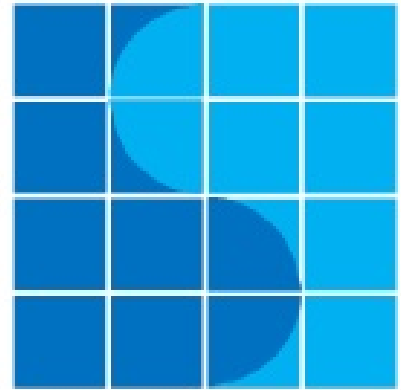


# Trajectories

Newsletter of the ASA  
Comparative and Historical Sociology Section

Vol 25 No 2 · Spring 2014



## Section Officers

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*Princeton University*

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*University of California - Los Angeles (2014)*

## Hard Times: The Impact of Economic Inequality on Families and Individuals

American Sociological Association Annual Meeting

San Francisco, August 16-19 2014

The preliminary program for the upcoming annual meeting of the American Sociological Association is now available on the conference website. This year, the Comparative and Historical Sociology

Section has organized five sessions. A listing of these, along with select author-meets-critics sessions can be found on pages 4-7.

Two social events are also planned. The first is a joint reception organized in cooperation with the Theory and Sociology of Development Sections. The second is a graduate student and postdoc mentoring event organized with the Section on Global and Transnational Sociology. More information can be found on page 7.

Be sure also to consult emails recently circulated by the section chair. These include links to additional sessions that may be of interest.

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#### Annual Meeting Information

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Sociology Today

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Editor's Note

## Divergent Bases of Discontent:

On the Recent Protests in Ukraine and Venezuela

Tim Gill

Since protests erupted in Ukraine and Venezuela over the past six months, foreign spectators have been inclined to lump these two conflicts together. On February 19, for example, US President Barack Obama deplored "the unacceptable violence in [these] two countries" and blamed the Ukrainian and Venezuelan governments for failing to dialogue with their

citizens and resorting to state violence. And while such soundbite analysis might play well for media pundits, they oversimplify two divergent sets of circumstances.

While the Ukrainian crisis responds to geopolitical struggle and conflicting nationalist sentiments, the Venezuelan conflict is more clearly about class issues. In Ukraine,

Continued on next page

**PROTEST IN VENEZUELA AND UKRAINE (continued)**

international and domestic criticism paired with a debilitated governing coalition has resulted in a transition of power and escalating violence in its eastern provinces. In Venezuela, although segments of the opposition have called for the government's resignation, there is no indication that a transition of power will ensue. Regional bodies have confirmed the legitimacy of the Venezuelan government, and it has experienced no serious defections.

**Ukraine**

When the Soviet Union dissolved, its populations were more geographically intertwined than ever. In Ukraine, for example, many historically Russian individuals had relocated to its southern and eastern provinces during communism and received Ukrainian citizenship in 1991. And as Rogers Brubaker (1996: 45) presciently asserted shortly after the breakup, in "the dynamic interplay between ... the newly nationalizing non-Russian successor states, their large Russian minorities, and the Russian state – the contingency inherent in political action ... will play a key role" in much of the conflict that might potentially ensue.

Much is the case in contemporary Ukraine.

Since the establishment of independence, no issue has become more salient than the decision concerning whether to strengthen relations with the EU and North America – or Russia (Colton 2011; Kubicek 2000). During the 2010 election, Victor Yanukovich, who would become president, promoted Russian as an official second-language, engaged in anti-NATO rhetoric, and insinuated that he would work with the EU but prioritize relations with Russia. Consistent with previous elections, Yanukovich won majorities in the Russian-speaking, eastern (78.5%) and southern (73.4%) regions of Ukraine, and Yulia Tymoshenko, the pro-Western candidate, won majorities in the Ukrainian-speaking, central (64.2%) and western (80%) regions.

Yanukovich began negotiations with the EU to establish an Association Agreement in November 2013. Among other issues, the agreement would provide Ukraine with access to the European Investment Bank and end the need for travel visas. Several EU members, however, mandated

that Yanukovich address some issues before establishing an agreement, including providing medical treatment for now-imprisoned Tymoshenko. Although suspected at the time, Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin was secretly pressuring Yanukovich to terminate the negotiations. Caught between the two, Yanukovich called for tripartite negotiations. When the EU rejected the suggestion, Yanukovich abandoned the agreement and accepted financial support from Moscow.

As a result, a cross-section of ethnically Ukrainian populations began protests in Kiev, and opposition leaders called for Yanukovich's resignation. Within a month, protests spread throughout its central and western provinces, and some protesters occupied government buildings. As protests continued, Yanukovich's coalition evidenced signs of decay. Parliamentary supporters grew increasingly critical, and many police officers defected and joined the protests. And on January 28, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov provided Yanukovich his most serious blow and resigned.

For the officers that remained and the protesters that endured, clashing intensified and culminated with security forces killing 77 protesters in Kiev on February 18. Amidst widespread international and domestic criticism, Yanukovich fled to Russia, and parliamentary members voted unanimously (328-0) to remove him from power. In response, Yanukovich's ouster has generated Russian government-supported protests in its eastern provinces and resulted in the secession/Russian annexation of Crimea.

**Venezuela**

Although Venezuela experienced economic growth and maintained a stable two-party system for much of the latter half of the twentieth century, economic decline throughout the 1980s and 1990s magnified class divisions and left some with access to legal protections and public services and others without (Smilde 2011: 4-5). In response, Hugo Chávez campaigned for the 1998 election on a platform calling for a new constitution that would encourage a participatory democracy and include all sectors of society. And indeed, following his election, a constituent assembly was convened, and a new constitution was written.

## PROTEST IN VENEZUELA AND UKRAINE (continued)

During much of his tenure in office, Chávez openly endorsed socialism; heavily criticized the US government; established close relations with countries such as Cuba and Russia, where government leaders have promoted state-owned enterprise and an anti-imperial ideology; and nationalized several businesses and redirected the earnings towards programs aimed at improving the lives of the popular classes (Smilde and Gill 2013). These practices consistently irritated the Venezuelan business community and its middle and upper classes, who sought to remove Chávez from office by democratic and undemocratic measures.

Although Chávez died in March 2013, his hand-picked successor, Nicolás Maduro, was elected in April 2013 and has continued Chávez's policies. The business community and its middle and upper classes continue to want the government removed, and the opposition protests that developed in February are the latest manifestation of their discontent. Although the opposition includes several factions, Leopoldo Lopez, the opposition mayor of Caracas's Chacao municipality, and his movement, have monopolized domestic and international media attention. Lopez's movement is typified by its Twitter hashtag #lasalida and calls for Maduro's "exit."

While most citizens remain upset with food shortages and inflation rates, many of the opposition protesters have focused instead on civil liberties. Student leaders, for example, developed a manifesto underscoring freedom of speech issues, the alleged influence of the Cuban military, and the release of political prisoners. Many of these issues, however, do not immediately resonate with the popular classes. Reporting from the western and poorer section of Caracas, Rebecca Hanson (2014) has argued that "for people ... on this side of town, these protests have little to do with resolving their problems, and many believe that they will only make things worse."

In contrast with Kiev, the protests in Caracas have remained within its upper-middle class areas and have failed to capture a cross-section of the population. The government has also neither received widespread criticism from regional

bodies nor have any government members defected or engaged in serious criticism.

