

# STATES, POWER, AND SOCIETIES

Political Sociology Section  
American Sociological Association

## In this Issue

Articles & Book Chapters 17

Books 18

Edited Volumes 20

Calls for Papers 22

Section Award Recipients 2014 27

Interview with Award Recipient:  
*Jocelyn Viterna* 31

Journal Review:  
*Journal of Politics & Society* 34

## Symposium:

### Political Participation and Non-participation

By definition, democracies depend upon the active political participation of their citizens. Though a citizen can participate in a variety of ways, sustained political action comes at a personal price, often including strained relationships as well as commitments of money, emotion, and time. More confrontational forms of participation and direct action tactics can of course demand far more from the participants and may result in arrest or physical harm. Given these demands, an individual's political participation would naturally change over time, such that some will opt to pursue different means of political action while others perhaps might exercise non-participation. For this symposium, we invite our

contributors to weigh in on how citizens change--or maintain--the nature of their political participation following their own past experiences as well as the repercussions that might follow.

## Political Participation, Demobilization, and the Problem of Community Embeddedness

By Philip Lewin  
Florida Atlantic University

### Taking Back Political Power in Shale County

During the first several years of the new millennium, a profound sense of "hopelessness" pervaded Shale County.<sup>1</sup> Besieged by population loss, a devastated labor market in the wake of declining coal production, a ravaged environment due to once flourishing mining activity, neoliberal policies of  
*Continued on Page 2.*

## Other Symposium Articles

- Pablo Lapegna, "The Problem with 'Cooptation'" 7
- Klaus Armingeon, "Social Inequality in Political Participation: How Individualization Reduces the Chances for Political Representation of Lower Classes" 11
- Joseph P. DiGrazia, "The Emergence of New Protest Mobilization Strategies" 12

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## Symposium Essay: Community Embeddedness

*Continued from Page 1.*

state retrenchment at both the state and federal levels, a powerful elite who had long run the local government as a corrupt patronage system, and an epidemic of overdose-related deaths, there was little room for hope. The community—its economy, environment, social institutions, and population—was dying.

Feeling that Shale had reached rock bottom, several local pastors initiated efforts to organize citizens in the hope of “saving” the community. Their work began with periodic concerned citizens’ meetings and a weekly prayer group. Anyone seeking comfort and an opportunity to vent political frustrations was encouraged to attend. The meetings quickly grew in size, generating standing room only assemblies wherein participants articulated their eagerness to confront local problems. As the concerned citizens’ meetings grew in attendance and vigor, plans developed for a community march, in which Shale Countians would stand in solidarity against drug abuse and the corrupt local establishment that protected and profited from it. A wild success, more than 3,500 residents in a county of only 20,000 turned out on the day of the march in spite of nay saying, violent threats, and inclement weather. The participants communicated a powerful message of refusal to the local power structure vis-à-vis prevailing social, economic, and political arrangements.

The effervescence generated by the march precipitated a host of community initiatives seeking to remove drug pushers from the street and make local institutions accountable to the public will. A court watch to track and monitor drug cases was established; neighborhood watches were created in order to enhance perceptions of citizen security; drug prevention groups in the local schools were formed; a

successful effort to fund and build a multi-million dollar rehab center was carried out; a local group began recording and broadcasting public meetings in order to enhance government transparency; a citizens for a fair election group was initiated; heightened participation in the political process ensued; and a slate of new candidates with no history in local politics began to challenge powerful incumbents for the first time in county history. Although no panacea, the initiatives gave many Shale Countians a sense of hope for the first time in years—a sense that they held the capacity to shape their own destiny even in the face of structural inequality and political exclusion.

Within a year, however, the wave of community participation began to erode. The factors behind demobilization were many. For one, activism was difficult to sustain under the threat of material sanction and violence. A number of local critics encountered harassment, found their county jobs in peril, feared that their public benefits would be revoked, and discovered that their communities were no longer being considered for water and road projects. Local officials also undermined civic action by withholding cooperation from community initiatives. Those who participated in the political process were mocked, condescended and disrespected by authorities. Rather than facilitating participation, officials did all that was in their power to render the process slow, frustrating, and unrewarding.

While these “visible fists, clandestine kicks, and invisible elbows” played an important role in rendering participation disillusioning rather than empowering (Auyero 2010), the remainder of this essay will focus on a more subterranean impediment to sustained participation—the problem of what I call “community

## Symposium Essay: Community Embeddedness

embeddedness.” Karl Polanyi (2001) pioneered the concept of “embeddedness” to describe the degree to which non-economic institutions—e.g. cultural values, moral conventions, and social relations—constrained economic activity. Below, I modify his concept to capture the way in which social relations and self-identity limit protest and political participation in communities that suffer from socio-economic duress. Participants who were well-embedded in Shale County—that is to say, forced to confront people and institutions in whom they were personally invested—eventually retreated from political participation. Those who were only nominally embedded on the other hand—that is to say, tenuously connected to the subjects and objects of protest—tended to experience participation as empowering and hence sustained it. The concept of community embeddedness, I thus maintain, can help to explain the dynamism of the participatory experience—how participation in the same movement can deepen the resolve of some actors while effecting cynicism and disengagement among others.

Community embeddedness, in my conceptualization, consists of three dimensions: (1) the degree to which one is socially connected to the people whom one protests against or with whom one participates; (2) the degree to which one’s life and livelihood are integrated into and dependent upon the institutions that she seeks to change; and (3) the degree to which one anchors her identity in the political phenomena that she critiques. Below, I discuss each dimension of embeddedness in turn, explaining how they frustrated and ultimately discouraged political participation in Shale County.

### Protesting Against Personal Ties and Institutions

The social ties that Shale County’s activists maintained with local officials made challenges to government malfeasance difficult to initiate let alone sustain. Many Shale Countians expressed identification and solidarity with officials on the basis of their personal relationships with them. Because they personally knew them—i.e. had grown up with them, played sports with them, attended church with them, and been assisted by their patronage—they found it difficult to persist in critique and criticism. When I asked Adam, a sixty-five-year-old man who organized the county’s concerned citizens’ groups, about the court watch that he later founded, he told me that the court clerks and judges inhibited his efforts at every turn. When I pressed further about their obstructionism, however, he became defensive:

PL: So, the intimidation that you spoke of from the judges and the clerk regarding the dockets...[interrupts me].

