



TRAJECTORIES

Newsletter of the ASA Comparative and Historical Sociology Section
Volume 34 No. 1 | Fall 2023

Message from the Chair

Jonathan Wyrzten, Yale University

Historical Sociology and the 2023 War in Palestine-Israel

I want to first express what an honor and privilege it is to serve as chair of this section, which I've long considered my intellectual home and which has been a community that has had a huge impact on the sociological questions I work on and how I work on them. I also want to thank past chair Sarah Quinn, the rest of the council, and especially the newsletter editors (Berfu Aygenç, Peter Ore, and Bahar Tabakoglu) for all of the work you contributed to the section.

In late September, the *Trajectories* editorial team asked me to prepare a chair's letter, per tradition, to include in the fall newsletter, and I began to consider what I wanted to say to this community.

In this issue:

[Message from the Chair](#)

[Section Leadership](#)

[Reflections from the CHS Mini Conference Organizers, Philadelphia 2023](#)

[2023 ASA Comparative - Historical Sociology Section Award Winners](#)

[Interview with the Awardees](#)

[New Publications](#)

[Democracy and Capitalism in Turkey: The State, Power, and Big Business](#)

[Citizenship: The Third Revolution](#)

[Call for Contributions](#)

[CHS Feature Articles](#)

[New Research](#)

[PhDs on the Job Market](#)

CHAIR

Jonathan Wyrzten, Yale University

CHAIR-ELECT

Cedric de Leon, University of Massachusetts Amherst

PAST CHAIR

Sarah Quinn, University of Washington

SECRETARY-TREASURER

Jonah Stuart Brundage, University of Michigan

COUNCIL

Maryam Alemzadeh, University of Oxford
Robert Braun, UC Berkeley
Jordanna Matlon, American University
Marisela Martinez-Cola, Morehouse College
A.K.M. Skarpelis, Queens College – CUNY
Alexandre White, Johns Hopkins University

STUDENT REPRESENTATIVES

Kristina Lee, Northwestern University
Vasfiye Betül Toprak, University of Virginia

WEB EDITORS

Tyler Smith, University of Washington
Francisca Gomez Baeza, University of Washington

NEWSLETTER EDITORS

trajectories01 [at] gmail [dot] com

Berfu Aygenç, New York University
Peter Ore, Queens College – CUNY
Bahar Tabakoglu, New York University

CRITICAL HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY BLOG EDITORS

chsblog1 [at] gmail [dot] com

Simcon Newman, University of Michigan Ann Arbor

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.

A couple of weeks later, I woke up on the Saturday morning of the Columbus/Indigenous Peoples' Day weekend to read the first headlines about a Hamas-led surprise attack that broke through the extensive security cordon sealing off what is called the "world's largest open air prison." The attack targeted Israeli towns and settlements ringing the Gaza Strip, brutally killing some 1,200 Israeli civilians and military personnel and taking over 200 hostage (these numbers also include dozens of Thai, Filipino, Nepalese, and Cambodian guest workers).

Over the past six weeks, the Israeli Defense Forces have been carrying out their reprisal on Hamas, brutally dropping 6000 bombs during the first week on an area the size of Manhattan/Bronx/Queens. With Gaza having one of the highest population densities in the world, Israel's retaliatory war is inevitably an exercise of collective punishment on the Palestinian civilian population of the territory (and Israeli state officials including the [Prime Minister](#), [President](#), [Heritage Minister](#), and [Agricultural Minister](#) have referenced ethnic cleansing and genocidal elimination). As of this writing, the best counts report over 15,500 Palestinians have been killed in Gaza (6,000 children) and over 260 (63 children) in the West Bank, while the IDF reports 75 soldiers have been reported killed so far in the campaign. Thousands of Palestinians have been injured, 1.5 million have been displaced within the war zone in Gaza, and the entire population of over 2 million have been repeatedly cut off from the supply of water, power, food, and medicine. Hundreds of thousands of Israelis from near Gaza and from the northern border zone abutting Lebanon, where Israel and Hezbollah have been skirmishing, have also moved temporarily to other parts of the country.

The past month and a half have also seen an intense competitive mobilization of pro-Palestinian and pro-Zionist solidarity around the world and a striking uptick in antisemitism and anti-Palestinianism.



Overlay of Gaza Strip boundaries over NYC
(<https://www.newsweek.com/gaza-strip-size-us-cities-maps-1833863>)

As many of us have experienced on our campuses, there has been an unprecedented hardening of discourses on Israel-Palestine and orchestrated and well-funded attempts to shut down any free discussion about the issue, particularly by conflating any form of anti-Zionist criticism with antisemitism.

As a historical sociologist, the questions I've worked on since starting my PhD program twenty years ago focus on empire and colonialism, state formation and non-state forms of political organization, ethnicity and nationalism, and religion and socio-political action in the Middle East and North Africa. As chair of the section for 2023-24, I decided to grab this "third rail" and use the space of this letter to relate how I have personally been struggling to process the unfolding war in Palestine-Israel. I do not pretend to have many answers or solutions, and others know much more than I do. But, the following briefly sketches out a few of the questions and thoughts running through my head, and my heart, as I try — *historically* and *comparatively* — to work through what is happening.