### Concluding Remarks

The Ukrainian and Venezuelan historical contexts have produced two different sets of circumstances. In Ukraine, ethnic polarization has pitted Ukrainian-speaking, pro-Western populations against Russophone, pro-Russian populations that still evidence support for Yanukovich. While the EU and Russia have continually pushed Ukraine to choose relations with one or the other, Yanukovich's decision to renege on its path towards EU integration exploded these tensions. Widespread criticism coupled with a decaying government coalition paved the way for not only a transition in power, but now escalating violence in its eastern provinces supported in part by a deflated Russian government.

By contrast, class issues have characterized the Venezuelan conflict. And while some governments have expressed concern regarding Maduro's response to the protests, regional groups have supported his claims to legitimacy, and he has suffered no serious defections.

While the prospects for peaceful solutions to these crises have begun to develop in the form of external mediation and national dialogue, street violence continues. When it finally ends, the profundity of these national divides will doubtlessly continue to reverberate for some time.

*Timothy M. Gill (timgill@uga.edu) is a doctoral candidate at the University of Georgia. His research focuses on US democracy assistance and international funding for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Venezuela. He is also a regular contributor to the Washington Office on Latin America's Venezuelan Politics and Human Rights blog.*

### References

- Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Colton, Timothy J. 2011. "An Aligning Election and the Ukrainian Political Community," *East European Politics and Societies* 25(1): 4-27.

## PROTEST IN VENEZUELA AND UKRAINE (continued)

Hanson, Rebecca. 2014. *Venezuelan Politics and Human Rights Blog*, Washington Office on Latin America. <http://venezuelablog.tumblr.com/post/77823347017/venezuelan-protests-from-the-view-of-western-caracas>

Kubicek, Paul. 2000. "Regional Polarisation in Ukraine: Public Opinion, Voting and Legislative Behaviour," *Europe-Asia Studies* 52(2): 273–294.

Smilde, David. 2011. "Participation, Politics and Culture: Emerging Fragments of Venezuela's

Bolivarian Democracy," pp. 1-27 in *Venezuela's Bolivarian Democracy: Participation, Politics and Culture under Chavez*, edited by David Smilde and Daniel Hellinger. Durham: Duke University Press.

Smilde, David and Timothy M. Gill. 2013. "Strategic Posture Review: Venezuela," *World Politics Review*, September 17.

## ANNUAL MEETING

## Hard Times: The Impact of Economic Inequality on Families and Individuals

American Sociological Association Annual Meeting

San Francisco, August 16-19 2014

### Council and Business Meeting

#### Section on Comparative and Historical Sociology

Sat, August 16, 2:30 to 4:10pm

#### Paper Session:

##### Collective Action in Comparative and Historical Perspective

Sat, August 16, 8:30 to 10:10am

#### SESSION ORGANIZERS:

Elisabeth Anderson, Northwestern University  
Barry Eidlin, University of Wisconsin-Madison

#### PRESIDER:

Sarah A. Soule, Stanford University

#### SUBMISSIONS:

Charisma Unbound: The Origins of China's Cultural Revolution Reconsidered  
*Xiaohong Xu, National University of Singapore*

Oppositional Alignment and Rebellious Formation: Qing China 1853-1862  
*Yang Zhang, University of Chicago*

Production Geographies and the Decline of the U.S. Automobile Industry  
*Joshua Murray, Vanderbilt University; Michael Schwartz, State University of New York-Stony Brook*

Religious Minorities and High Risk Mobilization: The Collective Rescue of Jews during the Holocaust  
*Robert Braun, Cornell University*

#### DISCUSSANT:

Charles C. Ragin, University of California-Irvine

#### Paper Session:

##### Corruption, Graft, Vice and Venality: Public and Private Wrongfulness

Sat, August 16, 10:30am to 12:10pm

#### SESSION ORGANIZER:

Marina Zaloznaya, University of Iowa

#### PRESIDER:

Erin Metz McDonnell, University of Notre Dame

#### SUBMISSIONS:

Trustworthiness, Regulatory Jurisdiction, and the Circulation of 'Worth Claims' in the Stanford Financial Group Fraud  
*Camilo Arturo Leslie, University of Michigan*

War and Contemporary State-building: International Threat and Trusted Taxation  
*Erin Metz McDonnell, University of Notre Dame*

Mass Supervision, Bureaucratism, and Corruption in China  
*Joel D. Andreas, Johns Hopkins University; Yige Dong, Johns Hopkins University*

#### DISCUSSANT:

Amy Myrick, Northwestern University

## ANNUAL MEETING

**Paper Session:****The Comparative Political Economy of Health**

Sat, August 16, 4:30 to 6:10pm

**SESSION ORGANIZER AND PRESIDER:**

Lawrence Peter King, University of Cambridge

**SUBMISSIONS:**

HIV/AIDS in the United States and the United Kingdom: Similar Social Challenges, Different Government Responses

*Tasleem Juana Padamsee, The Ohio State University*

Healthcare Policy and Population Health in Rich Democracies, 1960-2010

*Megan M. Reynolds, Duke University*

Labour Market Institutions for Matched Job Preferences and Better Health: A Broad Comparative Perspective

*Ingrid Katarina Esser, The Swedish Institute for Social Research*

Trends in U.S. Mortality Below Age 50, 1950-2008: An International Comparative Perspective

*Jessica Y. Ho, Duke University; Arun Hendi, University of Pennsylvania*

**Paper Session:****Democracy, Development, and Decline**

Sun, August 17, 8:30 to 10:10am

**ORGANIZERS:**

Elisabeth Anderson, Northwestern University

Barry Eidlin, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**PRESIDER:**

Elisabeth Anderson, Northwestern University

**SUBMISSIONS:**

Democracy and Development: Dynamics and Networks of Change

*Jack A. Goldstone, George Mason University*

Hegemons, Empires, and their Elites

*Richard Lachmann, State University of New York-Albany*

Rethinking Long-Term, New-World Development: From Nations to Regions, From Property Rights to Labor Types

*Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, Georgetown University*

Transformational Development in the Face of Historicist Inertia: Nations Which Altered Their Growth Trajectories 1870-1950

*Samuel Cohn, Texas A&M University*

**DISCUSSANT:**

James Mahoney, Northwestern University

**Paper Session:****Sociology of Finance in Comparative and Historical Perspectives**

Sun, August 17, 12:30 to 2:10pm

**ORGANIZER AND PRESIDER:**

Akos Rona-Tas, University of California-San Diego

**SUBMISSIONS:**

How the U.S. Got It Wrong: Regulation of Asset Securitization in Comparative and Historical Perspective

*Kim Pernell-Gallagher, Harvard University*

Politics and Incremental Policy Shifts to Socialize Capital, Privatize Retirement, and Financialize Firms, 1971-2000

*Harland Prechel, Texas A&M University*

The Impact of Business Elite Cohesion on Public Policy Alternatives: The Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act of 1999

*Geoffrey Lee Wood, State University of New York-Albany*

**DISCUSSANT:**

Akos Rona-Tas, University of California-San Diego

**Author Meets Critics Session:****The Land of Too Much: American Abundance and the Paradox of Poverty**

**Harvard University Press, 2012**

Sat, August 16, 4:30 to 6:10pm

**AUTHOR**

Monica Prasad, Northwestern University

**CRITICS**

Elisabeth S. Clemens, University of Chicago

Greta R. Krippner, University of Michigan

**SESSION ORGANIZER**

Michael Hout, New York University

## ANNUAL MEETING

**Author Meets Critics Session:****Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation, and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World**

