

TRAJECTORIES

Newsletter of the ASA Comparative and Historical Sociology Section
Volume 35 No. 1 | Fall 2024/Winter 2025

Message from the Chair

Greetings!

Thank you once again for placing your confidence in me to chair our section. Much has happened since we met in August, not least the ASA Council's vote to divest from weapons manufacturers and the ongoing assault on our academic freedoms. The latter (lest we forget) began under the Biden Administration, and will no doubt continue and perhaps intensify under a second Trump presidency.

What must we do as comparative historical sociologists in these uncertain times? It is tempting in the midst of right-wing ascendancy to keep our heads down and hope that the far right will not take notice of us. Perhaps, if we stay quiet, we can come out of hiding when the political winds have changed. I believe this is an unwise course of action for two reasons:

First, the far right has already taken notice. As early as 2021, then-U.S. Senator (now Vice President-Elect) J.D. Vance said, "the professors are the enemy." In Florida, the the state government has abolished certain graduation

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This Trajectories logo shows loess-smoothed trends in percent of state budgets allocated to "social programs" in (from top to bottom at $x = 0$) France, New Zealand, the UK, US, and Korea, ca. 1990 - 2020. Source: OECD.

requirements that threaten to destroy sociology departments at public universities. The question is not whether the far right will come after us, but rather what we must do now to weaken and defeat their existing attack.

Second, as comparative historical sociologists, we know perhaps more than most that what tyrants fear most is an educated, unified, and principled citizenry. That is the lesson of every democratic mass movement in history, and it is a lesson that we must teach and learn again now.

During the depths of another crisis, when he was criticized for his opposition to the Vietnam War, Dr. King said, “In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends.” In our present crisis, as scary as it may be, we must speak up and stick together.

It must begin with us in the communities that we inhabit and radiate outward to a new popular front in society-at-large. When our friends inside or outside the section, in the wider profession, or in our towns and neighborhoods become the targets of bigotry and violence, we must have their backs. And if any of us are in trouble – if you are arrested, if you or your family are harassed for your research or political beliefs – I will do everything to help you in that moment, activate our mutual aid networks, and connect you to an organization that can provide institutional support. From this point forward, let it never be said that our section was silent when our friends were in peril.

Now, we will do all the things that we do so well every year. We will host an excellent mini-conference on August 7, 2025 to take stock of our subfield on this the 20th anniversary of Adams, Clemens, and Orloff’s *Remaking Modernity*. We are organizing exciting sessions at the annual meeting on theorizing crisis, race and labor in the Americas, comparative historical methods, and the legacies of colonialism, among others. Our award committees have been staffed and are ready to go once the submission deadlines have passed. And our integrated communications committee will publish three newsletters including this one, redesign our website, and relaunch the CHAT podcast.

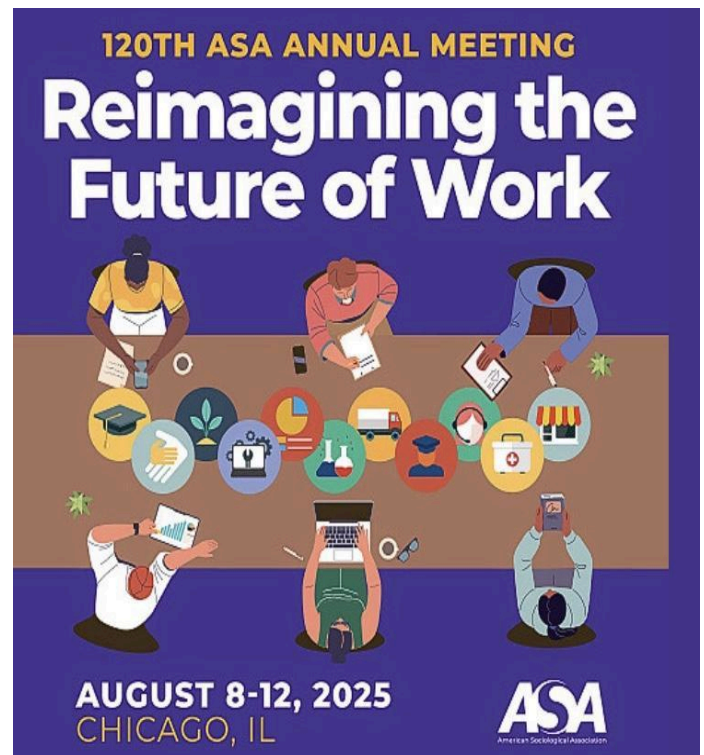
All this we will do, but, in the coming weeks and months, I will also be working with our section council to discuss an organized response to the ongoing attack on our academic freedom. We will not pretend that our only responsibility as a section is to the profession. Many of us became sociologists not for sociology’s sake but because of larger questions of moral and political importance. It is now time to recover those motives and let them guide our work in the year ahead.

