

the in aftermath of disasters. Indeed, the idea that law-enforcement officers are also personally affected, especially when the disaster is large in magnitude, is a component that is often overlooked in disaster literature, particularly literature that is critical of law enforcement. While not necessarily excusing their behavior, this book offers some interesting explanations for why maladaptive behaviors might occur. These insights have implications far beyond disaster situations and point to the need for better in-depth cultural sensitivity training, stress management training, and crisis management training. The people who put their lives on the line in these situations, often with grossly inadequate pay, should have proper training, both in college classrooms and in their precincts, that would help them not only to deal with disaster situations, but to deal properly with the people who are affected by disasters.

---

*Western Capitalism in Transition: Global Processes, Local Challenges*, edited by **Alberta Andreotti, David Benassi, and Yuri Kazepov**. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2018. 313 pp. \$120.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781526122391.

ROBERT C. HAUHART  
ZRC SAZU (Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts) and Saint Martin's University  
RHauhart@stmartin.edu

---

*Western Capitalism in Transition: Global Processes, Local Challenges*, edited by Alberta Andreotti, David Benassi, and Yuri Kazepov, is a collection of eighteen essays by twenty-three contributors that was prepared as a tribute to Enzo Mingione "on the occasion of his retirement." As such, it is a testament to the vitality of the intellectual tradition and network that Mingione's work as a teacher, researcher, and colleague inspired. Mingione himself is given the final word in a concluding essay.

Mingione was apparently influenced by Karl Polanyi, the early-twentieth-century Austro-Hungarian economic historian. The essential argument that Mingione responded

to in Polanyi's work was Polanyi's contention that production and distribution were originally organized without profit or gain in mind. In small, primitive societies this made perfect sense: there was only a local market; and since there was little surplus, there was correspondingly little gain or profit to be had by producing something others in the community could likely produce just as well. Moreover, norms of reciprocity were more powerful in such small societies, and there was little opportunity to hoard wealth since most wealth was consumed every day.

However, as we know, this "social basis" for production was overcome by a combination of the changing population demographics of the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in Europe and the emerging forces of (industrial) capitalism. Capitalism has its own dynamics, though, and the editors, following in the footsteps of Polanyi and Mingione, observe that one notable feature is that during periods when purely economic relations predominate, economics tend to disembed from their social foundations. Ultimately, though, such a system is unsustainable. There is, according to this view, a countermovement inspired that tends to reintroduce the social. This "double movement" theory explains, for example, why despite the powerful benefits of capitalism—with its effective means in organizing production—it still produces social forces that ameliorate its purely economic and rationalized basis, as in the case of "welfare capitalism."

The essays in the volume are organized into five sections that are intended to amplify and elaborate on this core understanding as it relates to the nature of the social world, with respect to the forms of urbanism, for example. First, several essays consider the recent transformations of global capitalism, emphasizing its tendency to spiral into global cataclysm and its consequences with respect to social reproduction in an era, like the current one, of the dominance of finance capital. Second, three essays consider welfare capitalism and the effects of the "rights" revolution that it spawned in western European democracies. A third section discusses issues of citizenship and migration within the context of

this dynamic double movement of capitalist systems as the European countries struggle with dilemmas of unemployment, unskilled workers, nativist ideology, and the sustainability of multi-cultural inclusiveness in the context of, as some foresee, and fear, overburdened welfare states in the twenty-first century.

A fourth section addresses the crucial environment in which most of humanity in Europe now lives—cities—and the transformation that urban spaces are undergoing in the course of confronting global capitalism, global migration, and the disruptions that both entail. A final section includes essays that address the physical and social segregation that have been the consequences of economic stratification and migration, and the poverty that typically accompanies each. Since it is not possible to thoughtfully consider each essay in the volume in the space provided, I will only sample some for summary review.

Norman Fainstein and Susan S. Fainstein examine the spatial dimension of poverty and its impact on income inequality in a comparison between the United States, with only a modest history of public housing, and Singapore, in which 83 percent of its resident population of four million people across multiple income levels live “cheek by jowl” in publicly subsidized housing. The same side-by-side living is not true for the approximately 1.5-million-person foreign population, largely divided into high-income, professional foreigners and low-income migrant laborers. The authors conclude that Singapore’s much greater spatial equity among its resident population has not appreciably reduced economic equality. Yet they also conclude that greater spatial equity has contributed to reducing anti-immigrant populism and contributed to the quality of life for low-income populations, who have greater access to many improved services, both public and private, that higher-income populations demand wherever they live.

