

NEWSLETTER OF THE
Comparative & Historical SOCIOLOGY
SECTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

June 1989

Dialog & Controversy

Volume 1: Number 2

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In this summer issue we have two rather different pieces on historical and comparative sociology. Richard Lachmann writes about his reflections over "the project of comparative historical sociology." Lachmann carries us through, what appears to have been, his own process debating the historical place of social actors and the logic of structures. David R. James and Pamela Barnhouse Walters summarize their research on southern racial educational inequalities. Their work concentrates on a test case that highlights the importance of the role of the state in affecting school enrollment patterns and its consequences. The central argument is that public-school systems are affected by both institutional arrangements and class processes, similarly to other local -state outputs.

I trust that these contributions will generate interest and that you will decide to either respond and comment on the statements published in the Newsletter, or move you to share with us your work and ideas.

My thanks to Richard Lachmann, David R. James and Pamela Barnhouse Walters for the time and energy they put into the summer issue of the Newsletter, despite their many other commitments.

You will also find in this issue the "who's who" of the section members. This list is intended to help the section members network. If your name does not appear on the list and you wish to have it published, please send it to me for a future issue.

Miscellaneous Announcements

The section on Comparative Historical Sociology will host a cocktail reception on Saturday, August 12 from 5:00 to 7:00 PM. The reception will be held in Barbara Laslett's suite. Please check at the hotel desk for the room number. All members of the section are invited to attend.

The official outcome of the Section's spring 1989 election is as follows:
Council Members:

Pamela Barnhouse Walters
Indiana University
Richard Lackman
U. of Wisconsin-Madison

Referendum results were approved.

We thank the members of the election committee for their work.

More Miscellaneous Announcements

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Louis R. Gaydosh is editing a set of curriculum materials for the Teaching Services Program of the American Sociological Association to be used in courses in social statistics, with a primary focus on the undergraduate level, although materials from graduate-level course will also be given consideration. He invites members of the Section to submit any of the following materials for inclusion in the volume: 1) course syllabi, including course descriptions and prerequisites; 2) project assignments, or exercises used to develop and/or illustrate probability and statistical concepts; 3) lecture notes, topics, or techniques which have proven successful in fostering student interest in and learning of (social) statistics; 4) bibliographies, especially references to non-technical treatment of statistics; 5) descriptions or reviews of computer software packages and ways to integrate them into (social) statistics courses; 6) techniques of "math anxiety reduction" or similar approaches for students lacking either the necessary algebra background or confidence in their qualitative skills.

These materials may be submitted either in printed (hard copy) form or on computer disk(s). Disks should be 5 1/4" and ready for use on IBM PC, XT, AT or compatible machines, with files written in ASCII format or in BASIC. Please include a stamped, self-addressed post card or envelope so that I can acknowledge receipt of your submission.

Address all materials and inquiries to:
(by end of June)

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In Search of a Comparative Historical Methodology

by Richard Lachmann

Sociologists who study early modern Europe as the time and place of a, perhaps the, fundamental transformation in human history do not agree on the object of explanation. At one extreme, Wallerstein views the world system as: "the only social system" (1974, p.7), and makes its emergence and development the subject of analysis. He likens the study of a unique social system to astronomers' study of the universe, and suggests drawing on evidence of particular evidence of particular events, and upon causal models of lesser phenomena, only to the extent they illuminate the workings of the world system.

Most historical sociologists doubt the possibility, and at times the value, of such grand theory. Instead, they study a form of social activity or type of institution as archetypal of, or as a proxy for, greater social transformations. An advantage of this procedure is that it allows for comparison among components of the larger social world. The object of study then becomes the rise of rational economic action, of nation-states, of modified labor, or any of a host of other factors judged significant.