In Solidarity,

Cedric

Visit the Website:

<http://chs.asa-comparative-historical.org/>



Deadline for 2025 publication award nominations (best dissertation, graduate student paper, article, and book) is March 15

2024 ASA Comparative - Historical Sociology Section Award Winners

Ibn Khaldun award is meant to recognize a lifetime of outstanding contributions to the subfield of comparative-historical sociology. presented to scholars of the utmost distinction.

Ibn Khaldun Distinguished
Career Award



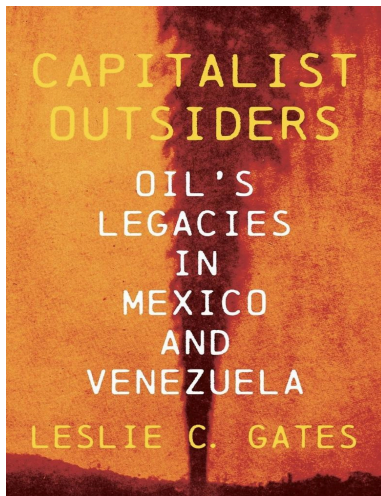
Theda Skocpol, Harvard
University

The quality of Skocpol's work and the distinction of her intellectual accomplishments has been repeatedly recognized over the course of her long career. In addition to the multiple awards she received for her first two books, she has been the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, winner of the Theory Prize from the ASA's Theory Section, twice winner of the Greenstone Award from the APSA's Politics and History Section, and winner of the Cox Award from the ASA's Racial and Ethnic Minorities Section, among many other recognitions. Skocpol has also been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Academy of Sciences; received honorary degrees from Northwestern, Amherst, Columbia, Oxford, and Radboud; served as president of the APSA; and received the Distinguished

Career Award from the ASA's Political Sociology Section. As impressive as her many awards are the many students she has advised over the years, including Edwin Amenta (UC Irvine), Jeff Goodwin (NYU), Andreas Glaeser (Chicago), Marshall Ganz (Harvard), Michael Biggs (Oxford), Irene Bloemraad (Berkeley), Robert Mickey (Michigan), Daniel Schlozman (Johns Hopkins), and Alex Hertel-Fernandez (Columbia). This is no run-of-the-mill collection of progeny. They are all intellectual leaders in their own right, and some of them are *bona fide* superstars. In the years and decades to come, they are sure to carry on Skocpol's legacy in their own way. In conclusion, Theda Skocpol is a most deserving recipient of the Khaldun Award; her scholarship as well as her career as a teacher and advisor embody the highest intellectual ideals of the ASA Section on Comparative and Historical Sociology.



Barrington Moore Book Award is awarded to the author with the best book in the area of comparative-historical sociology.



Barrington Moore Book Award

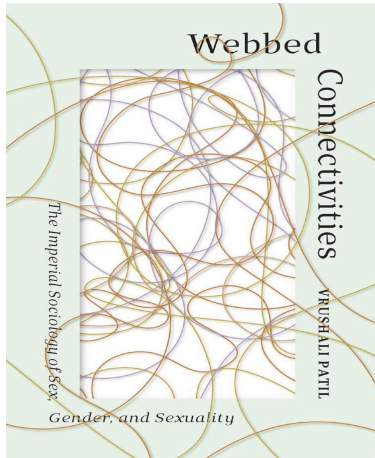
Winner: Lesley Gates,

Capitalist Outsiders: Oil Politics in Mexico and Venezuela (1938-2000)
(University of Pittsburgh Press)



Lesley Gates, *Capitalist Outsiders: Oil Politics in Mexico and Venezuela (1938-2000)* (University of Pittsburgh Press). Gates' *Capitalist Outsiders* seeks to answer the question: why do capitalist outsiders – outsiders to their nation's political establishment who promise little change to their nation's existing capitalist order – win elections? To answer this question, Gates develops a sophisticated and nuanced comparative historical analysis of otherwise similar moments of outsider electoral victories that followed periods of deep capitalist crisis and "reincorporation": Hugo Chavez in Venezuela in 1998, Vicente Fox in Mexico in 2000, Lázaro Cardenas in Mexico in 1934, and Rómulo Betancourt in Venezuela in 1945. At the core, her analysis is a set of comparative empirical puzzles. Gates draws upon various data sources, including secondary sources, election data, public opinion polls, qualitative interviews, and the construction of a new database of corruption scandal repo-

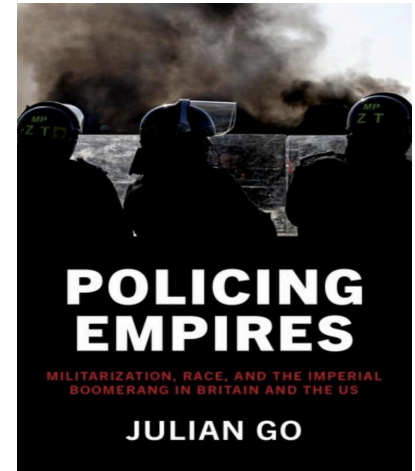
ring. Methodologically, Gates theorizes and develops a "relational comparison" approach to highlight how her cases are interconnected "instances" that are inherently idiosyncratic, but also collectively express larger world-systemic processes that unfold over time and space. Gates also creatively deploys Gramscian concepts of "passive and active revolutions" to develop an "inside-out" world-historical approach that views capitalist development, not as an "external" or "universalizing force," but as a process that operates in uniquely particular ways through the actions of local actors. Conceptually, Gates notes that scholarship that engages in comparisons of populists like pro-capitalist Trump and anti-capitalist Chavez typically fail to adequately problematize the *substantive* differences among political outsiders. Overall, *Capitalist Outsiders* represents the very best of the Comparative Historical Sociology tradition.



