

SOCIOLOGY 476 (Topics in Sociological Analysis)
Comparative and Historical Approaches to
Political Analysis

Focus: The Many Hands of the State

Fall 2017, Tuesdays, 9:00 – 11:50 am

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The seminar provides an overview of the theoretical and empirical debates focusing on states as institutions engaged in coercion and competition; regulation and redistribution; the classification, stratification and production of citizens/subjects; production and reproduction. We discuss the emergence, development and futures of states and empires, and their (usually uncertain) boundaries. Sociology 476 is a seminar in which students are active participants in discussions of readings.

Course Requirements:

(1) Participation in seminar discussions: Regular attendance and active engagement in discussions on the part of all members of the seminar is crucial to the success of the enterprise; attendance is mandatory. If you need to miss a class, simply email me ahead of time and you will be excused. Please come into each seminar prepared to express your opinions and voice your views in acts of comradely contention with each other on all aspects of our intellectual endeavors.

Constitutes approximately 20% of your grade

(2) Participation in class discussion forum/blog, and contributing one or two lead blog entries [with appropriate scholarly citations and references] addressed to readings of the relevant week. The lead blog entry will identify and focus on a theme, topic, or problem in a *critical and evaluative* (i.e. not descriptive or reconstructive) mode, taking a stand and proposing an agenda for discussion. Each week, one or two students will serve as lead bloggers; after meeting with me the week before the readings for which they are responsible, they will write a blog entry for that week's readings, to be posted by 10:00 am Monday. All the other students should post replies by 7:00 pm Monday. Everyone should read all posts before class.

Constitutes approximately 20% of your grade

(3): Critical Papers

(a) Two (8-10pp) critical papers focused on seminar material. These papers will address particular debates related to seminar readings; they are not meant to be research papers but rather scholarly interrogative essays (with appropriate text citation and references) written in your own authorial voice, well-documented, and engaging themes, problems, topics, and difficulties posed by the thinkers and texts addressed in this seminar. You are free to bring in empirical material with which you are engaging in your own research projects. The first paper should attend to (selected) readings and issues raised in the first half of the seminar (weeks 1-5) and the second with texts and issues raised from the second half (weeks 6-10). Although you should take care not to overlap material, themes, and arguments in your essays, the second paper may be an extension of themes identified in the first, or you may write two separate and unrelated papers. **Each paper constitutes approximately 30% of your grade.**

Due dates for the papers are as follows:

Paper #1: Monday, October 30, 2017

Paper #2: Tuesday, November 28, 2017

(b) For advanced graduate students and only with my permission: One (18-20pp) paper focused both on seminar readings and additional scholarship on states in sociology, history, political science. A memo outlining how you would engage the seminar readings in conversation with your topic is due **October 10, 2017**. A first draft of the paper (on which I'll provide comments and suggestions for revision) must be submitted on **November 7, 2017**. The final draft is due **November 28, 2017**.

The paper constitutes approximately 60% of your grade.

All papers must be printed, using no less than 11 point font, with hard copies put in my mailbox in the Department of Sociology, by no later than 5:00 pm on the due date; please also post on Canvas.

Class format:

At the beginning of class, lead bloggers will propose an agenda for discussion, to which we can add or modify. Our first order of business will be to clarify what is the argument being presented, answer questions of fact about the topic and get our definitions straight. Then we move into an evaluative phase of discussion, in which we will both appreciate and criticize the works we have read. Finally, we will try to summarize what we think about the particular topic under discussion.

Course readings: We will read excerpts from books, and a number of articles. I expect you can find published articles through Northwestern library's online services. Book excerpts will be posted to the course site in Canvas (before class begins). The following books are available for purchase through Norris or other online booksellers:

Required:

Brian Balogh, *The Associational State: American Governance in the Twentieth Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

Paul Frymer, *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion* (Princeton University Press, 2017).

Mara Loveman, *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (Yale University Press, 1998).

George Steinmetz, editor, *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Cornell University Press, 1999).

Recommended (we'll be reading several essays from the collections, but not the entire book, or excerpts from single-authored books; many of these are available relatively inexpensively online); items marked with an asterisk have been put on reserve.

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

*Julia Adams, Elisabeth Clemens and Ann Shola Orloff (editors), *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History and Sociology* (Duke University Press, 2005).
ISBN-13: 9780822333630

Mounira Charrad, *States and women's rights: The making of postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (University of California Press, 2001).