Ragin (1987) identifies two strategies for comparing institutions, behaviors, and processes. The 'case-oriented' approach allows one to identify the conjuncture of causes that account for differences among the objects of analysis. Often one case is viewed as primary, with the comparative method being used to identify factors that cause other cases to diverge from the ideal. The 'variable-oriented' strategy assesses the average effect of a cause across many historical instances. For example, Tilly has studied the consequences of state formation upon collective action, Goldstone the relation between population increases and state breakdown, Braudel and others of capitalist social relations upon everyday life.

The case and variable-oriented strategies complement each other in the best comparative historical work. Yet, the melding of the two approaches is limited by difficulties in conceptualizing the causal interaction of agency and structure. Even when a sociologist is able to express agency in the form of a variable, and to make a robust causal claim of that agent's specific effect, it is difficult to assess the structural consequences and significance of the agent's actions. Tilly, for example, clearly describes the actions of state elites over time in France and, in his recent work, across European nations. He demonstrates how the particular self-aggrandizing strategies of those elites provoked particular forms of popular mobilization

with certain objectives at different historical moments. However, the similar actions of state elites are of limited help in analyzing the real differences in the structural developments of European states, or in explaining the drastic variations in the effects of popular mobilization across time and place.

A difficulty with the case study method emerges in the debate between Brenner (1976; 1982) and Bois (1978) over the demise of feudalism in England and France. Bois faults Brenner for presenting England as the model for the transition to capitalism. Bois contends that France's feudal crisis was deeper because in reality it was the more advanced political economy: The French absolutist state Brenner views as a sign of French backwardness was the result of a more profound structural transformation than occurred in England (Bois 1978, pp. 65-66). Brenner's reply, in effect, criticizes Bois for inverting the causal relation between social structure and class agency. Brenner believes that the relative class capacities of lords and peasants shape each country's "social property system," which in turn determines the form of "ruling-class self-organization," i.e. of the state, as well as the direction of economic development (1982, p. 69).

While Brenner and Bois differ on the causal priority of class conflict and demographic-economic crises, both assume a certain logical development of social structures. National paths of feudal and capitalist development are determined once a pattern of class relations (Brenner) or a level of labor productivity and hence of feudal rents or of capitalist profits (Bois) is set. The moment such structural differences are established is the starting point for their comparative case analyses.

The shortcomings and the significant accomplishments of variable-oriented work such as Tilly's and of case-comparisons such as Bois and Brenner's are complimentary. It often is difficult to track the effect of agency upon structure when agency is expressed in variable form — whether quantitative or qualitative. When structures are compared, agency often loses meaning and becomes a mere precipitant of transformations preordained by the logic of structure.

I have grappled with these methodological problems in my own work on state and class formation in early modern Europe. (For examples see Lachmann 1987; 1989). I can't pretend to have found a synthetic method that solves the limitations of the two approaches. Instead, I have sought to begin with an inductive notion of agency and structure. I initially define agency solely in terms of its effect upon structure. Thus, classes, fractions, or elites exist only to the extent to which they have an observable effect upon a specific structure — production organization, political institution, etc. I believe the historical evidence for

early modern Europe supports arguments for the efficacy of classes and elites. However, those group actors are defined within specific historical contexts.

Structures can be viewed as artifacts of past chains of agency. Rather than claim that structures have a logic of development, I would prefer to argue that the evolution of structures reflects the continuing limitations which actors' agencies place upon each other. Structures identified through historical analysis can be used to define the long-range effects of social interactions, and to deduce the limits upon actors and their actions.

These comments do not reflect pessimism over the project of comparative historical sociology. I believe the opportunities for agency are generally quite restricted. As a result, structural change is slow and amenable to analysis and comparative generalization. We must be careful about how we theorize history and avoid the temptation to reify agents' limitations in the logic of structures.