Temporalities: Events, Junctures, Structures, and Imaginable Futures

One of the directions the present phase of this conflict has made me reflect on are the evolving temporalities and the more general patterns of events, junctures, structural persistence, and thinkable and unthinkable futures relating to Israel-Palestine that I've experienced over the past three decades. Though my first book focused on colonial intervention in North Africa, my initial involvement in the region before turning to Morocco was in Israel-Palestine. As a junior undergrad at the University of Texas-Austin, I took my first class on the Middle East ("The Arab-Israeli Conflict") in the fall of 1994. The year before, Rabin and Arafat had signed the 1993 Oslo Accords, and during our class, in October 1994, Israel and Jordan normalized relations. Events including the four years of the Intifadah (1987-1991), the end of the Cold War, and the US invasion of Iraq in 1991, had shifted, for both Israel and the PLO, the temporality and opportunity context of their relationship. In January 1995, I left for a semester study abroad exchange program at Haifa University during what perhaps was the apogee of the peace process era (case in point: my group project for an ecology class was to write up a paper on the environmental policy points related to Israel ceding territory in the Golan to Syria in an expected impending peace agreement).

The next year, though, Rabin was assassinated, then Shimon Peres was defeated by Benjamin Netanyahu, bringing the rightwing Likud party back to power. In 1996-1997, I returned to Israel-Palestine on a fellowship to participate in a year-long interreligious leadership program at Hebrew University, taking grad classes and continuing to learn Arabic and Hebrew; meeting with Israeli and Palestinian politicians and NGO leaders; taking trips in Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank; and organizing an initiative in the mixed Arab-Jewish city of Ramle to build a "Peace Park Playground" — trying to make "land" a symbol of shared ownership and joy.

In the late 1990s, I continued studying the Palestine-Israel conflict in the context of its seemingly still imminent resolution. In May 1999, Ehud Barak defeated Netanyahu and moved aggressively to push for a permanent agreement. In the summer of 1999, for my master's thesis, I conducted two months of field work and interviews with Religious Zionist settlers, including many leaders, up and down the West Bank from near Nablus to East Jerusalem to the center of Hebron. The question I asked Israeli settlers was: what are you going to do *when* a final status agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority is reached and the IDF comes to physically remove you from your home? The next summer, in 2000, in the waning months of the Clinton administration, the Camp David II negotiations pushed very close to a settlement but ultimately broke down.

That fall, following a visit to the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif by the right-wing Likud leader, Ariel Sharon, the Second Intifadah began and the peace process hit a dead end that has lasted more than two decades. In the 2000s, the 1990s peace process temporality transformed into a new normal. Israel unilaterally withdrew from Gaza in 2005, handing it over to Hamas, then sealed it and the West Bank off, building a 440 mile, 30 foot high, concrete separation barrier around the latter, The "architecture of the occupation" (Weizmann 2007) seemed to contain the "Palestinian Question" in an indefinite structural limbo of military occupation, creeping settlement expansion and dispossession (there are now 750,000 Israeli settlers living on the other side of the Green Line in the occupied West Bank), and spatial segregation, while the rest of Israel went on a two decade path of spectacular economic growth, development, and the normalization of relations with key regional power centers, including the Gulf countries, Morocco, and what seemed an imminent deal with Saudi Arabia.

October 7, 2023 is an event that ruptured that 21st century status quo, and, even in this present dark moment, this war is forcing all parties to rethink and

reimagine the future. The role of war in unmaking political orders and opening up the context for new state formation, identity formation, and boundary formation processes to emerge is something I thought through extensively in my second book on how the First World War reshaped the greater Middle East. The Great War unmade the prior Ottoman order and shaped the mandate system in which rival Zionist and Palestinian nation-state projects developed. Subsequent wars and conflicts — the 1948 Nakba/War of Independence, 1956 Suez War, 1967 Six-Day War, 1973 October/Yom-Kippur War, 1983 Lebanon invasion, 1987-91 Intifada — have continued to shape what was thinkable and unthinkable for both Israelis and Palestinians.

While Israel has repeatedly expanded territorially, it has also in three instances contracted. The first October War in 1973, a surprise attack across the Sinai and the Golan Heights by Egypt and Syria (clearly and intentionally symbolically evoked by Hamas this fall), shifted Israel's calculus and led to the Camp David peace accords between Egypt and Israel in which Israel gave back the Sinai. In 2000, the attrition of a decade of conflict with Hezbollah led to Ehud Barak's decision to withdraw from southern Lebanon. And in 2005, Ariel Sharon withdrew the IDF and the 9000 Israelis living in 21 settlements from the Gaza Strip. At the same time, from 1967 forward, vanguard Religious Zionist activists — with lesser and greater explicit support from the state of Israel — have strategically moved all over the West Bank to establish "facts on the ground," creating and expanding settlements to harden a demographic and spatial reality that permanently forecloses the possibility of a Palestinian state future with any viable territorial contiguity.

Looking back at these longer time frames, from years, to decades, to the past century, the work of a historical sociologist is to carefully historicize these sequences and processes, parsing the contingencies and pathways that open and close, and to address the

institutional and other structures that emerge and persist. Resisting presentism, this view situates the past six weeks in a broader, deeper, and longer context that also resists simplistic labeling and typologizing. This view also makes one think forward on time scales including decades or a century: what does this situation look like in a year, five years, a decade, or fifty years? What is sustainable? What futures can be thinkable? How do seemingly urgent tactical considerations relate to deeper long-term strategic political questions?

Comparative Sociology of Empire, (Settler) Colonialism, Indigeneity, Nationalism, State Formation, and Decolonization in Israel-Palestine

Another direction my thoughts have turned this fall is towards the importance of careful comparative analysis in thinking about the past, present, and future of the Israel-Palestine conflict. As a subfield, historical sociology has had a long substantive focus on questions related to state formation, to revolutions, to nationalism and other notions of collective political identity, and in the past two decades we have seen a resurgence of attention to the study of empire and of colonialism (and a new generation of scholars is developing our study of indigeneity and decolonization).