Vivek Chibber, *Locked in place: State-building and late industrialization in India* (Princeton University Press, 2003).

*Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, editors, *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton University Press, 1990).

Lynne Allison Haney, *Offending Women: Power, Punishment, and the Regulation of Desire* (University of California Press, 2010).

Greta R. Krippner, *Capitalizing on Crisis* (Harvard University Press, 2011).

Kimberly Morgan, *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States* (Stanford University Press, 2006).

*Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge University Press, 1979).
ISBN-13: 9780521294997

George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (University of Chicago Press, 2007).
ISBN-13: 9780226772431

Wolfgang Streeck and Kathleen A. Thelen, editors, *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

The schedule of readings is open to revision by seminar participants.

Seminar Schedule

week 1

Tuesday, September 19, 2017: Overview of Historical and Comparative Political Analyses of States and Introduction to the Seminar

Required reading:

*Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, eds., "Introduction," in *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control*, edited by Morgan and Orloff (Cambridge University Press, 2017); the essay will also be posted on the course site on Canvas.

*Julia Adams, Elisabeth Clemens and Ann Shola Orloff, "Introduction: Social Theory, Modernity, and the Three Waves of Historical Sociology," pp.1-72 in *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History and Sociology*, edited by Adams, Clemens and Orloff (Duke University Press, 2005).

Stephan Leibfried, et al., *Oxford Handbook on Transformation of the State* (Oxford University Press, 2015) – online resource from NU library:

- Stephan Leibfried, et al., "Introduction: Transformations of the State"
- Jonah Levy, "Changing Perspectives on the State"

week 2

Tuesday, September 26, 2017: Bringing the State Back In: War, Revolution, Taxes, States

Required reading:

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), Introduction and Conclusion, and (recommended) as much of the rest as you can manage.

Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, editors, *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge University Press, 1985):

- *Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research," pp.3-43
- *Charles Tilly, "Warmaking and Statemaking as Organized Crime," pp.169-191

Michael Mann, "The autonomous power of the state: its origins, mechanisms and results." *European journal of sociology* 25/2 (1984): 185-213.

Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge University Press, 2017):

- Ajay Mehrotra, "Taxation as the Lifeblood of the Modern American State."

- Meyer Kestnbaum, "Unexpected Adversaries: The Revolution in War at the End of the Eighteenth Century."
- Christian Davenport, "Performing Order: An Examination of the Seemingly Impossible Task of Subjugating Large Numbers of People, Everywhere, All the Time."

Recommended reading:

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European states, AD 990-199* (Blackwell, 1992) and (as editor), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1975).

Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1: A History of Power from the Beginning to 1760 AD; Volume 2, The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914; Volume 3, Global Empires and Revolution, 1890-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1986, 1993, 2012).

Giovanni Arrighi, *The long twentieth century: Money, power, and the origins of our time* (Verso, 1994).

William H. Sewell, Jr., "The Political Unconscious of Social and Cultural History, or, Confessions of a Former Quantitative Historian," in Sewell, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (University of Chicago Press: 2005), pp.22–80.

week 3

Tuesday, October 3, 2017:

Bringing the State Back In: Welfare and Political Economy

*Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton University Press, 1990), excerpt.

Ann Shola Orloff and Theda Skocpol, "Why not equal protection? Explaining the politics of public social spending in Britain, 1900-1911, and the United States, 1880s-1920," *American Sociological Review* (1984): 726-750.

Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, editors, *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) *read at least one of the following chapters:*

- *Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Peter Evans, "The State and Economic Transformation: Toward an Analysis of the Conditions Underlying Effective Intervention," pp.44-77.
- *Alice Amsden, "The state and Taiwan's economic development," pp.78-106.

- *Margaret Weir and Theda Skocpol. "State structures and the possibilities for 'Keynesian' responses to the Great Depression in Sweden, Britain, and the United States," pp.107-167.

Ann Shola Orloff, "Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states," *American Sociological Review* 58(1993): 303-328.

*Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), excerpt.

