it mean that the war has not resulted in a bonanza for U.S. oil companies? In this essay, it is argued that U.S. decision makers were keenly interested in Iraqi oil before the war. But recent events also suggest the need to update our ideas about resource wars. Additionally, these events serve as a reminder that there are important limits to U.S. power.

Eric Bonds. 2013. "Hegemony and Humanitarian Norms: The U.S. Legitimation of Toxic Violence." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 19: 82-106.

Despite widespread beliefs that the United States has not used chemical weapons since the distant past of World War I, this study suggests a more complicated history by examining U.S. use of herbicides and incapacitating gases in the Vietnam War and its use of herbicides in the "War on Drugs." This article places such use of toxic violence within a context of U.S. hegemony, by which U.S. officials have used contested forms of violence to secure geopolitical goals, but have also been pressured to comply with humanitarian norms or—when there is a gap between norms and state policy—to do legitimating work in order to maintain domestic and international consent. Based on case study analysis of archival and secondary sources, this article identifies three main techniques U.S. officials use to legitimate contested forms of violence. These techniques are defensive categorization, humanizing discourse, and surrogacy.

Hana Brown. 2013. "Race, Legality, and the Social Policy Consequences of Anti-Immigration Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 78(2): 290-314.

With the dramatic rise in the U.S. Hispanic population, scholars have struggled to explain how race affects welfare state development beyond the Black-White divide. This article uses a comparative analysis of welfare reforms in California and Arizona to examine how anti-Hispanic stereotypes affect social policy formation. Drawing on interviews, archival materials, and newspaper content analysis, I find that animus toward Hispanics is mobilized through two collective action frames: a legality frame and a racial

frame. The legality frame lauds the contributions of documented noncitizens while demonizing illegal immigrants. The racial frame celebrates the moral worth of White citizens and uses explicit racial language to deride Hispanics as undeserving. These subtle differences in racialization and worth attribution create divergent political opportunities for welfare policy. When advocates employ the legality frame, they create openings for rights claims by documented noncitizens. Use of the racial frame, however, dampens cross-racial mobilization and effective claims-making for expansive welfare policies. These findings help to explain why the relationship between race and welfare policy is less predictable for Hispanics than for Blacks. They also reveal surprising ways in which race and immigration affect contemporary politics and political mobilization.

Jonathan S. Coley. 2013. "Theorizing Issue Selection in Advocacy Organizations: An Analysis of Human Rights Activism Around Darfur and the Congo, 1998-2010." *Sociological Perspectives* 56(2): 191-212.

Why do advocacy organizations focus on some issues rather than others? Issue selection is an important area of study given that advocacy organizations have limited time and resources and thus many potentially important issues go ignored. Yet issue selection remains an understudied question in the scholarly study of advocacy organizations. In this article, the author draws on historical data, interviews, and a database of statements by major human rights advocacy organizations to examine one particular historical puzzle regarding issue selection: why advocacy organizations have focused on the recent conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan rather than the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, even though more people have died in the Congo. The author finds that advocacy organizations select issues not based on their severity but based on framing, political opportunities, and organizational resources.

Kurtuluş Gemici. 2013. "Moral Economy Redux: Social Protests in Turkey after the 2001 Economic Crisis." *Mobilization* 18(2): 143-160.

This article examines social protests following the collapse of an IMF-backed anti-inflation program in Turkey

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by people who lacked the associational bases to voice their political claims. Based on the pattern of protests following a similar economic crisis, one would expect protests by organized labor against the government. Yet it was largely shopkeepers and artisans who took to the streets in response to the 2001 crisis. I argue that the Turkish shopkeepers' ground-level understandings of economic processes—their moral economy—were at the origins of these protests. Furthermore, I demonstrate that organized labor's failure to mobilize resulted from the decline of associational capacity and strength of trade unions. The investigation of the Turkish shopkeeper protests shows that where capitalist production relations and a market economy threaten institutions of livelihood, moral economies can be the determining factor of a particular group's mobilization to contest rules and relations governing economic life.

Phillip A. Hough. 2012. "A Race to the Bottom?: Globalization, Labor Repression, and Development by Dispossession in Latin America's Banana Industry." *Global Labour Journal* 3(2): 237-264.

Labor scholars and activists draw attention to the ways that the globalization of production and market activities have caused to a race to the bottom in wages and work conditions that has instilled labor discipline throughout the globe. A number of recently published reports by international labor rights organizations, however, have brought worldwide attention to the ways that direct forms of violent repression, rather than the global market alone, continue to be a key modality used to control labor in the contemporary age. This paper examines the link between globalization and labor repression through a macro-historical analysis of one particularly repressive global industry: Latin American bananas. The author finds that the violent race to the bottom dynamic characterizing this industry is a perverse institutional outcome of a historic wave of labor unrest and economic nationalism in Latin America that launched developmentalist regimes oriented to economic growth through banana production, despite the dispossession and proletarianization that these policies engender. Labor repression therefore occurs as these regimes prioritize the profitability of banana producers in an increasingly competitive global banana market over the demands of banana workers and the dispossessed.

Damon Mayrl. 2013. "Fields, Logics, and Social Movements: Prison Abolition and the Social Justice Field." *Sociological Inquiry* 83(2): 286-309.

This essay argues that field analyses of social movements can be improved by incorporating more insights from Pierre Bourdieu. In particular, Bourdieu's concepts of logic, symbolic capital, *illusio*, and *doxa* can enrich social movement scholarship by enabling scholars to identify new objects of study, connect organizational- and individual-level effects, and shed new light on a variety of familiar features of social movements. I demonstrate this claim by delineating the contours of one such field, the "social justice field" (SJF). I argue that the SJF is a delimited, trans-movement arena of contentious politics united by the logic of the pursuit of radical social justice. Drawing upon existing scholarship, as well as my own research on the prison abolition movement, I argue that the competitive demands of the field produce characteristic effects on organizations and individual activists within the field. I conclude by considering how a Bourdieuan approach can provide fresh insights into familiar problematics within the social movements literature.

Damon Mayrl and Aliya Saperstein. 2013. "When White People Report Racial Discrimination: The Role of Region, Religion, and Politics." *Social Science Research* 42(3): 742-754.

Scholarly interest in the correlates and consequences of perceived discrimination has grown exponentially in recent years, yet, despite increased legal and media attention to claims of "anti-white bias," empirical studies predicting reports of racial discrimination by white Americans remain limited. Using data from the 2006 Portraits of American Life Study, we find that evangelical Protestantism increases the odds that whites will report experiencing racial discrimination, even after controlling for racial context and an array of social and psychological characteristics. However, this effect is limited to the South. Outside the South, political affiliation trumps religion, yielding distinct regional profiles of discrimination reporters. These findings suggest that institutions may function as regional "carriers" for whites inclined to report racial discrimination.

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Marcel Paret. 2013. "Precarious Labor Politics: Unions and the Struggles of the Insecure Working Class in the United States and South Africa." *Critical Sociology* (Online First).

The growing precariousness of the working class and the declining significance of unions has given rise to *precarious politics*: non-union struggles by insecurely employed and low-income groups. Under what conditions do unions incorporate these struggles as part of a broader labor movement? This article examines how unions responded to two particularly visible examples of precarious politics in the late 1990s and early 2000s: the struggles of low-wage noncitizen workers and communities in California, USA; and the struggles of poor citizen communities with high unemployment in Gauteng, South Africa. Contrary to what the legacy of unionism in each context would predict, unions became fused with precarious politics in California but were separated from them in Gauteng. This surprising divergence stemmed from the reconfiguration of unions in each place, most notably due to steady union decline in California and democratization in Gauteng. Whereas unions in California understood noncitizen workers as central to their own revitalization, the close relationship between unions and the state in Gauteng created distance from community struggles. Both cases underscore the importance of workers' citizenship status and the role of the state for understanding how unions relate to precarious politics.

Jennifer Rosen. 2013. "The Effects of Political Institutions on Women's Political Representation: A Comparative Analysis of 168 Countries from 1992 to 2010." *Political Research Quarterly* 66(2): 306-321.

Women's political representation exhibits substantial cross-national variation. While mechanisms shaping

these variations are well understood for Western democracies, there is little consensus on how these same factors operate in less developed countries. Effects of two political institutions—electoral systems and gender quotas—are tested across 168 countries from 1992 to 2010. Findings indicate that key causal factors interact with a country's socioeconomic development, shifting their importance and possibly even direction at various development thresholds. Generalizing broadly across countries, therefore, does not adequately represent the effects of these political institutions. Rather, different institutional changes are advised to increase women's presence in national governments.

Youyenn Teo. 2013. "Support for Deserving Families: Inventing the Anti-welfare Familialist State in Singapore." *Social Politics*. Advance Online Publication: doi:10.1093/sp/jxt004.

The (ideological) aversion many states in Asia have toward universal welfare have led to the development of various solutions that depend on the valorization of the familial. This has important implications: it tends toward limiting state expenditure on public goods; the unevenness and inequalities produced and reproduced by the state's reliance on particular family forms—with their attendant meanings around class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality—result in particular hierarchies and principles of division within society. This paper challenges the assumption embedded in much current scholarship that it is "culture" that determines what states can and cannot do in the realm of public provisions. Instead, it interrogates *how* states produce and reproduce particular visions of the family through its approach toward welfare, and how this shapes and reproduces social inequalities in state-society relations.

ANNOUNCEMENT

from the Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies,
an organization under the stewardship of Professor Amitai Etzioni,
a member and former President of the ASA.

