

University of Oxford
Department of Sociology

Optional Paper for the MSc and MPhil in Sociology and the MPhil in Politics

Political Sociology
2013-2014 (Hilary Term)

Course Provider: Dr. David Pettinicchio, Nuffield College/Sociology Department
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Time and Location: Weeks 1 & 4, Thursday, 14:15-16:15, Seminar Room C (Manor Road)
All other weeks: Thursday, 14:00-16:00, Seminar Room F (Manor Road)

Rubric:

“The social circumstances of politics and the impact of politics on society: the organization and representation of interests; the formation and change in political identities, attitudes and social cleavages, and their relationships with the political process, the nature of the state and of democracy (or the process of democratization). Candidates will be expected to be familiar with the main theoretical approaches to political behaviour, and must show knowledge of more than one major industrial society.”

Aims and Objectives:

This course is designed to introduce students to advanced research in political sociology and to prepare students for doctoral research in this area. The course encourages students to become familiar with and capable of engaging with the current research issues and debates in the field. Note that the reading list is designed to include a selection of both classical and contemporary readings (contemporary as in published between 2010-2013).

Content and Structure:

This option begins with the theoretical foundations in political sociology, especially theories of power, the modern state, political participation, civil society and challenges to the state. The paper covers research on the social bases of politics, such as the roles of class, religion, gender and ethnicity, particularly as these create important social cleavages in established and developing democracies. We investigate the various ways in which citizens interact with the political process – through electoral participation, involvement in civic associations, and mobilization via social movements. The option concludes with a focus on how social attitudes change over time and how this in turn can affect policy outcomes, especially considering the institutional processes that also shape issue attention, agenda setting and policy outcomes.

There will be eight classes covering the following topics:

- Theory

- Democratization
- Social Cleavages
- Civil Society
- Social Movements
- Public Opinion
- Agenda Setting

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this course, students should:

- Be familiar with the major theoretical approaches in political sociology.
- Be able to analyze and interpret empirical research in political sociology.
- Be prepared to undertake doctoral research in this area.

Teaching Arrangement:

This course meets eight times (weekly) on Thursday in Hilary term. This option is designed as a seminar and not a lecture. While I will make general introductory remarks about the weekly topic, students will be expected to actively participate in discussion. Required weekly memos (see course assessment below) should be written so as to facilitate class discussion.

Course Assessment:

- Short weekly reading memos (2-3 double spaced pages) covering the core readings and at least one recommended reading, and one contemporary reading of the student's choice (from the extensive list on the syllabus). Memos should only briefly summarize the readings and should focus more on critical analysis/thought. Since memos are also meant to generate in-class discussion, students should provide at least two discussion questions they would like to share with the class.
- To prepare for the examination, students will also write a longer (2000 word) essay on one of the weekly topics of their choosing. Remember that the more one reads, the better the quality of the examination essays. I would also encourage students to become familiar with past exam questions which serve as a guide for preparing for the current exam.
- One three-hour unseen examination in Trinity term.

Week 1: Theoretical Foundations in Political Sociology

Main Readings:

- Weber, Max. 1978 (c. 1922). *Economy and Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press (Chapters 3, 9, 10, 11).
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1981 (c. 1960). *Political Man*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. 1983 (c. 1856). *Old Regime and French Revolution*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Kiser, Edgar and Yoram Barzel. 1991. "The Origins of Democracy in England." *Rationality and Society* 3:396-422.

- De Tocqueville, Alexis. 2003 (c. 1831). *Democracy in America*. London: Penguin Books (Volume 1, Part II, Volume II, Part I, Chs 2-5, Volume II, Part II, Chs 1-7, Volume II, Part III, Chs 1-13).
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1988. "The Renaissance of Political Culture", *American Political Science Review* 82:1203-1230.