*Ann Shola Orloff, "Social provision and regulation: Theories of states, social policies and modernity," pp.190-224 in Julia Adams, Elisabeth Clemens and Ann Shola Orloff, eds., *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History and Sociology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

*Wolfgang Streeck and Kathleen A. Thelen, "Introduction: Institutional change in advanced political economies," pp.1-39 in *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*, edited by W. Streeck and K. Thelen (Oxford University Press, 2005).

Peter Evans and Patrick Heller. "Human development, state transformation and the politics of the developmental state." *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*. (Oxford University Press, 2013; online resource).

Recommended reading:

Peter B. Evans, *Embedded autonomy: states and industrial transformation* (Princeton University Press, 1995).

Kathleen Thelen, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Stephanie Mudge, "What is neo-liberalism?" *Socio-economic Review* 6 (2008): 703-731.

James Mahoney, "Comparative-Historical Analysis and Development Studies: Methods, Findings, Future," *Sociology of Development* 1 (2015):77-90.

Simone Dietrich and Michael Bernhard. "State or Regime? The Impact of Institutions on Welfare Outcomes." *The European Journal of Development Research* 28.2 (2016): 252-269.

week 4
October 10, 2017
States and Culture

George Steinmetz, editor, *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999):

- George Steinmetz, "Introduction: Culture and The State," pp.1-49
- Pierre Bourdieu, "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field," pp.53-75
- Timothy Mitchell, "Society, Economy, and the State Effect," pp.76-97
- Julia Adams, "Culture in Rational-Choice Theories of State-Formation," pp.98-122
- Charles Tilly, "Epilogue: Now Where?," pp.407-420

Recommended reading: other essays in the volume

Philip S. Gorski, *The disciplinary revolution: Calvinism and the rise of the state in early modern Europe* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).

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

John L. Campbell and Ove K. Pedersen, *The national origins of policy ideas: Knowledge regimes in the United States, France, Germany, and Denmark* (Princeton University Press, 2014).

Pierre Bourdieu, *On the state: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1989-1992* (Polity, 2014).

week 5
Tuesday, October 17, 2017:
States, Success and Failure, Development and Democracy

James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve The Human Condition Have Failed* (Yale University Press, 1998).

Dan Slater, "Can Leviathan Be Democratic? Competitive Elections, Robust Mass Politics, and State Infrastructural Power." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43, no.3-4 (2008): 252-272.

*Vivek Chibber, *Locked in place: State-building and late industrialization in India* (Princeton University Press, 2003), excerpt.

Recommended reading:

Apter and Sohrabi in *State/Culture*

Joel S. Migdal, *Strong societies and weak states: state-society relations and state capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton University Press, 1988).

Tuong Vu, *Paths to Development in Asia: South Korea, Vietnam, China, and Indonesia* (Cambridge University Press, 2010),

week 6

Tuesday, October 24, 2017:

American Political Development and the American State

Required reading:

*Jacob S. Hacker, "Policy drift: The hidden politics of US welfare state retrenchment," pp. 40-82 in *Beyond continuity: Institutional change in advanced political economies*, edited by W. Streeck and K. Thelen (Oxford University Press 2005).

*Elisabeth S. Clemens, "Lineages of the Rube Goldberg state: Building and blurring public programs, 1900–1940," in Ian Shapiro, Stephen Skowronek, and Daniel Galvin, editors, *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State* (New York University Press, 2006).

Brian Balogh, *The Associational State: American Governance in the Twentieth Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge University Press, 2017):

- Bill Novak, Steve Sawyer, and Jim Sparrow, "The Democratic State."

Recommended reading:

Stephen Skowronek, *Building a new American state: The expansion of national administrative capacities, 1877-1920* (Cambridge University Press, 1982).

William J. Novak, "The Myth of the "Weak" American State," *The American Historical Review* 113.3 (2008): 752-772, plus AHR Exchange with comments by John Witt, Gary Gerstle, Julia Adams, and a reply by William Novak, in 115.3 (2010): 766-800.

Daniel P. Carpenter, *The forging of bureaucratic autonomy: Reputations, networks, and policy innovation in executive agencies, 1862-1928* (Princeton University Press, 2001).