REFERENCES

- Bois, Guy. 1978. "Against the Neo-Malthusian Orthodoxy." Past and Present 79:60-69.
- Brenner, Robert. 1976. "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe." Past and Present 70:30-75.
1982. "The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism." Past and Present 97:16-113.
- Lachmann, Richard. 1987. From Manor to Market: Structural Change in England, 1536-1640. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
1989. "Elite Conflict and State Formation in 16th and 17th Century England and France." American Sociological Review 54:141-162.
- Ragin, Charles. 1987. The Comparative Method. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. The Modern World-System. New York: Academic Press.

Special thanks to Eunice Doherty, Roberta Nerenberg and Jeanne Spellman at Boston College for their assistance in producing this issue of the Newsletter.

Southern Racial Educational Inequalities

by David R. James and
Pamela Barnhouse Walters
Indiana University

Public schools have been the single most expensive public good provided by local states for more than 100 years. Despite the intimate links between the constitution of local governmental authority and the provision of schooling, almost all studies of school enrollment patterns underestimated state effects or ignore them altogether. For example, studies of public school expansion assume that popular demand is the most important determinant of the creation and maintenance of public schools. Yet an inadequate supply of schools would limit school attendance. Unless local states provide schools that equal or exceed local demand, enrollment rates would be depressed. Prospective students cannot attend schools that do not exist. Similarly, most studies of school segregation underestimate state effects on public-school segregation. At the logical extremes, states can enforce school segregation, as they did in the South before the 1960s, or compel complete integration, as they have occasionally since the late 1960s. In most cases, desegregative actions did not completely desegregate systems because the available policy tools were inadequate to the task or were weakly applied. The expansion of public-school systems and the desegregation of public schools are examples of how the supply of public schools affects enrollment patterns.

The South provides an important test case for examining how the state affects enrollment patterns by shaping the supply of public schools. As historians have noted, southern racial educational inequalities have been closely tied to black citizenship rights. Early in this century, black disfranchisement made it easier to enforce racial segregation of the schools and to discriminate against blacks in both the quantity and quality of schools. Actions by the federal courts and executive branch since 1950s re-enfranchised southern blacks and outlawed public-school segregation. Members of privileged white class and status groups, no longer able to dominate local state policies on these issues, were forced to resort to individualistic strategies in order to avoid contact with blacks. Nevertheless, state structures still affect the range of alternatives available to individuals.

A compelling theory of school enrollment patterns should be able to explain the patterns of racial inequalities in southern education in both periods: (1) the racial differences in school enrollments, teachers, and number of schools after black disfranchisement

early in this century and (2) racial segregation, and the differential allocation of school resources, within and among school systems since the 1960s. Unfortunately, the literature on school expansion, which should pertain to the early period, and that on school segregation, which applies to the latter, have developed in isolation from each other. Studies of U.S. school expansion typically exclude the South as a deviate case — perhaps because they focus on demand rather than supply factors. Restrictions on the supply of schools were much more prevalent in the South than elsewhere. School desegregation studies have paid little attention to rural districts of the South, which contain about 20% of all black students, preferring to focus on urban school districts instead. The studies of urban school desegregation tend to ignore how local-state structures, such as the fragmentation of school systems over metropolitan areas, creates and maintains inequalities among and within metropolitan school systems.

Because public-school systems are provided in large part by local states, they are affected by the same kinds of mobilized political forces and institutionalized constraints that affect other local-state outputs. We argue that local states, and their associated public-school systems, are subject to two sets of constraints: (1) those imposed by organizational links to higher levels of the state and federal governmental institutions; and (2) those imposed by local class and status structures. When organizational links to the superordinate state are weak, local states, and their public-school systems, can be closely attuned to the interests of locally dominant classes, status groups, and their allies. When the links are strong, pressure from non-local authorities may modify local school systems in ways that diverge from the preferences and interests of locally powerful classes and status groups. This theory, which emphasizes the importance of state-society links, guides our analysis of racial inequalities in southern education.

