

**Department of Sociology
University of Toronto**

Political Sociology

**Ph.D. Comprehensive Examination
Reading List**

January 2025

The list is divided into eight sub areas:

1. Power and the Political [22 units]
2. State Formation [19 units]
3. Nationalism [26 units]
4. Social Cleavages, Parties and Voting [19 units]
5. Comparative Political Economy and the Welfare State [27 units]
6. Civil Society, Democracy and Citizenship [22 units]
7. Social Movements [36 units]
8. Globalization [28 units]

1. POWER AND THE POLITICAL

This section focuses on the primary concepts used in the field of political sociology. The readings are designed to encourage students to explore different ways of understanding the political realm and the meanings of power.

Block, Fred. 1987. *Revising State Theory*. Temple University Press, chapters 1 and 2 (2)

Brown, Wendy. 1995. "Finding the Man in the State". *Feminist Studies*, 18(1), 7-34. (1)

Janoski, T. et al. 2005. *The Handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press. (8)

Jessop, Bob. "Marxist Approaches to Power", in *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*. (Ed. K. Nash and A. Scott). (1)

Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. 1848. *The Communist Manifesto*. Available online at <<<http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/classics/manifesto.html>>> (2)

Moore, Jr., Barrington. 1967. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon. (5)

Weber, Max. 1978 [1922]. Sections from *Economy and Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. (3)

Volume 1:

- "Types of Social Action" (pp. 24-26)
- "Social Categories of Economic Action" (pp. 63-75)

Volume 2:

- "Domination and Legitimacy" (pp. 941-953)
- "Bureaucracy" (pp. 956-1002)
- "Charisma and its Transformations" (pp. 1111-1155)

2. STATE FORMATION

This section deals with how states are developed and maintained.

Bhambra, Gurinder. 2011. "Historical sociology, modernity, and postcolonial critique." *American Historical Review* 116-3, 653-662. (1)

Ermakoff, Ivan. *Ruling Oneself Out: A Theory of Collective Abdications*. (Chapters 1 and 5). Dule University Press. (2).

Gorski, Paul. S. 2003. *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (5)

Loveman, Mara. 2005. "The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power." *American Journal of Sociology* 110:1651-1683. (1)

Poggi, Gianfranco. 1978. *The Development of the Modern State*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. (5)

Scott, James. 1998. *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (5)

Slater, Dan, and Nicholas Rush Smith. 2016. "The Power of Counterrevolution: Elitist Origins of Political Order in Postcolonial Asia and Africa." *American Journal of Sociology* 121(5): 1472-1516. (1)

3. NATIONALISM

The nature, origins, varieties, and effects of nationalism.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition. London: Verso. (5)

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, Cambridge University Press. (5)

Calhoun, Craig. 1997. *Nationalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (5)

Lie, John. 2001. *Multiethnic Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (5)

Loveman, Mara. 2005. "The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power." *American Journal of Sociology* 110:1651-1683. (1)

Yuval-Davis, N. 1997. *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage. (5)

4. SOCIAL CLEAVAGES, PARTIES AND VOTING

Political parties were once thought to reflect the class composition of society, and individual party preference was thought to be determined largely by class position. In recent decades, however, the class bases of parties and voting patterns have been called into question. More emphasis has been placed on changing values as determinants of party choice and on the role that parties themselves play in shaping political life.

Amorim Neto, O. and G.W. Cox. 1997. 'Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties,' *American Journal of Political Science*, 41: 149-174. (1)

Alford, Robert. 1967. 'Class voting in the Anglo-American political systems.' In *Party systems and voter alignments*. Cross-national perspectives, edited by Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, 65-127. New York: The Free Press. (1)

Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. 1990. *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability. The Stabilisation of European Electorates, 1885–1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(Introduction and Conclusion) (1)

Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. 1994. "Do Changing Values Explain the New Politics? A Critical Assessment of the Posmaterialist Thesis," *The Sociological Quarterly* 35: 541-70 (1)

Clark, Terry and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.) 2001. *The Breakdown of Class Politics: A Debate on Post-Industrial Stratification*. Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001 (Chapters 1, 2, 11 and 12) (2)

Evans, Geoffrey (ed.). 1999. *The End of Class Politics? Class Voting in Comparative Context*. Chaps 1, 2 & 5. Oxford University Press. (3)

Inglehart, Ronald and Scott C. Flanagan. 1987. "Value change in industrial societies," *American Political Science Review*, 81:1289–1319 (1)