Vrushali Patil

Webbed Connectivities. The Imperial Sociology of Sex, Gender, and Sexuality
(University of Minnesota Press, 2022)

Barrington Moore Book Award Honorable Mentions



Julian Go

Policing Empires Militarization, Race, and the Imperial Boomerang in Britain and the US (Oxford University Press, 2023)

Vrushali Patil's *Webbed Connectivities. The Imperial Sociology of Sex, Gender and Sexuality* is a passionate and convincing plea against the abstraction of society – often conflated with the equally abstract nation-state – in the sociologies of sex, gender, and sexuality. Tracing the elevation of society as sociology's default unit of analysis back to colonial modernity, the book argues for a methodological shift away from this single-scale norm and towards the multiscalar racial, colonial and imperial networks that have shaped the production of sex, gender and sexuality since the early modern period – the “webbed connectivities” that prompted the book's title. The 2024 Barrington Moore Award Committee selected this book for an honorable mention, out of 34 submissions [,] the committee decided to award *Webbed Connectivities. The Imperial Sociology of Sex, Gender and Sexuality* by Vrushali Patil, one of the many powerful works nominated, [for] the 2024 Barrington Moore Award.

Julian Go, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, in *Policing Empires: Militarization, Race, and the Imperial Boomerang in Britain and the US* gifts us a detailed comparison of police militarization in this third part of his historical sociology series on the American empire. Drawing on Aimé Césaire's concept of imperial feedback, Stuart Hall's signifying spiral, as well as Foucault and Hannah Arendt's analyses of colonialism, Go develops the concept of an “imperial boomerang”: In short, the idea that police militarization is the joint social product of imperialism and metropolitan racialization; and that the dynamics of colonial rule feed back into the policing of marginalized populations “at home.” It is a deceptively simple argument: That the margins constitute the center. This type of deep data work through close reading allows Go to render complex and subtle arguments that have been unjustly derided in other scholarship as simplistic or even ideological. In that, *Policing Empires* sets an example for writing comparative historical sociology that contains within it the seeds for possible futures and resistance to injustice without being prescriptive; it shows us how to insist on nuance in a politicized context of all-or-nothing.

Charles Tilly Article Award is given to the best article in the subfield of comparative-historical sociology.

	Charles Tilly Article Award Co-Winners		 
Celene Reynolds	Honorable Mention Jorge Daniel Vasquez, American University		Jeremy Levine (University of Michigan) and Kelly L. Russell (Florida State University)
Reynolds, Celene. 2022. "Repurposing Title IX: How Sexual Harassment Became Sex Discrimination in American Higher Education." <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> 128(2): 462-514.	"W.E.B. Du Bois's Global Sociology and the Anti-racist Struggle for Democracy in Cuba (1931–1941)." <i>Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race</i> , 1-27. 2023.		Levine, Jeremy R., and Kelly L. Russell. 2023. "Crime Pays the Victim: Criminal Fines, the State, and Victim Compensation Law 1964–1984." <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> 128(4): 1158-1205.

Reinhard Bendix Student Paper Award is given to the best graduate student paper in the subfield of comparative-historical sociology.

Matthew Brooke (Harvard University)	Reinhard Bendix Student Paper Award Winner	How Democracy's Resisters Forge Organizational Change: Insights from the Emergence of Christian Right Broadcasting Companies
Honorable Mention: Jillian LaBranche (University of Minnesota)		"Macro-Micro Interaction in Knowledge Construction: Structural and Communicative Memory in Rwanda and Sierra Leone.

Theda Skocpol Dissertation Award is given every year to the best doctoral dissertation in the area of comparative-historical sociology.

Shay O'Brien (Princeton University)	Theda Skocpol Dissertation Award	Rahardhika Utama (Northwestern University)
Dallas: Kinship, Mobility, and Inheritance in an Elite Population, 1895-1945.	Co-Winners	Embedded Peasantry and Economic Transformation in the Asian Rubber Belt

Interview With Mathew Brooke

Mathew Brooke, A PhD Student from the Department of Sociology, Harvard University, won the Reinhard Bendix Student Paper Award. The award is given to the best graduate student paper in the subfield of comparative-historical sociology.

What is the topic of your essay and your major research question?

This paper is part of my dissertation research, which is about a special kind of conservative media company that I call Christian Right broadcasting companies. Operating mostly on radio, these companies played a major role in spreading misinformation about the 2020 election. I ask: how exactly do these companies operate as political actors? When, where, and how did they come into being?