Recommended/Additional Readings:

- Janoski, Thomas et al. 2003. *The Handbook of Political Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Part I).
- Moore, Barrington. 1955. "Sociological Theory and Contemporary Politics." *American Journal of Sociology* 61:107-114.
- Orum, A. M. and John Dale. 2008. *Power and Participation in the Modern World*. 5th edition. New York: Oxford University Press (Ch. 2).
- Nash, K. & Scott, A. 2001. *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell (Ch 1 – Developments in Marxist Theory).
- Kiser, Edgar. 1987. "The Formation of State Policy in Western European Absolutisms: A Comparison of England and France." *Politics and Society* 15:259-296.
- Pfaff, Steven. 2002. "Nationalism, Charisma, and Plebiscitary Leadership: The Problem of Democratization in Max Weber's Political Sociology." *Sociological Inquiry* 72:81-107.

Contemporary Readings:

- Rose, Nikolas and Peter Miller. 2010. "Political power beyond the State: problematics of government." *British Journal of Sociology* 61:271-303.
- Giddens, Anthony. 2013. *Politics and Sociology in the Thought of Max Weber*. Polity Press (chs 1 & 2).
- Hechter, Michael. 2013. *Alien Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press (especially chs 1 & 2).
- Nash, Kate. 2010. *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics and Power*. Wiley (Ch. 1).
- El-Ojeili, C. 2012. *Politics, Social Theory, Utopia and the World-System: Arguments in Political Sociology*. Palgrave-Macmillan (chs 1 & 2).

Week 2: Democracy and Democratization

Main Readings:

- Lipset, S. M. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53:69-105.
- Przeworski, Adam et al. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49:155-183.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1976. *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press (especially chs 6 & 7).
- Markoff, John. 1996. *Waves of Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change*. Sage (chs 1, 2 pp 13-15, 3 pp 37-49, ch 4 pp 80-98, ch 5, ch 6).

Recommended/Additional Readings:

- Eisenstadt, Todd .2000. “Eddies in the third wave: Protracted transitions and theories of democratization.” *Democratization* 7:3-24.
- Doorenspleet, Renske. 2005. *Democratic Transitions: Exploring the Structural Sources of the Fourth Wave*. Lynne Rienner (especially chs 3-7).

Contemporary Readings:

- Lichbach, Mark I. 2013. *Democratic Theory and Causal Methodology in Comparative Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press (especially preface, Part I 2.2 & 3, Part II 5.2 & 5.3, Part III 9) .
- Miller, Laurel E. et al. 2012. *Democratization in the Arab World: Prospects and Lessons from Around the Globe*. Rand (especially Part I).
- Stepan, Alfred and Juan J. Linz. 2013. “Democratization Theory and the “Arab Spring.”” *Journal of Democracy* 24: 2-30, and Plattner, Marc F. and Larry Diamond. 2013. “Lessons from Latin America” p. 92.
- Howard, Philip N., and Muzammil M. Hussain. 2013. *Democracy's Fourth Wave?: Digital Media and the Arab Spring*. New York: Oxford (especially chs 1 & 2).

Week 3: Social Cleavages I (Class and Religion)

Main Readings:

- Brooks, Clem, and Manza, Jeff. 1997. Class politics and political change in the United States. *Social Forces*, 76(2): 379-408
- Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. *Social Cleavages and Political Change*. New York: Oxford University Press (Chs 1-6).
- Evans, Geoffrey, and James Tilley. 2011. “How Parties Shape Class Politics: Explaining the Decline of the Class Basis of Party Support.” *British Journal of Political Science* 1: 1–25.
- Raymond, C. 2010. “The continued salience of religious voting in the United States, Germany, and Great Britain.” *Electoral Studies*. 30. 125-135
- Lijphart, Arend. 1979. Religious vs. linguistic vs. class voting: The crucial experiment of comparing Belgium, Canada, South Africa and Switzerland. *American Political Science Review*, 73(2): 442-458.

