

Political Sociology 724 – Fall 2006

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Office hours: Tue 13:30 – 15:30 p.m..

Themes and purpose of the course

This is an intensive lecture and discussion course in Political Sociology at an intermediate level. The purpose of the course is to provide you with a basic knowledge of central issues in political sociology. The course is divided into four main sections. In the first section, we will explore processes of state formation, focusing on the role of warmaking, capital accumulation, religion and family networks. This section will conclude with an analysis of the welfare state. The second section will focus on political and social revolutions. We will compare the comparative merits and disadvantages of class-based models, state-centered explanations and structuralist accounts of revolutions. In the third section, we will study the relationship between political attitudes, ideological representations and political behaviors. We will focus on the role played by ideology in crisis situations and on the impact of political attitudes on democratic outcomes. The fourth section will be devoted to processes of political mobilization. We will contrast alternative models of mobilization (selective incentives, critical mass, frame alignment, recruitment through social ties).

Requirements

1. Class participation.

The class format is lectures and in-class discussions. All students are expected to attend weekly class meetings and to participate actively in discussion throughout the semester. Readings within each subsection should be read in the order listed in the syllabus. Books and the course packet are on reserve in College library (H. C White).

2. Classroom presentations and presentation memos.

During the semester, you are required to give two classroom presentations and to write one memo for each one of your presentations. These memos must summarize the main points of your presentations and should be e-mailed to all participants on the preceding Tuesday no later than 5:00 p.m. For this purpose, you will use the Class List: soc724-1-f06@lists.wisc.edu . You are requested to distribute your memos two days in advance of the session so that the other participants have the opportunity to engage your comments and to reflect on the readings further.

Each presentation will be on one or more required readings assigned for the session. The two presentations must be on different sections of the course. For instance, if your first presentation discusses a reading from Part III (Ideology and Political Culture), your second presentation will need to be on a reading from Part IV (Political Mobilization). In the first session, I will distribute a sign-up sheet for these presentations.

The presenter should assume that everyone has carefully read the material. The main purpose of the presentation is *not* to offer a detailed summary of the reading(s), but to engage the reading(s) and to launch the discussion by evaluating the main issues and arguments under examination. Therefore, the “summary part” of your presentation should remain brief. Presentations should not exceed *ten*

minutes. In your memos you will synthesize the main points of your presentation. These presentation memos should be no longer than *five double-spaced pages*.

3. Five memorandums (comments or questions) on the reading(s).

In addition to your two presentation memos, you will need to prepare comments about the readings for five of the sessions. These comments must be brief (no more than 200 words). You will e-mail them to the class using Class List: : soc724-1-f06@lists.wisc.edu on Wednesdays no later than noon. Please number your memos.

4. Term paper.

You will be expected to write a term paper on any topic connected to the themes of the course. This can be a research proposal or a paper addressing a clearly defined substantive problem. The length should be in the 15-20 page range.

A prospectus for this paper is due in class for Thursday, **October 12**. The term paper is due *no later than **December 14***. I will not accept late papers.

Grades

The grade will be based on the following break-down:

quality of participation in class discussion = 20 points

classroom presentations = 20 points

five memorandums (comments or questions) on the readings = 20 points (each memo is worth up to 4 points)

term paper = 40 points

Reading materials

The readings in each section are grouped under two categories: required and recommended. All participants should be prepared at class time to comment and critique the required readings. Additional readings are recommended for delving deeper into a topic and preparing for preliminary examinations.

The required readings have been ordered at the **Rainbow Book Store Co-operative** (458 West Gilman, one block off of State Street).

Adams, Julia. 2005. *The Familial State. Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Althusser, Louis. 2001. *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Beissinger, Mark. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chong, Denis. 1991. *Collective action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan. Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Esping-Andersen, Gosta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Culture*. Basic Books.
- Goodwin, Jeff, 2001. *No Other Way Out. States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gorski, Philip S. 2003. *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hunt, Lynn. 1984. *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Laitin, David. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture. Politics and Religious Change among the Yorubas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marx, Karl. 1964. *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-50*. New York: International Publishers.
- McAdam, Douglas. 1982. *Political Process and the development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Putnam, Robert (with Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Y. Nanetti). 1993. *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tackett, Timothy. 1996. *Becoming a Revolutionary. The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789-1790)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.
- Traugott, Mark. 2002. *Armies of the Poor: Determinants of Working-Class Participation in the Parisian Insurrection of June 1848*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

George Steinmetz's *Regulating the Social* is available only as an electronic book. You can see it at: <http://pup.princeton.edu/titles/5289.html> and can purchase it for \$14.95 from Princeton University Press.

In addition, I have prepared a course packet of photocopied reading material required for the course. This course packet is available at the Social Center Copy Center (6120 Social Science Building).

The readings in this course packet are on electronic reserve.

Both the required and the recommended readings are available on reserve at the College Library.

Week 1. Introduction

I. State formation

Week 2. War and state

Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell. **Chapter 1 (especially pp. 16-33), chapter 2, chapter 3 (especially pp. 67-87).**

Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan. Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Chapters 1, 3.**

Recommended readings:

Anderson, Perry. 1974. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: New Left Books.

