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0521526205 - The Handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization

Edited by Thomas Janoski, Robert R. Alford, Alexander M. Hicks and Mildred A. Schwartz

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THE HANDBOOK OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Written by a distinguished group of leading scholars, *The Handbook of Political Sociology* provides the first complete survey of the vibrant field of political sociology. Part I begins by exploring the theories of political sociology. Part II focuses on the formation, transitions, and regime structure of the state. Part III takes up various aspects of the state that respond to pressures from civil society, including welfare, gender, and military policies. Part IV examines globalization. The handbook is dedicated to the memory of coeditor Robert Alford.

Thomas Janoski is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Kentucky. He has taught at the University of California, Berkeley, and at Duke University. He is the author of *Citizenship and Civil Society* and *The Political Economy of Unemployment*, which in 1992 won the political sociology section of ASA's Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award. Professor Janoski has published articles in journals such as *Social Forces* and *Comparative Social Research* as well as in edited books. He is currently completing a book called *The Ironies of Citizenship*.

Robert R. Alford, Distinguished Professor of Sociology, City University of New York – Graduate Center, was a respected scholar of political sociology and a dedicated teacher. At the time of his death he was working with a former student on the development of a new theory of misinformation. This book is dedicated to his memory; the preface details his remarkable life.

Alexander M. Hicks is Professor of Sociology at Emory University. His articles have appeared in leading sociology and political science journals, including *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, and *American Political Science Review*. Since 2001 he has served on the editorial board for the *American Sociological Review* and as inaugural coeditor of the *Socioeconomic Review*. Professor Hicks's publications include *The Political Economy of the Welfare State* (coauthored with Thomas Janoski) and *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism*, for which he won the Luebbert Award in the Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association for best book on comparative politics in 1998–1999.

Mildred A. Schwartz is Professor Emeritus at the University of Illinois at Chicago and Visiting Scholar in the Department of Sociology at New York University. In 2004 she received a citation for Distinguished Scholarship in Canadian Studies from the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States. Professor Schwartz is the author or coauthor of eight previous books, including *The Party Network* and *Politics and Territory*, which, twenty-five years after publication, became the theme of a conference and a later Festschrift, *Regionalism and Political Parties*, edited by Lisa Young and Keith Archer. She has published articles on the subject of political science and public policy, many as chapters in edited volumes.

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The Handbook of Political Sociology

STATES, CIVIL SOCIETIES, AND

GLOBALIZATION

Edited by

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University of Kentucky

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in memory of

Robert Alford

—

A political sociologist

of world renown

and friend

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Preface

Quite unexpectedly and tragically, our coeditor, Robert Alford, died of pancreatic cancer on February 14, 2003, at the age of 74. We would like to tell you a little bit about him. Bob grew up near the Sierras in California where his parents had a ranch in Avery near Angels Camp, of jumping-frog-contest fame. Bob was well over six feet tall and he loved to walk in the forest, orchards, and mountains. He graduated from Bret Harte High School in the gold country of Northern California and attended the University of California at Berkeley in 1946. He was president of Stiles' Hall and active in the campus YMCA and the Labor Youth League. He regularly played classical piano in the Berkeley Chamber Music Group and loved folk music. Bob began work on an MA in sociology at California during the days of the controversial Loyalty Oath and left the university in 1951 rather than sign.

In 1952, Bob started working at the International Harvester truck plant in Emeryville, California. Bob Blauner, who was a coworker, describes their first meeting. "He was wearing goggles to protect his eyes and a gray apron or smock over his work clothes to collect the metallic dust coming from the machine he was operating" that made fenders for diesel trucks. Bob served as a shop steward and, with Blauner and others, pushed the UAW further to the left than it might otherwise have gone. Roger Friedland and Bob Blauner report that after Khrushchev's "secret" speech that detailed Stalin's crimes, including executions of supposed enemies who were actually loyal communists, Bob refocused politically and entered the sociology department at the University of California at Berkeley. Friedland comments that, for Bob, the "state's promulgation of information that was, in fact, disinformation, or outright lies, would later become a theme in his work."