A: Now listen: *I knew these people!* I’m not saying they were mean to me or that they hunted me down!

When I asked Adam about the intimidation that he faced, he immediately defended local officials in order to avoid stirring controversy. He emphasized how *he knew them*. Knowing a person conferred legitimation within the local moral order, often regardless of how he behaved.

Adam’s attitude was nearly ubiquitous. While chatting with Edith, a retired educator in her seventies who had participated in the wave of activism, she explained how she had taught several public officials who had subsequently been sentenced to lengthy federal prison terms

## Symposium Essay: Community Embeddedness

for corruption while they were in high school. She asserted that they were “all very likeable people.” Tommy, the county coroner who was also chatting with us, agreed, lamenting how “sometimes good people get involved in bad things.” Political participants, as such, eventually found themselves in the paradoxical position of having to defend the corrupt officials who were ousted as a result of their activism.

In an op-ed that was published at the height of the community’s wave of participation, David, one of the pastors who spearheaded the community march, urged the editor to tone down his coverage of political malfeasance. Although he began the article by thanking the paper for its efforts in relation to community change, he quickly waxed critical:

Your coverage of the charges against [the] former mayor...were way over the top...going into the lurid details of the court record concerning [the mayor] was unnecessary. There are many innocent victims in this awful mess, and responsible reporting must take into consideration their plight.

The former mayor and his family, alas, were members of David’s church. After giving a fiery Sunday sermon against corruption, his wife ridiculed David for “spreading lies” to the congregation. When he and other officials were eventually ousted and charged with crimes, their friends and family blamed David for the convictions. David’s activism, as such, created a painful rift in the church to which he had devoted more than twenty years of his life. This ultimately served to contain his activism.

Social embeddedness, in sum, complicated political participation in Shale County. Participation almost always involved indicting people with whom one shared personal bonds. Shale Countians, moreover, tended to interpret

critical commentary against local officials as assaults on their personal characters, not as civic engagement oriented toward positive change. When officials possessed pleasant personalities, this stirred resentment. The commentary of Mike, a local newspaperman, was instructive. When I queried him about Roy Davis, a school superintendent who had recently been convicted of racketeering and election fraud, Mike characterized him as a “nice man and caring educator.”

When Mike discussed the county’s politicians in *abstract* terms, however, he became indignant, asserting that treating local schools as “patronage factories” had ensured that education in the county had remained “rotten” across multiple generations. I observed this discrepancy in several other research participants. Citizens spoke angrily about the *abstract phenomenon* of corruption but hesitated when it came time to criticize actual politicians—the people whom they knew on a *personal level*. Citizens saw corrupt officeholders at church, public events, and family get-togethers. They had pleasant interactions with them around town. Perhaps they even benefitted from their patronage. These personal, particularistic ties defused the contempt that they felt about corruption and ultimately served to discourage further political participation.

### Protesting Against Oneself

Having for years been maligned as poor, ignorant hillbillies by the media, many Shale Countians interpreted efforts to raise awareness about local problems as affronts against Appalachia and Appalachian culture. When I asked Sam, one of the pastors who spearheaded the county’s march, why so few people

## Symposium Essay: Community Embeddedness

cooperated with the investigations that followed, he said:

People are leery of outsiders...it goes back to a lot of things...When Lyndon Johnson had the War on Poverty, they came into our part of the country and just showed horrible things...made everybody look like we were all idiots...People know that, see, and they hate that. So when people come in from the outside...people resent that. That's why nobody would ever talk to them...[they fear] they're going to expose us.

Like Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) workers during the War on Poverty, local activists brought awareness to local problems, which reflexively marked them as “outsiders.” This is what outsiders did: they emphasized predicaments in lieu of achievements; they dramatized problems rather than playing them down; and they meddled in local affairs rather than going along with them. Many Shale Countians feared that local activists would expose the county’s warts and provide more fodder for cultural stereotyping and stigmatization. They thus remained silent about corruption, poverty, addiction, and other social problems. As community initiatives began to produce results—along with yellow journalism—activists came to share the fears of residents who had been reluctant to participate all along—as well as their reticence.

Activists, in this sense, began to feel as if they were protesting against themselves. Besides being accused of destroying the lives of well-liked community members and their families, they were accused of spoiling the community’s image. This caused them to second-guess their participation. While their activism confronted persistent poverty, they did not want Shale Countians to be stereotyped as “poor people.” Given that many of the architects of the War on Poverty attributed economic distress in

Appalachia to a “culture of poverty,” they understood poverty to signify “otherness”—even wickedness. As opposed to being “poor,” they sought recognition for county residents as ordinary Americans. They wanted Shale to be viewed in a light similar to other communities, not as an impoverished bastion of corruption. Over time, this desire encouraged them to whitewash the area’s problems and avoid politics.

Bringing attention to and confronting local problems, put differently, interfered with activists’ efforts to construct a positive subaltern identity in the face of stigma. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (1967) argues that:

There is a fact: White men consider themselves superior to black men. There is another fact: Black men want to prove to white men, at all costs, the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect...However painful it may be for me to accept this conclusion, I am obliged to state it: For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white (p.12).

Fanon believed that “the juxtaposition of the white and black races ha[d] created a massive psychoexistential complex” among those subjected to (white) colonial rule (p.14). Although marked by various dissimilarities, the nature of the black/white relation that Fanon analyzed parallels the rural/urban, Appalachian/mainstream American relation that my study investigated. Years of economic exploitation and cultural stigmatization had engendered a collective inferiority complex among many Shale Countians. Having been othered, denigrated, and deprived, they sought recognition as ordinary citizens. This meant denying events and occurrences that ostensibly set them apart from other communities—namely, poverty, underdevelopment, and

### Symposium Essay: Community Embeddedness

political dysfunction.