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1997. "European Party Systems: Continuity and Change," pp. 131-50 in Martin Rhodes, Paul Heywood and Vincent Wright, eds. *Developments in West European Politics*. Houndmills UK: Macmillan. (1)

Lijphart, Arendt. 1979. "Religious vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting: The "Crucial Experiment" of Comparing Belgium, Canada, South Africa, and Switzerland," *American Political Science Review*, 73: 442-458. (1)

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction," pp. 1-64 in *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press. (1)

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1981. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. (Part II, Chapters 6-8) (2)

Michels, Robert. 1959. *Political Parties: Political Parties; a Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Dover. (Parts 1, 4 and 6) (2)

Mudge, Stephanie L., and Anthony S. Chen. 2014. "Political parties and the sociological imagination: Past, present, and future directions." *Annual Review of Sociology* 40: 305-330. (1)

Pakulski, Jan and Malcolm Waters. 1996. "The Reshaping and Dissolution of Social Class in Advanced Society," *Theory and Society*, 25(5): 667-691. (1)

5. COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ECONOMY

a) Origin and Theories of Welfare States

Chris Pierson. 1998. "On the origins of welfare state 1880-1975," in C. Pierson, *Beyond the Welfare State? The New Political Economy of Welfare*. (1)

T.H. Marshall. "Citizenship and Social Class," chapter 4 in *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development*. (1)

Karl Polanyi. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, chapters 6 and 11. (2)

b) Characterizing and conceptualizing welfare states in the West

Gøsta Esping-Andersen. 1989. "The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State." *Canadian Review of Sociology* 26(1): 10-36. (1)

Ferrera, M. 1996. "The 'Southern Model' of Welfare in Social Europe" *Journal of European Social Policy* 6(1):17-37. (1)

Deacon, Bob. 2000. "Eastern European Welfare States: the impact of the politics of globalization." *Journal of European Social Policy* 10(2): 146-61. (1)

Hemerijck, Anton. 2012. "Two or three waves of welfare state transformation" in N. Morel, B. Palier and J. Palme eds., *Towards a Social Investment State: Ideas, Policies and Challenges*. (1)

Korpi, Walter and Joakim Palme. 2003. "New politics and class politics in the context of austerity and globalization: welfare state regress in 18 countries, 1975-1995." *American Political Science Review* 97: 425-46. (1)

O'Connor, Julia. 1993. "Gender, class, and citizenship in the comparative analysis of welfare state regimes." *British Journal of Sociology* 44-3, 501-518. (1)

Orloff, Ann. 1993. "Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes." *European Journal of Social Policy* 2(3): 159-73. (1)

c) Characterizing and conceptualizing non-Western welfare states

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2008. *Development, Democracy and Welfare States*, "Introduction," and chapter 1 (pp. 1-78), Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (1)

Hassim, Shireen, and Shahra Razavi. 2006. "Gender and Social Policy in a Global Context: Uncovering the Gendered Structure of the 'Social'," in Shreen Hassim and Shahra Razavi eds., *Gender and Social Policy in a Global Context*. Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 1-39. (1)

Peng, Ito, and Joseph Wong. 2010. "East Asia", in Francis G. Castles et al., eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 656-670. (1)

Woo-Cumings, Meredith (ed).1999. Chapters 1 and 2 in *The Developmental State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. (1)

Wood, Geof, and Ian Gough. 2006. "A Comparative Welfare Regime Approach to Global Social Policy." *World Development* 34(10):1696-1712. (1)

d) Welfare State Responses to the End of Golden Age

Bradley, David, Evelyne Huber, Stephanie Moller, Francois Nielsen, and John Stephens. 2003. "Distribution and redistribution in postindustrial democracies." *World Politics* 55:193-228. (1)

Cordelli, Chiara. 2020. Parts I and II in *The Privatized State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (2)

Iversen, Torben and Anne Wren. 1998. "Equality, Employment, and Budgetary Restraint: The Trilemma of the Service Economy." *World Politics* 50(4): 507-546. (1)

Myles, John and Jill Quadagno. 2002. "Political Theories of the Welfare State." *Social Service Review* (March), pp. 34-57. (1)

Pierson, Paul. 2001. "Post-Industrial Pressures on the Mature Welfare States", chapter 3 in Paul Pierson, ed., *New Politics of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (1)

e) The New Institutionalism and Varieties of Capitalism

Culpepper, Pepper. 2001. "Employers, public policy and the politics of decentralized cooperation in Germany and France." in *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundation of Comparative Advantage* edited by Peter A. Hall and David Soskice. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (1)