A graduate student of Seymour Martin Lipset, Blauner reports that Bob Alford was Lipset's research assistant for – and even did some of the writing on – the classic *Political Man*. Alford finished his doctoral dissertation in 1961 on class voting in Anglo-American democracies, and it was published as *Party and Politics*. He left Berkeley to take his first academic job at the University of Wisconsin, where he helped lead the Social Organization Program for just over ten years. Bob took his

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students through a critical engagement with the classic debates with Marxism. In seminars, Bob demonstrated both personal care and political critique as he molded a generation of sociologists. Freidland says that “Teaching for him was a kind of wrestling, a loving combat.” And a lifetime of teaching accomplishments was recognized in 1997 with the American Sociological Association’s Distinguished Contribution to Teaching Award. Some of the knowledge built over the years of teaching was laid out in his 1998 book, *The Craft of Inquiry: Theories, Methods, Evidence*, and covers historical, quantitative, and interpretative methods and how to develop sociological problems in proposals and prospectuses. In large part, the book teaches the reader how to think about formulating sociological issues.

In 1974, Bob left Wisconsin for the University of California at Santa Cruz, which was closer to his beloved Sierra Mountains. In 1975, he published *Health Care Politics: Ideological and Interest Group Barriers to Reform*. This work showed how rationality developed as a form of symbolic politics, shaping how interest groups, organizations, and politicians could block reform in medical care. It won the C. Wright Mills Award given by the Society for the Study of Social Problems. In 1986 he and Roger Friedland published *The Powers of Theory*. This magisterial study of political sociology is a classic in the field and, in many ways, is the starting point for much of the work in this volume.

Bob never lost his love for music. A gifted pianist in his earlier life, he continued to play the piano. Tragically, in his later years he progressively lost his hearing, leaving him bereft of the joy of even listening to music. It was a supreme loss to him as a musician, yet he, as the consummate sociologist he was, found a way to live with that loss. He turned to writing about music with Andras Szanto in *Theory and Society* in an article titled “Orpheus Wounded: The Experience of Pain in the Professional Worlds of the Piano,” published in 1996.

In 1988, Bob took a position as Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the City University of New York, Graduate Center. Friedland reports that “Bob had fallen in love with New York City as a result of doing research there for his health care politics book.” In 1999, we four editors began working together on *The Handbook of Political Sociology*. Bob insisted on editing every chapter of the handbook, initially planned to be thirty-five chapters. He would type out his comments and send them by mail from New York, Avery, or wherever he might be. Bob pursued this work with so much gusto up to the end that we had no inkling of our impending loss. He was a man of tremendous principle, goodness, loyalty, and modesty as Friedland and Blauner describe and as we ourselves know. Bob neither complained nor ever said a word to us about being ill. He was to write the final chapter of this volume, to summarize and comment on the preceding thirty-two contributions. We leave this final and carefully probed and deliberated task undone, as a symbol of his unfinished concerto.

The genesis of the handbook project began with a number of articles by Thomas Janoski in the political sociology newsletter *Political Sociology: States, Power, and Society* (see the 1997–1998 issues) and was followed by a session he organized at the 1998 ASA Convention called “Visions of Political Sociology: Directions,

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Emphases and Roads Not Taken.” Anthony Orum of the University of Illinois – Chicago, Richard Weil of Louisiana State University, Margaret Somers of the University of Michigan, and Robert Alford of the City University of New York – Graduate Center made presentations and answered questions on the “visions of political sociology” in a lively and well-attended session. Afterward, Robert Alford, Alexander Hicks, and Mildred Schwartz agreed to be coeditors along with Thomas Janoski. The project began with the circulation of a position paper that was, in many ways, a reaction to Baruch Kimmerling’s *Political Sociology at the Crossroads*. That book assessed the state of political sociology in the United States, United Kingdom, Scandinavia, Russia, India, Poland, Germany, and a number of other countries. Anthony Orum’s article (1996) in *Crossroads* about political sociology in the United States was also influential.