In an effort to encourage dialogue in political theory and political sociology, we have recently launched a new website. Entitled *Your Move*, the site's sole focus is to promote discussions on a range of important topics.

www.yourmoveforum.org

Interview with Article Award Recipient

Anthony J. Spires

Interviewed by Sarah Gaby
UNC–Chapel Hill

Anthony Spires was a co-recipient of the Political Sociology Section's Article Award in 2012 for his article "Contingent Symbiosis and Civil Society in an Authoritarian State: Understanding the Survival of China's Grassroots NGOs."



(*American Journal of*

Sociology 117(1): 1-45). Spires is currently an assistant professor of sociology at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and associate director of its Centre for Civil Society Studies.

Among other work, many of your recent publications have been focused on Chinese associations. What drew you to this topic?

I was once asked a similar question by a Chinese NGO leader I'd known pretty well for a couple of years. I suppose my reasons are both intellectual and personal. On the intel-

lectual side, of course, there are many reasons why research on independent associational life in China is fascinating. First of all, as I argued in the AJS article, theoretically we would expect China's authoritarian state to either incorporate such groups into itself or suppress them altogether. The

fact that they are there and active was in itself a surprise, and thinking through the circumstances of their emergence and survival has led to a slew of related research questions.

On the personal side, in some ways it traces back to my childhood in rural South Georgia. In elementary school I

would sometimes play with friends who lived on a racially-integrated Christian commune near my home in Plains. It was, to say the least, a radically progressive community in an otherwise staunchly conservative area. And the founders of Habitat for Humanity, also neighbors, were friends of my family. I suppose having those models around me and seeing from an early age some of the great challenges NGOs face even in a democratic system made me all the more curious about these new groups in China.

As a result of the authoritarian environment within which the NGOs you discuss must operate, you argue that issues such as censorship and state fragmentation promote the development of NGOs. Do you think the findings from your work apply broadly to other authoritarian regimes?

This is a tough question, of course, because specific circumstances can vary a lot and, more importantly, because gathering data and doing fieldwork in authoritarian regimes can be extremely difficult on topics like this. In general, I would expect that some of the same logics hold across regimes, just as there are some "givens" of democratic societies, like freedom of speech and association. I actually think we often gloss over the differences and overemphasize the commonalities between democratic polities. But just as there are some shared

characteristics that lead to shared experiences in the UK and the US, for example, I think we might also find similarities between authoritarian regimes. I'll have to leave this to experts on other parts of the world, though, to see how much of the dynamics at work in

China can be fruitfully applied to understanding what's happening elsewhere.

You did extensive fieldwork in China as part of this work. What was the most challenging experience you had in the field?

The rise of civil society and independent organizations

Interview with Article Award Recipient

is seen by most Chinese authorities as, at a minimum, politically sensitive and by some as fundamentally dangerous to the regime. That sensitivity was made tangible when, some months into the fieldwork, two Chinese state security officers “invited me to tea.” This phrase is usually a euphemism for interrogation, but in my case it was literally afternoon tea in the café of a 5-star hotel. Over butter cookies and finger sandwiches, I was questioned about the motivations of Chinese volunteers—“What’s their ulterior motive?!”—and about NGO involvement in “the policies and politics of our neighboring country,” which meant Kyrgyzstan. So I found myself giving a mini-lecture about the origins of civil society in the US, pontificating on the universality of human compassion—Mencius also talked about this—and generally playing dumb about US-government support for the Color Revolutions. The afternoon ended with a generous offer of access to “information your Chinese academic colleagues don’t have” and an entreaty to “help us tell Americans the truth about China.” I suppose the newsletter’s readers can fill in any gaps here themselves, so I won’t say much else other than that I declined an invitation to be driven back to my apartment and assured my interlocutors that Chinese NGO participants were simply trying to make their society better.

The other related challenge of this research is ensuring the confidentiality and security of the people who opened their lives and stories to me. This was and remains a constant concern. Knowing my email and text messages were monitored—I was told so by a government official—was one thing. But when my research led, for example, to a young university student I’d known being invited to tea and asked about me... Well, that’s when I really struggled with how to do this research and how to write about it. I’m not sure I have found a good answer to this yet.

What do you see as the major contributions of this study? How should the findings influence the way we consider state-society relations and the way we think about the role of NGOs?

I would hope that this study gives other scholars pause when thinking about the role that NGOs play in the process of democratization. Not to say that NGOs in China

or other authoritarian regimes won’t or can’t press for political change. But at least in the period of this study—and through to today, I think—the empirical realities diverge quite a bit from some of our theoretical understandings and expectations. There was a lot of excitement from earlier social scientists as they talked about the macro-implications of civil society’s rise in China in the 1990s. I think that was understandable, but it’s really in the nitty-gritty, micro-level details of NGO-government relations that we gain a fuller understanding of the possibilities for substantive or systemic change.

More broadly, I hope the lesson for future studies is that we shouldn’t let extant theories serve as blinders to new empirical realities. This is an extremely hard line to finesse, though, and I’m sure I’ll continue to be challenged by this in the future.

Is this piece part of a larger project? What else is in the pipeline?

I’ve got a range of interests, but most of my work focuses on the rise of civil society in China and its broader sociological significance. There are several related projects in the pipeline. One asks about the backgrounds of NGO founders—who would take such risks, in a generally unsupportive environment, and how do they understand their choices? Another project offers a micro-level look at state-NGO relations through the prism of registration efforts—what happens when NGO leaders try to obtain legal status and recognition as NGOs?

A longer-term project that is exciting but terribly challenging concerns the possibility for democratic culture building within Chinese NGOs. Theoretically, the “skills and habits” of democracy are nurtured within associations of the sort we see emerging in China. But this is far from a settled question. Most organizations in contemporary China—whether schools, businesses, or government—are organized in a top-down, hierarchical fashion. So the key question here is whether and how Chinese NGOs can generate a more egalitarian way of decision-making and develop practices that approximate some ideal-type democratic culture. For many reasons, this is obviously not a straightforward area of research, so I’m trying to be very careful about how I’m pursuing it.

Journal Profile

Social Politics

Amanda Pullum

University of California-Irvine

Social Politics was founded in 1994 by three scholars—Barbara Hopson, Ann Shola Orloff, and Sonya Michel—who recognized the lack of publishing outlets for research on gender, policy, and politics. Originally published by the University of Illinois Press, the journal later moved to Oxford University Press, which has helped bring *Social Politics* to a broader, international audience. The editorial staff is strongly committed to publishing research that focuses on global concerns about gender and policy and on making the journal relevant and accessible to audiences throughout the world. In support of that goal, the editorial staff includes an international advisory board composed of 31 scholars from 13 countries. Orloff, who continues to serve on the journal's editorial board, notes that problems such as inequality in access to academic resources in the global South have hindered efforts to publish research from scholars in these states. However, the editorial board has had success in including work from authors in Eastern Europe and Latin America and would like to encourage submissions that speak to an international audience.

Recent work published in *Social Politics* has advanced our understanding of intersectionality, examining the interaction of multiple forms of inequality and power dynamics. In addition, Orloff says that while *Social Politics* has always included comparative work, recent articles have also focused more on transnational issues. The editorial staff has also seen an increase in work on sexualities, reflecting the increased interest in this topic within the field of gender studies.

Social Politics regularly publishes special issues addressing timely, important, and under-analyzed topics about gender and politics. The summer 2013 issue, "New Times, New Spaces: Gendered Transformations of Governance, Economy and Citizenship," includes work by geographers and others interested in questions of space. Elizabeth Bernstein, an associate editor of the journal, will be guest editing an issue entitled, "Sexual Economies and New Regimes of Governance," which will focus on sex work and human trafficking. This issue highlights the journal's

Findings and Ideas from *Social Politics*

Finseraas, Henning, Niklas Jakobsson, and Andreas Kotsadam. 2012. "The Gender Gap in Political Preferences: An Empirical Test of a Political Economy Explanation." *Social Politics* 19(2): 219-242.

Finseraas, Jakobsson, and Kotsadam test the hypothesis that women's labor market participation and risk of divorce are important explanatory factors for the gender gap in women's political preferences. Previous research argues that a high risk of divorce should lead women to consider economic options outside marriage when voting or that unstable marriages might cause women's votes to lean left, seeking more public support for child or elder care. Analyzing Norwegian women's experiences, Finseraas et al. argue that Scandinavian countries offer an excellent opportunity to examine potential influences on the gender gap in political preferences because these countries have high divorce rates, high rates of female labor force participation, and high rates of women's employment in the public sector. They find that while there is a gender gap in political preferences, it cannot be explained by women's risk of divorce, possibly because Norwegian women already receive strong state support for child and elder care. They suggest that being socialized in a context of high divorce rates may cause women to place a high value on economic independence from men.

emphasis on transnational research, and it is expected to be released in late 2013 or early 2014.

Orloff encourages authors who wish to publish in *Social Politics* to be sure to address an international audience in their work, rather than focusing solely on the United States. Scholars of U.S. politics, for example, may wish to address the United States as one of several case studies. The editors would like to see research that is clearly relevant across both countries and disciplines, situated within a theoretical context that emphasizes the importance of the case being discussed, and that helps to answer current debates about social policy, politics, and gender. "We have a lot more submissions than we can possibly publish," Orloff said. "And I would say that the thing that distinguishes the successful ones from the unsuccessful ones is precisely that kind of situating and speaking to debates. That's what makes people in different parts of the world interested in reading the journal." Qualitative and

Journal Profile

quantitative methodologies are welcomed; although *Social Politics* tends to receive more qualitative submissions, the editors are happy to feature quantitative work as well.