Cambridge University Press, 2012

Sun, August 17, 2:30 to 4:10pm

## AUTHOR

Andreas Wimmer, Princeton University

## PRESIDER

Kiyoteru Tsutsui, University of Michigan

## CRITICS

Julia Potter Adams, Yale University

Michael Mann, University of California-Los Angeles

Jack A. Goldstone, George Mason University

## SESSION ORGANIZER

Marianne Cooper, Stanford University

**Author Meets Critics Session:****The Fracturing of the American Corporate Elite**

Harvard University Press, 2013

Mon, August 18, 10:30am to 12:10pm

## AUTHOR

Mark S. Mizruchi, University of Michigan

## SESSION ORGANIZER AND PRESIDER

Bruce G. Carruthers, Northwestern University

## CRITICS

William G. Roy, University of California-Los Angeles

Bruce G. Carruthers, Northwestern University

Anthony S. Chen, Northwestern University

Judith Stepan-Norris, University of California-Irvine

**Author Meets Critics Session:****Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Imagination, and the American Welfare State**

Princeton University Press, 2012

Mon, August 18, 2:30 to 4:10pm

## AUTHOR

Cybelle Fox, University of California-Berkeley

## SESSION ORGANIZER AND PRESIDER

Jeff Manza, New York University

## CRITICS

Edward E. Telles, Princeton University

Nicola K. Beisel, Northwestern University

Jeff Manza, New York University

**Author Meets Critics Session:****Claiming Society for God: Religious Movements and Social Welfare in Egypt, Israel, Italy, and the United States**

Indiana University Press, 2012

Tue, August 19, 8:30 to 10:10am

## AUTHORS

Nancy J. Davis, DePauw University

Robert V. Robinson, Indiana University

## SESSION ORGANIZER AND PRESIDER

Melissa J. Wilde, University of Pennsylvania

## CRITICS

John D. McCarthy, Pennsylvania State University

Rhys H. Williams, Loyola University-Chicago

John H. Evans, University of California-San Diego

**Author Meets Critics Session:****The Emergence of Organizations and Markets**

Princeton University Press, 2012

Tue, August 19, 2:30 to 4:10pm

## AUTHORS

John F. Padgett, University of Chicago

Walter W. Powell, Stanford University

## PRESIDER

Christopher B. Yenkey, University of Chicago

## CRITICS

Julia Potter Adams, Yale University

James Mahoney, Northwestern University

Katherine Stovel, University of Washington

## SESSION ORGANIZER

Bruce G. Carruthers, Northwestern University

## ANNUAL MEETING

**Graduate Student and Postdoc****Mentoring Event:****Comparative and Historical Section;****Global and Transnational Section**

Mon, August 18th, 4:30-6:30

This event pairs graduate students and postdocs from departments across the world with both junior and senior faculty to discuss the substance of students' projects, exciting intellectual currents in the field, and professional development concerns germane to those conducting historically- and globally-oriented research.

This August, the event will be held in the late afternoon, 4:30-6:30 at Cantina Lounge two blocks from the ASA hotels. A modest registration fee (\$15) will reserve a position in the event and provide a drink ticket for refreshment. Space is limited, so please register by sending an email to Nick Wilson at [n.wilson@yale.edu](mailto:n.wilson@yale.edu) and Damon Mayrl at [dmayrl@clio.uc3m.es](mailto:dmayrl@clio.uc3m.es) as soon as possible.

**Joint Reception:****Comparative and Historical Section;****Sociology of Development Section;****Theory Section**

Sat, August 16, 6:30 to 8:30pm

The reception will be held offsite at the Thirsty Bear Organic Brewery and Restaurant. More information on the location can be found at:

<http://thirstybear.com>

**Mini-Conference****Conflict - War - Peace - Security**

Friday, August 15, 2014

**ORGANIZER:**

Vida Bajc, Methodist University

**SPONSORS:**

Peace, War, and Social Conflict Section  
Department of Sociology, UC - Berkeley

**DESCRIPTION**

In all of their divergent meanings and manifestations, interrelations between conflict, security, war, and peace continue to be profoundly intertwined with the everyday life at scales local and global. Though not always explicitly articulated as such, these dynamics have very much been shaping sociological research across the discipline.

This mini-conference brings together a wide spectrum of different research trajectories to share the latest thinking about ways in which social life is intersected with dynamics of war, security, peace, and conflict. The event creates a venue to consider potentialities and pitfalls of charting a future research direction: Should there be a more focused research agenda in the study of these dynamics and if so, what might such an agenda look like?

This event will be held on the UC-Berkeley campus (room TBA). Coffee, refreshments, and lunch will be provided for those who register.

Please visit:

<http://pwscminiconf.brownpapertickets.com/>

Registration for the mini-conference is free. Attendees are encouraged to support the Peace, War, and Social Conflict section of the ASA by becoming a member.

**Call for Contributions**

If you are a session organizer at the ASA annual meeting or will be a participant in one, please consider contributing to the December issue of *Trajectories*. The newsletter has historically been an excellent forum for the dissemination of

panel discussions and book symposiums from the ASA annual meeting as well as other conferences. Please contact the *Trajectories* newsletter editor, Matthew Baltz ([mjbaltz@ucla.edu](mailto:mjbaltz@ucla.edu)), if you are interested in submitting a contribution.

# The United States in Decline

Volume 26 of *Political Power and Social Theory* (May 2014)

Edited by Richard Lachmann

Is the United States in decline? If so, what are the causes and dimensions of that decline and is it irreversible? Will American decline be accompanied by the rise of a new hegemon? To what extent are that rise and decline merely concurrent processes, determined by forces internal to each polity, or are American decline and the rise of its competitors both manifestations of a single global dynamic?

The articles in this special issue offer varying answers to those questions. The contributors to this volume differ on the causes and dimensions, and indeed on the certainty, of US decline. They also vary in the extent to which they connect US decline to global forces. Yet, taken together these articles offer a comprehensive view of the principal forces that have undermined US hegemony in recent decades and highlight the structural impediments to developing effective strategies to preserve or revive US economic or geopolitical dominance.

**Ho-fung Hung** (*Cold War and China in the (un)Making of the Global Dollar Standard*) examines a cornerstone of US hegemony: the dollar's status as the world reserve currency. His article identifies the bases of dollar supremacy in US military power and specifies the effects of that monetary settlement on the US and other economies. He presents two possible scenarios for the future: one in which the US uses its continued military power to force China to revalue the RMB and thereby sustain dollar supremacy; the other scenario is that China assembles an international coalition capable of undermining the dollar which would lead either to the rise of a new hegemonic currency (more likely the RMB than the Euro) or to global chaos in currency markets.

**Ian Roxborough** and **Zoe Levy** (*The Failing Hegemon: Managing U.S. Military Decline*) are concerned with the sources, and sustainability of US military power. They trace the US military's strategic doctrine since the end of the Cold War, and finds that while America still enjoys an overwhelming edge in technology and spending, its advantage is undermined by inconsistency and

incoherence in its strategic orientation, and by China's growing ability to shield itself from the threat of US attack.