Funding was provided by the American Sociological Association and National Science Foundation Fund for the Advancement of the Profession for a conference on “Challenges to Theories of Political Sociology,” held on May 25th and 26th, 2001, in New York City. The departments of sociology at the Graduate Center and New York University generously augmented those funds. Beginning versions of most of the theory chapters in the handbook were presented at this conference. The following presentations were made: Thomas Janoski and Axel van den Berg on “Political Economy, Neo-Marxist, Power-Resources Theory,” Frances Fox Piven discussant; Edwin Amenta on “State-Centric and Institutional Theories,” Robert Alford discussant; James Jasper on “Cultural and Post-Modern Theories,” Francesca Polletta discussant; Thomas Janoski on “Neo-Pluralist Theories and Political Sociology,” Jeff Goodwin discussant; and Edgar Kiser on “Rational Choice Theories,” Edward Lehman discussant.

Planning continued in meetings by the four coeditors in New York and Chicago. After Bob’s death, the three of us met in New York in 2003 to reassign responsibilities, select new authors, and iron out other details.

More than fifty authors and coauthors were recruited over a two-year period for the various theoretical and substantive chapters. Each author was asked to provide a review of the literature that had an angle or edge that might reflect his or her new position on each topic. Given the highly charged nature of the field, personal views and ideological orientations at times intruded on analysis in ways that may add a controversial tenor to the result. But we did not ask authors to avoid controversy, and many of them made their statements as strong as our field’s standards of discourse might allow.

As each chapter went through a three-stage review process, some authors complained of an *American Sociological Review*-like process. We lost a few who did not want to change their focus but the vast majority revised their chapters, and some even wrote totally new chapters. At a late date, we had to seek new authors for four chapters. They did truly outstanding work, and we thank them for writing and editing with grace under short deadlines and imposing time pressures.

The handbook project took longer than expected, and we worked with a number of editors at Cambridge University Press. We especially thank Mary Child for helping us to initially conceptualize the handbook, attending our meetings in

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New York, and allowing us the leeway to produce an exceptionally long work. And we thank Ed Parsons and Cathy Felgar of Cambridge University Press, and especially Michie Shaw of TechBooks for shepherding the work through its production and final stages.

We are also indebted to friends and colleagues in New York and Lexington. At the City University of New York – Graduate Center, we thank the Department of Sociology and Julia Wrigley for generous support. A number of Bob's graduate students helped during the conference and we particularly want to thank Lorna Mason. We also thank Noll Anne Richardson for her hospitality during the conference and keeping us informed on critical issues. At New York University we are indebted to Edwin Amenta and Kathleen Gerson for support from the sociology department and to Tom Lynch for arranging accommodations for the conference. We also thank former chairs Jim Hougland and William Skinner at the Sociology Department of the University of Kentucky for their support and Donna Wheeler, Agnes Palmgreen, Brian Foudray, Leigh Ann Nally, and Fengjuan Wang for production assistance. And last but not least we would like to thank Natatia Ruiz Junco and Kathleen Powers for assisting Thomas Janoski in constructing the index in the XML system.

Lexington, Atlanta, and New York, 2004

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EDWIN AMENTA (Sociology Department, University of California, Irvine) is the author of *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy* (1998). His articles on political sociology, social movements, and social policy have appeared in the *American Sociological Review*, the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, and the *Annual Review of Sociology*. He is presently competing a book, forthcoming from Princeton University Press, titled *When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan, the Old Age Pension Movement, and Social Security*.

SHAWN BAULDRY (University of Washington in Seattle) is currently a Research Associate at Public/Private Ventures. His research has centered on program evaluation, particularly programs operated by faith-based organizations working with high-risk youth or ex-offenders. He has recently co-authored *The Promise and Challenge of Mentoring High-Risk Youth: Findings from the National Faith-based Initiative* and a report on the implementation of a national faith-based re-entry program.

DEBORAH M. BEY (Sociology Department, University of Michigan) is pursuing a doctorate degree in the Sociology Department of the University of Michigan. She has been granted The National Institute on Aging Fellowship and is also an instructor with the university.