Recommended/Additional Readings:

- Putnam, Robert D, and David E Campbell. 2012. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*. Simon & Schuster (especially chs 1, 3, 8, 9, 11, 15).
- van der Brug, Wouter, Sara B Hobolt, and Claes H de Vreese. 2009. “Religion and Party Choice in Europe.” *West European Politics* 32(6): 1266–1283.
- Bruce, Steve. 2003. *Politics and Religion*. Cambridge: Polity Press (Chapters 1, 4 and 7).

Contemporary Readings:

- Evans, Geoffrey and Nan Dirk de Graaf (eds). 2013. *Political Choice Matters: Explaining the Strength of Class and Religious Cleavages in Cross-National Politics* Oxford: Oxford University Press (chs 1, 4, 5, 7, 10, 15)
- Ignazi, Piero and Spencer Wellhofer. 2013. “Religion, Rurality and Voting: Secularisation, Landownership and Italian Electoral Behaviour, 1953–2008.” *West European Politics* 36: 919-956.

- Lim, Chaeyoon, and Carol Ann MacGregor. 2012. "Religion and Volunteering in Context: Disentangling the Contextual Effects of Religion on Voluntary Behavior." *American Sociological Review* 77: 747-779.

Week 4: Social Cleavages II (Race, Ethnicity, National Identity)

Main Readings:

- Verba, Sidney, Kay Schlozman, Henry Brady, and Norman Nie. 1993. "Race, ethnicity and political resources: Participation in the United States." *British Journal of Political Science*, 23(4): 453-497.
- Leighley, J.E. & Vedlitz, A. 1999. "Race, ethnicity, and political participation: Competing models and contrasting explanations." *Journal of Politics*, 61(4): 1092-1114.
- McLaren, Lauren. 2003. "Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: Contact, threat perception and preferences for the exclusion of migrants." *Social Forces*, 81(3): 909-936.
- Hechter, Michael. 1998 (c. 1975). *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers (Chs 1-6 & 10).

Recommended/Additional Readings:

- Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press (especially chs 1 – 3, 6 & 7).
- Koopmans et al. 2012. "Citizenship Rights for Immigrants: National Political Processes and Cross-National Convergence in Western Europe, 1980-2008." *American Journal of Sociology* 117:1202-1245.

Contemporary Readings:

- Eger, Maureen. 2010. "Even in Sweden: The Effect of Immigration on Support for Welfare State Spending." *European Sociological Review* 26: 203-217.
- Pettinicchio, David. 2012. "Migration and ethnic nationalism: Anglophone exit and the declonisation of Quebec." *Nations and Nationalism* 18: 719-743.
- Sanders, David, Anthony Heath, Stephen Fisher, Maria Sobolewska. 2013. "The Calculus of Ethnic Minority Voting in Britain." *Political Studies* DOI: 10.1111/1467-9248.12040.
- Logan, John R. et al. 2012. "The Impact of Race and Ethnicity, Immigration and Political Context on Participation in American Electoral Politics." *Social Forces* doi: 10.1093/sf/sor024.
- May, Stephen. 2012 (2nd edition). *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language*. New York: Routledge (Introduction, ch 2 pp 51-64, ch 6, ch 9).
- Larsen, Christian Albrekt. 2011. "Ethnic Heterogeneity and Public Support for Welfare: Is the American Experience Replicated in Britain, Sweden and Denmark?" *Scandinavian Political Studies* 34(4):332–353.

Week 5: Social Capital & Civil Society

Main Readings:

- Almond, Gabriel and Verba, Sidney. 1989. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. London: Sage.

- Portes, Alejandro, and Erik Vickstrom. 2011. "Diversity, Social Capital, and Cohesion." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37(1): 461–479.
- Andersen, Robert, Curtis, James and Grabb, Edward. 2006. Trends in Civic Association Activity in Four Democracies: The Special Case of Women in the United States. *American Sociological Review*, 71(3): 376-400.
- Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster (especially chs 1-3, 10, 16, 21).
- Paxton, Pamela. 1999. "Is social capital declining in the United States? A multiple indicator assessment." *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(1): 88-127.