How do we think of Palestine-Israel as a case? How does it fit or not in broader theories and arguments? In what ways is it exceptional or similar to other cases? The position of Palestine within the Ottoman Empire, its transition to British Mandate rule, and the emergence of the state of Israel/and trajectory of Palestinian refugees and territories governed by Jordan and Egypt in the 1940s can be compared to neighboring cases in the region (Jordan, Syria, Kurdistan) or elsewhere (India/Pakistan). How have nationalisms developed (ethnic, religious, anticolonial, liberal, diasporic)? How does victimhood work in both of these nationalisms? How did state formation play

out, often in the form of para-state movements that evolved in their state-like institutional functions? How should we periodize different stages in these processes? What are the important relational dynamics within the conflict (the dialectical entwinement of Zionism/Palestinian nationalism, the dynamics among Hamas, the PLO, and the state of Israel) and that densely connect it transnationally (the pan-Islamic and pan-Arab resonance of the Palestinian cause, the dense connections between the state of Israel and Jews globally, the position of Israel within the U.S. imperial strategic architecture in the Middle East, or the role of the conflict in Middle East regional international relations)?

And to get into more contentious territory: how does Zionism as a resettlement movement and economic and political project in the late 19th/mid 20th century — seeking and finding a Great Power backer — fit into the universe of other cases in that world of empire and colonialism? How does the post-independence trajectory of Israel compare? How is it similar and unique among other cases? How is it like other settlement cases of colonialism and different? How does indigeneity work in this case with respect to the legitimization of Zionism and about justice for Palestinians? Is Israel-Palestine like Algeria, the United States, Ireland, South Africa, or how is it different? What would decolonization look like? How does Israel's late 20th century/early 21st century native policy, occupation policy, segregationist policies, and other dimensions compare to other examples? This barrage of questions is important, I think, in grounding what seems an exceptional, *sui generis*, conflict — that thereby seems intractable — in a comparative world of cases that historically have developed in different ways.

Ethics and Public Historical Sociology

Finally, the past weeks have made me think and wrestle with what my role is as a scholar, as a citizen of the United States (a country that has given Israel an

estimated total of [\\$260 billion since 1946](#)), and as a human. Given my North Africa focus, I think immediately of Frantz Fanon starting his position in the Bilda-Joinville psychiatric hospital in 1953 then eventually joining the FLN in the Algerian War, of Jacques Berque in Morocco, and of Pierre Bourdieu being drafted and deployed to fight in the Algerian war, of Abdelmalek Sayed collaborating with Bourdieu through the Algerian War, and of how these scholars navigated their fraught times and sociological objects of analysis.

At this moment, I firmly believe we need more historical and comparative sociology of Palestine-Israel, more research, more teaching, more discussion, and more active solidarity with Palestinian and Israeli scholars who are trying to produce knowledge in the face of intense attempts to silence them, active solidarity with graduate students and junior scholars who are working on these difficult questions, and clear and solid support for a free and open space in the academy in which to discuss and debate and communicate.

I want to recognize the important work that many members of our section have already done and are doing in terms of carrying out a rigorous comparative-historical sociology of Israel-Palestine, which include Areej Sabbagh-Khoury's *Colonizing Palestine: The Zionist Left and the Making of the Palestinian Nakba* (2023), Anaheed Al-Hardan's *Palestinians in Syria: Nakba Memories of Shattered Communities* (2018), Andy Clarno's *Neoliberal Apartheid: Palestine/Israel and South Africa after 1994* (2017), Yael Berda's *Living Emergency: Israel's Permit Regime in the Occupied West Bank* (2017) and *Colonial Bureaucracy and Contemporary Citizenship: Legacies of Race and Emergency in the Former British Empire* (2022), Gershon Shafir's *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenships* (2002), and Omri Tubi's dissertation, "We Shall Centralize or We Shall Die: Building Health Institutions in Palestine and Israel" (with apologies to those I did not include).

Before the end of the fall semester, I will be helping to organize a panel session open to all of the section membership, in partnership with CHAT, that brings together historical sociologists who work on Palestine-Israel to share their perspectives on the current conflict.

And thinking further down the line, I want to make sure that all of you know that at next summer's ASA we will have four [CHS panels and a session of roundtables](#), which provide multiple opportunities to present work along these lines as well as the broader theoretical and substantive interests expressed across the section.

These include three open panels for which I encourage you to submit papers:

- **Colonial Legacies and Contemporary Politics** (organized Yael Berda)
- **Comparative and/or Historical Sociology: Open Session** (organized by Vasfiye Betul Toprak and Simeon Newman)
- **Field Theory, History, and Sociological Analysis: New Directions** (organized by Sourabh Singh)

And, we have one pre-organized panel:

- **Towards an Intersectional Comparative-Historical Sociology** (organized by Jordanna Matlon)

We also are beginning planning towards the 2024 **mini-conference in Montreal**, and I vigorously thank all of those who planned the fantastic mini-conference program last August. Please read about that in the piece by Kristina Lee and Heidi Nicholls in this issue and contact me if you are interested in being involved on the planning committee. This event and the rest of our ASA times together are vital spaces in which we

continue to expand the inclusiveness and diversity of our membership and topics of interest for the next generation of comparative historical sociologists. I look forward to coming together, in these challenging times, as a community of scholars over the coming year in these multiple venues.