While doubtless sensationalized by outsiders and the media, however, the dysfunctions that Shale Countians downplayed still existed. And gauging from most objective indicators, they existed on a higher order than they did in many other areas. The desire to deny difference and construct a valued collective identity, as such, conflicted with efforts to confront and redress local problems. Local officials exacerbated this situation by capitalizing upon residents' sensitivity to negative press and their desire to achieve cultural recognition. They routinely construed the grievances of activists as affronts against the region's culture and people. This resulted in ill-will toward well-intentioned reformers, stunted the public sphere by eliminating debate around social problems, defined harmful deviance down, created shared interests between groups whose class and party interests were opposed, and made activists feel as though they were betraying their own cultural allegiances. The desire—perhaps need—for affirmative collective identity, as such, ultimately served the interests of local elites.

#### The Pitfalls of Community Embeddedness

Although the feelings of personal empowerment and social solidarity that result from participation can redouble one's political fortitude, the personal and social tolls of participation can also prompt disengagement. As Hanson (2014) notes, participatory initiatives can "generate and strengthen social bonds and trust in communities where little existed before. But these organizations can also breed suspicion, mistrust and divisiveness, promoting rather than preventing conflict between community members." Her work chronicles how securing economic resources for participatory

projects often brings about the latter outcome. My analysis here suggests that the three dimensions of community embeddedness can do so as well. In small, economically distressed communities wherein collective identity is under assault and strong ties prevail, preserving community trust, constructing a subaltern identity, and carrying out the social critique entailed by political participation can quickly become incompatible. As Cheryl, a wearied environmental activist told me, "Some of the strongest fighters of these problems live elsewhere. They are the ones who can really speak their mind and feel safe."

#### Endnote

1. "Shale County," a pseudonym like all other references to people, places, and institutions in this essay, is an economically and environmentally distressed mountain community in Central Appalachia.

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## The Problem with “Cooptation”

By Pablo Lapegna  
University of Georgia

What is “cooptation”? What is the meaning of being “co-opted”? If you resort to the definition of the Oxford dictionary, you will find three meanings for co-opt, from which the noun cooptation is derived:

1. Appoint to membership of a committee or other body by invitation of the existing members.
2. Divert to or use in a role different from the usual or original one.
3. Adopt (an idea or policy) for one’s own use.

Does the term “cooptation” adequately capture the relationship between social movements and the polity? If you do research or are interested in contemporary Latin American politics, you probably have noticed that the term “cooptation” is often used in reference to the participation of social movements in governments emerging from the breakdown of the Washington Consensus. From the CONAIE in Ecuador to the Community Councils in Venezuela, from the unemployed “*piquetero*” movements in Argentina to indigenous and peasant organizations in Bolivia, a number of social movements have worked closely with state programs or its leaders have become members of Congress or active participants in political parties (many of which resembling a hybrid between parties and movements, like the MAS in Bolivia).

In other words, in the last fifteen years or so, the first meaning of the term “cooptation” seems to be accurate, in the sense that social movements, civil society organizations, and community networks have been appointed to or have been recognized as members of a polity that was previously closed to them.

Nevertheless, in everyday political parlance (and in several scholarly analyses), the second meaning of the term usually prevails. Cooptation is understood as diverting from the original role of bringing about social change. Put differently, cooperation with the government and participation in the polity are seen as signs of social movements losing their transformative spirit and diluting their original promise by ascribing to a “reformist” agenda.

For a number of years, social movement scholars have been using the term “cooptation” in this second sense. In his pioneering study of Southern cotton tenants in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Michael Schwartz (1976) made a compelling case for how the political participation of the Southern Farmers’ Alliance undermined its radical potential (in addition to class divisions between leadership and members). The classic analysis of Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward (1979) also saw cooptation in these terms: “Political leaders...will try to quiet disturbances not only by dealing with immediate grievances, but by making efforts to channel the energies and angers of the protesters into more legitimate and less disruptive forms of political behavior, in part by offering incentives to movement leaders or, in other words, by coopting them” (1979: 30). Piven and Cloward (and, implicitly, Schwartz) argued that poor people’s movements needed to disregard formal organizations and concentrate on disruptive protests in order to bring about social change.

Doug McAdam’s seminal work, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* made a similar argument but sustained the opposite view of organizations.

## Symposium Essay: Cooptation

He argued that for “the movement to survive, insurgents must be able to create a more enduring organization structure to sustain insurgency” (1982: 54). Yet this stake in organizations, according to McAdam, increases the likelihood of co-optation and a reliance on external support, which may “ensure the survival of the movement...but only at the cost of reducing its effectiveness as a force for social change” (1982: 55). Bill Gamson’s classic study of the relationship between social movements and the polity (1975) reserved the term “cooptation” for those situations in which challengers were recognized but without obtaining benefits. There are many examples of the use of “cooptation” as neutralization (see, for instance, Coy and Hedeon 2005; Ho 2010; Jaffee 2012; Murphree, Wright, and Ebaugh 1996; Trumpy 2008; cf. Pellow 1999).

Other scholars have investigated circumstances where the third meaning of the term applies. That is, when an idea, policy, or network is used for a new purpose. Social movements have adopted pre-existing networks and organizations to pursue their transformative agendas (McCarthy and Wolfson 1992), or have used pre-existing “frames” to diffuse their ideas (Snow and Benford 1992). In the United States, participation and cooperation with government agencies arguably brought about long-term positive changes for movements’ constituents, as Andy Andrews (2006) has shown for the civil rights movement in Mississippi, or Charles Payne’s (2007) work on how the SNCC tapped into “cooptable networks” to bring about social change in the Deep South. The relationships between mobilization and the polity are fraught with frictions, tensions, and contradictions, but those interfaces can also bring about

institutional change: Edwin Amenta (2006) has shown this for the elderly, and Lee Ann Banaszak (2010) for the women’s movement.