The supply of public schools can be manipulated in three general ways. First, the state determines the quantity of schools, such as the numbers of schools, classrooms, and teachers, and the length of the school year. Second, the state determines the quality of schools by imposing taxes on local constituencies for school funds, allocating revenues among schools, setting the educational qualifications of teachers, and shaping the content of curricula for example. Finally, the state regulates access to schools. In the past, race and gender were often used to restrict access to public schools. On the eve of *Brown v. Education* (1954), students were assigned to schools by race in 17 states and the District of Columbia. In recent periods, states have been prohibited from regulating access on the basis of race or gender, but other restrictions are

Champagne

NAME: Duane Champagne

ADDRESS: Sociology Department, UCLA
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CURRENT RESEARCH: Processes of social change in Native North American societies, the formation and stability of Democratic governments in the U.S. and Nonwestern societies.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Teach Comparative Native American Societies; Introduction to Macro-Historical Sociology.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: American Indian Societies: Strategies and Conditions of Political and Cultural Survival (forthcoming 1989); Social Order and Political Change (under review).

Cushman

NAME: Thomas Cushman

ADDRESS: 448 Burdine Hall
Univ. of Texas
Austin, TX 78712

CURRENT RESEARCH: Current research focuses on ritual and festival in post-revolutionary Russia and its role in establishing political hegemony.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Teach courses on Soviet society, sociology of culture in cross cultural perspective.

Diani

NAME: Marco Diani

ADDRESS: Dept. of French & Italian Studies and
Dept. of Sociology (joint appt.)
Northwestern University
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Kresge Centennial Hall 119
Evanston, IL 60201
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75006, Paris, France

CURRENT RESEARCH: Sociologist of industry, technology and organizations, Diani holds presently the position of Senior Research Associate at the Centre d'analyse and d'intervention sociologiques (CADIS), directed by Alain Touraine, part of CNRS-EHESS in Paris. He has published extensively in the area of new technologies and organizational change, urban sociology and sociology of work. Since 1980, Diani is also Visiting Senior Researcher at the Istituto di Psicologia in Rome, part of CNR in Italy, where he concentrates on the study of office automation, organizations and High-Technology work.

Diani is Mellon Visiting Professor at Northwestern University, where he has a joint appointment in the Departments of French and Italian Studies and Sociology.

Author, or co-author of more than sixty publications,

Diani is presently working on two major projects: Technology, innovation and entrepreneurship; an international comparison, and a series of articles on historical aspects of the development of French society in the XIX Century. The Prophetic Vision in XIX Century France.

His residence in Chicago has led to a study of the industrialist George Pullman, and his interest in literature to a now completed work on Stendhal soon to come out from Sellerio, an Italian publisher.

Glenday

NAME: Daniel Glenday, Associate Professor

ADDRESS: Sociology-Brock University
St. Catharine's
Ontario, Canada L2S 3A1

CURRENT RESEARCH: (1) Comparative cross-cultural examination of worker attitudes to technological change, (2) Canada's position in world economy and its effects on redistributive justice.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS RECEIVED: Modernization and the Canadian State (MacMillan: Toronto) "Canada, the Left and Free Trade", Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 95/2 (Summer 1988) 251-84.

Hage

NAME: Jerald Hage

ADDRESS: 5406 Wilson Lane
Bethesda, MD 20814

CURRENT RESEARCH: Maurice Garnier and I are currently involved in doing a series of individual country (Britain, France, Germany, and Italy) studies of the role of the state in education in shaping both class formation and economic growth. The intent is to use differences in the nature of the state to explain some of the differences that exist in Western Europe today. We are funded by the National Science Foundation.

TEACHING PROGRAM IN COMPARATIVE/HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY: At the University of Maryland, we have two programs in our political economy program that place an emphasis on comparative historical research, but we do not have a program as such. Each sequence has two required courses followed by a special topics course. For example, a course on development theory, another on world systems, followed by special topic courses on such themes as state bureaucrats, the state and development. Another set of courses is political sociology, new theories of the state, and again an advanced topics course.