What is your contribution to the field?

First, I conceptualize what Christian Right broadcasting companies are. I argue that these companies are distinctive actors within the conservative media landscape, which blends religion with politics and mass communications with face-to-face engagement in the civic and spiritual life of local communities.

Second, by assembling diverse sources of evidence documenting religious radio history, I demonstrate that this distinctive organizational form emerged with grassroots religious activists resisting the American South's democratization in the 1950s and 1960s—a group I call democracy's resisters. Building on and critiquing scholarship on the US right, I demonstrate how white southerners resisting the civil rights revolution made important, distinctive, and lasting contributions to the organizational basis of rightwing power and significantly shaped the conservative media environment of the present-day.

Third, I bring together scholarship on conservative organization-building with the growing literature on subnational democratization in the US context. I develop a theoretical account explaining why and how actors who resist democratization may shape the organizational development of a relatively consolidated democracy. I argue that macro-level regime change from elite to popular rule may incentivize elites seeking to hold onto their power to ally with social movement “outsiders,” producing complex, and counterintuitive, organizational consequences on the political right that have long-term implications for how democracy itself ultimately unfolds.

What does this award mean to you?

I've spent a long time working on this project, feeling isolated at times, so it's given me a great boost of confidence that my contributions resonate with a subfield I admire so much.

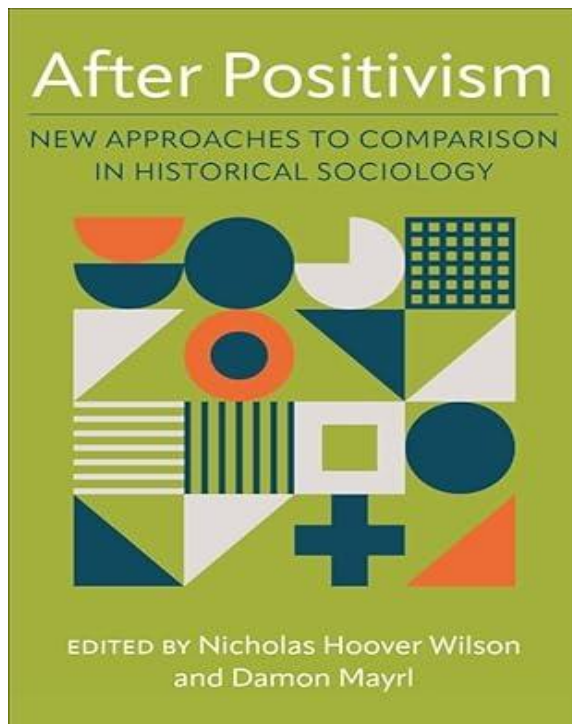
Deadline for 2025 publication award nominations (Best Dissertation, Graduate Student Paper, Article, and Book) is March 15, 2025

The 2025 Ibn Khaldun Distinguished Career Award Nominations due on March 31, 2025

After Positivism: New Approaches to Comparison in Historical Sociology

Nicholas Hoover Wilson and Damon Mayrl (eds)

Columbia University Press, 2024



What does a researcher do if they are convinced that standard comparative methods have serious flaws, yet find themselves using comparison constantly over the course of their work? This is the puzzle that we seek to explore in our recently-released, co-edited volume *After Positivism* (Columbia University Press, 2024).

After Positivism was a labor of love and frustration for us. Frustration, because as graduate students working in historical sociology, we found that the abstract theoretical and epistemological debates taking place around us, and the methodological descriptions used to justify published research, often did not match our messy, difficult, and circuitous experience. But also love, because as we groped for tools to make sense of our experience, we realized we were not alone; instead, we luckily received institutional support to explore our concerns systematically, and then were privileged to gather together a cohort of scholars to think through what comparison practically does in our work.

The fundamental warrant for our project was that the Mill-ian comparison—whose primary purpose is to infer causality and whose heroic assumptions about case-independence, modularity, and law-like generalizations have been savagely criticized for decades—no longer seemed like a viable guide, yet we collectively felt unable to *completely* abandon careful empirical engagement, systematic investigation, and the desire to theorize and generalize beyond our specific cases and settings. In contrast to other efforts to reconstruct, even rescue some version of positivism (it turns out that the very meaning of this term is hotly contested!) by logical deduction from some first principles about the best way to conduct research, we instead put no limits on the resources we would employ.

The chapters in *After Positivism* thus range across critical realism, post-positivism, Marxism, pragmatism, “macro-phenomenology,” and other approaches not easily categorized. Yet, for us, they share three common themes: a turn for explicit prescription of what *should* be done to an exploration of the concrete research process; a recognition that theories and research questions exist only in dialog with larger “communities of inquiry” that animate and invigorate them; and the desire to “deepen” empirical inquiry beneath the surface appearances of events.