The issue with cooptation is that it demands the vexed task of disentangling analytical and normative discourses, or walking a thin line between what political participation is and what it should be. Furthermore, cooptation shares the problematic condition of many terms used by social scientists: the word is part of the political parlance that we seek to analyze. Given these pitfalls, the term “cooptation” can turn into an epistemological obstacle that obfuscates research rather than opening our imagination. And the way in which the concept is captured by political parlance makes it hard to disentangle it from its pejorative or patronizing resonances.

First, the term suggests that leaders and members are “sell-outs” or implies that movements are easily duped. In other words, and bluntly put, if you are “coopted” you are either corrupt or dumb. This provides little encouragement in the way of establishing a dialogue between scholars and social movement leaders and members. For those of us working with contemporary movements and interested in sharing the results of our research with social movement participants, the use of the term “cooptation” (with these embedded negative connotations) becomes a veritable “conversation killer.”

Second, in scholarly terms, cooptation is a term that may tend to miss the situated agency of both leaders and constituents. Cooptation, in my view, privileges a top-down understanding of the relationship between the polity and social movements, downplaying relational and interpretative processes. It may be shortsighted to see the relationships between social



## Symposium Essay: Cooptation

movement and the polity in terms of the latter “manipulating” the former, or to assume that leaders can easily control their constituents. In this sense, cooptation overlooks the pressures that leaders face and the multiple relationships that explain social movement trajectories. Cooptation can thus lead us away from a relational analysis of the linkages between and within movements, and lead us to rely on a simplified binary conception of the relationship between social movements and the polity.

Third, the term may also do a poor job in capturing the political significance of the pressing survival needs of subordinated actors or inadvertently impose a conception of social change inattentive to its class-centrism. When “poor people’s movements” engage with the polity, this may bring concrete material benefits to members and their families. In Latin America, after years of structural adjustment policies and the impoverishment of popular sectors, social change might mean improving living conditions and making ends meet. Social movement leaders, particularly among popular movements, voice their rights and demands but also need to respond to the concrete material demands of their constituents, who are subject (paraphrasing Marx) to the “dull compulsion of economic relations.”

The etymology of the term “cooptation” (“from the Latin *cooptare*, from *co-* ‘together’ and *optare* ‘choose’”) actually better captures the relational and agentic elements that are lost in the common and widespread use of the term. It may be more productive to keep normative and judgmental labels at bay and instead concentrate on the multiple relationships between governments, political parties, social movements’ leaders and members, and non-mobilized constituents. A

number of insightful works have exemplified these dilemmas in Latin America, from the case of *pobladoras* and Mapuche women in Chile (Richards 2004), to experiments with participatory democracy in Brazil (Baiocchi 2005) and Venezuela (Smilde and Hellinger 2011). Similarly, it is also important to take into account the internal dynamics of movements—relationships that Wendy Wolford (2010) calls “mobilization *within* movements”—in order to consider the dynamic relationship between social movement leaders, members, constituents, opponents, and non-mobilized constituencies (Burdick 1995).

To avoid patronizing views or simplified conceptions of social movement’s participation in the polity, in short, we need to remain cognizant of the pitfalls and obstacles posed by the term “cooptation.”

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## Symposium Essay: Cooptation

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## Social Inequality in Political Participation: How Individualization Reduces the Chances for Political Representation of Lower Classes

By Klaus Armingeon  
University of Bern

How do citizens change—or maintain—the nature of their political participation? This is the central question of this symposium. It overlooks that some citizens do not participate at all—even in the least demanding, least difficult and politically very consequential form of participation: voting. It allows any citizen—even those with very little political interest, knowledge and time—to express his or her political preferences. While some modes of participation are socially very selective, in principle voting does not discriminate against citizens with low social status and little educational attainment. Compared to other modes of political participation such as membership in social movements, boycotting certain products, demonstrations, squatting houses, or exchanging arguments in settings of deliberative democracy, voting requires much less in terms of time, knowledge, information, and other resources or motivation.

However, social inequality in electoral participation is growing. In the 1970s, many Western European democracies did not display any signs of social inequality in voting. Today, there is an electoral gap between the lower and higher strata everywhere. We calculated the difference in electoral participation between those fifty percent of the population with the lowest and those with the highest educational attainment using ninety-four electoral surveys in eight Western European countries between 1956 and 2009<sup>1</sup>. During these fifty years the gap widened from almost zero to five percent. Why

do the lower classes start to withdraw silently from politics?

They do so, because voting becomes increasingly difficult for them since heuristics for decision-making are less and less available. Textbooks from secondary school tell us that citizens consider the programs of political parties, compare them to their own preferences, and then decide to vote for the party which is closest to their own inclinations. This applies, of course, only to some citizens. Many, if not most of us, use heuristics, such as ‘What did I vote last time?’, ‘Are there any recommendations from a trustworthy partner, parent, colleague, or friend from whom I know that he or she shares similar views with me?’, ‘Finally, are there any organizations to which I have a strong feeling of belonging, which evaluate my electoral choices on behalf of me, and make reasonable suggestions what to vote for?’ Probably the most important European organizations that have produced such strong electoral recommendations are trade unions and the Catholic Church. Although some trade unions claimed to be politically neutral, almost all of them have been able to signal to their membership which parties further workers’ interests. Similarly, on election days, Catholic priests have frequently offered crystal clear hints to their congregations on what and what not to vote for at the ballot boxes.

These cues have helped those citizens who lacked the analytical competence, time, interest, and knowledge to evaluate individually their electoral options. Lower social strata are

### Symposium Essay: Social Inequality

particularly dependent on the availability of these cues; while members of higher strata avail themselves of more means allowing them to arrive at a voting decision on their own with a limited investment of time and energy. Individualization denotes the loosening of attachment to organizations and socio-cultural groups. By reducing social integration, it frees us from efficient social control and offers us the opportunity to decide what we want and prefer. By implication cues from these various forms of social integration are no longer available. This hits lower classes particularly and endangers their political representation. Without cues, voting becomes a very difficult task for them. Under these conditions, for many citizens the rational solution is non-participation.