**Marcel Knudson** (*Capital Accumulation and the Rise of Finance*) analyzes another former pillar of US power: its industrial productivity. Knudson locates declining productivity in the 1970s and argues that it preceded and caused firms in the 1980s to adopt the ideology of "shareholder value" and to increase productivity and profits by reducing investment in the US, shifting production abroad, and moving away from manufacture toward strategies of financialization.

**Fred Block** and **Matt Keller** (*Can the U.S. Sustain its Global Position? Dynamism and Stagnation in the U.S. Institutional Model*) find an essential dualism in the U.S. economy: there are simultaneously institutional sources of significant dynamism and institutional patterns that portend a process of decay and decline. To a significant extent, this dualism corresponds to a growing divide between innovative small and medium-sized enterprises and big corporations—both financial and nonfinancial—that are increasingly predatory in their business strategies. Surprisingly, firms on both sides of the divide are increasingly dependent on government. The small and medium-sized firms rely heavily on government science and technology programs to help them innovate. The large firms need government to protect their position, as with giant banks that depend on government bailouts and big pharmaceutical firms that rely on monopoly rights granted by the government. Whether dynamism or decay will prove to be stronger, they think, is contingent on political choices that will be made over the next ten years. This contingency, in turn, makes it easier to understand the highly polarized nature of partisan politics in the U.S. today.

**Mark Mizruchi** and **Mikell Hyman** (*Elite Fragmentation and the Decline of the United States*) argue that the United States has experienced a decline of economic, political, and military power since the 1970s, and that this



decline can be attributed in part to the fragmentation of the American corporate elite. In the mid-twentieth century, this elite—constrained by a highly legitimate state, a relatively powerful labor movement, and an active financial community—adopted a moderate and pragmatic strategy for dealing with the political issues of the day. The “enlightened self-interest” of corporate leaders contributed to a strong economy with a relatively low level of inequality and an expanding middle class. This arrangement broke down in the 1970s, however, as increasing foreign competition and two energy crises led to spiraling inflation and lower profits. In response, the corporate elite waged an aggressive (and ultimately successful) assault on government regulation and organized labor. This success had the paradoxical effect of undermining the elite’s own sources of cohesion, however: having won the war against government and labor, the group no longer needed to be organized. The marginalization of the commercial banks and the acquisition wave of the 1980s exacerbated the fragmentation of the corporate elite. No longer able to act collectively by the 1990s, the corporate elite was now incapable of addressing issues of business and societal-wide concern. Although increasingly able to gain individual favors from the state, the elite’s collective weakness has contributed to the political gridlock and social decay that plague American society in the twenty-first century.

**Richard Lachmann** (From Consensus to Paralysis in the United States, 1960-2010) traces and explains how the ratcheting of corporate mergers and deregulation transformed the structure of elite relations in the United States from 1960 to 2010. Prior to the 1970s there was a high degree of elite unity and consensus - enforced by Federal regulation and molded by the structure of U.S. government - around a set of policies and practices: interventionism abroad, progressive tax rates, heavy state investment in infrastructure and education, and a rising level of social spending. He finds that economic decline, the loss of geo-political hegemony, and mobilization from the left and right are unable to account for the specific policies that both Democratic and Republican Administrations furthered since the 1970s or for the uneven decline in state capacity that were intended and unintended consequences of the post-1960s political realignment and policy changes. Instead, the realignment and

restructuring of elites and classes that first transformed politics and degraded government in the 1970s in turn made possible further shifts in the capacities of American political actors in both the state and civil society. He explains how that process operated and how it produced specific policy outcomes and created new limits on mass political mobilization while opening opportunities for autarkic elites to appropriate state powers and resources for themselves.

Finally, **Georgi Derluguian** (Convergence 2-, or the Fate of the Other Superpower) autopsies the Soviet Union’s own process of elite decentralization and autarky. He identifies the turning point during the Second World War, when Stalin was forced by military setbacks to devolve power upon his generals and industrial managers, granting them the decision-making power that allowed them to mobilize the human and material resources Stalin had commanded from the center to collectivize agriculture and industrialize the USSR.

After the war, destalinization accelerated and institutionalized higher-level officials’ autonomy from the central state. Ironically, in Derluguian’s view, the Cold War provided the geopolitical stability that gave self-serving officials the freedom to protect their own interests at the expense of social and economic dynamism. The US, unlike Hitler, did not pose a mortal threat to the Soviet regime. The upper level nomenklatura were able to hoard resources and wield power that prevented either the reassertion of authoritarian power at the center or the reformist plans of Khrushchev and Gorbachev. Indeed, Derluguian shows that Gorbachev’s attempted reforms accelerated rather than reversed elite autarky. Most fatally for the Soviet Union, elite autonomy extended to the leadership of the national republics, which asserted independence in 1991.

*The United States in Decline will also be published as a stand-alone hardcover by Emerald Press.*

**Have a monograph or edited volume about to be published?**

Consider sending a preview to the December issue of Trajectories!

# Max Weber's Comparative - Historical Sociology Today

By Stephen Kalberg (Ashgate Publishers, 2012)

Review by Donald N. Levine

Stephen Kalberg's recent book, *Max Weber's Comparative-Historical Sociology Today*, maintains that Weber's methodology continues to provide powerful orientations and guidelines for research. Its strong emphasis upon both subjective meaning and a dynamic, or "conjunctural," mode of multi-causal analysis distinguishes his research procedures from competing schools.

In contrast with Kalberg's earlier volume (*Max Weber's Comparative-Historical Sociology*; The University of Chicago Press, 1994), which reconstructed in detail Weber's comparative-historical methodology, this volume stresses its application---thereby demonstrating its wide reach and profound analytic capacity. Most chapters, previously published, have been freshly edited for this volume. An introductory chapter, section introductions, and concluding chapter provide continuity and orientation.

More concretely, to the reconstructions of Weber's own analyses on the caste system in India, Confucianism in China, and monotheism in ancient Israel, the book offers four empirical studies that apply Weber. Two demonstrate his capacity to capture the causal importance of "deep culture" (investigations of the unique political culture of the United States and the cultural foundations of modern citizenship) and two utilize his "contextual-causal" mode of analysis (studies of the origin and expansion of

late nineteenth-century Kulturpessimismus in Germany and the "location of work" in contemporary Germany and the United States).

This wide-ranging volume also reconstructs pivotal elements of Weber's oeuvre that pertain to his comparative-historical methodology: his "types of rationality," his notion of the "dynamic autonomy" of religious ideas (and their application to the constitution of groups and community-building in American society), and his deep-cultural understanding of "world views." Three explicitly methodological chapters lay out in succinct form the foundations and parameters of Weber's comparative-historical mode of causal analysis vis-à-vis contrasting approaches. In addition, in two previously unpublished essays, the volume investigates the central role of "societal domains" in Weber's sociology and offers a "preliminary analysis" of his rarely examined sociology of emotions

In sum, by focusing upon how Weber's comparative-historical methodology can be applied and offering strong illustrations, this unique volume renders a distinct contribution to the Weber literature and to the field of comparative-historical sociology. A high bar for subsequent studies that utilize Weber systematically is here set firmly. I recommend this excellent volume to all Section members.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

### Books and Edited Volumes

Abend, Gabriel. 2014. *The Moral Background: An Inquiry into the History of Business Ethics*. Princeton Studies in Cultural Sociology. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

In recent years, many disciplines have become interested in the scientific study of morality. However, a conceptual framework for this work is still lacking. In *The Moral Background*, Gabriel Abend develops just such a framework and uses

it to investigate the history of business ethics in the United States from the 1850s to the 1930s.