Substantively, the volume is split into three parts. The first examines why one can compare even when not seeking to infer causality. Here, Stefan Bargheer historicizes comparison within historical sociology itself, Damon Mayrl emphasizes how comparison potentiate abduction, Xiaohong Xu argues that it helps deconstruct paradigmatic assumptions, and Josh Pacewicz suggests that, even if comparison has a role in explanation, it is most powerful in both historical sociology and ethnography when it is used constructively to articulate the powers of a phenomenon.

The second part of the volume pushes the boundaries of *what* historical sociologists compare. Natalie Aviles, in her contribution, proposes shifting our comparisons from

entities to processes, and specifically the problem-solving sequences that animate much action in social life. Laura Ford, meanwhile, probes the analytic use of narrative analysis, suggesting that it not only reveals lost forms of causation, but that comparing narratives themselves helps give traction on how powerful narratives can be in shaping the course of events. Nicholas Hoover Wilson, finally, draws from the Stanford School of the philosophy of science to argue that corruption, along with many other social phenomena, only behave as though they are subject to law-like regularities because of their position in broader “nomological machines,” which should themselves be the objects of comparison.

The third and final section of the volume explores *how* to compare. George Steinmetz advocates for an approach derived from critical realism, emphasizing how scholarly comparisons at the level of “real” mechanisms can help us reflexively engage with lay-comparisons that only engage with appearances, or the “actual” level of social reality.

Jonah Brundage stresses that historical comparisons must take as a central premise the possibility that forces that apply in one epoch may not in another. Simeon Newman, meanwhile, advocates for a composite of post-positivist methods to overcome the limitations of each, especially when contrasted with Mill-ian comparison. Yang Zhang articulates a sequential, nonlinear, and reflexive mode of comparison, and Rebecca Emigh, Dylan Riley, and Patricia Ahmad offer a “dialectical-comparative method” which frees the analyst, they argue, from seeking strict empirical regularity to pursue empirical moments that yield surprising outcomes in terms of a given theory.

As this overview shows, we make no claim that there is a royal road to perfect comparison; instead, the uses and mechanics of comparison will vary on a case-by-case basis. We hope that by seeking a collective dialog “after positivism,” we can widen the tools available to scholars as they do their work.



Nicholas Hoover Wilson



Damon Mayrl

Reflections: 2024 Comparative Historical Sociology Mini-Conference

**Intersectional Solidarity:
Emerging Comparative
Historical Perspectives**

Comparative Historical
Sociology Mini-Conference
McGill University
August 9, 2024

State Violence and Empire
Luis Rubén González Márquez · Heidi Nicholls
Corey R. Payne

Gender, Reproduction, & State Power
Joss Greene · Khoa Phan Howard · Esther Moraes

Land, Settlement, and Post-coloniality
Lauren Crosser · Ben Kaplow · Lindsey Maurer ·
Rahardhika Utama

Democracy, the State, & Redistribution
Samantha Agarwal · Nabila Islam · Juho
Korhonen

Racial Categories and Racialization
Elizabeth Adefiba · Sharan Kaur Mehta & Sarah
Iverson · Demar Lewis

Solidarity and Labor
Benjamin Abrams · Rishi Awatramani · Youbin
Kang · Bahar Tabakoglu

Plenary: Unsettling Settler Colonialism
Julian Go · James Fenelon · Areej
Sabbagh-Khoury · Yvonne Sherwood

Register for Free: <http://bit.ly/4c7WbBq>
chsmicon2024@gmail.com

The Comparative Historical Sociology Mini-Conference titled “**Intersectional Solidarity: Emerging Comparative Historical Perspective**,” took place on August 9th, 2024 at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. One of the resoundingly affirmative feedback signals we have received from the section membership is the importance of a mini-conference event in which junior and more senior scholars interact, share work, and develop relationships. This year’s event drew together between 70-90 panelists and attendees. To engage with this year’s ASA theme of Intersectional Solidarities, the planning committee centered the theme of the annual mini-conference on emerging comparative historical perspectives on intersectional theory, analysis, and solidarity. The call resonated strongly with scholars, who submitted proposals on a variety of themes, including indigeneity, decolonial politics, (post)coloniality, empire and nation formations, intersectional approaches to race, ethnicity, class, and gender; as well as revisiting modernity.

“Around 70 people took part in the conference,” recalled Samantha Agarwal, one of the 2024 CHS mini-conference organizers, “and we had lively discussions after each panel.” As Veda Yujin Kim, another co-organizer, admitted, “the highlight of the conference was the closing plenary, ‘Unsettling Settler Colonialism,’ which featured a vivid discussion between scholars working on settler colonial and Indigenous-decolonial scholarship. Many in the audience resonated deeply with the plenary, particularly given the Indigenous resistance in Montreal and the intensified settler violence in Palestine.