References:

- Al-Hardan, Anaheed. *Palestinians in Syria: Nakba Memories of Shattered Communities*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.
- Berda, Yael. *Living Emergency: Israel's Permit Regime in the Occupied West Bank*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017.
- Berda, Yael. *Colonial Bureaucracy and Contemporary Citizenship: Legacies of Race and Emergency in the Former British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.
- Clarno, Andy. *Neoliberal Apartheid: Palestine/Israel and South Africa after 1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.
- Sabbagh-Khoury, Areej. *Colonizing Palestine: The Zionist Left and the Making of the Palestinian Nakba*. Stanford Studies in Middle Eastern and Islamic Societies and Cultures. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2023.
- Shafir, Gershon, and Yoav Peled. *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*. Cambridge Middle East Studies 16. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Weizman, Eyal. *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. London; New York: Verso, 2007.

Section Leadership

**Jordanna Matlon, Associate Professor
American University**



Research Interests

I enjoy teaching theoretically-oriented courses. My courses primarily examine global structural inequalities and their (post)colonial contexts along two overlapping strands: race and racism, and urbanism. My teaching portfolio speaks to my research interests in postcolonial urbanism and racial capitalism. In both my teaching and research I have a particular focus on Africa and African diaspora populations.

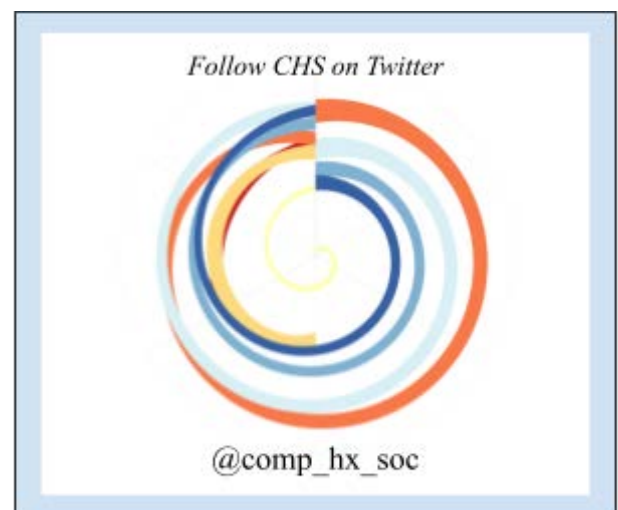
Current Project

I am working on a new book project, *Blackness as Being: Black Survival in the Age of Climate Catastrophe* (under contract, Polity Press). This project bridges literatures on surplus populations,

racial capitalism, and climate change to theorize human futures refracted through the lens of Blackness, in which the possibilities and precariousness of species-survival derive inspiration from histories and present-day realities of Black place-making and alternative livelihood philosophies.

Thoughts on the Section

I am excited to join the Comparative-Historical Sociology Council, and look forward to helping set the subfield's intellectual agenda through the work we do in the Section. I am particularly interested in serving on award committees, supporting mentorship efforts, and helping to organize sessions at the American Sociological Association annual meetings and our pre-conference.



**Marisela Martinez-Cola, Assistant Professor,
Morehouse College**



Research Interests

My teaching and research interests are in comparative historical critical race studies. Every year I teach intro, criminology, social inequality, and contemporary social theory. My theory course is called Du Boisian Deniers, Disciples, and Developers. My social inequality course is called Social Inequality with Nina Simone where I teach about the inequality in her songs.

Current and Future Projects

Right now, I am working on creating an interactive website based on the cases I identified in my book, *The Bricks before Brown*. Users will be able to click on a case and access photographs, digital archival material, videos, and articles about the case. I designed it for K-12 Social Studies teachers.

I am also working on learning more about Alice Piper, one of the plaintiffs I write about in my book. That project is called Finding Alice Piper. I am also working on an article called, "From and HWI to an HBCU: From Performativity to Peace."

I am interested in Race and Comedy in the United States focusing specifically on Black, Indigenous, Asian American, and Latiné comedians.

Thoughts on the Section

My vision for the section is to increase its diversity by creating a place where scholars can "find their people." As a graduate student I felt like no one understood my scholarship and it wasn't until I joined SSHA and the CHS section that I found my place in the profession.



Check out the [ASA website](#) for more details on the 2024 Annual Meeting!

Reflections from the CHS Mini Conference Organizers, Philadelphia 2023

Kristine E. Lee and Heidi C. Nicholls

On the first official day of the 2023 ASA annual meeting in Philadelphia, comparative and historical sociologists gathered for a mini conference composed of sessions intended to push the subdiscipline forward. Titled Making Space: Thinking Against the Grain in Historical Sociology, the mini conference invited scholars to Drexel University to showcase research that seeks to move the discipline analytically and methodologically towards questions of power and connection. The mini conference's theme built on the growing momentum in the section to address issues of colonialism, racial capitalism, and critical archival methods. In meetings throughout the spring and summer, the ad hoc organizing committee (Nitsan Chorev, Ricarda Hammer, Kristina Lee, Nada Matta, and Heidi Nicholls) agreed to position the mini conference as an opportunity to highlight research and researchers that are less commonly associated with the section.

The conference was organized into five different sessions and a plenary, drawing together more than seventy-five researchers from universities throughout and beyond the United States. Session topics were organized around scholarship denied, critical approaches to the archive, colonial and relational approaches, continuities, ruptures, and racial capitalism and resistance. Scholars at all levels from doctoral students to lecturers and tenured professors spent the day building connections and discussing where the field might go next. For junior scholars, the conference provided an opportunity to present their work and become acquainted with their more advanced counterparts, while more advanced scholars enjoyed the chance to reconnect with colleagues ahead of ASA.