According to Abend, morality consists of three levels: moral and immoral behavior, or the behavioral level; moral understandings and norms, or the normative level; and the moral background, which includes what moral concepts exist in a society, what moral methods can be used, what reasons can be given, and what objects

## NEW BOOKS (continued)

can be morally evaluated at all. This background underlies the behavioral and normative levels; it supports, facilitates, and enables them.

Through this perspective, Abend historically examines the work of numerous business ethicists and organizations--such as Protestant ministers, business associations, and business schools--and identifies two types of moral background. "Standards of Practice" is characterized by its scientific worldview, moral relativism, and emphasis on individuals' actions and decisions. The "Christian Merchant" type is characterized by its Christian worldview, moral objectivism, and conception of a person's life as a unity.

*The Moral Background* offers both an original account of the history of business ethics and a novel framework for understanding and investigating morality in general.

**Baronov, David. 2014. *The Dialectics of Inquiry across the Historical Social Sciences*. Routledge Studies in Social and Political Thought. New York: Routledge.**

This book turns conventional global-historical analysis on its head, demonstrating, first, that local events cannot be derived - logically or historically - from large-scale, global-historical structures and processes and, second, that it is these structures and processes that, in fact, emerge from our analysis of local events. This is made evident via an analysis of three disparate events: the New York City Draft Riots, AIDS in Mozambique, and a 2007 flood in central Uruguay. In each case, Baronov chronicles how expressions of human agency at the level of those caught up in each event give form and substance to various abstract global-historical concepts - such as slavery in the Americas, global capitalist production, and colonial/postcolonial Africa. Underlying this repositioning of the local and the ephemeral is an immanent, phenomenological analysis that illustrates how mere transient events are the progenitors of otherwise abstract, global-historical concepts. Traversing the intersections of human agency and structural determinism, Baronov deftly retains the nuance and serendipity of everyday life, while deploying this nuance and serendipity to further embellish our understanding of those enduring global-historical

structures and processes that shape large-scale, long-term, historical accounts of social and cultural change across the historical social sciences.

**Bloom, Jack M. 2013. *Seeing through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution: Solidarity and the Struggle against Communism in Poland*. Leiden: Brill Press.**

In 1980 Polish workers astonished the world by demanding and winning an independent union with the right to strike, called Solidarity—it was the beginning of the end of the Soviet empire. Jack M. Bloom's *Seeing Through the Eyes of the Polish Revolution* explains how it happened, from the imposition of Communism to its end, based on 150 interviews of Solidarity leaders, activists, supporters and opponents. Bloom presents the perspectives and experiences of these participants. He shows the manner in which an opposition was built, the battle between Solidarity and the ruling Polish United Workers Party, the conflicts that emerged within Solidarity and within the ruling party during this tense period, how Solidarity survived the imposition of martial law and how the opposition forced the government into a negotiated end to Communist rule.

**Brenner, Neil. 2014. *Implosions/explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: JOVIS.**

In 1970, Henri Lefebvre put forward the radical hypothesis of the complete urbanization of society, a circumstance that in his view required a radical shift from the analysis of urban form to the investigation of urbanization processes. Drawing together classic and contemporary texts on the "urbanization question", this book explores various theoretical, epistemological, methodological and political implications of Lefebvre's hypothesis. It assembles a series of analytical and cartographic interventions that supersede inherited spatial ontologies (urban/rural, town/country, city/non-city, society/nature) in order to investigate the uneven implosions and explosions of capitalist urbanization across places, regions, territories, continents and oceans up to the planetary scale.

## NEW BOOKS (continued)

Further details about this book and related work that is under way in the Urban Theory Lab at the Graduate School of Design (GSD), Harvard University, can be found at: [urbantheorylab.net](http://urbantheorylab.net).

**Decoteau, Claire Laurier. 2013. *Ancestors and Antiretrovirals: The Biopolitics of HIV/AIDS in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.**

In the years since the end of apartheid, South Africans have enjoyed a progressive constitution, considerable access to social services for the poor and sick, and a booming economy that has made their nation into one of the wealthiest on the continent. At the same time, South Africa experiences extremely unequal income distribution, and its citizens suffer the highest prevalence of HIV in the world. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu has noted, "AIDS is South Africa's new apartheid."

In *Ancestors and Antiretrovirals*, Claire Laurier Decoteau backs up Tutu's assertion with powerful arguments about how this came to pass. Decoteau traces the historical shifts in health policy after apartheid and describes their effects, detailing, in particular, the changing relationship between biomedical and indigenous health care, both at the national and the local level. Decoteau tells this story from the perspective of those living with and dying from AIDS in Johannesburg's squatter camps. At the same time, she exposes the complex and often contradictory ways that the South African government has failed to balance the demands of neoliberal capital with the considerable health needs of its population.

**Eckstein, Susan, and Adil Najam, eds. 2013. *How Immigrants Impact Their Homelands*. Durham: Duke University Press.**

*How Immigrants Impact Their Homelands* examines the range of economic, social, and cultural impacts immigrants have had, both knowingly and unknowingly, in their home countries. The book opens with overviews of the ways migrants become agents of homeland development. The essays that follow focus on the varied impacts immigrants have had in China, India, Cuba, Mexico, the Philippines, Mozambique, and

Turkey. One contributor examines the role Indians who worked in Silicon Valley played in shaping the structure, successes, and continued evolution of India's IT industry. Another traces how Salvadoran immigrants extend U.S. gangs and their brutal violence to El Salvador and neighboring countries. The tragic situation in Mozambique of economically desperate émigrés who travel to South Africa to work, contract HIV while there, and infect their wives upon their return is the subject of another essay. Taken together, the essays show the multiple ways countries are affected by immigration. Understanding these effects will provide a foundation for future policy reforms in ways that will strengthen the positive and minimize the negative effects of the current mobile world.

Contributors: Victor Agadjanian, Boaventura Cau, José Miguel Cruz, Susan Eva Eckstein, Kyle Eischen, David Scott FitzGerald, Natasha Iskander, Riva Kastoryano, Cecilia Menjívar, Adil Najam, Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, Alejandro Portes, Min Ye.

**FitzGerald, David, and David Cook-Martín. 2014. *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.**

*Culling the Masses* questions the widely held view that in the long run democracy and racism cannot coexist. David Scott FitzGerald and David Cook-Martín show that democracies were the first countries in the Americas to select immigrants by race, and undemocratic states the first to outlaw discrimination. Through analysis of legal records from twenty-two countries between 1790 and 2010, the authors present a history of the rise and fall of racial selection in the Western Hemisphere.

The United States led the way in using legal means to exclude "inferior" ethnic groups. Starting in 1790, Congress began passing nationality and immigration laws that prevented Africans and Asians from becoming citizens, on the grounds that they were inherently incapable of self-government. Similar policies were soon adopted by the self-governing colonies and dominions of the British Empire, eventually spreading across Latin America as well.