The 2024 mini-conference organizing committee:

Samantha Agarwal (sagarwal@american.edu),
Rishi Awatramani (rawatra1@jhu.edu),
Berfu Aygenc (berfuaygenc@gmail.com),
Benjamin Kaplow (benjamin.kaplow@yale.edu),
Veda Hyunjin Kim (vhkim@owu.edu)

The final list of panels is available at: <http://chs.asa-comparative-historical.org/2024-asa-mini-conferenc>

New Articles

Amasha, Muhammad. 2023. "[Political Judgment, *Fiqh al-Wāqī*, and the Egyptian *Ulamā*'s Response to the Arab Spring \(2011–2013\)](#)." *Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies* 8(2):49–86

Amasha, Muhammad. 2023. "[The Ideals and Interests in Intellectuals' Political Deliberations: The Arab Spring and the Divergent Paths of Egypt's Shaykh al-Azhar Ahmad al-Tayyib and Grand Mufti Ali Gomaa](#)." *American Journal of Islam and Society* 40(3–4):41–76.

Andreas, Joel, Yao Li & Li, Peiyao. 2024. "[The Staff and Workers Congress under Three Iterations of Chinese Corporatism \(1949–2021\)](#)." *Le Mouvement Social*, No 285, 67–90.

Broadbent, Jeffrey. 2024. "[Power and Theory: Toward a Multidimensional Explanation of the Dynamic Political Field](#)" *Journal of Political Power*, 1–30.

Choi, Carolyn, and Sunmin Kim. 2024. "[Category Traversing: Early Korean Immigrants Eluding the U.S. State](#)." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*: 1–23

Friedman, Brittany; Kirk-Werner, Gabriela; and Fernandes. 2024. "[Reforming the Shadow Carceral State](#)." *Theoretical Criminology* 28(4): 437–458.

Joosse, Paul and Yulin Lu. 2024. "[The Concept that Went Viral: Using Machine Learning to Discover Charisma in the Wild](#)." *The British Journal of Sociology*.

Kim, Sunmin. 2024. "[Blinded by the Facts: Unintended Consequences of Racial Knowledge Production in the Dillingham Commission \(1907–1911\)](#)." *Theory and Society* 53(2): 425–464.

Li, Yao, Cassard, M., Holmes, B., & Wu, H. 2024. "[Variations in media framing of movements in China, France, and the U.S.: An intersectional approach](#)." *The British Journal of Sociology*

Lu, Yulin and Paul Joosse. 2024. "[Collaborative or Independent?: Buddhist Monk's Perceptions of Non-Conflict between Religion and Science](#)." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. 63(3): 617–637.

Luft, Aliza, and Jelena Subotić. 2024. "[Ethics of Archives: Improving Historical Social Science through the Consideration of Research on Violence](#)." *Social Science History*, November, 1–25.

Meghji, Ali. 2024. "[Peace Is Dangerous](#)": Toward a *Du Boisian Theory of Colonial Post-Fascism*. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*.

Meghji, Ali. 2024. '[Du Boisian Sociology after Du Bois: Frazier, St Clair Drake, and the Global and Comparative Study of Race and Empire](#)'. *Sociological Forum*

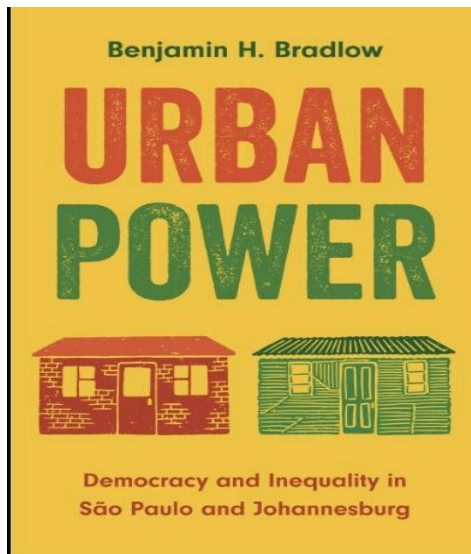
Moss, Dana M. and Clare Bath. 2024. "[Civic Opportunities and Democratic Practices in Yemen and Libya After the Arab Spring](#)." *Qualitative Sociology* 47(2): 187–220.

Noor, Salih. 2024. "[Late Colonialism and Postcolonial Development in Africa: A Comparative-Historical Analysis of Former Italian Africa](#)." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 0(0)

Book chapters

Li, Yao. 2024. "Environmental Movements". In Christine Overdevest (Ed.), *Elgar Encyclopedia of Environmental Sociology*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

New Books

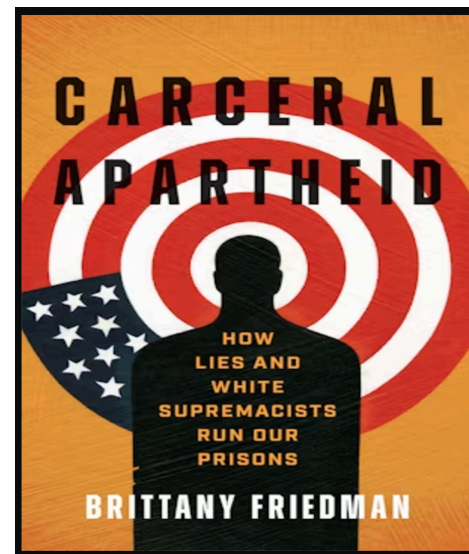


Urban Power: Democracy and Inequality in São Paulo and Johannesburg.