The conference's opening session on Scholarship Denied drew attention to overlooked sociological contributions of Ida B. Wells, Du Bois' critical conception of race, and the lessons we might learn from the emergence of a Caribbean social science. To understand how comparative and historical sociology might move forward, these scholars argued for the benefit of not just expanding the sociological canon but approaching sociology from a different origin point altogether. Locating that origin within global or Black feminist frameworks, they suggested, is essential for arriving at new directions within the discipline.

Throughout the day, researchers presented work and engaged in discussion around what it looks like for comparative and historical sociologists to unsettle the primacy of comparativism, to directly address the historical precedence of systems of oppression, and, among other things, to expand what we understand as The Archive. During a session on relational and transnational analyses of colonialism, for instance, one participant queried whether relational and comparative frameworks can actually be extracted from one another. This prompted presenters to discuss the value of the two approaches within the subdiscipline and the utility of each framing, both independently and in conjunction, for how we understand and explain the past.

During the plenary session, Theresa Rocha Beardall, Michael Murphy, and Vrushali Patil shared their experiences of integrating Indigenous, Black, and decolonial perspectives into the discipline and the ways that comparative and historical sociology has increasing made space for such work, though still has room to improve. Theresa Rocha Beardall, an Assistant Professor at the University of Washington trained in Ethnic Studies and Law, bases her sociological work on the needs and concerns of Indigenous and other racialized communities. Michael Murphy, an Assistant Professor in Occidental College's Black Studies Department, combines sociology, Black, and Indigenous studies to think through the socioecological implications of racialization, colonialism, and slavery in the modern world. Vrushali Patil is the Chair of The Department of Gender, Women's, and Sexuality Studies at the University of Maryland, Baltimore. She has had a transdisciplinary career as a sociologist of gender, sexuality, and empire. She remarked on the growth of interest surrounding colonialism in historical sociology which was deeply understudied earlier in her career but was excited to see recent developments in the subfield. These scholars emphasized the importance of meaningfully and intentionally engaging fields that emerged from struggles against systems of power.

To foster a collaborative conference experience that challenges competitive and hierarchical ways of being, we intentionally structured the plenary using insights from Indigenous Education scholar Eve Tuck's (Unangaŋ) guidance on moderating an academic Q&A. These norms help ensure that academic spaces are more communal and caring towards presenters who share not just their research but themselves with an audience.

The audience was asked to discuss with people around them what had been shared and peer-review their questions. In our case, the audience had time for lively conversations amongst themselves, followed by a wider discussion on transdisciplinary work that honors the histories of critical scholarship. We discussed how sociologists seeking to grow the scope of the discipline have a responsibility to familiarize themselves with the intellectual and political lineages of critical fields as we consider what sociology might contribute. The day ended with a happy hour at a nearby bar where new collaborations, mentorship, and intellectual community found a start. We are grateful to everyone who participated and hope that the connections made that day continue to build a supportive field of comparative-historical sociology.

As preparations for the 2024 ASA annual meeting begin, we highlight the value of participants in supporting and attending the mini conference. The mini conference's less formal nature and occurrence at the start of ASA sets a tone for how section members engage in conversation during and beyond the conference to address tensions and growth points within the subdiscipline. With this in mind, we look forward to passing the torch on to a new ad hoc committee of organizers committed to fostering such a space and continuing the conversation. **To volunteer as part of next year's CHS mini conference organizing committee, contact CHS Section Chair Jonathan Wyrzten (jonathan.wyrzten@yale.edu) and CHS Section Former Chair Sarah Quinn (slquinn@uw.edu).**

2023 ASA Comparative - Historical Sociology Section Award Winners

2023 Ibn Khaldun Distinguished Career Award

Winner: Jack Goldstone

Barrington Moore Book Award

Winner: Anca Parvulescu (Washington University in St. Louis) and Manuela Boatcă (University of Freiburg, Germany) for *Creolizing the Modern: Transylvania across Empires*, Cornell University Press.

Honorable Mention: Phillip A. Hough (Florida Atlantic University) for *At the Margins of the Global Market: Making Commodities, Workers, and Crisis in Rural Colombia*, Cambridge University Press.

Honorable Mention: Jonathan Wyrzten (Yale University) for *Worldmaking in the Long Great War: How Local and Colonial Struggles Shaped the Modern Middle East*, Columbia University Press.

Charles Tilly Article Award

Co-Winner: Regina S. Baker (University of Pennsylvania) for "The Historical Racial Regime and Racial Inequality in Poverty in the American South."

Co-Winner: Robert Braun (University of California-Berkeley) for "Bloodlines: National border crossings and antisemitism in Weimar Germany."

Reinhard Bendix Student Paper Award

Winner: Luis Flores (University of Michigan) for "Zoning as a Labor Market Regulation."

Honorable Mention: Shilin Jia (University of Chicago) and Benjamin Rohr (University of Mannheim) for "Vacancy Chains as Strategy: Inter-Administration Mobility of Political Elites in Reform China."

Theda Skocpol Dissertation Award

Winner: Martin Eiermann for "American Privacy: Diffusion and Institutionalization of an Emerging Political Logic, 1870-1930."