Downing, Brian. 1992. *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Spruyt, Henrik. 1994. *The Sovereign State and its Competitors*. Princeton University Press.

Downing, Brian. 1988. "Constitutionalism, Warfare, and Political Change in Early Modern Europe," *Theory and Society* 17:7-56.

Week 3. Cultural and institutional foundations

Adams, Julia. 2005. *The Familial State*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. **Introduction, Chapters 1-3**

Gorski, Philip S. 2003. *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. We will focus on **Chapters 1-3.**

Recommended readings:

North, Douglass C. 1990. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1954. "The Crisis of the Tax State." *International Economic Papers*, 4: 5-38.

North, Douglass C. and Barry R. Weingast. 1989. Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England. *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 49, No. 4. (Dec., 1989), pp. 803-832.

Week 4. The Welfare State

Esping-Andersen, Gosta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. **Chapters 2 & 5.**

Orloff, Ann Shola and Theda Skocpol. 1984. "Why Not Equal Protection? Explaining the Politics of Public Social Spending in Britain, 1900-1911, and the United States, 1880s-1920," *American Sociological Review*, 49: 726-750. **[Coursepack]**

Steinmetz, George. 1993. *Regulating the Social: the Welfare state and Social Politics in Imperial Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. **Chapters 2, 4 & 5.**

Recommended readings:

Swenson, Peter A. 2002. *Capitalists against Markets. The Making of Labor Markets and Welfare States in the United States and Sweden*. Oxford University Press.

Orloff, Ann Shola. 1993. "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States," *American Sociological Review* 58: 303-328.

Skocpol, Theda. 1992. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers : the Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Skocpol, Theda and Edwin Amenta. 1986. "States and Social Policies," *Annual Review of Sociology* 12: 131-57.

II. Collective Upheavals and Revolutions

Week 5. Deprivation and contention

Gurr, Ted Robert. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-13 of chapter 1, chapter 2. **[Coursepack]**

Trotsky, Leon. 1999. *History of the Russian Revolution*. New York: Pathfinder. Preface, chapter 8 ("Who led the February insurrection?"), chapter 11 ("Dual power"). **[Coursepack]**

Tilly, Charles. 1975. "Revolutions and Collective Violence," **Pp. 483-541** in *Handbook of Political Science*, volume III edited by Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley. **[Coursepack]**

Recommended readings:

Thompson, E.P. 1971. "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present*, 50: 76-136.

Aya, Rod. 1979. "Theories of Revolution Reconsidered," *Theory and Society*, 8(1): 39-99.

Turner, Ralph H. 1964. "Collective Behavior," pp. 382-425 in *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, edited by Robert E. L. Faris. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Week 6. Class conflicts

Marx, Karl. 1970. *A contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. New York: International Publishers. Preface. **[Coursepack]**

Traugott, Mark. 1985. *Armies of the Poor: Determinants of Working-Class Participation in the Parisian Insurrection of June 1848*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers. **Chapter 1**.

Marx, Karl. 1964. *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-50*. New York: International Publishers. **chapter 1**.

Traugott, Mark. 1985. *Armies of the Poor: Determinants of Working-Class Participation in the Parisian Insurrection of June 1848*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers. **Chapters 2-6**.

Recommended readings:

Boswell, Terry and William J. Dixon. 1993. "Marx's Theory of Rebellion: A Cross-National Analysis of Class Exploitation, Economic Development, and Violent Rebellion." *American Sociological Review* 58: 681-702.

Marx, Karl. 1948. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Translated by Samuel Moore; edited and annotated by Frederick Engels. New York : International Publishers.

Calhoun, Craig. 1982. *The Question of Class Struggle: Social Foundations of Popular Radicalism during the Industrial Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Week 7. State breakdowns (1)

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, **Chapters 1 & Part I (chapters 2 &3)**.

Goodwin, Jeff, 2001. *No Other Way Out. States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Chapters 2-4**.

Recommended readings:

Collins, Randall. 1993. "Maturation of the State-Centered Theory of Revolution and Ideology." *Sociological Theory* 11: 117-28.

Goldstone, Jack A. 1991. *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Week 8. State breakdowns (2)

Burawoy, Michael. 1989. "Two Methods in Search of Science," *Theory and Society*, 18 (6): 759-85. **[Coursepack]**

Sohrabi, Nader. 1995. "Historicizing Revolutions: Constitutional Revolutions in the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and Russia, 1905-1908," *American Journal of Sociology*, 100: 1383-1447. **[Coursepack]**

Beissinger, Mark. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Chapters 3-5**.

Recommended readings:

Stinchcombe, Arthur. 1978. *Theoretical Methods in Social History*. New York: Academic Press. Chapters 1 & 2.

Goldthorpe, John H. 1991. "The uses of history in sociology; reflections on some recent tendencies," *British Journal of Sociology*, 42: 211-230.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

III. Ideology, hegemony, political culture

Week 9. Conceptualizing ideology

Sartori, Giovanni. 1969. "Politics, Ideology, and Belief Systems," *American Political Science Review*, 63:398-411. [Coursepack]

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "Ideology as a Cultural System," pp. 193-233 in *The Interpretation of Culture*. Basic Books.