Finally, Orloff encourages scholars to stay true to their intellectual passions, noting that *Social Politics* is willing to publish less traditional approaches to communicating high-quality academic work. “I started this when I was an assistant professor. A lot of times, people tell you not to do things like that. But it did turn out to be that we had a vision of something that was real, that there was a demand. And so I guess that people should pursue those kinds of thoughts and visions when they have them. Not necessarily founding new journals, but in terms of making sure they preserve some of their own academic and intellectual vision, and keep that in an article, in a book, whatever you’re doing, trying to stay true to something that you come up with. We’ve really tried to encourage a lot of articles from stu-

Findings and Ideas from *Social Politics*

Korteweg, Anna C., and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos. 2013. “Gender, Religion, and Ethnicity: Intersections and Boundaries in Immigrant Integration Policy Making.” *Social Politics* 20(1):109-136.

Using feminist intersectional theory and theories of ethnic boundary formation, the authors ask how gender, ethnicity, religion, and immigration status interact within the context of immigration policies to shape understandings of what it means to be an ethnic minority or immigrant woman. Analyzing efforts to increase ethnic minority women’s participation in the Netherlands, Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos show that the Ministers who developed the nation’s Integration Plan assumed that mothers were a crucial element in the integration of new generations of immigrants, but conflated being a member of an ethnic minority with being an immigrant. In addition, the Plan seemed to pertain primarily to Muslim women, making the categories of “ethnic minority woman” and “Muslim immigrant woman” synonymous, even though immigrants from Muslim countries make up only half of non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands. Integration policies were therefore made based upon assumptions of gender inequality in Muslim communities and failed to address the needs of many immigrant women. These policies also draw rigid, “bright” boundaries between immigrant women and the non-immigrant Dutch population.

Findings and Ideas from *Social Politics*

Isaksen, Lise Widding. 2012. “Transnational Spaces of Care: Migrant Nurses in Norway.” *Social Politics* 19(1): 58-77.

Isaksen highlights the inequalities at work when labor is “outsourced” from richer to poorer nations by examining transnational migration and health care through the case of a small group of Latvian nurses who emigrated to Norway. Through interviews with these nurses, Isaksen describes the development of a transnational network of care between sending and receiving countries. Because Norwegian policymakers emphasize supporting dual-career families as a means to achieving gender equality, the state takes a large role in elder care, creating a need to recruit care workers from abroad. The Latvian nurses, meanwhile, felt pressured to leave their home country primarily due to ethnic tensions: they were primarily of Russian descent and were socially marginalized compared to those with Latvian parents. However, after arriving in Norway, the women were segregated into low status occupations and were not being paid commensurate with their skills. Isaksen describes several immigrants’ approaches to caring for their own families while working in Norway, highlighting the particular complexities and difficulties of providing care transnationally.

dents as well as more established people that didn’t necessarily fit into a standard journal format. We’ve gone longer, we’ve gone more on the personal side or experimenting with different techniques in an effort to bring out quality scholarship, whether or not it fits the standard seven-to-eight-thousand word journal article.”

In the future, Orloff hopes that the journal will continue to expand its reach throughout the world, especially into the global South. She credits Oxford University Press with aiding *Social Politics* in this goal by working to increase access to the journal in developing countries, including offering scholars in these areas a reduced price for Oxford journals. “I feel like this is a challenge to all of scholarship right now, to overcome the barriers that still exist to a fully international conversation,” she said. “We try to find ways to bring more people into the conversation.”

Further information about *Social Politics*, including advance online versions of forthcoming articles, is available at sp.oxfordjournals.org

Teaching Political Sociology

Using Current Events to Illuminate Theory

Sarah Warren
Lewis & Clark College

In many of my undergraduate courses, I aim to help students make connections between course readings and current politics in the U.S. and abroad. I often begin class with a short discussion of a current political event or issue that topically or theoretically relates to the day's assigned reading. I do this to get students talking and thinking through the implications of the day's material.

Linking readings and current events in discussion works well in a variety of classes, but it has been especially successful for me in a course called *The Politics of Gender in Latin America*. Through the discussions, students begin to imagine how ideas from course readings can help them understand their own lives. For example, last spring while reading Barbara Sutton's *Bodies in Crisis*, about gender politics in Argentina, student presenters linked it to comments by members of the Republican Party seeking to curtail women's reproductive rights. They debated whether knowing what's happening in Argentina helps us understand the political motivations of the Republican party vis-à-vis women's bodies and reproductive rights in the U.S. Ultimately, the class concluded that while the details are different, national and global politics are played out on women's bodies in the U.S. much like they are in Argentina. Similarly, while reading *Queering the Public Sphere in Mexico and Brazil* by Rafael de la Dehesa, students pondered the influences leading to more robust LGBT movements and support for same-sex marriage in different U.S. states. As a result of the book and our discussions, some students who came into the discussion skeptical about the effects of legislation on social change left with the insight that support for same-sex marriage in the U.S. is a dialectical process between government institutions and social norms.

This exercise has three beneficial outcomes. First, it allows students to draw connections between the readings and their own interests, while contributing to higher levels of engagement and more robust discussions. Second, the discussions inspire students who may struggle with the readings to participate in class. A student who does not fully understand the readings might be able to talk about a

current event, and through the discussion might begin to understand the readings better. Starting with a discussion of current events provides a safer space for timid students and sometimes inspires them to take part in later discussions as well. Third, and most exciting to me, this activity helps students understand theory and make use of that theory. They begin to see the relevance of theory and gain confidence in puzzling through it. They start to think about the generalizability of theory and to begin to see themselves as participating in theory-building through intellectual conversations.

This activity works particularly well in upper-division courses, but it could also work in larger introductory courses. To set expectations at the beginning of the semester, I model how leading such a discussion works by sharing a newspaper article, quote from a radio program or short video. I then ask the students what they know about this event or issue. Often this turns into a lively discussion about current politics and political debates. After letting the students discuss the issue for about five minutes, I ask them how they might explain this event given the readings. I press them to make connections between the theoretical framework of the readings and the current event. As the semester continues, students take turns introducing current events and leading a discussion about them. Under their leadership, they must ultimately connect the conversation to the readings, which leads us back to a more focused discussion. Depending on the size and level of the course, we generally have these discussions once a week with individual presenters or pairs. This is a fairly informal activity, but I make sure that the students take it seriously by giving them participation points and by taking seriously their comments in these discussions.

The central difficulty I have had in using it is that it can provide too much inspiration to students, and they often want to continue talking about the current event instead of moving on to the readings. Setting a time limit on the discussion, while respecting students' participation and feedback works as a solution.

Political Sociology Section Events at ASA

Political Sociology Section Events at ASA

Monday, Aug. 12, 2013, 8:30 to 10:10 a.m.

The U.S. Corporate Community, Nonprofits, and Government: Do They Still Interlock?

Organizer: G. William Domhoff (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Presider / Discussant: Gwen Moore (State University of New York-Albany)

Scott Dolan (State University of New York-Albany) and Gwen Moore (State University of New York-Albany), "Elite Interlocks between the Corporate Community, Nonprofits, and Federal Advisory Committees"

Richard L. Zweigenhaft, "Diversity Among Interlocking Directors and Among Those who are on Major Policy Groups"

Clifford Staples (University of North Dakota) and G. William Domhoff (University of California-Santa Cruz), "Networks of the Corporate Rich: From the Business Roundtable to the Obama Administration"

Monday, Aug. 12, 2013, 10:30 to 12:10 a.m.

Global Inequality and the Politics of Climate Change

Organizer / Presider: Jeffrey Broadbent (University of Minnesota)

Sun-Jin Yun (Seoul National University), Dowan Ku (Environment and Society Research Institute), and Jinyi Han (Seoul National University), "Climate Change Policy Networks in South Korea: Growth Network and Environmental Network"

Allen Hyde (University of Connecticut), Todd Vachon (University of Connecticut), and Lyle Scruggs (University of Connecticut-Storrs), "Good Jobs and Clean Air? Unions and Environmental Performance in a Comparative Perspective"

Michael Ryan Vasseur (Indiana University), "Diffusion and Differentiation in Renewable Energy Policy among U.S. States from 1998-2011"

Cynthia J. Bogard (Hofstra University), "The Future is Now: Politics, Climate Change and Policy in Haiti"
Cassie M. Hays (Gettysburg College), "Violent Natures: From Coercive Conservation to Climate Change in Africa"

Monday, Aug. 12, 2013, 2:30 to 4:10 p.m.

Media and Politics in the School Reform Movement: An Interactive Workshop

Co-Organizers and Co-Leaders: William A. Gamson (Boston College) and Charlotte M. Ryan (University of Massachusetts-Lowell)

This workshop frames the issue of contemporary school reform as a contest between what progressives have labeled the "corporate school reform movement" and a counter-movement that attempts to build a broad coalition of teachers, parents, and community groups concerned with improving the quality of public education at the K-12 level. Each table will have a mixture of sociologists and teachers, school administrators, leaders of parents and community groups and others who play an active role in public education.

Monday, Aug. 12, 2013, 2:30 to 4:10 p.m.

The Triad of States, Individuals, and Human Rights (co-sponsored with the Section on Human Rights)

Co-Organizers: Davita Silfen Glasberg (University of Connecticut) and Theo J. Majka (University of Dayton)
Presider: K. Russell Shekha (Florida State University)
Discussant: Joshua David Hendrick (Loyola University Maryland)

Political Sociology Section Events at ASA

Rawan Mazen Arar (University of California-San Diego), "Adversarial Allegiances: Appropriating the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in Northern Ireland"

Paulina Garcia del Moral (University of Toronto), Megan Dersnah (University of Toronto), and Ron Levi (University of Toronto), "Due Diligence: A Feminist Legal Weapon to Combat Violence against Women as Human Rights Violation?"