LIST RECENT BOOKS, HONORS RECEIVED: This month, Unwin and Hyman has published my book State Responsiveness and State Activism, which is a synthesis of pluralist, class conflict, active state theories relative to the origin of social welfare programs and the growth in welfare expenditures, and of education

programs and the growth in education expenditures in Britain, France, Germany, and Italy over the period of 1871-1968.

Hochberg

NAME: Leonard Hochberg

ADDRESS: Department of Sociology
Stanford University
Stanford, CA

CURRENT RESEARCH: Revising my dissertation "The Geography of Revolution," for publication, and beginning a new project (with Prof. David Miller) on the sociogeography of Irish national development.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Recently founded a laboratory for the Study of Regional Systems and Social Processes. Students who enroll in my courses are encouraged to learn the "geographic information system" technologies housed in the Laboratory.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: Peace Fellow, 1988-89, Hoover Institution; co-editor with Eugene Genovese of Geographic Perspectives in History (Basil Blackwell, 1989.)

Kimmel

NAME: Michael Kimmel

ADDRESS: Dept. of Sociology,
SUNY at Stony Brook

CURRENT RESEARCH: (1) Historical sociology of men's responses to feminism in U.S., 1880-1980. (2) Comparative study of lower middle class social movements.

TEACHING PROGRAM: (1) Grad course on Comparative Historical Soc.

(2) Undergrad courses on — social change, social movements

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: Absolutism and its Discontents: State & Society in 17th Century France and England (Transaction) 1988.

Levine

NAME: Rhonda F. Levine

ADDRESS: Department of Sociology
Colgate University
Hamilton, N.Y. 13346

CURRENT RESEARCH: Barriers to a unified working class movement in the United States, 1945-1960.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Am. society in Comp./Hist. fashion.

Race & social stratification

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: Class Struggle and the New Deal. Industrial Labor, Industrial Capital, and the State. 1988. Univ. Press of Kansas. Recapturing Marxism, 1987, Praeger Press (ed. w/Jerry Unbira).

Levy

NAME: Marion J. Levy, Jr.

ADDRESS: Woodrow Wilson School, 409
Princeton University
Princeton, N.J. 08544

CURRENT RESEARCH: Chinese Dynasties: Universals and Variance.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Retired.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: OUR MOTHERS TEMPER; to be published 5/14/89

Light

NAME: Professor Donald Light

ADDRESS: Graduate Program in Sociology
Rutgers University

CORRESPONDENCE: 10 Adams Drive,
Princeton, N.J. 08540

CURRENT RESEARCH: Recasting the history of the American health care system in the 20th century, with particular attention to relations between profession and state.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: Forthcoming article with Sol Levine in The Milbank Quarterly that shows how competing concepts of the medical profession are part of a larger historical whole.

Lopata

NAME: Helena Z. Lopata

ADDRESS: Dept. of Sociology
Loyola University
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Chicago, IL 60626

CURRENT RESEARCH: 1) Changes in the social integration of women in American suburbs: 1956-1989. 2) Support Systems of Widows: Comparative Perspectives (going to give paper in Singapore, May-1989); Had fellowship (International Exchange of Scholars) to study S.S. of Widows in India.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Historical development of selected occupations and professions (see City Women: Work, Jobs, Occupations. Careers v. (1) America v. (2) Chicago for Women.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: Mieczyslaw Haiman Award for "Sustained Scholarship Effort in the Field of Polish American Studies", Polish American Historical Association, Winter 1978-88. Widows: The Middle East, Asia and the Pacific. v. 1, Widows: North America. v. 2, Duke University Press, 1987.