In our research, we considered various forms of social integration which might produce cues for voting decisions: from living with a partner over membership in a trade union or attending church at least once a month to meeting with friends, relatives, or work colleagues more than once a month or to feeling close to a political party. Whether we used a composite index of social integration or entered our indicators separately in a regression model, the substantive results of our analyses of five cumulative waves (2002-2010) of the European Social Surveys for fifteen Western European countries remained the

same. Social integration reduces the likelihood of non-participation for citizens with low social status much more than for those with high social status. For an individual at the bottom of the educational hierarchy, a one unit increase in the composite indicator of social integration (which varies between 0 and 1) implies an increase in the probability to vote by more than thirty percent if she/he is fully integrated in a socio-political group. By contrast, the probability to vote for an individual at the top of the hierarchy increases only by about ten percent if reaching the maximum values of social integration. The political participation of the less educated depends particularly on membership in social networks; and once these network affiliations decline, the lower classes tend to withdraw from politics. Cynically, individualization, a process that reduces social control and allows for more individual options of life styles and behavior, reduces at the same time as the chances for political representation of the group-specific preferences of lower classes.

#### Endnote

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## The Emergence of New Protest Mobilization Strategies

By Joseph P. DiGrazia  
Dartmouth College

Recent years have seen the emergence of national protest movements that have rapidly achieved mass mobilization. These movements have come from both the right, with the rise of

the Tea Party in 2009, and from the left with the emergence of the Occupy movement in 2011 and, very recently, the protests against police killings that began after the shooting of Michael

### Symposium Essay: Mobilization Strategies

Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. The rapidity with which these movements have managed to achieve large-scale mobilization, getting people into the streets, into meeting halls and, in the case of the Tea Party, into voting booths, seems to defy most social movement theory. Rather than spending years building on small successes, raising resources, organizing, and building consciousness in the fashion of the Civil Rights Movement and other major twentieth century movements, these movements have found ways to overcome the collective action problems associated with mobilization much more quickly and have bolstered participation by lowering the costs associated with activism.

#### **The (Rapid) Rise of the Tea Party**

In February of 2009, shortly after the election of Barack Obama and the passage of the controversial Troubled Assets Relief Program which was signed into law by President Bush before leaving office, conservative activists began staging what they called “Anti-Porkulous” protests directed against both the new administration and the proposed bailout of banks and homeowners by the federal government. Several days after the first protests began, CNBC’s Rick Santelli, invoking imagery of the Boston Tea Party, railed on the air against the Obama administration’s proposed mortgage assistance plan, imploring his fellow “capitalists” to meet him for a Chicago Tea Party on Lake Michigan. A video of Santelli’s tirade quickly spread on social media and Youtube, and provided a name and narrative for the emerging movement<sup>1</sup>. Over the following weeks and months, several Tea Party organizations were founded, including the Tea Party Patriots, an organization connecting a large network of local chapters; Tea Party Nation, a for-profit

corporation that sponsored speeches and conferences; and the Tea Party Express, a campaign group that sponsored bus tours to support Republican candidates and promote Tea Party activism<sup>2</sup>. Other groups already in existence before the emergence of the Tea Party, such as Dick Armey’s conservative lobbying group “FreedomWorks,” came to work closely with the movement and support its development.

Beginning in the summer of 2009, Tea Party groups began organizing Tea Party “town hall” events in which protesters were encouraged to attend congressional town hall meetings and confront their representatives to protest the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. Tea Party activism continued through 2010 and 2011 as Tea Party groups continued to stage actions across the nation in protest of the Affordable Care Act and other Obama administration policies.

The meteoric rise of the Tea Party movement, going from its inception to being a massive national protest movement in a matter of months seems to defy much of traditional social movement theory. Most social movement theory, developed primarily to understand the great progressive social movements of the twentieth century, emphasizes the need to build organizations to marshal resources, build collective identities and disseminate collective action frames. The work of building movements, according to these theories, often takes years of organizing and waiting for opportune political environments<sup>3a, 3b</sup>. How, then, did the Tea Party movement manage to achieve such large scale mobilization and organization building so quickly?

Many scholars of right-wing and conservative movements have pointed out that traditional

**Symposium Essay: Mobilization Strategies**

social movement theories that focus on building organizations, like political process theory or resource mobilization theory, do not fit right-wing movements well as the constituencies that populate such movements are typically composed of relatively high-status individuals who have constant access to ample resources, both monetary and organizational, and have some form of access to conventional political channels<sup>4</sup>. The unusual availability of resources enjoyed by many movements on the right may allow these movements to develop more quickly than other movements. For these reasons, the Tea Party movement might have been expected to emerge and grow more rapidly than other movements. Indeed, this seems to have been the case for the Tea Party. Fetner and King, in their recent work on the Tea Party suggest that well-funded donors and corporate backers provided the resources to build a national infrastructure for the Tea Party<sup>5</sup>. In fact, many organizations that were central in fostering and promoting the movement, like FreedomWorks, had been established and funded years before<sup>6</sup>. Other national Tea Party groups, such as the Tea Party Patriots received a large infusion of resources very early in their existence from elite donors who were eager to see the Tea Party work to advance their shared agenda.

In addition to the infrastructure building provided by elite donors, Tea Party mobilization was also facilitated by a large conservative media network, which promoted the movement and provided viewers with the framing and collective identity needed to foster mobilization<sup>7</sup>. This allowed the Tea Party to bypass much of the identity building work that social movement building often requires. With all of the movement building, resource mobilization, and framing essentially taken care

of, it was very easy for disaffected conservatives, many of whom were retired and freed of the constraints of full time work, to take part in or join movement activities<sup>8</sup>. Tea Party participation had essentially become a very low cost form of activism for individuals and this allowed the Tea Party to achieve impressive levels of mobilization nationally.