Stephen P. Ruszczyk (City University of New York-Graduate Center), "The Barricades of Legality: The Civil Society Exchanges of the Education Without Borders Network"

Breanne Leigh Grace (Michigan State University), "Zombies, Ninjas, and Widows: Market Citizenship and the 'Right to Have Rights' After Refugee Resettlement"

roll University), and Anna Catherine Rhodes (Johns Hopkins University), "The Changing Civic Life of the Best and the Brightest in the American Democracy"

Table 2: Politics, Journalism and the Media

Tina Fetner (McMaster University), Allyson Ellen Jane Stokes (McMaster University), and Carrie B. Sanders (University of Toronto), "Evangelical Radio in the US and Canada: Public Policy and Political Culture"

Jon MacKay Gobeil (Pennsylvania State University) and Spencer James (Brigham Young University), "Assessing the Fourth Estate: Conditions of Aggressive Questioning Practices in US and UK Executive News Conferences"

Noah Grand (University of California-Los Angeles), "Yes We Can (Publicize Our Memes): Social Issues in the Broadening Journalistic Sphere"

Jeremy Dale Hickman (University of Kentucky), "The Impact of Media Use on Political Participation: Some Preliminary Investigations"

Jennifer Stevens (Purdue University), "Media Bias of Illegal Immigration: A Multi-Dimensional Approach"

Table 3: Morality, Religion and Subjectivity in Political Culture

Andrew Miles (Duke University), "Morality and Politics: Comparing Alternate Theories"

Shiri Noy (Indiana University-Bloomington) and Timothy L. O'Brien (Indiana University), "Science, Religion and Public Opinion in the United States"

Luke Wagner (Yale University), "Perceptions of Secularism in the Kathmandu Valley: Preliminary Findings"

Brian T. Connor (University of Massachusetts), "The Relative Autonomy of the Political: Towards a Political Sociology of Jacques Rancière"

Monday, Aug. 12, 2013, 4:30 to 5:30 p.m.

Refereed Roundtable Sessions

Organizer: Ann Mische (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)

Table 1: Civic Associationism and Civil Society

Zeynep Atalay (St. Mary's College of California), "Civil Society is the Rising Currency in Politics Today: Discursive Opportunities of the Civil Society Framework"

Malgorzata Kurjanska (University of California-Berkeley), "Accumulation vs. Urbanization: Analyzing civic society development in the turn of the century Warsaw Governorate"

Ettore Recchi (Universita di Chieti-Pescara), "Bowling Alone European-Style? The Social and Political Participation of EU Movers in Southern Europe"

Carlo Ruzza (University of Trento), "Europe, the ideology of 'civil society' and its multiple uses"

Ted I.K. Youn (Boston College), Yi Shang (John Car-

Political Sociology Section Events at ASA

Table 4: Political Talk and Deliberation

Tunde Cserpes (University of Illinois-Chicago),
“Gender heterophily in discussing politics among core
network members: a relational approach”

Gregoire Mallard (Northwestern University), “From
Europe’s Past to the Middle East’s Future: The Con-
stitutive Purpose of Forward Analogies”

Nicole M. Pierski (University of California-Irvine),
“Hanging Back or Jumping In? Exploring Gender
Inequality in Deliberative Democracy”

J. Gregg Robinson (Grossmont College), “Political
Cynicism and the Foreclosure Crisis: Tracing the Im-
pact of Political Attitudes on Foreclosure Intervention”

Didem Turkoglu (University of North Carolina-
Chapel Hill), “Discussing Politics on Facebook: Is
There Any Room for Deliberation?”

Table 5: Democratic Discourse and Social Inclusion

Jing-Mao Ho (Cornell University), “Democracy in
Justification of Nationalism: Contentious Meanings of
Democracy in an East-Asian Nation (Taiwan)”

Ting Jiang (Metropolitan State University of
Denver), “Political Culture and the Prospect of
China’s Democratization”

Darel Paul (Williams College), “Beyond tolerance:
American professionals’ support of same-sex marriage”

Hilary Silver (Brown University), “Comparing Af-
firmative Actions: An International Perspective on
Social Inclusion Policies”

Malaena Jo Taylor (University of Connecticut), “De-
mocracy, Modernization, and Gay Rights Legislation”

Barbara Wejnert (State University of New York-
Buffalo), “World trends and the trajectory of
democratization”

Table 6: Political Attitudes, Voting and Policy-making

Yuval Feinstein (University of Haifa), “The rise and
decline of “gender gaps” in support of military action”

Carlo Felizardo (Northwestern University), “Rethink-
ing Class and Politics: Class and Policy Preferences on
Welfare Spending and Immigration”

Jungyun Gill (Stonehill College), James DeFronzo
(University of Connecticut), Kelli Brodbeck (Stonehill
College), and Laura Dzgoeva (Stonehill College),
“War, Unemployment and the 2008 and the 2012
Presidential Elections”

John D Kincaid (University of California-Davis), “Tax
Revolt as a Gateway Drug? Suburban Politics and the
Far Right in Texas”

Sheri Locklear Kunovich (Southern Methodist
University) and Robert Michael Kunovich (University
of Texas-Arlington), “The Gender Gap in Political
Knowledge Among Poles”

Table 7: Parties and Partisanship

Jabou T. McCoy (University of Davis), “Explorations in
Political Party Affiliation among the Black Electorate”

Marcelo A. Bohrt (Brown University), “The Rise of
Indigenous Parties in Latin America: Subnational
Event-History Analysis of Success in Bolivia”

Timothy Jurkovic (Firelands College), “Why the
working class votes republican: The mass psychology
of right wing authoritarianism”

Paulo Sérgio Peres (Federal University of Rio Grande
do Sul), “How Brazilian Parties Organize: Centraliza-
tion by Strategic Leadership Design?”

Nicolas M. Somma (Pontificia Universidad Catolica
de Chile), “How do party systems shape insurgency
levels? A comparison of four nineteenth-century Latin
American republics”

Political Sociology Section Events at ASA

Daniel Silver (University of Toronto) and Diana Lee Miller (University of Toronto), "Neo-regionalism: how the local scene impacts party voting in Canada"

Table 8: Political Ideologies

Emily Brissette (University of California-Berkeley), "A Matter of Choice: Neoliberalism and the Counter-Recruitment Movement"

Kevin A. Estep (University of Notre Dame), "Consistently Conservative or Consistently Liberal: Explaining Correlations Between Cultural and Economic Views"

Kristina Fuentes (London School of Economics), "A Capitalist Tradition in America"

Wei Li, "Confucianism in Imperial China: State Ideology as Culture"

Xiaohong Xu (Yale University), "The De-Routinization of Charisma: The Origins of China's Cultural Revolution Reconsidered"

Maureen A. Eger (Umea University) and Sarah K. Valdez (University of Washington), "Neo-Nationalism in Western Europe"

Table 9: Imagining Nationhood and Citizenship

Michimi Muranushi (Gakushuin University), "The Resignation of Yokozuna Asashoryu and the Changing Discourse of Declining Japan"

Bilge Sanli (State University of New York-Stony Brook), "Towards Cosmopolitan Attachments: Understanding National Identification in the Age of Globalization"

Joseph Svec (University of Minnesota), "Reproducing a Nation: Does Nation-Building Help Define Demographic Boundaries?"

Daniel A. Williams (Carleton College), "Citizenship and Germanness as Symbolic Boundaries in Contemporary Germany: Implications for Race and Ethnicity Theory"

Hsin-Yi Yeh (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers), "Producing a Chinese Nationality: Analyzing the Observance of National Celebration Day in Taiwan"

Table 10: Political Inclusion and Citizenship

Ryon J. Cobb (Florida State University), Daniel Tope (Florida State University), Justin Pickett (State University of New York-Albany), and Jonathan Dirlam (The Ohio State University), "Othering Obama: Racial Attitudes and Dubious Beliefs about the President"

Marko Tapio Kananen (University of Minnesota), Ville-Samuli Haverinen (University of Eastern Finland), Jussi Ronkainen (Mikkeli University of Applied Sciences), and Päivi Harinen (University of Eastern Finland), "Diaspora Citizenship - Somali communities in Finland and in the United States"

Emily Jane Laxer (University of Toronto), "Histories of Revolution and Strategies of Integration: Constructing Nationhood in France and Québec"

Sudarat Musikawong (Siena College), "Thai Agricultural Workers in the United States: citizenship, debt bondage, and the legitimacy of contracts"

Daniel Naujoks (United Nations), "Does Dual Citizenship Increase Naturalization? Evidence from Indian Immigrants in the U.S."

Rosemary A. Russo (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill), "State Trajectories of Suffrage in the United States, 1900-1950"

Table 11: The Politics of Immigration

Daniel Faas (Trinity College Dublin), "Delineating the emergence of the civic and 'post-multicultural' turns in the Netherlands, Britain, Denmark, and Germany"

Michael Gould-Wartofsky (New York University), "Logics of Legalization: Business Mobilization and the Making of the Immigration Reform and Control Act"

Political Sociology Section Events at ASA

Jiaqi Liang (American University), "The Newcomers and Environmental Justice: The Implications of Social Construction of Hispanics for Environmental Policy Implementation"

Sheilamae Reyes (The Ohio State University), "Disadvantage or Opportunity? Segregation and Immigrant Political Participation in the United States"

Table 12: The Politics of Non-profits/3rd Sector

Fulya Apaydin (Institut Barcelona D'Estudis Internacionals), "Non-state Welfare Provision and Development: domestic and overseas activities of Turkish charities in comparative perspective"

Valerie Feldman (University of California-Davis), "Supporting or Disciplining Communities of Color? Governing Prostitution through Responsibilization"

Vanna Gonzales (Arizona State University), "Cultural (In)Justice: NHSOs Role in Fostering Equity and Diversity in Multicultural Democracies"

Emanuel Smikun (American Social Indicators), "Nonprofits: The Fourth, Conterbalancing Sector"

Jeffrey Swindle (University of Michigan), "The Measurement of Un-official Development Organizations in Social Science Literature, 1990-2012"