Recommended/Additional Readings:

- Paxton, Pamela. 2002. "Social Capital and Democracy: An Interdependent Relationship." *American Sociological Review*, 67(2): 254-277.
- Putnam, Robert. 2002. *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (especially Introduction, Chs 1 & 2, Conclusion).
- Schofer, Evan, & Fourcade-Gourinchas, Marion. 2001. "The Structural Contexts of Civic Engagement: Voluntary Association Membership in Comparative Perspective." *American Sociological Review*, 66: 806-28.
- Jackman, Robert and Miller, Ross. 1996. "A renaissance of political culture?" *American Journal of Political Science*, 40(3): 632-659.
- O'Neill, Brenda and Elisabeth Gidengil (eds). 2006. *Gender and Social Capital*. Taylor and Francis (Chs 1, 4 & 7).

Contemporary Readings:

- Achilov, Dilshod. 2013. "Social Capital, Islam, and the Arab Spring in the Middle East." *Journal of Civil Society* 9:268-286.
- Gibson, Rachel K. and Ian McAllister. 2013. "Online Social Ties and Political Engagement." *Journal of Information Technology and Politics* 10:21-34.

Week 6: Public Preferences and Social Attitudes

Main Readings:

- Stimson, James. 2004. *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press (especially chs 1-3).
- Abramson, Paul and Inglehart, Ronald. 1995. *Value Change in a Global Perspective*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (especially summary and conclusion).
- Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. "The Public as Thermostat." *American Political Science Review* 39:981-1000.
- De Graaf, N.D. and Evans, G. (1996) Why are the young more postmaterialist? *Comparative Political Studies*, 28(4): 608-635.
- Burstein, Paul. 2006. "Why the estimates of public opinion on public policy are too high." *Social Forces* 84:2273-2289.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 2010. *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America* (3rd edition). Pearson Longman (especially chs 1-7).

Recommended/Additional Readings:

- Inglehart, Ronald and Jacques-Rene Rabier. 1986. "Political Realignment in Advanced Industrial Societies." *Government and Opposition* 21:456-479.
- Dalton, Russell J. *Citizen Politics* (4th Edition). CQ Press (Chs 1-3, 5, 6, 10, 12).
- Pettinicchio, David. 2010. "Public and Elite Policy Preferences: Gay Marriage in Canada." 42: 125-153
- Petry, Francois and Matthew Mendelsohn. 2004. "Public Opinion and Policy Making in Canada, 1994-2001." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37:505-529.

Contemporary Readings

- Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. 2012. "How Sociology Lost Public Opinion A Genealogy of a Missing Concept in the Study of the Political." *Sociological Theory* 30:89-113.
- Burstein, Paul. 2013. *American Public Opinion, Advocacy, and Policy in Congress: What the Public Wants and What It Gets*. New York: Cambridge (especially chs 1-3).
- McCombs, Maxwell. 2013. *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. Polity (chs 1-4).
- Egan, Patrick J. and Megan Mullin. 2012. "Turning Personal Experience into Political Attitudes: The Effect of Local Weather on Americans' Perceptions about Global Warming." *Journal of Politics* 74:796-809.

Week 7: Collective Action, Social Movements, and Organized Advocacy

Main Readings:

- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (chs 1,2 & 5).
- McCarthy, John and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212-1241.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements, and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (chs 1, 8, 9 & 10).
- Minkoff, Debra. 1995. *Organizing for Equality*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers (ch 1, 4 & 5).
- Staggenborg, Suzanne. 1988. "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement." *American Sociological Review* 53:585-605.