VIVIANE BRACHET-MÁRQUEZ (Centro de Estudios Sociología, El Colegio de México) has published *The Dynamics of Domination* (1994) and *Entre Polis y mercado* (2001). She has worked on democracy and the politics of health and social security reform in Latin America. Her current project is a comparative study of state formation and democracy in Latin America since independence from Spain.

CLEM BROOKS (Sociology Department, Indiana University) has interests in electoral politics, public opinion, and welfare states in developed democracies. He is working with Jeff Manza on a book entitled *Why Welfare States Persist* developing a new theoretical approach to understanding sources of cross-national variation in social policy. Other projects include a study that evaluates economic versus sociological approaches to understanding mechanisms behind mass policy preferences.

The Late RICHARD CLOWARD (School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York) published *Delinquency and Opportunity* (1960) with Lloyd Ohlin and authored *The Politics of Turmoil* (1974) and *Illegitimate Means, Anomie and Deviant Behavior* (1993). With Frances Fox Piven, he co-authored *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How they Fail* (1977), *Why Americans Don't Vote and Why Politicians Want it That Way* (1988), *The Breaking of the American Social Compact* (1997), *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (1971, and 1993, updated edition). The last named book was listed among the "Forty Most Notable Books" by the American Library Association, and the

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2nd Edition won the 1993 Political Sociology Section Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Career Award. His many other books and articles are too numerous to mention. As an activist, he was a force for change in many protest movements having co-founded the National Welfare Rights Organization, which aimed to federalize Aid to Families with Dependent Children. He co-founded Service Employees Registration and Voter Education and advocated for the Motor Voter Act of 1992. At Columbia University from 1954 to 2001, he was an academic and an activist who saw a number of his proposals become the law of the land.

JONATHAN EASTWOOD (Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard University, Lecturer) is currently completing a study of nationalism in Spain and Latin America, as well as working on a number of related questions in sociological theory and the sociology of culture. His most recent publication, an article titled "Positivism and Nationalism in 19th Century France and Mexico" appeared in the December 2004 issue of the *Journal of Historical Sociology*.

THOMAS ERTMAN (Department of Sociology at New York University) teaches and researches in comparative/historical sociology, political sociology, social theory, and sociology of the arts. His book, *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, was awarded the Barrington Moore Prize of the ASA in 1998. Currently he is writing *Taming the Leviathan: Building Democratic Nation-States in 19th and 20th Century Western Europe*.

GØSTA ESPING-ANDERSEN (Sociology at the Departament de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, University Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, Spain) has recently published *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies* (1999), *Why De-regulate Labour Markets?* (2001) and *Why We Need a New Welfare State* (2003).

PETER EVANS (Sociology Department at the University of California, Berkeley) holds the Marjorie Meyer Eliaser Chair of International Studies. His past research has been on the role of the state in industrial development, an interest reflected in his book *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation* (1995). He has also worked on urban environmental issues, producing an edited volume, *Livable Cities: Urban Struggles for Livelihood and Sustainability* (2002) and is currently working on labor as a global social movement.

WILLIAM FORM (Sociology Department, Professor emeritus, The Ohio State University) has published widely in economic sociology, social stratification, and industrial organization in Italy, Argentina, India, Korea and the United States. Currently, he is studying the response of downtown churches to the daytime downtown population as well as the economic stratification of churches in the metropolis.

JEFFREY GOODWIN (Sociology Department, New York University) is author of *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945–1991* (2001) and co-editor of *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (2001), *Rethinking Social Movements* (2003) and *The Social Movements Reader* (2003).

FRANCISCO J. GRANADOS (Sociology Department, Southern Methodist University) wrote "Interorganizational Alliance Diversity, Firm Status Change, and Performance in the Global Information Sector, 1989–2000" (with David Knoke). He was awarded the 2004 NSF Dissertation Improvement Grant (with David Knoke), as well as the 2003 American Sociological Association Economic Sociology Section Graduate Student Paper Award when he attended the University of Minnesota.