Nominations for the 2024 awards are due on March 15th. For more information, visit the CHS blog at <http://chs.asa-comparative-historical.org/>

Interview with the Awardees

Charles Tilly Article Award Co-Winner: Robert Braun (University of California-Berkeley) for “Bloodlines: National border crossings and antisemitism in Weimar Germany.”



What is your research question and contribution to the field?

This project is part of a larger book project that tries to trace the overtime evolution of popular fears in central Europe in the 19th and early 20th century by tracing bogeymen in children's stories. The idea emerged because of something that happened during my own childhood. Growing up in the Netherlands, a recurring concern for my parents was that I would not make it back in time for dinner or get lost altogether. To make sure I would not stray away too far from home, they would often warn me about the “guy with the bowtie” who lived in one of the nearby mills. If I would pass a certain street or park line, my parents assured me, this gentleman would pick me up and throw me in his well. I was quick to comply, as my parents intended. One should not underestimate the impact this tall tale had on my cognitive development. Every time I pass a person with a bow tie in the halls of an Ivy league campus or on a conference escalator, my most primitive defense mechanisms are activated for a split second. My parents’ narrative strategy may seem

pedagogically irresponsible to a contemporary audience, but it was widespread in North-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th century. The tales frequently featured rather innocent depictions of fantasy figures or animals, but in some villages the bogeymen deployed ethnic stereotypes reflecting a range of imagined enemies that threatened local communities. The best example of this are the stories that featured anti-Semitic bogeys such as the “Forest Jew,” “Blood Jew” or “Wandering Jew,” I became interested in explaining why, when and where different bogeys emerge and what effect it has on local communities. This paper takes a first step in shedding light on this question.

The paper shows that xenophobia of fear for those who are different is shaped by physical space. In particular, it reveals that antisemitism is more prominent in border regions where international influences on social problems are more visible.

What does this award mean to you?

It is a fantastic feeling to receive recognition from scholars whose work I admire.

Reinhard Bendix Student Paper Award: Honorable Mention: Shilin Jia (University of Chicago) and Benjamin Rohr (University of Mannheim) for “Vacancy Chains as Strategy: Inter-Administration Mobility of Political Elites in Reform China.”



What is the major contribution of your research, in your view?

Benjamin: Our main contribution, in my view, is a theoretical one. Most sociologists think about job mobility from the perspective of individuals seeking jobs; they compare jobseekers to understand who succeeds and who fails. We propose a complementary account that views mobility from the perspective of the organization doing the hiring. From this perspective, the goal becomes understanding the organizational strategies that govern hiring and mobility. We demonstrate what such an approach looks like in the case of political mobility within the Chinese party-state. To do so, we draw on the old but beautiful idea of vacancy chains, which I believe we apply in a novel way.

Shilin: Theoretically, I offer internalist explanations of organizations and ideology. Empirically, my major contribution is bridging the world of organizational analysis with the study of the Communist Party. And my research revives the examination of vacancy chains, an analytic construct and organizational perspective, which had gradually become forgotten by sociologists since Harrison White brilliantly invented it in the 1970s.

How did you decide to collaborate?

Benjamin: Shilin and I had the same PhD advisor at the University of Chicago. During the pandemic, our advisor organized weekly “virtual beer” meetings with all of his advisees, where we talked about our work and other topics that interested us. I had been working on a project that aimed to understand the structure of political careers in 18th-century New York State to learn something about the relationship between the formation of the American state and the first American party system. Shilin and I realized that we were interested in very similar theoretical questions, and he invited me to join his project on the structure of political careers in China. I’m glad he did, as this turned into a very productive and fun collaboration.

What does this award mean to you?

Shilin: It means a lot. I’ve spent almost a decade of my life working on this project by collecting and structuring my datasets from scratch. Although I have been fortunate enough to have my colleague, Benjamin Rohr, join my project, I have had moments of doubt, wondering if applying forgotten analyses to a self-collected historical dataset would resonate with

anybody in the broader academic community. I am happy to know that I am not just doing some me-search and people recognize the importance of my work.

Benjamin: The kind of work we do takes a long time. This makes these rare moments of positive feedback

especially important to me. It is great to see that our work is recognized, and receiving the award was extremely encouraging. Thanks to the award, I feel highly motivated to keep working on this project and to continue doing careful historical work.

Theda Skocpol Dissertation Award: Martin Eiermann for “American Privacy: Diffusion and Institutionalization of an Emerging Political Logic, 1870-1930.”



What social problem or question does your research address?

I am interested in the collection of personal data by, and patterns of contact with, governing institutions – a research agenda that motivates work on privacy (the structuring of spatial and informational visibility), surveillance (the institutional exercise of informational power), and system contact (the management of real and perceived risk through the criminal justice system and the child welfare system).

How did you decide to study this problem or question?

I first became interested in the study of privacy around 2015 because sociologists had too little to say about it. The issue of surveillance already received attention, yet privacy scholarship was largely dominated by legal historians or philosophers. When sociologists had written about the topic, they had largely done so by drawing on social psychology: Privacy norms have a distinctly social function because they provide structure to social relations. But that perspective tells us rather little about the link between privacy, institutional power, and technological change. Today, sociological scholarship is much richer, and I've found it quite generative to write into a blossoming area of research.

What is the major contribution of your research, in your view?

Empirically, I show that the privacy architecture of the United States was directly shaped by the reactionary moral panics and progressive reform movements of the late nineteenth century and resulted in a system of governance by exception in the early twentieth century: Privacy was often defined by the types of information (and the populations) that were selectively excluded and made disproportionately legible to the American state. Methodologically, I demonstrate how researchers can combine the qualitative analysis of archival records with the computational analysis of a large corpora of historical text in clearly bounded empirical settings. I see my work as mixed-methods and meso-level sociology.