Recommended/Additional Readings:

- Opp, Karl-Dieter. 2010. *Theories of Political Protest and Social Movements*. Routledge (chs 1, 3, 5 & 6).
- Pfaff, Steven. 2006. *Exit Voice Dynamics and the Collapse of East Germany*. Duke University Press (especially chs 1, 2 & 6).
- Meyer, David and Debra Minkoff. 2004. "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity." *Social Forces* 82:1457-1492.
- Banaszak, Lee Ann. 2010. *The Women's Movement Inside and Outside the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chs 1, 2 & 8).

Contemporary Readings:

- Pettinicchio, David. 2012. "Institutional Activism: Reconsidering the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy." *Sociology Compass* 6:499-510.
- Blee, Kathleen. 2013. *Democracy in the Making*. New York: Oxford University Press (chs 1,2 & 6).
- Valdez, S. 2012. "Subsidizing the Cost of Collective Action: International Organizations and Protest among Polish Farmers during Democratic Transition." *Social Forces* 90: 475–495.
- Caren, Neal and Sarah Gaby. 2011. "Occupy Online: Facebook and the Spread of Occupy Wall Street." *Social Science Research Network*.
- Skocpol, Theda and Vanessa Williamson. 2011. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. New York: Oxford University Press (especially Introduction, chs 1, 3 & 5).
- Biggs, Michael. 2013. "The Mismeasurement of Strikes and the Distortion of Protest Trends: Evidence from Britain in the 1980s and 1990s." Oxford Working Papers Series.

Week 8: Institutional Change, Agenda-Setting and Issue Attention

Main Readings:

- David, Paul A. 2001. "Clio and the Economics of QWERTY." *AEA Papers and Proceedings*.
- Baumgartner, Frank R. and Bryan D. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (especially Part 1, Part 2 ch 4, Part 3 ch 9).
- Jones, Bryan D. and Frank Baumgartner. 2005. *The Politics of Attention*. Chicago: Chicago University Press (especially Chs 1, 2, 7, 8 & 11).
- Beckett, Katherine. 1994. "Setting the Public Agenda: Street Crime and Drug Use in American Politics." *Social Problems* 41:425-447.
- Sheingate, Adam D. 2006. "Structure and Opportunity: Committee Jurisdiction and Issue Attention in Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 50:844-859.
- Baumgartner et al. 2006. "Comparative studies of policy agendas." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:959-974.

Recommended/Additional Readings:

- Meyer David, Valerie Jenness and Helen Ingram (eds). 2005. *Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy and Democracy*. Minneapolis: Minnesota Press (Introduction, chs 2, 3, & 7).
- King, Brayden, Keith G. Bentele and Sarah Soule. 2007. "Protest and Policymaking: Explaining Fluctuation in Congressional Attention to Rights Issues, 1960–1986." *Social Forces* 86:137-164.
- Johnson, Erik. 2008. "Social Movement Size, Organizational Diversity and the Making of Federal Law." *Social Forces* 86: 1-28.
- Peters, B. Guy. 1994. "Agenda-setting in the European community." *Journal of European Public Policy*. 1:9-26.
- Baumgartner, Frank and Bryan D. Jones. 1991. "Agenda Dynamics and Policy Subsystems." *Journal of Politics* 53:1044-1074.

Contemporary Readings:

- Mahoney, James and Kathleen Thelen (Eds). 2010. *Explaining Institutional Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press (ch. 1, 4 & 7).

- Fligstein, Neil and Doug McAdam. 2012. *A Theory of Fields*. New York: Oxford University Press (chs 1-4).
- Pettinicchio, David. 2013. "Strategic Action Fields and the Context of Political Entrepreneurship: How Disability Rights became part of the Policy Agenda." *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* 36: 79–106.
- Beard, Virginia. 2013. "A Theoretical Understanding of Housing and Homelessness: Federal Homelessness and Housing Policy Through the Lenses of Punctuated Equilibrium Theory and Advocacy Coalition Frameworks." *Poverty and Public Policy* 5: 67-87.