Hacker, J. (2004) "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 243-260. (1)

Hall, Peter A., and David Soskice. 2001. "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism." in Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundation of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 1-68. (1)

Hall, Peter A., and Rosemary C. R. Taylor. 1996. "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms." *Political Studies* 44(5):936-957. (1)

Streeck, W., and K. Thelen, eds. (2005) *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Introduction. (1)

Kathleen Thelen. 1999. "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics", *Annual Review of Political Science* 2(1): 369-404. (1)

6. CIVIL SOCIETY, DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

a) Civil society and Democracy

Clark, Ann Marie, Elizabeth J Friedman, and Kathryn Hochstetler. 1998. "The Sovereign Limits

of Global Civil Society.” *World Politics*, 51(1):1-35. (1)

Ferree, Myra Marx et al. 2002. “Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies.” *Theory and Society* 31(3):289-324. (1)

Gordenker, Leon, and Thomas G. Weiss. 1995. "Pluralising global governance: Analytical approaches and dimensions." *Third world quarterly* 16(3):357-388. (1)

Putnam, Robert. 1995. “Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital.” *Journal of Democracy* 6: 65-78. (1)

Rotolo, Thomas and John Wilson. 2004. “What Happened to the Long Civic Generation? Explaining Cohort Differences in Voluntarism,” *Social Forces*, 82: 1091-1121. (1)

Skocpol, Theda. 1996. "Unravelling From Above," *The American Prospect*, 25 (March-April): 20-25 (<http://epn.org/prospect/25/25-cnt2.html>). And Putnam, Robert. 1996. “Robert Putnam Responds,” *The American Prospect*. 25 (March-April): 26-28 (<http://epn.org/prospect/25/25-cnt.html#putn>). (1)

Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Volume II, Part II, Chapters 1-8 (25 pages); Volume II, Part III. Chapter 5 (7 pages), Volume II, Part IV, Chapters 1-3 (8 pages). (1)

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. “Human/Women’s Rights and Feminist Transversal Politics”. Pp. 275-295 in *Global Feminism*, Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp, eds. New York: NYU Press. (1)

b) Citizenship

Bauböck, Rainer. 2001. Cultural citizenship, minority rights, and self-government. In *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, ed. TA Aleinikoff, D Klusmeyer, pp. 319-48. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute/Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (1)

Brubaker, Rogers. 1998. “Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany” in Gershon Shafir (ed), *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 131-166. (1)

Joppke, Christian. 2007. “Transformation of Citizenship: Status, Rights, Identity.” *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1), pp. 37-48. (1)

Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chs. 1-3. (3)

Lister, Ruth. 2003. Introduction. *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. Second Edition. New York: New York University Press. (1)

Okin, Susan Moller (ed). 1999. *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* [Chapters by Okin, Kymlika, Honig, al-Hibri, Tamir, Parekh, Sassen and Okin’s reply] (3)

Sassen, Saskia. 2004. “The Repositioning of Citizenship” in Brysk and Shafir (Eds), *People Out*

of Place: Globalization, Human Rights and the Citizenship Gap, ed. A Brysk, G Shafir, New York: Routledge. 191-208. (1)

Somers, Margaret. 2005. "Citizenship Troubles: Genealogies of Struggle for the Soul of the Social." In *Remaking Modernity*, ed. J Adams, L Clemens, A Orloff, pp. 438-69. Durham: Duke University Press. (1)

Somers, Margaret. 2006. Citizenship, Statelessness and Market Fundamentalism: Arendtian Lessons on Right to have Rights. In *Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos*, ed. M Bodemann, G Yurdakul, pp. 35-62. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan (1)

Soysal, Yasemin. 1998. "Towards a Postnational Model of Membership" in Gershon Shafir (ed), *The Citizenship Debates*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 189-220. (1)

7. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Much recent controversy in the study of social movements centres on (1) the relationships among structure, culture and agency and (2) the causal weight that should be accorded each domain in the mobilization of social movements, the crystallization of social movement strategy and the level of success of social movements.