SHORT CRITICAL ESSAY #1 DUE BY MONDAY, OCTOBER 30, HARD COPY IN PROFESSOR ORLOFF'S MAILBOX; PLEASE ALSO POST ON CANVAS

week 7

Tuesday, October 31, 2017:

Bounding States, Implementing States

Required reading:

Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge University Press, 2017):

- Damon Mayrl and Sarah Quinn, "Beyond the Hidden American State: Classification Struggles and the Politics of Recognition."
- Elisabeth Clemens, "As Equal yet Individual Citizens: Articulating the Boundaries between State and Civil Society."
- Armando Lara-Millán, "States as a Series of People Exchanges: A Perennial and Daily Negotiation between Many Hands."
- Marion Fourcade, "State Metrology: The Rating of Sovereigns and the Judgment of Nations."

Cybelle Fox and Irene Bloemraad, "Beyond 'white by law': explaining the gulf in citizenship acquisition between Mexican and European immigrants," *Social Forces* 94 (2015): 181-207.

Recommended reading:

Maurizio Ferrera, *The boundaries of welfare: European integration and the new spatial politics of social protection* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

Didier Fassin, et al, editors, *At the Heart of the State: The Moral World of Institutions* (Pluto Press).

Irene Bloemraad, *Becoming a citizen: Incorporating immigrants and refugees in the United States and Canada* (University of California Press, 2006).

Donald P. Moynihan and Joe Soss, "Policy feedback and the politics of administration," *Public Administration Review* 74(2014): 320-332.

week 8

**Tuesday, November 7, 2017:
States, Empires and the Transnational**

Required Reading:

Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge University Press, 2017):

- Julia Adams, "The Many Hands of the Imperial State."
- George Steinmetz, "Social Fields at the Scale of Empires: Revising Bourdieu's Theory"
- Iza Hussin, "Colonial Conflations and the Making of the Modern Muslim State."

Paul Frymer, *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion* (Princeton University Press, 2017).

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton University Press, 1996), excerpt.

Recommended reading:

Julia Adams and George Steinmetz, "Sovereignty and Sociology: From State Theory to Theories of Empire," *Political Power and Social Theory* 28(2015): 269-285

George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (University of Chicago Press, 2007).

María Lugones, "Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System," *Hypatia* 22 (2007):186-209.

James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Anibal Quijano and Michael Ennis, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," *Nepantla: Views from South* 1 (2000): 533-580.

George Steinmetz, "Return to Empire: The New U.S. Imperialism in Comparative Historical Perspective," *Sociological Theory* 23 (2005): 339-367.

week 9

**Tuesday, November 14, 2017:
Stratifying States I: Gender**

Required reading:

Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge University Press, 2017):

- Ann Shola Orloff, "Gendered States Made and Remade: Gendered Labor Policies in the U.S. and Sweden, 1960s – 2010s."
- Mala Htun and Laurel Weldon, "States and Gender."

*Lynne Allison Haney, *Offending women: Power, punishment, and the regulation of desire* (University of California Press, 2010), excerpt.

*Mounira Charrad, *States and women's rights: The making of postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (University of California Press, 2001), excerpt.

*Kimberly Morgan, *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States* (Stanford University Press, 2006), excerpt.

Recommended reading:

Julia S. O'Connor, Ann Shola Orloff, Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *Social foundations of postindustrial economies* (Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 4.

week 10

Tuesday, November 21, 2017:

Stratifying States II: Race, Nation, Ethnicity

Required reading:

Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge University Press, 2017):

- Desmond King and Robert Lieberman, "The Civil Rights State: How the American State Develops Itself."
- Tianna Paschel, "The Paradox of Racial Policy in Racial Paradise: The Role of Movements and the State in the Making of Black Rights in Brazil."

Mara Loveman, *National colors: Racial classification and the state in Latin America* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

Recommended reading:

Cybelle Fox, *Three worlds of relief: Race, immigration, and the American welfare state from the progressive era to the new deal* (Princeton University Press, 2012).

Loïc Wacquant, *Punishing the poor: The neoliberal government of social insecurity* (Duke University Press, 2009).

Rebecca Emigh, Dylan Riley and Patricia Ahmed, *Antecedents of Censuses from Medieval to Nation States: How Societies and States Count* (Volume 1) and *Changes in Censuses from Imperialist to Welfare States: How Societies and States Count* (Volume 2) (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

SHORT CRITICAL ESSAY #2 DUE NOVEMBER 28, HARD COPY IN PROFESSOR ORLOFF'S MAILBOX, ALSO POST ONLINE