LIAH GREENFELD (Political Science Department, Boston University) has published widely on questions of art, economics, history, language and literature, philosophy, politics, religion and science. She is a preeminent authority on nationalism, a stature reinforced by the publication of *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth* (2001). In 2002, she received the Kagan Prize of the

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Historical Society for the best book in European History for *The Spirit of Capitalism* and in 2004 delivered the Gellner lecture at the London School of Economics.

ALEXANDER HICKS (Departments of Sociology, Emory University) authored *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism* (winner of the 1999 Luebbert Award). He has first-authored papers in the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *American Political Science Review*, the *American Sociological Review*, and other leading journals of sociology and political science on the political economy of social and economic policy, on which he continues to write. In 2001 he began service as founding co-editor (with David Marsden) of the *Socioeconomic Review*.

BARBARA HOBSON (Sociology Department, Stockholm University) has published numerous articles on gender and citizenship concerning welfare regimes and social movements, and most recently transnational institutions and diversity. Her most recent books are *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements* (2003); *Making Men Into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood* (2002), *Contested Concepts in Gender and Social Policy* (with Lewis and Siim, 2002 Edward Elgar). She is founder and an editor of the journal, *Social Politics*.

GREGORY HOOKS (Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, Washington State University) has contributed to several sub-areas within sociology, including political sociology, urban and regional sociology, and organizations. He is currently involved in research into the rhetoric and the impact of prisons on local economic. Among his publications is "Guns and Butter, North and South: The Federal Contribution to Manufacturing Growth, 1940–1990," in Scranton (ed.), *The Second Wave: Southern Industrialization, 1940–1970* (2000).

EVELYN HUBER (Political Science Department, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) is the Morehead Alumni Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute of Latin American Studies. She was awarded 2001 Best Book on Political Economy from the Political Economy Section of the American Political Science Association. Among her publications are *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets* (with John D. Stephens, 2001) and *Models of Capitalism: Lessons for Latin America* (2002).

DAVID JAMES (Sociology Department, Indiana University) focuses his research on the politics of race and class stratification in the United States. His published works include articles on racial differences in education in the South, determinants of voter registration rates during the 1960s, and residential segregation in urban areas of the United States. At present, he is engaged in collaborative research (with Kent Redding) on the determinants of racial differences in voter turnout in the American South during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

THOMAS JANOSKI (Sociology Department, University of Kentucky) has published *The Political Economy of Unemployment* (1990), which won the Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award in political sociology, and *Citizenship and Civil Society* (1998). His work has appeared in *Social Forces*, *Comparative Sociological Research*, a co-edited volume with Alexander Hicks called *The Comparative Political Economy of the Welfare State* (1994), and other books and journals. He is currently writing a book called *The Double Irony of Citizenship*.

JAMES JASPER (Independent scholar in New York City) is editor of *Contexts* published by the American Sociological Association. He wrote *Restless Nation: Starting Over in America* (2002), *The Art of Moral Protest* (1999), *Nuclear Politics* (1990) and co-authored *Rethinking Social Movements* (2003) and *Animal Rights Crusade* (1991). He co-edited *Passionate Politics* (2003), and *Social Movements Reader* (2003).

CRAIG JENKINS (Sociology Department and Faculty Associate, Mershon Center for International Security, Ohio State University) has published *The Politics of Insurgency* (1985) and co-edited *The*

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Politics of Social Protest (1995) with Bert Klandermans. His articles have appeared in the *American Sociological Review*, the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces* and numerous other journals and collections. He is currently working with Charles Taylor on *The World Handbook of Political Indicators IV*, a study on high technology policy, and the development of the environmental movement in the United States.

LANE KENWORTHY (Department of Sociology at the University of Arizona) studies the impact of institutions and government policies on economic performance in affluent countries. His publications include *Egalitarian Capitalism* (2004), *In Search of National Economic Success: Balancing Competition and Cooperation* (1995), and articles in the *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Social Forces* and *World Politics*.

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