Mark Stephen Treskon (New York University), "The Geography of Advocacy Networks: Political Efficacy and Framing Predatory Lending as an 'Urban' Problem"

Table 13: Movement-state Interactions

Julia Chuang (University of California-Berkeley), "China's Rural Land Grabs: Bureaucratic Absorption and the Muting of Rightful Resistance"

Felipe Antonio Dias (University of California-Berkeley), "Slave Rebellions and State Formation in Nineteenth Century Brazil"

Peter T. Klein (Brown University), "Flooded with Meanings: Contested Development and Brazil's Belo Monte Dam"

Erika Marquez (Bryn Mawr College), "Gendering Security: A Feminist Look at Exceptionalism And Militarization"

Katie Sobering (University of Texas-Austin), "¡Mierda...todo! (Shit...all of it!): Science, Embodiment and the Fight Over Environmental Contamination in Northwest Argentina"

Table 14: Political and Organizational Networks

Kyu Youn Choi (Humboldt University-Berlin), "The Power-relational Approach for Studying the Deficient Implementation of Diffusing Public Policies"

Emanuele Ferragina (University of Oxford), "The Determinants of Social Capital and the Mediating Effect of History"

Walker Frahm (University of Washington), "Brokers Beyond Borders"

Charlie Gomez (Stanford University) and Paolo Parigi (Stanford University), "Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces in IGO Networks: The Duality of Structure and Change"

Stefanie Israel (University of Notre Dame), "From Traficantes to UPPs: A Network-Based Theory of Legitimacy Following Political Transition"

Olga V. Mayorova (Higher School of Economics), "Women of The Corporate Boards: Who Stays in The Game?"

Table 15: Political Organizing and Social Protest

Alexander Vosick Barnard (University of California-Berkeley), "What's So 'Contentious' About Free Food? Political Performances, Tactical Repertoires, and 'Food Not Bombs'"

Political Sociology Section Events at ASA

John D. Krinsky (City University of New York-City College) and Paul Getsos (Independent activist/scholar), "We Need to Go Egypt on Their Ass: Time, Occupy, and Organizing in New York City"

Darcy K. Leach (Bradley University), "The Structure of Tyrannylessness: Assessing Resistance to Oligarchy in the German Nonviolence and Autonomous Movements"

Jung-eun Lee (University of California-Los Angeles), "The Political and Discursive Conditions of Anti-American Protests in South Korea (1992-2003)"

Ryan Kelly Masters (Columbia University) and Michael P. Young (University of Texas-Austin), "Religious Activism in Tocqueville's America: The Temperance and Anti-Slavery Movements in New York State, 1828-1838"

Chan S. Suh (Cornell University) and David Strang, "Peace Movements in the Shadow of Militarism: Military Communities and the Diffusion of Peace Resolutions"

Table 16: Neoliberalism and the Welfare State

Wen Feng (Peking University) and Chack-kie Wong (Chinese University of Hong Kong), "The Metamorphosis: From Public Hospital to State-owned Company in China"

Quan Dang Hien Mai (Vanderbilt University), "The effects of secondary switch-points in analyzing institutional trajectory: Insights from Argentinian and Brazilian Neoliberal Reforms"

Beth Mintz (University of Vermont), "The Revenge of Neoliberalism: The Student as Customer and the Student Debt Crisis"

Einar Overbye (Oslo and Akershus University College) and Erika Gubrium (Oslo and Akershus University College), "Has the European economic crisis led to particularly drastic cuts in social services?"

Liene Ozolina (London School of Economics and Political Science), "To wait or not to wait: Languages and practices of stateness in post-Soviet Latvia"

Kim Won Sub (Korea University), "The Emergence of a New Welfare State in East Asia"

Table 17: Capitalism, Corporate Power and State Regulation

Eric Bjorklund (The University of Arizona), "Nexus Wars: The Political Struggle for E-Commerce Sales Tax Policy"

William Dane Cabin (Richard Stockton College), "Big Pharma: A Comparative Study of Intertwining Class Interests in the MMA and ACA"

Magnus Richard Ertresvaag Gittins (University of Cambridge) and Ayca Zayim (University of Wisconsin-Madison), "The Contrarian Case of the Indian Automotive Industry Under Globalization: Success by Luck or Design?"

Sahan Savas Karatasli (Johns Hopkins University) and Sefika Kumral (Johns Hopkins University), "Changes in the Stratification of the Capitalist World Economy, 1820-2010"

Ivana Katic (Columbia University) and Jerry W. Kim (Columbia University), "Caught in the revolving door: firm-government ties as determinants of regulatory outcomes"

Table 18: Legitimacy, Centralization and Control

Alvaro A. Santana Acuña (Harvard University), "How Central Is 'Centralization' to Nation-State Formation?"

Cory Blad (Manhattan College), "Nationalist Politics and State Legitimation in the Neoliberal Era"

Thomas A. Crosbie (Yale University), "Publicity, Politics, Strategy: Theorizing change in US Army public affairs doctrine, 1947-1975"

Barry Eidlin (University of Wisconsin-Madison), "Class vs. Special Interest: Labor Regimes and Union

Political Sociology Section Events at ASA

Density Divergence in the U.S. and Canada, 1911-2011”

Fred Eidlin (University of Tartu), “The Problem of Legitimacy for Illegitimate and Semi-legitimate Regimes”

Table 19: Political Leadership and Socialization

Peng Lu (Tsinghua University), “Wealthy-Gentry Politics for Capitalists in China”

Young-Il Kim (Baylor University), Sung Joon Jang (Baylor University), and Byron R Johnson (Baylor University), “Youth Involvement in Scouting and Civic Engagement in Adulthood”

Katherine Pendakis (York University), “Living in the File: Political Genealogy and the Greek Left”

Adrian Teodor Popan (University of Texas-Austin), “Cult of Personality. Social Actors Behind the Stage”

Barbara Wejnert (State University of New York-Buffalo), “Personal Networks in Building Democracy: The Case of Dissident Movement in Eastern Europe”

Table 20: Democracy, Instability and Violence

Christopher Donnelly (University of Connecticut), “Democracy and Bombs: How Human Rights and Economy Impact the Frequency of Terrorist Bombings”

Alecia Anderson (North Carolina State University), “Political Stability: A Study of Trust in South Africa”

Yuri A. Frantsuz (University of Humanities and Social Sciences), “Instability as a Sociological Concept”

Ryan Alansson Lee Hagen (Columbia University), Kinga Reka Makovi (Columbia University), and Peter S. Bearman (Columbia University), “The Influence of Political Dynamics on Southern Lynch Mob Formation and Lethality”

Sefika Kumral (Johns Hopkins University), “Democratic Origins of Ethnic Violence: Processes and Mechanisms of Ethnic Collective Violence Against Kurds”

Monday, Aug 12

Political Sociology Section Business Meeting and Reception

All section members are invited and encouraged to attend the section’s business meeting, which immediately follows the refereed roundtables. After the business meeting, we will have our annual section reception—please plan to attend.

5:30-6:10

Section on Political Sociology
Business Meeting

6:30-8:30

Joint Reception (with Section on
Comparative-Historical Sociology
and Section on Peace, War, and
Social Conflict)

Political Sociology Section Events at ASA

Tuesday, Aug. 13, 2013, 8:30 to 10:10 a.m.

Global Land Grabbing and the Politics of Dispossession

Organizer: Wendy Wolford (Cornell University)

Madeleine Fairbairn (University of Wisconsin-Madison), "Just another Asset Class: Finance and the Construction of Farmland Investment"

Farshad A. Araghi (Florida Atlantic University), "Appetite for Revolution: Land Grabbing and Global 'Hunger Regimes': The Agri-Food Question of Our Times"

Michael James Levien (University of California-Berkeley), "Dispossession, Development and Resistance: From Dams to Special Economic Zones"

Jundai Liu (Harvard University), "Solidarity and Representation: Collective Organization & Political Participation in Guarding Chinese Rural Collective Land Rights"

Kevin Young (State University of New York-Stony Brook) and Michael Schwartz (State University of New York-Stony Brook), "The Obama Conundrum"

Deana Rohlinger (Florida State University), Christian Alexander Vaccaro (Florida State University), Miriam Sessions (Florida State University), and Heather Mauney (Florida State University), "Identity in Action: Emails to Elected Officials Regarding the Terri Schiavo Case"

Gregory Hooks (Washington State University) and Chad Leighton Smith (Texas State University), "Torture and Its Contradictions in the 21st Century United States"

Rebecca Jean Emigh (University of California-Los Angeles), Dylan John Riley (University of California-Berkeley), and Patricia Ahmed (South Dakota State University-University Center), "The Racialization of Legal Categories in the First US Censuses"

Dana M. Moss (University of California-Irvine), "Repression and Response in an Authoritarian State: The Jordanian Regime's Tactical Interactions with Reform-Oriented Challengers"

Tuesday, Aug. 13, 2013, 10:30 to 12:10 a.m.

Open Topic on Political Sociology

Organizer / Presider: Judith Stepan-Norris (University of California-Irvine)

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 14 MINICONFERENCE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Political Sociology and Comparative and Historical Sociology sections of the ASA announce a special mini-conference on "Capitalism, the Politics of Inequality, and Historical Change" to be held on August 14, following the annual ASA meeting, at Columbia University. Building on this year's ASA's theme of "Interrogating Inequality," papers examine historical and contemporary processes of capitalist growth and expansion that heighten or attenuate various forms of inequality, including national, regional, ethno-racial, class, and gender.