Benjamin H. Bradlow.

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2024.

Both cities came out of periods of authoritarian rule with similarly high inequalities and similar policy priorities to lower them. And yet São Paulo has been far more successful than Johannesburg in improving access to basic urban goods. Bradlow examines the relationships between local government bureaucracies and urban social movements that have shaped these outcomes. Drawing on sixteen months of fieldwork in both cities, including interviews with informants from government agencies, political leadership, social movements, private developers, bus companies, and water and sanitation companies, Bradlow details the political and professional conflicts between and within movements, governments, private corporations, and political parties. He proposes a bold theoretical approach for a new global urban sociology that focuses on variations in the coordination of local governing power, arguing that the concepts of “embeddedness” and “cohesion” explain processes of change that bridge external social mobilization and the internal coordinating capacity of local government to implement policy changes.



Carceral Apartheid: How Lies and White Supremacists Run Our Prisons.

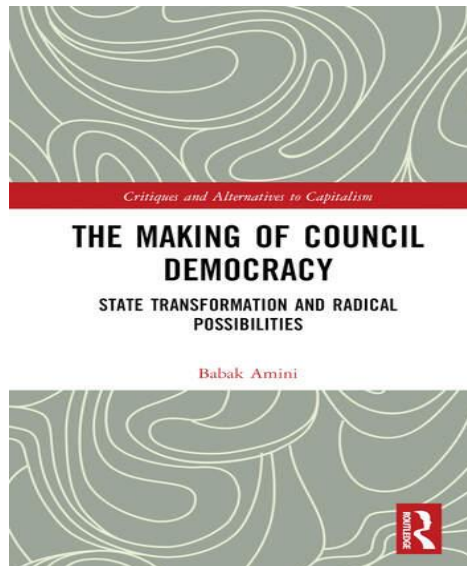
Brittany Friedman.

Chapel Hill, NCI: The University of North Carolina Press, 2025.

It is impossible to deny the impact of lies and white supremacy on the institutional conditions in US prisons. There is a particular power dynamic of racist intent in the prison system that culminates in what Brittany Friedman terms carceral apartheid. Prisons are a microcosm of how carceral apartheid operates as a larger governing strategy to decimate political targets and foster deceit, disinformation, and division in society. Among many shocking discoveries, Friedman shows that, beginning in the 1950s, California prison officials declared war on imprisoned Black people and sought to identify Black militants as a key problem, creating a strategy for the management, segregation, and elimination of these individuals from the prison population that continues into the present day.

Carceral Apartheid delves into how the California Department of Corrections deployed various official, clandestine, and at times extralegal control techniques—including officer alliances with imprisoned white supremacists—to suppress Black political

movements, revealing the broader themes of deception, empire, corruption, and white supremacy in American mass incarceration. Drawing from original interviews with founders of Black political movements such as the Black Guerilla Family, white supremacists, and a swath of little-known archival data, Friedman uncovers how the US domestic war against imprisoned Black people models and perpetuates genocide, imprisonment, and torture abroad.



The Making of Council Democracy: State Transformation and Radical Possibilities

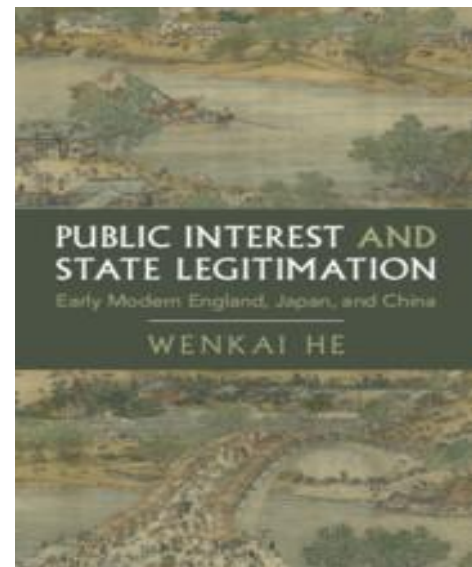
Babak Amini

London-New York: Routledge 2025

This book employs a comparative-historical methodology to examine the emergence of a particular form of radical labor movement in Germany and Italy, and its absence in France and Britain, in the immediate aftermath of the First World War.

“Council democracy” is a particular form of democratic socialism that strives towards democratic self-governance on the basis of active, free, and associated individuals working cooperatively within a federated council system. Both in political practice and in social theory, “council democracy” has resurfaced periodically in the past, most notably in the interwar period, in the “long 1960s,” and since the turn of the 21st century. This book offers a novel theoretical and methodological approach to the study of

“council democracy.” It focuses on the processes that led to the emergence of two of the foundational and most radical instances of “council democratic” movements in Germany during the German Revolution (1918-1919) and in Italy during the biennio rosso (1919-1920). With all their diversities, ambiguities, and shortcomings, these movements, in varying degrees, sought democratic alternatives to autocratic relations, from local to state levels, and to economic relations, from workplace to national levels. The book shows how the processes through which state-led war mobilization transformed the contours of class struggle laid the ground for the emergence of “council democratic” movements with specific characteristics in Germany and Italy and not in the United Kingdom and France.