Enrica Morlicchio considers the nature of urban poverty on social cohesion. Working in the wake of Mingione’s *Fragmented Societies* (1991), Morlicchio examines multiple models of city spatiality and segregation related to poverty. Turning to the case of

Naples, the author finds neighborhoods that reflect several of the different models, somewhat unusual for the constellation of space and poverty in many other cities but perhaps representative of “cities of the south” in Europe such as Naples. The author concludes that the forms of segregated poverty representative of Naples help immigrants and the indigenous urban poor live more successfully day to day in poverty enclaves through the social cohesion supported by these forms. However, the types of spatial poverty found in Naples do not appreciably reduce unemployment, youth outmigration flows, child poverty, nor the general impoverishment of the social structure. These factors, along with negative long-term implications also in terms of “capacity to aspire,” tend to undercut social cohesion and thus make its short-term benefits equivocal.

The most interesting and unique essay, however, may well be Richard Sennett’s meditation on “The Sense of Touch.” Sennett, a cellist, begins by observing that for musicians the sense of touch defines their art. A musician puts the reed to his or her lips, places his or her fingers on keys or strings, and in every instance must continually explore resistance. An extended discussion of what it requires for a string player to learn and master *vibrato* leads Sennett to conclude that musicians learn that “freedom depends on control,” whereas purely impulsive expressiveness through uncontrolled pressure just produces a “mess.” By analogy, Sennett concludes that resistance in all realms must simply be faced squarely; it cannot be avoided, only managed properly. This leads Sennett to reflect that in western culture the experience of touch is often weak—too blunt or too glancing. This lack of sensitivity leads, in Sennett’s view, to a reduction in our capacity to connect with people, just as it reduces our capacity to connect with nature, and has consequences for how we often approach many endeavors, including architecture and urban planning. As he observes, there are social and physical rules embedded in buildings and in cities that—like musical refrains—must be mastered before nuance and aesthetic variation can be successfully introduced. In sum, to regain the tactile “sense of touch” that

makes buildings and cities come alive, providing an arousing experience for humans to inhabit, the architect/builder/planner must forge the same balance between control and risk that musicians aspire to create. Thus, the urbanologist, working at a distance from his instrument, must never lose touch with the fact that the city is ultimately of, and for, people.

---

*When Movements Become Parties: The Bolivian MAS in Comparative Perspective*, by **Santiago Anria**. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. 275 pp. \$105.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781108427579.

EDWIN ACKERMAN  
Syracuse University  
efackerm@maxwell.syr.edu

---

The Bolivian party *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) grew from a core of rural syndicalist and coca-leaf grower cooperatives into the dominant political party of the past decade. The MAS's ascent to power began in the mid-1990s, expanding territorially and integrating new social actors under its leader and the country's current president Evo Morales. The MAS has won three presidential elections in a row beginning in 2005. Santiago Anria, a political scientist, charts the development and tenure in power of the MAS in *When Movements Become Parties: The Bolivian MAS in Comparative Perspective*, focusing his attention on a question that will be of interest to political sociologists at large: the relationship between the party's social movement origins and its subsequent electoral professionalization.

Anria couches his argument as a challenge to the central theoretical insight of Robert Michels's foundational sociology of political parties. The expectation derived from Michels is of an "iron law of oligarchy," which will inevitably result in the gradual decrease in power of social movement elements in the internal decision-making process of the party and corresponding elite entrenchment. Parties, the assumption is, will become gradually detached from their social base as they become specialized organizations led by a bureaucratized caste of political elites.

Anria argues, however, that the MAS has found ways to counteract the trend toward top-down control precisely due to the party's social movement origins. With recourse to an impressive number of interviews (over 170) of party elites and social movement leaders, the author contends that the grassroots social base wields significant influence over the selection of candidates for elective office and in the policy-making sphere (p. 4). The party developed a bottom-up pattern of organization since it began. Emerging from a rural social movement with a long tradition of participatory politics, it promoted internal grassroots participation as a founding organizational characteristic. Adopting a loose bureaucratic structure facilitated the existence of opposition among allied groups to check power from within (p. 17). In this sense, Anria wishes to highlight how the organizational attributes of parties have an effect on internal power distributions and are conditioned by characteristics emerging in the early stages of development of the organization (p. 33).

While staying true to the overall argument set forth in the introduction of the book, the empirically oriented chapters offer a more nuanced picture of the MAS as a "hybrid party" that contains a party elite but retains organic connections to a social movement base in certain regions. Anria argues convincingly that hierarchical decision-making by the party's leadership is less likely to take place in areas where autonomous social movement organizations aligned with the party are cohesive, have mechanisms to arrive at decisions, and can agree on candidate selection. This power distribution is commonly seen in Bolivia's rural west, where districts are generally more homogeneous and have strong organizations monopolizing the political space. On the other hand, in places where civil society is strong but has multiple party alignments and/or cannot agree on a candidate, top-down decision-making is more likely. This is a pattern observed in socially heterogeneous environments (large cities in the west). Along the same lines, in contexts where civil society is strong but has aligned with other parties, the MAS leadership concentrates power in a small party elite, strategically selecting