## NEW BOOKS (continued)

Undemocratic regimes in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Cuba reversed their discriminatory laws in the 1930s and 1940s, decades ahead of the United States and Canada. The conventional claim that racism and democracy are antithetical--because democracy depends on ideals of equality and fairness, which are incompatible with the notion of racial inferiority--cannot explain why liberal democracies were leaders in promoting racist policies and laggards in eliminating them. Ultimately, the authors argue, the changed racial geopolitics of World War II and the Cold War was necessary to convince North American countries to reform their immigration and citizenship laws.

**Fleck, Christian, and Andreas Hess, eds. 2014.** *Knowledge for Whom?: Public Sociology in the Making. Public Intellectuals and the Sociology of Knowledge.* Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.

This ground-breaking volume is a follow-up to *Intellectuals and Their Publics*. In contrast to the earlier book, which was mainly concerned with the activity of intellectuals and how it relates to the public, this volume analyses what happens when sociology and sociologists engage with or serve various publics. More specifically, this problem will be studied from the following three angles:

- How does one become a public sociologist and prominent intellectual in the first place? (Part I)
- How complex and complicated are the stories of institutions and professional associations when they take on a public role or tackle a major social or political problem? (Part II)
- How can one investigate the relationship between individual sociologists and intellectuals and their various publics? (Part III)

This book will be of interest to academics and students working in the fields of the sociology of knowledge and ideas, the history of social sciences, intellectual history, cultural sociology, and cultural studies.

**Gotham, Kevin Fox, and Miriam Greenberg. 2014.** *Crisis Cities: Disaster and Redevelopment in New York and New Orleans.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*Crisis Cities* blends critical theoretical insight with a historically-grounded comparative study to examine the redevelopment efforts following the 9/11 and Hurricane Katrina disasters. Based on years of research in the two cities, Gotham and Greenberg contend that New York and New Orleans have emerged as paradigmatic crisis cities, representing a free-market approach to post-disaster redevelopment that is increasingly dominant for crisis-stricken cities around the world. This mode of urbanization emphasizes the privatization of disaster aid, devolution of recovery responsibility to the local state, use of tax incentives and federal grants to spur market-centered redevelopment, and utopian branding campaigns to market the redeveloped city for business and tourism. Meanwhile, it eliminates "low-income" and "public benefit" standards that once underlay emergency provisions. Focusing on the pre- and post-history of disaster, the authors show how this approach exacerbates the uneven landscapes of risk and resiliency that helped produce crisis in the first place, while potentially reproducing the conditions for future crisis. At the same time, they highlight the expanding coalitions that formed following 9/11 and Katrina to contest these inequities and envision a more just and sustainable urban future.

**Ren, Xuefei. 2013.** *Urban China.* Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Currently there are more than 125 Chinese cities with a population exceeding one million. The unprecedented urban growth in China presents a crucial development for studies on globalization and urban transformation. This concise and engaging book examines the past trajectories, present conditions, and future prospects of Chinese urbanization, by investigating five key themes - governance, migration, landscape, inequality, and cultural economy.

Based on a comprehensive evaluation of the literature and original research materials, Ren offers a critical account of the Chinese urban condition after the first decade of the twenty-first century. She argues that the urban-rural dichotomy that was artificially constructed under socialism is no longer a meaningful lens for analyses and that Chinese cities have become strategic sites for reassembling citizenship rights for both urban residents and rural migrants.

## NEW BOOKS (continued)

The book is essential reading for students and scholars of urban and development studies with a focus on China, and all interested in understanding the relationship between state, capitalism, and urbanization in the global context.

**Ruef, Martin. 2014. *Between Slavery and Capitalism: The Legacy of Emancipation in the American South*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.**

*Between Slavery and Capitalism* evaluates the impact of the transition from slavery to capitalism on individuals, organizations, and communities in the late 19th century American South. While this period has been studied extensively by generations of historians, political scientists, and economists, there has been no systematic sociological treatment since W.E.B. DuBois wrote on the topic. As a consequence, our perceptions of the postbellum era have often been informed by “top down” political histories and official sources, rather than the “bottom up” history that was reflected in the countless transactions and trajectories among average blacks and whites learning to navigate the shoals between two different economic worlds. Through a resolutely comparative approach, *Between Slavery and Capitalism* identifies profound changes between the economic institutions of the Old and New South and sheds new light on how the legacy of emancipation continues to affect political discourse and race and class relations today.

**Stainback, Kevin, and Donald Tomaskovic-Devey. 2012. *Documenting Desegregation: Racial and Gender Segregation in Private-Sector Employment since the Civil Rights Act*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.**

*Documenting Desegregation*, explores progress toward equal employment opportunity since the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Combining historical analysis and with organizational data on over five million private sector workplaces collected by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission since 1966, this ambitious volume first explores the political process propelling desegregation and then documents contemporary inequality variation in local labor markets, industries, and

workplaces. Across the broad historical span is a narrative documenting the movement from nationally institutionalized gender and racial inequalities to increasingly locally organizationally produced and contested gender and racially inequality regimes. The book combines long term historical analysis, contemporary organizational and inequality theory, and statistical models to isolate political pressures and human resource changes from other trends in the economy. Theoretically, it quite literally brings history into the study of inequality. Not only is the long historical span of the book unique, it also represents a resolutely historical and political lens on inequality.

**Stamatov, Peter. 2013. *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism: Religion, Empires, and Advocacy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.**

Whether lauded and encouraged or criticized and maligned, action in solidarity with culturally and geographically distant strangers has been an integral part of European modernity. Traversing the complex political landscape of early modern European empires, this book locates the historical origins of modern global humanitarianism in the recurrent conflict over the ethical treatment of non-Europeans that pitted religious reformers against secular imperial networks. Since the sixteenth-century beginnings of European expansion overseas and in marked opposition to the exploitative logic of predatory imperialism, these reformers – members of Catholic orders and, later, Quakers and other reformist Protestants – developed an ideology and a political practice in defense of the rights and interests of distant “others.” They also increasingly made the question of imperial injustice relevant to growing “domestic” publics in Europe. A distinctive institutional model of long-distance advocacy crystallized out of these persistent struggles, becoming the standard weapon of transnational activists.

## NEW BOOKS (continued)

Wood, Lesley J. 2014. *Crisis and Control The Militarization of Protest Policing*. London: Pluto Press.

*Crisis and Control* explains how neoliberal transformations of political and economic systems are militarising the policing of protest, based on a compelling empirical study of police agencies and practices from 1995 until the present.

Lesley J. Wood shows that the increasing role of the security and defense industries, professional police associations, anti-terrorism initiatives and

'best practices' in policing networks have accelerated the use of less lethal weapons, pre-emptive arrests, infiltration and barricading strategies against protesters.

The book uses Bourdieu and Boltanski to analyse court transcripts, police reports, policy, training materials and the conference programs of professional police organisations to argue that police agencies are neither omnipotent strategists, nor simple tools of the elite, but institutions struggling to maintain legitimacy, resources and autonomy in a changing field.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

## Articles and Book Chapters

Beck, Colin J. "Reflections on the Revolutionary Wave in 2011." *Theory and Society* 43 (2014): 197–223.

Connor, Phillip, and Matthias Koenig. "Bridges and Barriers: Religion and Immigrant Occupational Attainment across Integration Contexts." *International Migration Review* 47, no. 1 (2013): 3–38.