Benford, Robert D. and David A. Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26: 611-39. (1)

Blee, Kathleen and Kimberley Creasap. 2010. "Conservative and right-wing movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, 269-286. (1)

Brym, R. et al. 2014. "Social media in the 2011 Egyptian uprising." *British Journal of Sociology* 65: 266-92 (1)

Castells, Manuel. 2015 [2012]. *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*, second ed. Cambridge UK: Polity (5)

Della Porta, Donatella. 2016. Chapters 1 and 2 in *Where Did the Revolution Go?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (2)

Earl, Jennifer. 2011. "Political Repression: Iron Fists, Velvet Gloves, and Diffuse Control." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37: 261-284 (1)

Ferree, Myra Marx. 2003. "Resonance and Radicalism: Feminist Framing in the Abortion Debates of the United States and Germany." *American Journal of Sociology*, 109: 304-44. (1)

Goodwin, J. & Jasper, J. (Eds.) 2004. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion*. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield (5)

Gould, Roger. 1991. "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871." *American Sociological Review* 56:716-729. (1)

Jasper, J. 2011. "Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37: 285-303 (1).

Lee, Ching Kwan. 2007. Chapters 3-6 in *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. (5)

King, Brayden and Pearce, Nicholas. 2010. "The Contentiousness of Markets: Politics, Social Movements, and Institutional Change in Markets." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36: 249-267 (1)

McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 82: 1212-41 (1)

Schussman, A., & Soule, S. 2005. Process and protest: accounting for individual protest participation. *Social Forces* 84: 1083-1108 (1)

Staggenborg, S. & Ramos, H. 2016. *Social Movements*, 3rd Canadian ed. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 81-209 (2)

Tilly, C. & Tarrow, S. 2015. *Contentious Politics*, 2nd ed. Boulder CO: Paradigm (5)

Viterna, Jocelyn. 2006. "Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army." *American Journal of Sociology* 112: 1-45. (1)

Rucht, Dieter. (2017). "Studying social movements: some conceptual challenges." In S. Berger & H. Nehring (Eds.), *The History of social movements in global perspective* (pp. 39-62). London: Palgrave Macmillan (1)

8. GLOBALIZATION

The readings in this module encourage investigation into how social life, the state, the economy, and social dissent have changed in the globalization period (roughly dated from the late 1970s onwards). At the same time students investigate new features of this period (e.g., neoliberalism, transnational social movements), they are encouraged to simultaneously examine historical continuity, and be wary of tendencies to abandon analyses of traditional political actors like the state and social classes. Key concepts: neoliberalism, cosmopolitanism, risk society, transnational social movements/activist networks, global civil society, state and world economy

Acker, Joan. 2004. "Gender, capitalism, and globalization." *Critical Sociology* 30(1): 17-41. (1)

Beck, Ulrich. 2002. "The Cosmopolitan Society and Its Enemies." *Theory, Culture and Society* 19 (1): 17-44. (1)

Beckfield, J. 2010. "The Social Structure of the World Polity". *American Journal of Sociology* 115: 1018-68. (1)

Bourdieu, P. 1999. "The Social Conditions of the International Circulation of Ideas." Pp. 220-228 in *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader*. Ed. R. Shusterman. Oxford: Blackwell. (1)

Buchholz, Larissa. 2016. "What Is a Global Field? Rethinking Bourdieu's Field Theory beyond the Nation-State." *The Sociological Review Monographs* 64(2):31–60 (1).

Burawoy, M. 2000. "Grounding Globalization" in Burawoy M. (ed.) *Global Ethnography*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Pp. 337-350. (1)

Evans, P. 2000. "Fighting marginalization with transnational networks: counter-hegemonic globalization." *Contemporary Sociology* 29(1): 230–41. (1)

Fourcade-Gourinchas, M, and Babb, S. 2002. "The Rebirth of the Liberal Creed: Paths to Neoliberalism in Four Countries." *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (3): 533-79. (1)

Hafner-Burton, E. and Kiyoteru T. 2005. "Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises." 110(5): 1373-1411. (1)

Keck, ME, and K. Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Introduction and substantive chapter of choice. (2)

Meyer, J. W., J. Boli, J. Thomas, G. and F. Ramirez. 1997. "World Society and the Nation-State." *American Journal of Sociology* 144-181 (1)

Robinson, William. 2004. *A Theory of Global Capitalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Introduction and Conclusion (2)

Sassen, Saskia. 1998. Chapters 5 (Towards a Feminist Analytics of the Global Economy), 8 (The Informal Economy) and 10 (The State and the Global City), In *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: The New Press. (3)

Sklair, Leslie. 2001. *The Transnational Capitalist Class*. Malden, MA: Blackwell. (5)

Steinmetz, G. 2008. "The Colonial State as a Social Field: Ethnographic Capital and Native Policy in the German Overseas Empire before 1914." *American Sociological Review*. 73(4): 589- 612 (1)

Tarrow, Sydney. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press (5)