What does this award mean to you?

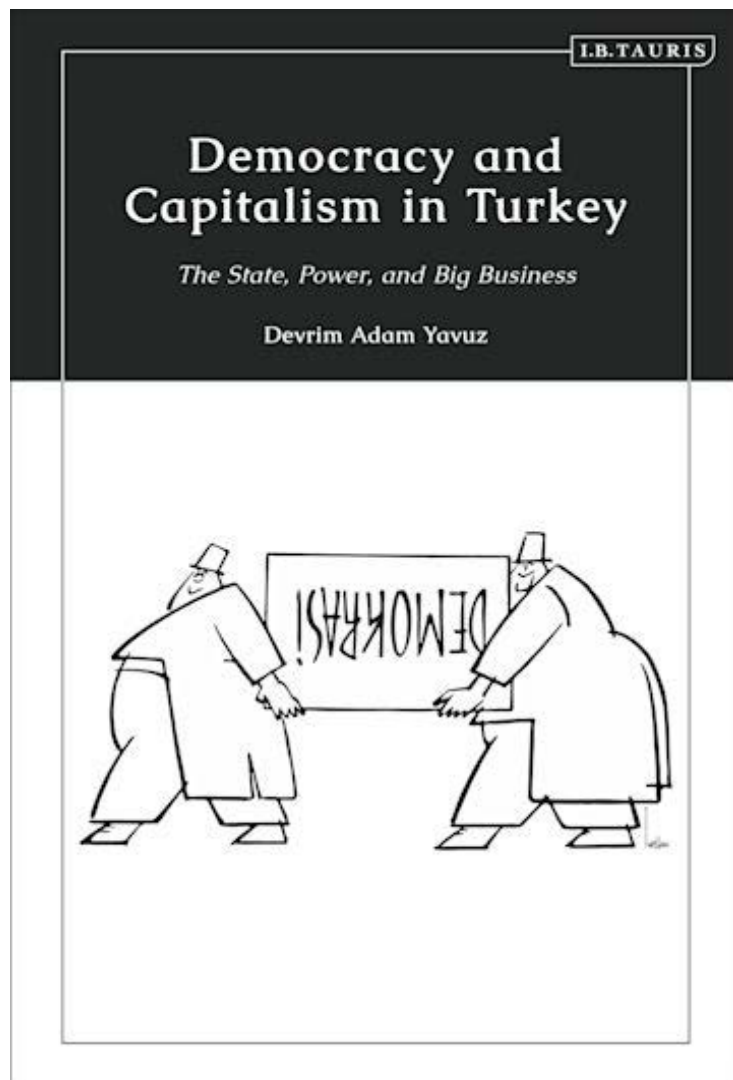
Zachary Levenson once said in a talk (I'm paraphrasing slightly) that a PhD is a long period of "noes" punctuated by an occasional "yes". I

have spent several years on this project, often working in relative solitude, and it is extremely rewarding that my work now resonates with others. Moving into a subfield can also be quite daunting for junior scholars, and I hope that this award can spark conversations and facilitate the journey.

New Publications

Democracy and Capitalism in Turkey: The State, Power, and Big Business

[Devrim Adam Yavuz](#)