Sessions include:

- Capitalism, Poverty, and New Social Movements (Plenary Session)
- Violence, the State, and the New Economy
- Identities, Citizenship, and Political Transformation
- Markets and Democracy
- Corporations and Responsibility
- War and Political Order
- The US State in Comparative and Historical Perspective
- Capitalism, States, and Transformations in Global Perspective
- The Imperial and Colonial Dimensions of Capitalism and Inequalities
- Junior Political Sociologists: Emerging Directions in Political Sociology
- Junior Comparative Historical Sociologists: Emerging Directions in Historical Comparative Sociology

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Recent Ph.D Profiles

The Political Sociology Section is pleased to feature the following profiles of Section members who have recently completed the Ph.D. In addition to providing exposure for Section members who have recently completed a doctorate, the feature may be of interest to members whose departments are in the process of hiring or who want to learn of emerging research.

Elisabeth Anderson

Northwestern University

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Dissertation Summary

Why do states devote resources to protecting groups that seem politically, economically, and socially powerless? My dissertation explores this question through an analysis of the political origins and development of nineteenth-century child labor regulation in Germany and the U.S. Child labor laws emerged in continental Europe and the American states not as a result of working-class mobilizations, but as a consequence of middle-class policy entrepreneurs' dedicated reform advocacy. Child labor policy entrepreneurs did not act on the basis of narrow material or power interests, but rather on behalf of a voiceless and marginalized minority whom they both pitied and feared. Explaining the emergence and content of child labor laws therefore requires understanding these actors' motivations and actions. In each of four case studies, I explicate the culturally embedded ideas that informed policy entrepreneurs' interpretive understanding of the child labor problem, motivated their political action, and shaped policy outcomes. Furthermore, because effective policy entrepreneurs never acted alone, I identify the strategies through which they forged coalitions to overcome political barriers and successfully effect institutional change. On the basis of this analysis I develop a theoretical model which challenges existing theories of welfare policy development by bringing individual actors, their culturally embedded ideas, and their creative political action to the fore.

Dissertation Committee: Bruce Carruthers, Ann Orloff, Charles Camic, Nicola Beisel

Other Research Interests: My research interests span political sociology, comparative-historical sociology, gender and family, and theory. Current projects include: (1) a study (with Bruce Carruthers) of how Progressive Era policy experts partnered with industry to combat predatory lending; and (2) the construction of a cross-national historical taxation dataset (with Monica Prasad). Future projects will include a comparative analysis of differences in how organizations have handled internal allegations of child sexual abuse.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Abigail Andrews

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Dissertation Summary

Abigail Andrews' dissertation ("Negotiating Capitalism, Community, and Gender: Power and Agency in Two Streams of Mexican Migration") is a two-year, bi-national, qualitative study comparing the trajectories of two Oaxacan migrant communities to California: one of rural farm workers in San Diego County and another of urban service workers in Los Angeles. Through this comparison, Abigail draws attention to how local political institutions mediate the migration process. On the hometown side, she shows that hierarchical village governments limit members to grueling, farm jobs, while egalitarian hometowns foster urban opportunities. On the receiving end, meanwhile, she traces two distinct logics of local immigration control, illustrating how arbitrary policing provokes fear, while discerning policing motivates migrants to behave as "good immigrants." Finally, by examining gender relations in the context of community politics, she shows how undocumented communities may respond to migration as a crisis, rather than an opportunity for women's liberation. Articles from this study have won awards from ASA, SSSP, and LASA sections on Development, Racial and Ethnic Minorities, Law and Society, and Gender.

Dissertation Committee: Peter Evans, Raka Ray, Michael Burawoy, Irene Bloemraad, Gillian Hart

Other Research Interests: Abigail's research interests include Political Sociology, Development, Globalization, Migration, Law and Society, Gender, Poverty, Latinos/Latin America, Social Movements, Theory, and Qualitative Methods. She is a fellow of ACLS/Mellon, the National Science Foundation, Jacob K. Javits, Phi Beta Kappa, and UC-MEXUS. Previously, she also published on power dynamics in transnational social movements.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Richard Aviles

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Dissertation Summary

In my dissertation (“Solidarity with Whom: Racial Environment and Class Politics in the U.S. Presidential Elections”), I explore the puzzle of the persistence of class differences in white voter response to black density in U.S. presidential elections. The “racial threat” hypothesis claims that the likelihood of whites in general and working-class whites in particular voting for Democratic candidates is negatively related to the proportion black in their county or state. Applying the theories of Gøsta Esping-Andersen, I argue that the design of federal housing and welfare policies fostered a political divide between blacks and working-class whites, conflicts which persist to this day and largely explain the enduring association between racial context and white working-class vote choice. I test this hypothesis through a multi-level, statistical analysis of context’s association with white vote choice in U.S. presidential elections from 1952 to 2008, using a micro-macro dataset that merges individual level data from the American National Election Studies Cumulative Data File with contextual data from the U.S. Census. With this dataset, I will operationalize and test the above policy mechanisms, as well as determine when, for whom, and at what scale was racial context salient for white working-class vote choice.

Dissertation Committee: Erik Olin Wright (Co-Chair); Chaeyoon Lim (Co-Chair); Mara Loveman; Chad Goldberg; Joel Rogers; Byron Shafer.

Other Research Interests: Class Analysis; American Politics; Race and Ethnic Studies; Social Theory; Quantitative Methods.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Marie E. Berry

University of California-Los Angeles

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Dissertation Summary

“From Violence to Mobilization: War, Women, and Political Power in Rwanda, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Beyond.” Can mass violence precipitate the social and political mobilization of women? While scholarship emphasizes the suffering and disenfranchisement that follow episodes of bloodshed, some countries that have experienced mass violence have among the world’s highest levels of women in their national legislatures. Rwanda is perhaps the most striking case, since less than ten years after one of the most horrific genocides in history, its citizens elected the world’s highest percentage of women to parliament. Other countries, like Bosnia-Herzegovina, have experienced a surge in women’s civil society participation after episodes of violence, but have yet to see a significant increase in women’s political representation. My dissertation proceeds in three parts. First, through a global quantitative analysis of women in politics and civil society organizations, I show that women’s increased civic and political participation after mass violence is surprisingly the norm rather than the exception. Next, through in-depth case studies on Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina, I show that violence can radically upend the gendered status quo in a society and thus open opportunities for women to participate in public life in ways that were previously infeasible. Drawing on 10 months of fieldwork and over 220 interviews with women in both countries, I identify the mechanisms through which mass violence leads to new forms of women’s participation in public life. Finally, I engage with different manifestations of women’s mobilization after violence in four additional countries.

Dissertation Committee: Andreas Wimmer (chair), Gail Kligman, Michael Mann, William Roy, Chris Blattman (Yale)

Other Research Interests: My research interests are generally related to the long-term effects of mass violence on societies, including on ethnicity, gender, and power. I am also interested in the experience of women during war, and the role of women in post-violence political processes.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Barry Eidlin

University of California-Berkeley (Ph.D., 2012)

University of Wisconsin–Madison (Postdoctoral Fellow)

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Dissertation Summary

“The Class Idea: Politics, Ideology, and Class Formation in the United States and Canada in the Twentieth Century.” 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.

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

Other 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 Ph.D. Profiles

Sebastián G. Guzmán

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Dissertation Summary

My dissertation (“Working-Class Political Consent and Resistance: An Ethnography of Social Housing Mortgage-Debtors in Chile”) investigates how political consent and resistance to norms reproducing inequality are produced in a Chilean social housing development. Some debtors consent with housing policy by paying their mortgages, while others have defaulted, demanding that the state cancels their debts. As Scott would expect, debtors generally do not agree with the norms that make them poorer. But they consent not because they anticipate repression to resistance, but because the state and banks induce fear and resignation through confusing (mis)information and “lessons” about the ineffectiveness of protesting and demanding rights—e.g., irresponsiveness and infinite waiting that lower expectations. In response, the debtors’ engage in “(mis)information struggles” over risks of resistance and the (especially factual) validity of incentives to consent or resist—actual incentives are important, but that their validity is contested. Debtors’ organizations also engage in “classification struggles” over the boundaries of categories associated with different entitlements and probabilities of receiving state support. Major challenges for leaders include maintaining expectations through a long and often disappointing struggle, and transforming the resistance into a class-struggle resistance in a context in which individualist culture favors clientelist resistance or consent.

Dissertation Committee: Rachel Sherman (chair, sociology), Virag Molnar (sociology), Nancy Fraser (politics), Javier Auyero (U. Texas)

Other Research Interests: I have worked on bridging Bourdieu’s theory of authority and symbolic power with Habermas’s and Weber’s approaches (forthcoming articles in *Sociological Theory* and *Journal of Classical Sociology*). I am also working on government-union interactions and I am interested in poor people’s politics and movements (or lack, thereof) against the market.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Gabriel Hetland

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Dissertation Summary

“Remaking Democracy: Participatory Politics of the Left and Right in Venezuela and Bolivia.” With the economic constraints imposed upon liberal democracy, there has been increased interest in alternative, more participatory forms of democracy. This is particularly visible in Latin America, where hundreds of cities have experimented with participatory budgeting (PB) – a process that brings together economic constraint and democratic participation – since the 1990s. Most studies of PB focus on cities run by the Left, usually within a single country. My dissertation uses a nested, cross-/sub-national research design to compare PB in four cities – two run by the Left and two by the Right – in Venezuela and Bolivia. The results are doubly surprising. I expected to find the most success in my two Left cases, but found robust PB in my Left and Right Venezuelan cases and quite weak PB in my Left and Right Bolivian cases. The greater success of my Venezuelan cases is puzzling in light of (1) the distinct trajectories (social movements vs. a failed military coup) through which Evo Morales and Hugo Chávez rose to prominence and (2) the greater autonomous mobilizational capacity of civil society in Bolivia versus Venezuela. I argue that the success of PB in Venezuela and its failure in Bolivia can only be explained by looking at the dynamic relationship between national and local politics in each country.