**Occupy and Ferguson**

While the rapid emergence and mobilization of the Tea Party Movement may be attributable to the unique relationship between right-wing causes and access to resources and power, this is not the case with other movements that have emerged in the United States more recently. Both Occupy Wall Street, which began in the Fall of 2011 and quickly grew into a national movement, and, more recently, the protests against police misconduct that grew out of police killings of unarmed black men in Ferguson, Missouri and New York City, New York began as local protests that rapidly grew into national social movements within weeks or months. While both movements certainly received some support from friendly media outlets and political elites, they did not see the massive infusion of monetary support that the Tea Party received, nor did they inherit a readymade infrastructure of organizational support. How, then, can the rapid rise of these movements be reconciled with social movement theory?

Some scholars have focused on the emergence of new communication technologies that have altered the costs of organizing and participating in such movements in ways that have facilitated remarkably fast growth. For example, Bennett and Segerberg have recently argued that social and interactive media have

**Symposium Essay: Mobilization Strategies**

fundamentally changed the nature of the collective action problems associated with social movement mobilization<sup>9</sup>. These technologies have made organization easier for movement leaders and have also lowered the costs and barriers associated with participation for potential activists.

According to Bennett and Segerberg, many new social movements organize according to what the authors called the “logic of connective action.” That is, mobilization occurs through the use of online social media networks to spread and interpret collective action frames, coordinate and raise resources and construct activist identities. These technologies allow people who are geographically distant from the physical centers of protest to participate by spreading the movement’s collective action frames (e.g. “We are the 99%”) and by recruiting others through their networks. This process also makes it easier for individuals to participate by allowing potential activists to individualize the meaning of the movement’s frames and messages.

This mobilization model seems to fit the Occupy Wall Street movement in the United States fairly well. The Occupy movement began in September, 2011 as an occupation of Zuccotti Park in the financial district of New York City by anti-capitalist and anti-inequality activists. The movement quickly gained national attention and spread to other cities and locations across the globe. Research has found that communication networks on the microblogging service Twitter effectively assumed the role of traditional social movement organizations by facilitating the acquisition of resources, coordinating action, and communicating collective action frames<sup>10a, 10b</sup>. Social media networks allowed Occupy to bypass the need to develop a formal

organizational infrastructure and facilitated very rapid large-scale mobilization. Others have found that online communities like Facebook were instrumental in organizing, communicating, and recruiting members to the Occupy movement in the United States<sup>11</sup>.

In the case of the Ferguson protests, a dynamic similar to that of the Occupy movement seems to be playing out. The initial protests have rapidly spread from Ferguson to other cities as they gained public attention through the institutional media and on social media. The protests have also been adopted in response to other police killings of unarmed black men and boys, such as that of Eric Garner in New York City and Tamir Rice in Cleveland. Common movement frames such as “hands up don’t shoot” or “I can’t breathe” have been quickly adopted and spread widely, all in the absence of the construction of formal organizations<sup>12</sup>. In some cases, local actors have adapted the movement frames to local causes only distantly related to the original protests—protesters in Hong Kong were observed to have used the “hands up, don’t shoot” gestures from the Ferguson protests and to have referred to their encampment as “Occupy Central<sup>13</sup>.”

**Conclusion**

In recent years social movements using novel mobilization strategies that harness new forms of resources and new technologies to solve collective action problems associated with mobilization have emerged. At the same time, individuals are finding it easier and less costly than ever to contribute to movement activism. Protest movements, often thought of as a form of politics more closely associated with the left, have been adopted by the right. Right-wing movements, given their support for preserving

## Symposium Essay: Mobilization Strategies

existing social hierarchies tend to have a different relationship vis-à-vis power and resources compared to progressive and left-wing movements. Therefore, they tend to mobilize differently and much more quickly and easily. They can emerge very rapidly when high-status groups in society experience some grievance or threat to their status. Similarly, the way in which left-wing movements mobilize may also be changing as a result of new technologies that make it easier to both organize protest and to participate in protests. The internet and new communication technologies have proven to be remarkably effective tools for organizing protest and have allowed individuals to participate by adopting and spreading protest frames and recruiting others through their online networks. Moving forward, social movement theory will have to continue to adapt to changes in social movement mobilization and organization and changes in the way people participate in movement activity.

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## Abstracts

### ARTICLES & BOOK CHAPTERS

Linda Lobao, Lazarus Adua, and Gregory Hooks. 2014. "Privatization, Business Attraction, and Social Services across the United States: Local Governments' Use of Market--Oriented, Neoliberal Policies in the Post--2000 Period." *Social Problems* 61(4):644-672.

Privatization, business attraction incentives, and limited social service provision are market-oriented policies that broadly concern social scientists. These policies are conventionally assumed to be widely implemented across the United States, the nation a world-model of neoliberal development. This study takes a new look at these policies, providing a first view of how they unfold across the nation at a geographic scale that drills down to the local state. We document the extent to which localities privatized their public services, used business attraction, and limited social service delivery in the last decade. Extending national-level theories of the welfare state, we focus on two sets of factors to explain where these policies are most likely to be utilized. The first, derived from the class-politics approach emphasizes class-interests such as business and unions and political-ideological context, anticipating these policies are utilized most in Republican leaning, pro-business and distressed contexts. The second, derived from the political institutional approach emphasizes state-capacity and path dependency as determinants. The analyses are based on over 1,700 localities, the majority of county governments, using unique policy data. Class-politics variables have modest relationship to neoliberal policies and show that business sector influence and public-sector unions matter. The findings strongly support the

importance of state-capacity and path dependency. Overall our study challenges assumptions that acquiescence to neoliberal policies is widespread. Rather we find evidence of resilience to these policies among communities across the United States.

Deana Rohlinger, Leslie Bunnage, and Jesse Klein. 2014. "Virtual Power Plays: Social Movements, ICT, and Party Politics." Pp. 83-109 in *The Internet and Democracy in Global Perspective* edited by B. Groffman, A. Trechsel, M. Franklin. New York, NY: Springer.