Geva, Dorit. "Of Bellicists and Feminists: French Conscription, Total War, and the Gender Contradictions of the State." *Politics & Society*, 2014.

Kadane, Joseph B., and Ferdinand Linthoe Naeshagen. "Homicide Rates in Rural Southern Norway 1300–1569." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, (2014): 1–12.

Kadivar, Mohammad Ali. "Alliances and Perception Profiles in the Iranian Reform Movement, 1997 to 2005." *American Sociological Review* 78, no. 6 (2013): 1063–86.

Koenig, Matthias, and Christof Wolf, eds. "Religion Und Gesellschaft—Aktuelle Perspektiven." *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift Für Soziologie Und Sozialpsychologie* 65, no. 1 (2013).

Morawska, Ewa. "Multiculturalism 'From Below': Reflections of An Immigrant Ethnographer." In *Debating Multiculturalism in the Nordic Welfare States*, edited by Peter Kivisto and Östen Wahlbeck. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

———. "Structuring Immigrants Civic-Political Incorporation into the Host Society." In *Outsiders No More?: Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation*, edited by Jennifer Hochschild, Jacqueline Chattopadhyay, Claudine Gay, and Michael Jones-Correa. Oxford University Press, 2013.

———. "Toward a Reconciliation of the Structuration and Morphogenesis Theories 'Tested' in the Eventful Historical Analysis." *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 31 (2013): 221–46.

## OTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS

**Ongoing Research Project****Comparative socio-historical perspectives and future possibilities of the social sciences and humanities in Europe**

The INTERCO-SSH (short for: International Cooperation in the Social Sciences & Humanities) project sets out to assess the state of the Social Sciences & Humanities (SSH) in Europe and to understand the factors that facilitate or hinder international exchanges. It aims to outline potential future pathways that could promote cooperation across disciplinary and national boundaries.

The project uses the tools of the SSH to study the SSH in their socio-historical context, including their relationship with the political and economic powers. It compares the process of institutionalisation of seven academic disciplines in order to identify the sociological factors that have shaped the "academic unconscious" of scholars. Furthermore, it investigates the transfer of knowledge between countries and disciplines, the geographical mobility of scholars and the circulation of ideas.

This project is founded by the European Commission under the FP 7th Research Framework Programme. For more details see <http://www.interco-ssh.eu/>

**Workshop****Training Workshop on Qualitative Research Methods**

Emory University

Emory University, Rollins School of Public Health is offering a 4-day workshop on Qualitative Research Methods, August 12-15, 2014, to promote effective use of qualitative methods in public health research. This workshop provides an understanding of the theoretical principles and practical skills needed for conducting and evaluating qualitative research. It is suitable for anyone involved in research or research management. It is valuable for those involved in designing or conducting qualitative research or those who train research staff, evaluate research contracts or manage research. No previous knowledge of qualitative research is needed.

Typical participants include population and health professionals, university researchers, graduate students, research contractors, government agencies and non-government organizations. The number of participants is limited, early registration is encouraged.

The registration fee is \$550. Please visit their website for more information and registration details: <http://tinyurl.com/rsph-qr>.

For any questions about the workshop, please contact Ms. K. Muwwakkil by email at [kmuwwak@emory.edu](mailto:kmuwwak@emory.edu) or by phone at 404-727-3152.

**Conference****XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology**

July 13 to 19

Yokohama, Japan

Fumiya ONAKA has organized the following three sessions in cooperation with the Comparative and Historical Sociology Section:

**WG02 Roundtable: Process-Oriented Social Research in Historical and Comparative Sociology**

Monday, July 14, 2014: 10:30 AM - 12:20 PM

**RC04RC20/2 The Comparative Sociology of Examinations. Part II**

Wednesday, July 16, 2014: 03:30 PM - 05:20 PM.

**RC04RC20 The Comparative Sociology of Examinations. Part I**

Saturday, July 19, 2014: 12:30 PM - 2:20 PM

For more information about the conference program, please visit:

<http://www.isa-sociology.org/congress2014/#>



## SECTION MEMBERS ON THE MARKET

**Marie Berry**

University of California - Los Angeles

**From violence to mobilization: war, women, and political power in Rwanda, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and beyond**

How does mass violence impact societies in its aftermath? At its most fundamental level, war is an accelerated period of social change. Often in the period of days or weeks, the social structures in society are destroyed, institutions are dismantled, and power relations at all levels of society shift. My dissertation seeks to understand how large-scale political violence can transform society, and uses the experience of women as a lens through which to do so. The project is motivated by a puzzle: while scholarship emphasizes the suffering that follows 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.

This dissertation proceeds in three substantive parts. First, through a global quantitative analysis, I investigate the impact of mass violence on various measures of women's status, including the percentage of women in parliament and rates of organizational participation in a given country. Next, I conduct two in-depth case studies on Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Drawing from 10 months of fieldwork and interviews with over 230 women in both countries, my research suggests that violence can serve as a comprehensive systemic shock that loosens the hold of traditional gendered power relations, as it can completely dismantle the structural and institutional layout of a society. These case studies illustrate how these processes unfold. Overall, I find that mass violence can bring about: (1) a shift in the demographic balance between men and women; (2) a shift in economic needs,

preferences, and household economic relations; (3) a shift in gendered power relations, both in local political institutions and with the arrival of international actors; and (4) a shift in the cultural understanding of who constitutes a legitimate political actor. I illustrate how these structural shifts opened spaces for women in Rwanda and Bosnia to participate in social and political life in ways that were previously infeasible.

**Dissertation Committee:** Andreas Wimmer (chair), Gail Kligman, Michael Mann, Bill Roy, Abigail Saguy

**Research interests:** My primary research agenda falls within comparative political sociology and focuses on the long-term impact of war on societies, and the potential for war to fundamentally re-alter the institutional and social layout of society. Additional research interests include the sociology of gender, women and war, and contentious politics and social movements.

**Kate Pride Brown**

Vanderbilt University

**Saving the Sacred Sea: Baikal Environmentalism from the Soviet Union to Globalized Modernity**

This dissertation explores the ways in which problems are constructed and solutions made plausible by activists and the public they seek to engage in two contrasted contexts: contemporary global capitalist modernity and behind the Iron Curtain of the single-party state-planned political economy of the U.S.S.R. To ground this investigation, I examine environmental activism in Irkutsk, Russia, near the ecologically unique and globally significant Lake Baikal. Data come from ten months of ethnographic field research amongst environmental organizations in Irkutsk and collected archival materials on local environmental activism from the last decade of the Soviet Union and during the period of post-Soviet transition. Preliminary findings show two countervailing forces influencing civil society under conditions of globalization. The first involves creative inspiration, as locals encounter new fodder for thought in the global public sphere. But there are also powerful stakeholders who seek to constrain and channel the activist

gaze. Corporations use the “carrot” of philanthropy to steer activists’ efforts toward non-threatening projects, and the state exerts the “stick” of law to shore up its own power sources against insurgent civil society. Both of these tactics are reminiscent of Community Party politics in confronting environmentalism in the USSR. These findings point to a more complex analysis of power under condition of global modernity, both for contentious civil society and for its elite opponents.