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

Other Research Interests: My research focuses on politics, social movements, and democracy in Latin America and the US. In addition to my dissertation work on participatory budgeting in Venezuela and Bolivia, I have conducted research on utopianism in American politics, PB in Vallejo, California, and the revitalization of the US labor movement.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Barret Katuna

University of Connecticut

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Dissertation Summary

My dissertation (“Breaking the Glass Ceiling? Gender and Leadership in Higher Education”) focuses on the intersection of gender and leadership within the higher educational setting in the United States. My research questions are: 1) what role does gender play in the narratives of male and female leaders? 2) how might their gendering of leadership reproduce gender stereotypes? 3) what strategies might leaders and institutions of higher education use to effectively degender leadership? and 4) what might degendered leadership look like? I dialogue gender, work, and organizations scholarship with leadership scholarship that suggests gendered variations in leadership to conceptualize this study. “Trait gendering” that implies that a hierarchy is associated with a specific trait or set of traits that privilege cultural norms associated with one gender (Kimmel 2008) frames my analysis. Through 30 to 40 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with higher educational leaders and a content analysis of college and university texts, I explore the role that gender plays in women and men’s experiences in navigating the work organizational hierarchy and how institutions may shape leadership. I also investigate how class, race, sexuality, and age may pervade definitions of leadership and affect opportunities for women, people of color, and other marginalized populations. My findings may be generalizable to governmental and corporate contexts.

Dissertation Committee: Dr. Davita Silfen Glasberg (Chair), Dr. Manisha Desai, Dr. Kim Price-Glynn, Dr. Bandana Purkayastha

Other Research Interests: I am also motivated to link conversations in human rights and gender scholarship by applying an intersectional lens to gender-based social problems. Overall, my research interests include sex and gender, human rights, political sociology, the sociology of education, and the sociology of leadership.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Nicole Kaufman

University of Wisconsin-Madison

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Dissertation Summary

How do state and non-state organizations recognize ex-prisoners as citizens: members of communities who are recognized as belonging? This dissertation (“Making Ex-prisoners into Citizens: Processes of State and Non-state Organizational Intervention”) examines three case studies of processes through which states and non-state organizations include formerly incarcerated people, especially women, in Wisconsin. I use observations of programs, interviews with policy-makers and providers, and documents to examine the discourses and practices focused on making worthy citizens. First, I examine the state’s justification for privatization of service provision beginning in the 1970s (“Not by Neo-liberalism Alone: Moral Justifications for the Devolution of Wisconsin’s Community Corrections”) using historical institutional tools. Second, I examine the consequences of privatization for inviting in diverse non-state providers into service provision, and thus broadening the communities into which ex-prisoners can be recognized as citizens (“Bringing Institutions Back In: States, non-state organizations and prisoner incorporation into citizenship.”). I introduce the concept of “prisoner incorporation” which I argue is occurring in the US as varied non-state actors intervene in prisoners’ lives in diverse but patterned ways. Third, I examine the criteria providers use—particularly regarding clients’ religiosity—to recognize program participants as worthy of inclusion in communities (“Revisiting the Gender-Same/Gender-Different Binary in Feminist Criminology”).

Dissertation Committee: Myra Marx Ferree (advisor), Pamela Oliver, Chad Goldberg, Pamela Herd

Other Research Interests: Social movements, socio-legal research, environmental racism litigation, qualitative methods

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Yao Li

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Dissertation Summary

Yao's dissertation ("Defining the Political Space for Legitimate Protests in Contemporary China") proposes that the puzzling existence of this protest space is determined by informal norms of contention rather than by formal legal boundaries. She first analyzes a large dataset of protests (around 1,500 cases) from around China to identify the boundaries of the protest space and informal norms. These cases can be classified into regime-engaging protests (which accept regime legitimacy and strive to engage the state in negotiation) and regime-threatening protests (which challenge regime legitimacy and fundamentally threaten the state authorities). In the latter case, the formal legal boundaries are strictly enforced; while in the former case, informal norms play a significant role. To scrutinize this role, Yao conducts seven case studies on regime-engaging protests in four different regions across China by doing interviews and collecting documents, photos, and video of protest events. Her investigations show that informal norms are recognized and maintained by both protesters and officials, which shapes the actions of both sides and makes the protests tolerable. However, the dysfunction of informal norms is also discussed. To complete the whole picture, Yao also studies four cases of regime-threatening protests using existing journalistic and academic sources.

Other Research Interests: Yao is interested in governance and food security, labor studies, nationalism, and environmental activism in China. Her perspective focuses on the interactions between the state and society in an authoritarian state. She is also interested in making comparative studies between China and other authoritarian states in aspects of contentious politics.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Marcel Paret

University of California-Berkeley (Ph.D., 2013)

University of Johannesburg (Postdoctoral Fellow)

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Dissertation Summary

“Precarious Politics: Working Class Insecurity and Struggles for Recognition in the United States and South Africa, 1994-2010.” Recent scholarship highlights the growing insecurity of the working class. But it pays little attention to collective struggles by members of the precarious working class: insecurely employed, low income, and non-unionized groups. What do they struggle for, who do they struggle against, and on what basis do they organize and make claims? I address these questions by examining the political orientation of four sets of struggles in the late 1990s and 2000s: struggles by low-wage immigrant workers in California, United States, around workplace issues and immigrant rights; and struggles by citizens living in poor communities in Gauteng, South Africa, around public service delivery and the presence of immigrants. I argue that all four sets of struggles were organized around demands for recognition, dignity, and inclusion. But they were far from uniform. Whereas the struggles in California were oriented towards achieving greater participation within the economy and society, the struggles in Gauteng were oriented towards the protection of society outside the market economy. Further, within each place one case involved economic struggles while the other involved citizenship struggles. While capturing important similarities, the four case studies thus suggest that precarious politics may take very different forms both across and within contexts.

Dissertation Committee: Michael Burawoy, Peter Evans, Sandra Smith, Michael Watts

Other Research Interests: My research revolves around the politics of class structure and class struggle, and particularly their relation to race and citizenship. I have published articles on both organized labor politics and migrant labor systems in the United States and South Africa, as well as the global contours of Polanyian countermovements.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Besnik Pula

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Dissertation Summary

Pula's dissertation ("State, Law, and Revolution: State Building and Agrarian Power in Ottoman and post-Ottoman Albania, 1850-1945") examines changing patterns of rural political mobilization in Albania during the country's transition from Ottoman periphery in the late nineteenth century to centralized authoritarian state and the rise of the communist movement in the 1930s and 1940s. Noting the missing attention to legal institutions and culture in state-centric, Marxist, and world-systems approaches to historical social change, the dissertation argues that local institutional legacies of law have played a far more crucial role in determining patterns of rural politicization than acknowledged by prevailing theories of rural mobilization. Based on extensive and original archival research, the dissertation explains why patterns of rural politicization in two agrarian regions of Albania during the state's formative period of interwar state building variously took on revolutionary and conservative character and how those patterns of politicization can be traced back to the politics of legal reform and local state building, as the modernizing Albanian state attempted to replace locally embedded patterns of political and legal governance inherited from the Ottoman empire with a centrally managed national political and legal organization. In the course of the analysis, the dissertation develops a structural and institutional account for the rapid growth of Albania's communist movement during the 1940s and its sudden rise to power with the popular support of a traditionally conservative Muslim peasantry.

Other Research Interests: As a postdoctoral scholar under the ASA/NSF fellowship, Pula's research focuses on the politics of postsocialist crisis, reform and transformation. His research challenges existing transitological accounts of "transition" which date political and economic change to the events of 1989 to examine processes of political and economic change in eastern Europe in the context of individual states' responses to competitive pressures and weakening industrial performance beginning in the 1970s, including the increased integration of socialist states with the world economy via their growing access to Western trade and financial markets.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Amanda Pullum

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Dissertation Summary

In 2011, legislators in 27 states held votes on bills that purported to cut spending by restricting public sector unions' collective bargaining rights, or by making it easier to lay off teachers through weakening tenure. Thus teachers' unions in multiple states faced very similar threats simultaneously. My dissertation will explain why, in response to nearly identical legislative threats, state-level teachers' unions responded in very different ways. I ask two sets of questions: First, which variables are the most important influences on strategic decision-making processes, and how do these variables interact to promote or discourage particular strategic choices? Second, are strategic choices more strongly influenced by factors internal or external to a social movement organization, or are both equally important? I use qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) to build a set of causal pathways that explain the influence of political opportunities, union-related variables, and economic factors on teachers' unions' strategic choices in all 20 states that considered this legislation. Then, using four case studies, I illustrate the mechanisms behind these causal pathways, comparing the influence of organizational characteristics, alliances, right-to-work status, and other variables on strategic choice.

Dissertation Committee: David S. Meyer, Judy Stepan-Norris, Belinda Robnett-Olsen

Other Research Interests: Gender and sexuality, conservative movements, social movement coalitions, qualitative methods

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Alvaro Santana-Acuña

Harvard University

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Dissertation Summary

In his dissertation, “The Making of a National Cadastre: State Uniformization, Nature Valuation, and Organizational Change in France,” Santana-Acuña investigates the nationalization of the cadastre in France between 1763 and 1807. The cadastre, an administrative tool that registers a country’s real estate property to allocate taxes among owners, is a cornerstone of the liberal property system. Previous research analyzed its making as part of a process of state centralization and disregarded the organizational changes driving the training of cadastral experts. His dissertation tackles these questions and examines other aspects of state formation, nature valuation, and scientific expertise that were empowered by the nationalization of the cadastre.

Dissertation Committee: Michèle Lamont (chair, Sociology, Harvard), Filiz Garip (Sociology, Harvard), Patrice Higonnet (History, Harvard), Antoine Picon (School of Design, Harvard) and Philip Gorski (Sociology, Yale).