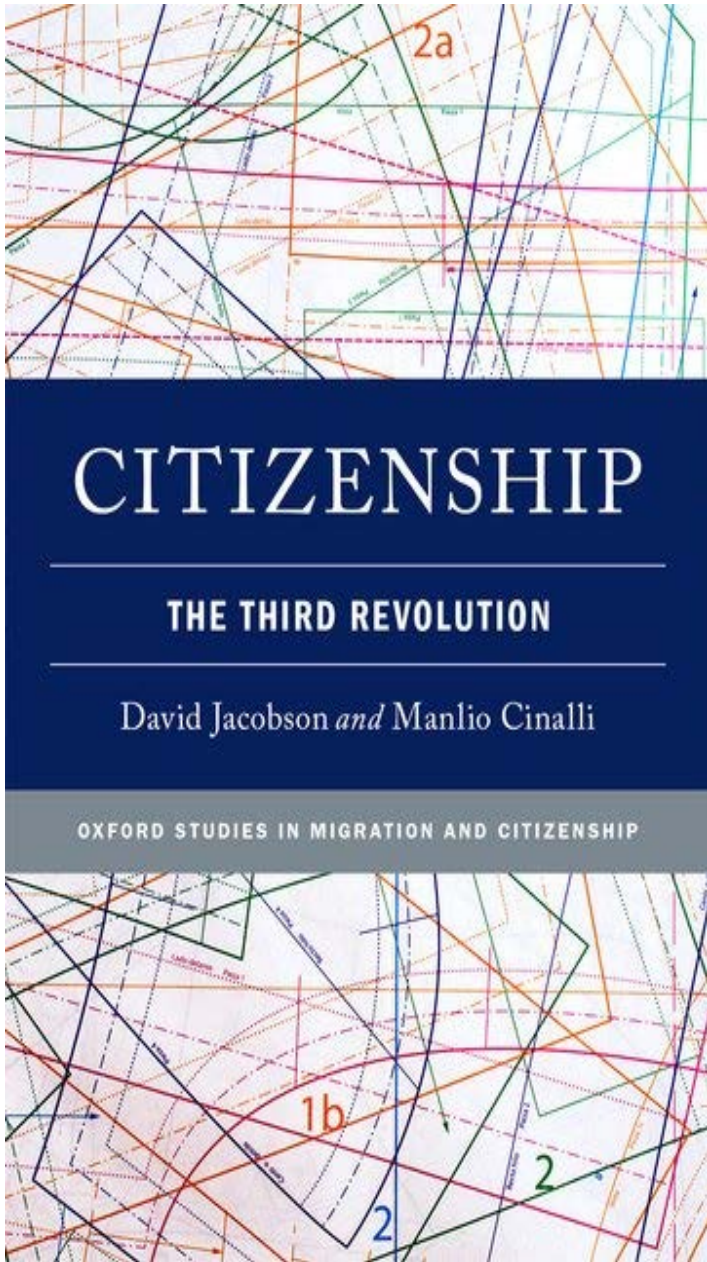


While a positive correlation between capitalism and democracy has existed in Western Europe and North America, the example of late-industrializing nations such as Turkey has demonstrated that the two need not always go hand in hand, and sometimes the interests of business coincide more firmly with anti-democratic forces. This book explores the factors that compelled capitalists in Turkey to adopt a more pro-democratic ideology by examining a leading Turkish business lobby (TÜSIAD) which has been pushing for democratic reform since the 1990s, despite representing some of the largest corporation owners in Turkey and having supported the state's authoritarian tendencies in the past such as the military coup of 1980.

Drawing on roughly 70 interviews with influential members of TÜSIAD and individuals close to them, the book reveals that business leaders were willing to break away from the state due to the conflict between their evolving economic needs and power with a political elite and state that were unwilling to cater to their demands. In so doing, the book provides a rich account of business-state relations in Turkey as well as providing a case study for the wider study of democracy and capitalism in developing nation.

Citizenship: The Third Revolution

[David Jacobson and Manlio Cinalli](#)



The emergence of citizenship, some 4,000 years ago, was a hinge moment in human history. Instead of the reign of blood descent, questions regarding who rules and who belongs were opened up. Yet purportedly primordial categories, such as sex and race, have constrained the emergence of a truly civic polity ever since. Untying this paradox is essential to overcoming the crisis afflicting contemporary democracies. Why does citizenship emerge, historically, and why does it maintain traction, even if in compromised forms? How can citizenship and democracy be revived? Learning from history and building on emerging social and political developments, David Jacobson and Manlio Cinalli provide the foundations for citizenship's third revolution.

Citizenship: The Third Revolution considers three revolutionary periods for citizenship, from the ancient and classical worlds; to the flourishing of guilds and city republics from 1,000 CE; and to the unfinished revolution of human rights from the post-World War II period. Through historical enquiry, this book reveals the underlying principles of citizenship-and its radical promise. Jacobson and Cinalli demonstrate how the effective functioning of citizenship depends on human connections that are relational and non-contractual, not transactional. They illustrate how rights, paradoxically, can undermine as well as reinforce civic society. Looking forward, the book documents the emerging foundations of a "21st century guild" as a basis for repairing our democracies. The outcome of this scholarship is an innovative re-conceptualization of core ideas to engender more authentic civic collectivities

Articles:

Lee, Jack Jin Gary. 2023. "[Racialized Legalities: The Rule of Law, Race, and the Protection of Women in Britain's Crown Colonies 1886-1890.](#)" *Law and Social Inquiry* (First View).

Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "[Does the United States owe Reparations to Somalia?](#)" *Race & Class* 65(1): 61-82.

Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "[Climate change, counter-terrorism and capitalist development in Somalia.](#)" *Review of African Political Economy*. (Online First)

Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "[Subjective destitution, love, and rebellion in pandemic times: Theorizing with *Hot Skull*.](#)" *Human Geography*. (Online First).

Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "[Universality, Black Lives Matter, and the George Floyd Uprising.](#)" *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*. (Online First)

Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "[The Politics of Identity, the Identity of Politics: Thinking with Badiou and Táíwò](#)" *Critical Sociology* 49(6): 1065–1071.

Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "[Despite one of the US military's greatest fiascoes, American troops are still in Somalia fighting an endless war.](#)" *The Conversation*, October 4.

Nichter, Matthew F. 2023. "[From the Ashes of the Old: The Old Left and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1957-1965.](#)" *Critical Historical Studies* 10(1):1-41.

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](mailto:trajectories01@gmail.com). We are particularly interested in submissions considering "CHS past, present, and future," new research, and profiles of students on the job market.

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

More information about contributing to Trajectories on following page

CHS Feature Articles

Trajectories invites article submissions on the broad subject of the “history of comparative-historical sociology (CHS)” We are especially interested in work that considers the implications of this history for the present and future of the subfield. Questions on this topic that we think may initiate a fruitful debate among section members includes (but is not limited to):

- How can we draw the contours of the field of CHS?
- What periodizations and classifications can be made?
- What external and internal currents can be identified as determining factors and catalysts of the history of the field?
- What types of comparisons can we make between the “past” and “present” situation of
- CHS, with regards to its research topics, methodological tools, theoretical debates, empirical questions and geographical foci?
- How can we make a prospective diagnosis about the “future” of the field?

Deadline: April 15, 2024

Word count maximum: 1500 - 2000 words

New Research

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.
- Title of publication/current research.
- An abstract of publication/current research (no more than 500 words).
- For books, please include a picture of the book cover.
- For articles, please include the full citation.

Deadline: April 15, 2024

Word count: 350 - 500 words

PhDs on the Job Market

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: April 15, 2024