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

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

## Cem Emrence

State University of New York - Binghamton

### Remapping the Ottoman Middle East

My dissertation unveils alternative routes to modernity in the Ottoman Middle East. It argues that the coast, the interior, and the frontier emerged as distinct imperial paths during the nineteenth century. Regional paths were rival social orders. The coastal experience was shaped by global flows; inland regions evolved with Ottoman state-building efforts; and the frontiers kept their autonomy from the central state and modernization processes. The difference-maker was the alternative institutionalization of economy, politics, and collective claims. *Remapping the Ottoman Middle East* reaches a far-reaching conclusion. It suggests that the eclectic nature of state formation in post-Ottoman states that bundled different trajectories together is the root cause of state failures in the region.

I relied on path dependency approach to explain patterned diversity in the Middle East. Path-dependency comes into effect when key decisions made at junction points persist over time and produce long-term outcomes. In the Ottoman Middle East, local politics, economy, and contention operated as feedback mechanisms and sustained the distinct character of each regional

## SECTION MEMBERS ON THE MARKET

path. They were key sites to accumulate power, wealth and status in late Ottoman society, and their interactive character consolidated the power of interlocked leaderships. The three processes in turn shaped local hierarchies, and defined the nature of interactions among locals, imperial state, and global society. As such, the dissertation explains the great divergence in the region with reference to variation over the same processes.

**Committee:** Caglar Keyder (chair), David Lee, Ravi Palat, Donald Quataert (external, history)

**Research Interests:** In addition to comparative and historical sociology, my research interests include organizations and contentious politics. More recently, I also started a research program on political violence that combines extensive archival work with quantitative methods.

## Sahan Savas Karatasli

Johns Hopkins University

### Financial Expansions, Hegemonic Transitions and Nationalism: A Longue Durée Analysis of State-Seeking Nationalist Movements

My Ph.D. dissertation provides a constructive criticism of the theories that predict a decline in state-seeking nationalist movements in the 21st century. Through a world historical analysis of nationalist movements of the world from 1300 AD to 2012 AD, I argue that state-seeking nationalist movements have been characterized by both a cyclical and an evolutionary pattern in world history. Synthesizing insights, observations and theories from Giovanni Arrighi, Charles Tilly and Michael Hechter, I offer a novel conceptual-theoretical framework which accounts for the complex relationship between historical-capitalism, world-hegemonic transition periods and nationalist movements. More specifically, I argue that the incidence of nationalist movements on a world-scale has tended to rise during periods of financial expansion and world-hegemonic crisis; and has tended to decline during periods of material expansion of trade and production, and world hegemonic consolidation, especially in regions which share the political-economic benefits of capitalist accumulation.

## SECTION MEMBERS ON THE MARKET

The dissertation unpacks the complex set of social, political and economic processes through which different epochs of historical capitalism affect the mobilization of state-seeking nationalist movements. Based on my world-historical analysis, I conclude that nationalist movements are definitely not on the wane in the world we live today. On the contrary, since the beginning of the US-led financialization new opportunity structures have been emerging for state-seeking movements to mobilize. Hence, since 1990s we have been observing a global resurgence of secessionist movements that is very likely to accelerate further in the near future, the shape of which is contingent on how the current crisis of US hegemony unfolds. The comparative-historical analysis provided in my dissertation also provides an explanation for how forms taken by state-seeking movements and their class composition have changed from one world hegemony (systemic cycle of accumulation) to the next.

In my dissertation, I also introduce a major new dataset on nationalist movements. The State-Seeking Nationalist Movements (SSNM) database (constructed by the author) includes articles reporting on state-seeking nationalist activities throughout the world from 1790 to 2012 using *The Guardian* and the *New York Times* historical archives; and a major dataset of state-seeking movements which created revolutionary situations in the world from 1300 to 1790 using secondary sources.

**Dissertation Committee:** Giovanni Arrighi (1937-2009) and Beverly Silver served as my primary advisors, and my dissertation committee included Beverly Silver, Joel Andreas, Siba Grovogui, Lingxin Hao and Michael Hechter.

**Research Interests:** Comparative-historical sociology with a focus on (1) social movements (2) contemporary and historical processes of globalization and financialization, (3) stratification, inequality, social change and development. My research examines the interaction of these three processes at macro (world-systemic) and micro (national and local) levels. I use a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to pursue theoretically informed empirical analysis for comparative-historical research.

## Joshua McCabe

State University of New York - Albany

### The Fiscalization of Social Policy: Tax Expenditures and the Transformation of Cultural Categories of Worth

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

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

**Research Interests:** fiscal sociology, comparative welfare states, and economic sociolog

## SECTION MEMBERS ON THE MARKET

**Eric W. Schoon**

University of Arizona

**From Freedom to Constraint: How Illegitimacy Shapes Civil Conflict**

From academic scholarship to military policy and international law, legitimacy is widely regarded as critical in shaping the course and outcome of violent political conflict. Yet, our understanding of the conditions for legitimacy and its effects has been limited by the fact that there is wide variation across contexts in how legitimacy is defined and evaluated. My research advances longstanding debates in the literature on violent political conflict by turning attention to illegitimacy. Combining comparative analysis with in-depth historical research, I show that the conditions for illegitimacy transcend the social and cultural boundaries that shape legitimacy, providing a more stable and consistent means for understanding how evaluations of rightness and

Sharp-eyed readers will have noticed a few changes in this issue of *Trajectories*. The most obvious is the change in the layout. Since 2014 marks the 25th anniversary of this section's newsletter (and my first year as editor) I decided to exercise my editorial discretion and give *Trajectories* a small facelift. The logo and basic features from previous newsletters remain essentially the same. As for the rest, I hope you will agree that most of the changes made have been for the better. Some tinkering around the edges will no doubt continue.

Another change you may have noticed is a more overt attempt to encourage submissions from section members. As the sole editor, I truly could not put this newsletter together without your help. Fortunately, your response to emails soliciting information on new publications, PhDs on the market, and other announcements has been exemplary. Tim Gill, Donald Levine, and Richard Lachmann also deserve our thanks for their special submissions to this issue. In that spirit, I hope that section members will not only keep sending information on new publications and other announcements, but also consider

acceptability shape violent conflict. Further, through original historical research, discourse analysis, and longitudinal statistical analyses, I examine how diverse forms of illegitimacy differently effect violent social movements versus the states they oppose. By turning attention to illegitimacy, this work reveals previously unobserved patterns in how evaluations of rightness and acceptability are made across space and time, and suggests significant revisions to existing theories of legitimation in violent civil conflict.

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

**Research interests:** My research examines the dynamics of political conflict and the emergence and consequences of cultural and political categories from a transnational comparative perspective, using relational, historical, and statistical methods of analysis.

## FROM THE EDITOR

submitting more original content. These could include (but are not limited to) comments on current events, short essays on the development of the subfield, descriptions of works-in-progress, appreciations of recently-deceased scholars, and reviews/previews of new and noteworthy books. With the annual ASA conference coming up in a few months, submissions based on conference sessions - historically a regular feature of the December issue - are most welcome.

The next issue will also feature the usual letter from the section's new chair, Bruce Carruthers. Plans are also in the works to revive certain features from previous newsletters (next issue will mark the return of the popular "Identities" essays, for example). Also planned is a short report on recent trends in the job market.

Until then, have a wonderful and productive summer. See you next issue!

Matthew Baltz

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mjbaltz@ucla.edu