Other Research Interests: Cultural sociology, comparative historical sociology, theory, sociology of knowledge, environmental sociology.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Brian Sargent

Harvard University

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Dissertation Summary

Policy implementation is an important area of study in political sociology because it provides a picture of the processes of bureaucratic governance in action. Through an examination of the early efforts of middle managers within the Federal Reserve to implement the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) of 1977, this project demonstrates that the study of policy implementation is incomplete without a better account of the connection between organizational identity and modes of governance. The CRA forced the Federal Reserve to work within a profoundly different mode of governance; shifting them away from an impersonal, neutral, and quantitative approach of regulating systems and towards a model of directly managing conflicting populations. This dissonance led to a series of implementation attempts that helped dramatically shape the trajectory of the politics of urban community development. It is in the relationship between these two elements that one can see the problem of policy implementation through the eyes of those that are actually tasked with instituting it. This approach can offer a way of analyzing implementation that can provide nuanced explanations for both unintended policy outcomes and policy failures that differ from and complement the typical adversarial politics paradigm of the study of policy implementation.

Dissertation Committee: Bruce Carruthers, Co-Chair; Celeste Watkins-Hayes, Co-Chair; Monica Prasad; & Jeremy Freese

Other Research Interests: Economic Sociology, Organizations, Urban Sociology

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Carly Elizabeth Schall

University of Wisconsin-Madison (Ph.D., 2011)

Vanderbilt University (Postdoctoral Scholar)

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Dissertation Summary

My dissertation (“A People’s Home for Which People? Nation, Welfare State and Immigration in 20th Century Sweden”) addressed the relationship between homogeneity, heterogeneity and the welfare state in Sweden in the 20th century. Drawing on qualitative content analysis of newspaper data from three newspapers (social democratic, liberal and conservative) during four key time periods, I found support for three propositions: (1) National closure is subject to periods of crisis (“crises of closure”). (2) Political elites act strategically to deal with such crises, employing strategies of restriction, expansion or selection. Strategic responses can co-exist in a time period, and the same elites may pursue multiple strategies. (3) In dealing with crises of closure, actors are constrained by culture and create new cultural constraints. In Sweden, this entailed the development and maintenance of a social democratic hegemony that had come to define what it is to be Swedish. The overarching conclusion is that homogeneity and heterogeneity matter for the welfare state because political elites make it matter. Elites, however, must do so within an evolving set of cultural, economic and political contexts. This dissertation found, furthermore, that while increased ethnic heterogeneity did not initially have much effect on social-democratic hegemony or societal solidarity, in the face of coinciding severe economic and refugee crises, the breakdown of such hegemony went hand-in-hand with negative reactions to diversity. The welfare state’s failure to integrate immigrants was an indictment of the system as a whole. Social democratic values tended to persist, but without the hegemonic character of earlier periods. Lack of a counterhegemonic ideology in the period under study, however, prevented meaningful structural changes in the welfare state. The dissertation has been revised into a book manuscript currently under review.

Dissertation Committee: Chad Alan Goldberg (chair), Mustafa Emirbayer, Mara Loveman, Ivan Ermakoff, Julie K. Allen (Scandinavian Studies)

Other Research Interests: Social Policy, Immigration, Nationalism, Politics and Culture, Comparative-Historical Sociology, Theory

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Jen Schradie

University of California-Berkeley

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Dissertation Summary

“Does the Internet Promote Democracy? How Using Digital Technology Affects Political and Social Movement Organizations” Does digital technology foster democratic practices within political and social movement organizations? Some scholars claim that the Internet promotes broader participation into activism with lower costs to entry, as well as allowing more room for debate because of non-hierarchical networks with digital social movements. Most of these studies have examined episodic events or exclusively online activism without consideration of existing offline organizations. My dissertation compares 30 groups in the American South that all target the same political issue, public employee union rights. However, they have variation in their members’ social classes and political ideologies. Using in-depth interviews and ethnographic observations, as well as online content analysis, I find that the Internet does not inherently allow more democracy in the form of broader participation and debate. Everyday practices are much less Web 2.0 (non-hierarchical many-to-many) and much more Web 1.0 (traditional hierarchical one-to-many). Mechanisms for these findings include a digital activism gap based on social class, as well as organizational views of social change. Instead of left-right political ideology, an organization’s goals and structure affect digital practices. Rather than facilitating democracy, my research shows the opposite: Groups that tend to care more about democracy tend to care less about the Internet, whether they are rank-and-file unions or Tea Party Groups.

Other Research Interests: My interests lie at the intersection of social class, social media and social movements. My research agenda broadly interrogates claims of digital democracy. After I published two articles on digital production inequality in *Poetics and Information, Communication and Society*, the publicity from these publications earned me the 2012 Public Sociology Prize at UC Berkeley. I am also working on a project I call “Big Data is Too Small” in which I study how digital inequalities collide with the fascination Big Data. Overall, I am interested in how the Silicon Valley utopian ideology of technology and capital has seeped into scholarly theories of new media that privileges the efficiency of modernity.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Elena Shih

University of California-Los Angeles

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Dissertation Summary

This multi-sited and global ethnography examines the political and moral economies of rights and rescue in the anti-human trafficking movements in China and Thailand. In 2008, China and Thailand both introduced landmark policies that scripted the international language of human trafficking into their domestic legal framework. However, the differences between post-socialist authoritarian China and free market democratic Thailand create a theoretically compelling comparison to answer my central research question: How do transnational social movements establish, institutionalize, and bridge power over relatively autonomous political authorities, markets and over movement subjects? How do different factions of the movement mobilize resources in relation to the state and the market and how does the nature of institutional embeddedness effect whether they succeed, according to their stated objectives, or to the perceptions of their subjects? Empirically, this dissertation explores four different cases of anti-human trafficking intervention—faith-based and secular—in China and Thailand. It is based on five years of ethnographic participant observation at a Christian vocational training and rehabilitation center and secular anti-trafficking project in each country. Studying global sites across this movement attempts to understand the global connections, as well as disconnect, between transnational social movement activists, global governance institutions, states, markets and movement subjects—low wage migrant workers, inclusive of both those who are identified and unidentified as victims of trafficking.

Dissertation Committee: Ching Kwan Lee (chair), Elizabeth Bernstein, Gail Kligman, William Roy

Other Research Interests: I am enthusiastic about feminist and community participatory action research, and different forms of embodied and cultural activism that can bridge academic and practitioner justice efforts globally.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Eugenia E. Udangiu

University of Craiova – Romania

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Dissertation Summary

“Rationality and Political Action in Contemporary Social Doctrines.” Rationality is a “device for dialogue” of a coherent system of ideas with reality. It is “open” in the sense that demands a logic open to what “resists to logic.” In exercising its dialogue with the “real,” Enlightenment rationality made the step to rationalization, moving from knowledge regarded as “*adquatio rei et intellectus*” to the one that will determine “*adequatio rei ad intellectum*.” I presented the main points in the history of European Rationality dialogic, from the minimalist type of rationalism to the maximalist one, then Kantian rationalism, Popperian “critical rationalism” to the postmodern critique of rationality. In the following chapters, I have analyzed the actionalist sociologies, based on the assumption of actors’ rationality and on the principle of methodological individualism. If paradigms of Toqueville or Weber, for example, remained within the limits of the dialogue with reality, i.e. the limits of rationality, rational paradigm that defines the action as “maximizing expected utility” takes on the characteristics of rationalization. The Dialogic that is constitutive to rationality manifests as a paradox, both in individual action (“rational action” or “rational choice”) and in the collective action (“public choice”). Rationalism can lead to simplistic definition of politics as a process of solving specific problems. But, says Weber, a characteristic feature of social policy issues, is precisely that it cannot be solved on the basis of purely technical considerations, based on predetermined goals. Aporia and paradox manifest themselves at the level of political action: the paradox of voting, the paradox of ideologies proliferation just when they were declared dead.

Dissertation Committee: Prof. dr. Zamfir Catalin – chair of the committee, Prof. dr. Dragan Ioan, Prof. dr. Larionescu Maria, Prof. dr. Otovescu Dumitru, Hoffman Oscar, PhD – researcher

Other Research Interests: My research interest goes mainly to the political sociology although our curriculum had for a long time just 1 hour per week. I am interested in democracy’s inner tension between liberty and equality as self-regulation mechanism; ideologies and soft power; political consciousness and human rights.

Recent Ph.D. Profiles

Ana Velitchkova

University of Notre Dame

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Dissertation Summary

“The Making of Modern Citizens: Cosmopolitanism behind the Iron Curtain.” How is social integration achieved under modern non-democratic regimes? This dissertation finds that cultural elites in former state-socialist Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania developed alternative historical forms of modernity, which were not only sources of social solidarity and domestic peace but also facilitated international cooperation across the Iron Curtain following World War II. These homegrown modernities were typified by the most prominent volunteer and autonomous transnational movement in Eastern Europe during state-socialism, Esperanto. The movement served as a channel of East-West trans-societal connections with the help of an idealist invention of the late 19th century, the constructed international language Esperanto. Simultaneously local and global, Eastern European modernities were inspired by a local ethics of civility as fellowship, by Marxism as understood and lived under state-socialism, and by global models, particularly the social, economic, and cultural rights norms. The synthetic Eastern European modernities were grounded in unique modes of social relations, practices, institutions, and discourse styles and consisted of expectations of the individual, her civil relations, her relation with the nation-state, and international relations. The dissertation offers a cross-case comparison based on historical process tracing involving original archival research and semi-structured interviews, and analyses of available survey and organizational data.

Dissertation Committee: Omar Lizardo (chair), Christian Davenport, Robert Fishman, and Lyn Spillman

Other Research Interests: Theory, participation in political violence, civil society and the public sphere, global sociology, gender, social networks, mixed methods