Mennell

NAME: Stephen Mennell

ADDRESS: Department of Sociology
University of Exeter
Exeter, Great Britain

CURRENT RESEARCH: Decivilising Processes: What Happens When Elias's Civilising Process Goes Into

Reverse? Continuing interest in food history, long-term processes.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Seminars on History/Sociology, Interface and on Aspects of Violence and Sexuality in History.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: All Manners of Food (Blackwell, 1985) - Grand Prix International De Litterature Gastronomique 1986, Prix Marco Polo, 1987, Norbert Elias: Civilisation and the Human Self-Image, Blackwell, March 1989.

Mizruchi

NAME: Ephraim H. Mizruchi

ADDRESS: (Prof./Chair)

Sociology Department
Syracuse University

CURRENT RESEARCH: 2 studies: (a) longitudinal study of a small city in N.Y. state - change in social structure and values; (b) continuing study of pre-modern European organizations and movements. Recent paper on "The Bohemian Idea and the French Revolution of 1848," Int'l. Society for the Study of European Ideas, Turning Points in History, Amsterdam, Oct. 2, 1988.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Historical Sociology taught by Gunter Remmling, Jeff Haydn and me. Haydn leaving for U.C., San Diego. Comparative emphasis in the Department and Foreign and Comparative Studies Program in the Maxwell School of which we are a part.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: Regulating Society: Bohemians, Beguines and Other Marginals, Chicago, 1987, paper (Free Press, 1983).

Shafir

NAME: Gershon Shafir

ADDRESS: Dept. of Sociology C-002
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CURRENT RESEARCH: The Transformation of Israeli Nationalism: The Aftermath of the Six Day War.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Soc 186: States and Nations
Soc. 106: Comp. Hist. Methods
Soc. 207: Comp. Hist. Methods

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: LAND, LABOR AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT, 1882-1917, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming in March 1989.

Swatos

NAME: William H. Swatos, Jr.

ADDRESS: 1500 Seventh Avenue
Silvis, IL 61282

CURRENT RESEARCH: Primary projects include Icelandic-Canadian religious interaction and culture, and historical essays on Max Weber as applied sociolo-

gist and as "Christian" sociologist.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Comparative Religions - using a neo-Weberian text in process for publication by SUNY.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: See enclosed. Also forthcoming: RELIGIOUS POLITICS IN GLOBAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE. (Greenwood, 1989).

Tiryakian

NAME: Edward A. Tiryakian

ADDRESS: Department of Sociology
Duke University

CURRENT RESEARCH: (1) Cultural development of East Asia; (2) Rethinking Modernization theory & its critics.

TEACHING PROGRAM IN COMPARATIVE/HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY: (1) Advanced seminar examining Weberian & Durkheimian perspectives on Asian development. (2) 1989 NEH summer seminar for college teachers on "Generations, Cycles and Modernity (June-Aug. 89)

Walimann

NAME: Isidor Wallimann

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4053 Basel, Switzerland

CURRENT RESEARCH: Economic Reforms and Self-Management of Enterprises in Bulgaria.

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: Radical Perspectives on the Rise of Fascism in Germany, 1919-45.

Zolberg

NAME: Vera L. Zolberg

ADDRESS: Dept. of Sociology
New School for Soc. Research
65 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10003

CURRENT RESEARCH: Arts & Society, on Avant-Garde Art Movements at Turn of Century; Museums as Texts in the Creation of Post-Colonial Public Culture; Urban Centers and Culture; Culture Policy.

TEACHING PROGRAM: Graduate seminar in the creation and dissemination of late 19th-early 20th Century Art Movements in relation to new Status Groups; Undergraduate Seminar on Politics and Art; Art and the City

RECENT BOOKS, HONORS: Book forthcoming on Sociology of Arts; Chair of ASA Culture Section, 1988-89. Forthcoming articles in collections: "Museum Education: Pathway to Cultural Literacy?"; "Cultural Capital, The Art Museum and the Public: Barrier or Leveler?"; "Displayed Art and Performed Music," to be reprinted in Why Art? A Reader in the Sociology of Art, ed. by J.R. Blau and A. W. Foster, SUNY Press.