Drawing on interview data, participant observation, and archival research of the progressive group MoveOn.org and the conservative Tea Party Movement groups in Tallahassee, FL, this research examines how social movements use Internet Communication Technology (ICT) to affect political parties and political change in the United States. The paper consists of two analytical sections. In the first section, we examine how these groups use ICT to effectively market issues, mobilize consensus, and get citizens involved in the political process. In the second section, we outline how activist groups' use of ICT changes the relationship between social movement groups and political parties. While we do not suggest that ICT equalizes the relationship between social movements and political parties, we do show that savvy movement groups can use ICT in ways that can help activists transform a party. Additionally, we illustrate the potential for synergy between social movement and political parties in the digital age. We conclude the

## Abstracts

chapter with a discussion of how scholars might further assess the changing relationship between social movements and political parties.

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Deana Rohlinger and Jesse Klein. 2014. "From Fervor to Fear: ICT and Emotions in the Tea Party Movement." Pp. 125-148 in *Understanding the Tea Party Movement*, edited by D. S. Meyer and N. Van Dyke. New York, NY: Ashgate.

### BOOKS

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William T. Armaline, Davita Silfen Glasberg, and Bandana Purkayastha. 2014. *The Human Rights Enterprise: Political Sociology, State Power, and Social Movements*. Polity Press.

Why do powerful states like the US, the UK, China, and Russia repeatedly fail to meet their international legal obligations as defined by human rights instruments? How does global capitalism affect states' ability to implement human rights, particularly in the context of global recession, state austerity, perpetual war, and environmental crisis? How are political and civil rights undermined as part of moves to impose security and surveillance regimes?

This book presents a framework for understanding human rights as a terrain of struggle over power between states, private interests, and organized, "bottom-up" social movements. The authors develop a critical sociology of human rights, focusing on the concept of the human rights enterprise: the process through which rights are defined and realized. While states are designated arbiters of human rights according to human rights instruments, they do not exist in a vacuum.

Political sociology helps us to understand how global neoliberalism and powerful non-governmental actors (particularly economic actors, such as corporations and financial institutions) deeply affect states' ability and likelihood to enforce human rights standards.

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Mara Loveman. 2014. *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America*. Oxford University Press.

The era of official color-blindness in Latin America has come to an end. For the first time in decades, nearly every state in Latin America now asks their citizens to identify their race or ethnicity on the national census. Most observers approvingly highlight the historic novelty of these reforms, but *National Colors* shows that official racial classification of citizens has a long history in Latin America.

Through a comprehensive analysis of the politics and practice of official ethnoracial classification in the censuses of nineteen Latin American states across nearly two centuries, this book explains why most Latin American states classified their citizens by race on early national censuses, why they stopped the practice of official racial classification around mid-twentieth century, and why they reintroduced ethnoracial classification on national censuses at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Beyond domestic political struggles, the analysis reveals that the ways that Latin American states classified their populations from the mid-nineteenth century onward responded to changes in international criteria for how to construct a modern nation and promote national development. As prevailing international understandings of what made a political and cultural community a

## Abstracts

modern nation changed, so too did the ways that Latin American census officials depicted diversity within national populations. The way census officials described populations in official statistics, in turn, shaped how policymakers viewed national populations and informed their prescriptions for national development—with consequences that still reverberate in contemporary political struggles for recognition, rights, and redress for ethnoracially marginalized populations in today's Latin America.

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Thomas J. Keil and Jacqueline M. Keil. 2014. *Anthracite's Demise and the Post Coal Economy of Northeastern Pennsylvania*. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press.

Examining the anthracite coal trade's emergence and legacy in the five counties that constituted the core of the industry, the authors explain the split in the modes of production between entrepreneurial production and corporate production and the consequences of each for the two major anthracite regions. This book argues that the initial conditions in which the anthracite industry developed led to differences in the way workers organized and protested working conditions and the way in which the two regions were affected by the decline of the industry and two subsequent waves of deindustrialization.

The authors examine the bourgeois class formation in the coal regions and its consequences for differential regional growth and urbanization. This is given context through their investigation of class conflict in the region and the struggle of workers to build a stable union that would represent their interests, as

well as the struggles within the union that finally emerged as the dominant force (the United Mine Workers of America) between conservative business unionists and progressive forces.

Lastly, the authors explore the demise of anthracite as the dominant industry, the attempt to attract replacement industries, the subsequent two waves of deindustrialization in the region, and the current economic conditions that prevail in the former coal counties and the cities in them. This book includes a discussion of local politics and the emergence of a strong labor-Democratic tie in the northern anthracite region and a weaker tie between labor and the Democratic party in the central and southern fields.

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Andrew J. Perrin. 2014. *American Democracy: From Tocqueville to Town Halls to Twitter*. Polity Press.

In this groundbreaking book, sociologist Andrew Perrin shows that rules and institutions, while important, are not the core of democracy. Instead, as Alexis de Tocqueville showed in the early years of the American republic, democracy is first and foremost a matter of culture: the shared ideas, practices, and technologies that help individuals combine into publics and achieve representation. Reinterpreting democracy as culture reveals the ways the media, public opinion polling, and changing technologies shape democracy and citizenship. As Perrin shows, the founders of the United States produced a social, cultural, and legal environment fertile for democratic development and in the two centuries since, citizens and publics use that environment and shared culture to re-imagine and extend that democracy.

## Abstracts

*American Democracy* provides a fresh, innovative approach to democracy that will change the way readers understand their roles as citizens and participants. Never will you enter a voting booth or answer a poll again without realizing what a truly social act it is. This will be necessary reading for scholars, students, and the public seeking to understand the challenges and opportunities for democratic citizenship from Toqueville to town halls to Twitter.

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Deana Rohlinger. 2015. *Abortion Politics, Mass Media, and Social Movements in America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Weaving together analyses of archival material, news coverage, and interviews conducted with journalists from mainstream and partisan outlets as well as with activists across the political spectrum, Deana A. Rohlinger reimagines how activists use a variety of mediums, sometimes simultaneously, to agitate for – and against – legal abortion. Rohlinger's in-depth portraits of four groups – the National Right to Life Committee, Planned Parenthood, the National Organization for Women, and Concerned Women for America – illuminates when groups use media and why they might choose to avoid media attention altogether. Rohlinger expertly reveals why some activist groups are more desperate than others to attract media attention and sheds light on what this means for policy making and legal abortion in the twenty-first century.