Public Interest and State Legitimation: Early Modern England, Japan, and China

Wenkai He

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2023.

This book examines state formation not as a consequence of fighting foreign wars, as often understood in conventional scholarship, but rather from the provision of public goods vital to domestic governance. Drawing on specialist historical studies and original archival research for these three cases, it brings the normative issue of state

legitimation into the empirical study of famine relief, infrastructure financing, and state reactions to popular petitioning. Through comparative historical analysis of England (1533–1640), Japan (1640–1858), and China (1684–1840), it highlights how the concept of “public interest” underpinned state legitimation in these early modern states.

The second part examines England (1640–1780), Japan (1858–1895), and China (1860–1911), showing that public interest-based legitimation persisted even as states enhanced fiscal capacity through reforms. Beyond mater-

ial welfare, public goods included intangible dimensions, such as “true Christianity” in England and “national honor” in Meiji Japan. Tensions between domestic welfare and international objectives, such as foreign wars, spurred mass petitions demanding not just redress but fundamental political reforms, including parliamentary representation. Qing China, as a negative case, illustrates the resilience of an early modern state justified by safeguarding of domestic welfare in the new socio-economic circumstances of the late nineteenth century.

PhD on the Job Market

Luis Rubén González Márquez

PhD Candidate. University of California, Merced

Dissertation Title: *A Clean Source for a Sustainable Future? Internal and External Outcomes of Contention Campaigns Against Renewable Energy Extraction in Central America*

Abstract: My dissertation examines the consequences of contentious campaigns against extractive renewable energy projects in the Global South. Using a comparative-historical design, the study focuses on conflicts over large-scale hydroelectric dam projects in three Central American countries (Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala) from the 1970s to the 2010s. Drawing on multi-site research, including fieldwork, interviews, and archival materials, the dissertation historically reconstructs and systematically compares the conditions and processes that led to diverse internal and external outcomes in six cases of anti-dam resistance and protest. By shedding light on the critical mechanisms driving recent trends toward collective violence, the study contributes to a broader understanding of the socio-political implications of extractive renewable energy production in developing nations.

Call for Papers for CHS Mini-Conference 2025

Third Wave Fourth Wave Critical Turn?

NEW DIRECTIONS IN COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

**CHS SECTION
MINI-CONFERENCE 2025**

**AUGUST 7
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS,
CHICAGO**

On the 20th anniversary of Adams, Clemens and Orloff's *Remaking Modernity*, we take stock of where we are and where we are going as an intellectual community. Comparative historical sociologists are engaging substantive questions of intersectionality, settler colonialism, racial capitalism, and empire, while metatheoretically, we are debating the merits of pragmatism, realism, and post-positivism in general.

If we are all descendants of what Adams, Clemens, and Orloff call the "Third Wave," then are we part of the third wave, a fourth wave, or a critical turn away from our forebears? Alternatively, are we old wine in new bottles?



ABSTRACTS (FOR PAPERS OR PANELS) DUE MARCH 5, 2025
www.Tinyurl.com/CHSwaves25

Graphic: Vecteezy.com

Designed by the Mini-Conference Promotion Team: Luis Flores (Harvard University) and Karolina Koziura (European University Institute)

Call for Contributions

Trajectories needs your contributions! If you have ideas for a short essay, dialogue, or other feature, contact the editors at trajectories01 [at] gmail [dot] com. We are particularly interested in submissions considering *Mapping the Rise of the Global Right Through Space and Time*.

Please email the editors to share your ideas and/or indicate your intention to contribute.

CHS Feature Articles

Trajectories invite article submissions on the broad subject of the *Mapping the Rise of the Global Right Through Space and Time*. Questions on this topic that we think may initiate a fruitful debate among section members include (but are not limited to):

- Pressing formative stories or negative cases across the globe?
- Transnational continuities and discontinuities in evolving right wing politics.
- The role of hybridization of ideology in maintaining the present system.
- Evolution of empires and the accommodation of the right.
- Politics of the right a precondition for revolution?
- Resistance and Agency
- Significance of Post-Secularism and the State

Deadline: March 1st, 2025

Word count maximum: 1500 - 2000 words

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If you would like your publications and/or forthcoming research included in the newsletter, please send the following information to the editors:

- Name, current affiliation and title.
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- An abstract of publication/current research (no more than 500 words).
- For books, please include a picture of the book cover.
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Deadline: March 1st, 2025

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Trajectories invites recent PhDs and PhD Candidates on the job market to share a brief academic profile to help them gain visibility. If you would like your profile to be included in the next issue of the Trajectories, please send the following information to the editors:

- Name and current affiliation
- An abstract of dissertation (no more than 300 words)
- Fields of study
- Names of committee members

Deadline: March 1st, 2025