Althusser, Louis. 2001. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Sewell, William H. Jr. 1985. "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case," *Journal of Modern History* 57: 56-85. [Coursepack]

Skocpol, Theda. 1985. Cultural Idioms and Political Ideologies in the Revolutionary Reconstruction of State Power: A Rejoinder to Sewell," *Journal of Modern History* 57: 86-96. [Coursepack]

Recommended readings:

Therborn, Göran. 1980. *The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology*. London: Verso. Chapter 1.

Gramsci, Antonio. 1992. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York : International Publishers. Pp. 52-63 ("Notes on Italian History," "The Problem of Political Leadership"), pp. 102-104, pp. 210-217, pp. 275-276 ("Crisis of Authority")

Boudon, Raymond. 1989. *The Analysis of Ideology*. Translated by Malcom Slater. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Week 10. Crises and ideology

Swidler, Ann. 1986. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* 51: 273-286. [Coursepack]

Tackett, Timothy. 1996. *Becoming a Revolutionary. The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789-1790)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. chapters 1, 4 & 5. [Coursepack]

Hunt, Lynn. 1984. *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press. **Introduction, chapter 1.**

Recommended readings:

Baker, Keith M. 1990. *Inventing the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1: "On the Problem of the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution.

Furet, François. 1981. *Interpreting the French Revolution*; translated by Elborg Forster. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press ; Paris : Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme. Sections 2-6 in Part I (pp. 17-79).

Rudé, George. 1995. *Ideology and Popular Protest*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press.

Week 11. Culture and political outcomes

Putnam, Robert (with Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Y. Nanetti). 1993. *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. **Introduction, chapters 3, 4 & 6.**

Laitin, David D. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture: politics and religious change among the Yoruba* Chicago : University of Chicago Press. **Chapters 1, 4, 5 & 7.**

Recommended readings:

Paxton, Pamela. 2002. "Social Capital and Democracy: An interdependent Relationship," *American Sociological Review*, 67: 254-277.

Wedeen, Lisa. 2002. "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science," *The American Political Science Review*, 96(4): 713-728.

Almond, Gabriel A. and Sydney Verba. 1965. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

IV. Political mobilization

Week 12. Rational Choice and collective action

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. **Introduction, Chapters 1 & 2.**

Oliver, Pamela and Gerald Marwell. 1988. "The Paradox of Group Size in Collective Action: A Theory of the Critical Mass. II." *American Sociological Review* 53: 1-8. **[Coursepack]**

Heckathorn, Douglas S. 1989. "Collective Action and the Second-Order Free-Rider Problem." *Rationality and Society* 1: 78-100. **[Coursepack]**

Recommended readings:

Jenkins, Craig J. 1983. "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9: 527-53.

Opp, Karl-Dieter. "Soft Incentives and Collective Action: Participation in the Anti-Nuclear Movement." *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 87-112.

Marwell, Gerald and Pamela Oliver. 1993. *The Critical Mass in Collective Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 13. Resources and opportunities

McAdam, Douglas. 1982. *Political Process and the development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. **Chapters 2, 3 & 5.**

Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. . **Chapters 2, 5 & 6.**

Recommended readings:

Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod. 1987. "Comparing the Feminist Movement of the United States and Western Europe: An Overview," pp. 3-20 in *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe. Consciousness, Political Opportunity, and Public Policy*, edited by Mary Fainsod Katzenstein and Carol McClurg Mueller. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Klandermans, Bert. 1984. "Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory." *American Sociological Review* 49: 583-600.

Burstein, Paul. 1991. "Legal Mobilization as a Social Movement Tactic: The Struggle for Equal Employment Opportunity," *American journal of Sociology*, 96: 1201-1225.

Amenta, Edwin and Yvonne Zylan. 1991. "It Happened There: Political Opportunity, The New Institutionalism, and the Townsend Movement," *American Sociological Review*, 56: 250-265.

Week 14. Frames

Snow, David A., E Burke Rochford, Steven K. Worden and Robert Benford. 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51: 464-81. **[Coursepack]**

Snow, David A. and Robert Benford. 1988. "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization," *International Social Movement Research*, 1: 197-217. **[Coursepack]**

Nelson, Thomas E. and Zoe M. Oxley. 1999. "Issue Framing Effects on Belief Importance and Opinion." *The Journal of Politics* 61: 1040-1067. **[Coursepack]**

Babb, Sarah. "A True American System of Finance: Frame Resonance in the U.S. Labor Movement, 1866 to 1886." *American Sociological Review*, 1996, 61(6): 1033-1052. **[Coursepack]**

Recommended readings:

Snow David A. and Robert D. Benford. 1992 "Master frames and Cycles of Protest." In Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (eds.): *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gamson, William and David S. Meyer. 1996. "Framing Political Opportunity," in Douglas McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald (eds.): *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*. Cambridge.

Goffman, Erving. 1986. *Frame Analysis: an essay on the organization of experience*. Boston : Northeastern University Press. Chapters 2 ("Primary Frameworks") & 3 ("Keys and Keyings").