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John Stone and Polly Rizova. 2014. *Racial Conflict in Global Society*. Polity Press.

Despite global shifts in world power, racial conflict remains one of the major problems of contemporary social life. This concise and

engaging book demonstrates the interplay between identity, power and conflict in the creation, persistence and transformation of patterns of race and ethnic relations across the globe.

Stone and Rizova employ a neo-Weberian comparative approach to explore how evolving systems of group conflict have been - and continue to be - impacted by changes in the world system, global capitalism, multinational corporations, and transnational alliances and institutions. The authors analyse critical debates about 'post-racialism', 'exceptionalism', ethnic warfare and diversity management in global organizations, drawing on cases from South Africa to Darfur, and from global migration to the Arab Spring uprisings. In conclusion, the search for effective strategies of conflict resolution and the quest for racial justice are evaluated from multiple perspectives.

Racial Conflict in Global Society provides stimulating insights into the basic factors underlying racial conflict and consensus in the early decades of the twenty-first century. It is essential reading for scholars and students across the social and political sciences, management and international relations.

### EDITED VOLUMES

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Woods, Dwayne and Barbara Wejnert, eds. 2014. *The Many Faces of Populism: Current Perspectives*. Research in Political Sociology Series, Vol 22. Emerald Group Publishing.

Edited by Dwayne Woods (*Purdue University*) and Barbara Wejnert (*University at Buffalo, SUNY*), *The Many Faces of Populism: Current Perspectives* provides an argument for the unifying element of populism across its many guises.

## Abstracts

From Berlusconi's personalization of politics and the Northern League's antiimmigrant regionalist movement in Italy to the leftwing populism embodied by Hugo Chavez; as well as insurgent and antisystem movements and parties in places as different as the Netherlands, India, Norway, Thailand, Russia and the United States populism has been attributed to a variety of political and social structures. The objective of this edited volume is to provide an answer to the question 'What is Populism?'. The unifying element across the different explorations of the phenomenon of populism is that there is a shared genus that allows for a typology of the different faces of populism and a demarcation of what is not a form of populism.

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<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/book/10.1108/S0895-9935201422>.

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Woehrle, Lynne M., ed. 2014. *Intersectionality and Social Change. Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change Series, Vol 37*. Emerald Group Publishing.

This volume explores the question, what can the insights of intersectionality studies contribute to our quest to understand and analyze social movements, conflict and change? This collection of papers is part of a continued broadening and deepening of the theoretical contributions of intersectional analysis in understanding social structures and human practices. It lends an analytical eye to questions of how race, class, and gender shape strategy

and experience in social change processes, but it also extends our view to include thinking about how analysis of age, religion, or sexual identity can influence the model.

The papers contribute to our growing understanding of ways to use the social power analysis unique to the intersectional lens to offer new perspectives on well-researched questions such as group identity development in conflict, coalition organizing, and movement resonance. Through the intersectional lens questions that are often ignored and populations that are traditionally marginalized become the heart of the analysis. The final section of the volume introduces another theme by considering how surveillance and information sharing shape the complex relationship between democratic freedoms and hegemonic governmental systems.

Chapter highlights include:

- "Agonism and Intersectionality: Indigenous Women, Violence and Feminist Collective Identity":

<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1108/S0163-786X20140000037000>

- "Political Intersectionality Within the Spanish Indignados Social Movement":

<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/full/10.1108/S0163-786X20140000037001>

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### CALLS FOR PAPERS

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7th Annual Workshop on the History and  
Politics of Public Finance  
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In recent years, scholars from a variety of disciplines have embarked on an innovative wave of multidisciplinary research on the social and historical sources and consequences of taxation. We invite interested graduate students from history, law, public policy, and the social sciences to participate in a one-day workshop on this "new fiscal sociology." In addition to brief lectures introducing students to the basics of taxation and the comparative history of taxation, the workshop will consist of discussion of classic and contemporary texts.

The workshop will be held on Wednesday, November 11th, in Baltimore, Maryland in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Social Science History Association (SSHA). Interested students will also have a chance to present their own work on Thursday, November 12th, as part of the SSHA conference.

Space is limited. Small housing and travel stipends will be provided for a limited number of applicants under a grant from the National Science Foundation.

Applicants should submit a CV and a paragraph explaining their interest in this workshop, and (if applicable) a draft of a research paper that they would be willing to present at the SSHA. Preference will be given to students who also submit conference papers, but we encourage applications from all students interested in the workshop, including those at early stages of their graduate career.

Submit materials no later than February 28, 2015 via e-mail to all emails listed:

Isaac Martin, Department of Sociology,  
University of California – San Diego  
(iwmartin@ucsd.edu)

Ajay K. Mehrotra, Maurer School of Law,  
Indiana University – Bloomington  
(amehrotr@indiana.edu)

Lucy Barnes, Politics and International  
Relations, University of Kent  
(L.C.Barnes@kent.ac.uk)

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Beyond the New Deal Order  
A Conference at the University of California,  
Santa Barbara  
September 24-26, 2015

When Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle edited *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order* in 1989, they made the concept of a political and social "order" central to an interpretative framework that reperiodized U.S. history, from the election of Franklin Roosevelt, through Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and on to the Ronald Reagan's victory in 1980. The New Deal was not just a presidential moment, but a far larger construction - a combination of ideas, policies, institutions, cultural norms and electoral dynamics - that spanned several decades and sustained a hegemonic governing regime. *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order* offered a unique way to conceptualize the history of social reform and political conflict in the 20th century, and it quickly emerged as the dominant narrative within and against which a new generation of scholars have sought to

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investigate the foundation, evolution, limits and decline of the New Deal. More than a quarter century after the book's appearance, the concept of a multi--decade, political--social New Deal order still pervades our historical understanding of 20th century America.

Our conference, "Beyond the New Deal Order," draws upon the new ways of thinking about politics, ideas, economy, gender, race and ethnicity, and the U.S. role in the world that have emerged in recent historical scholarship to interrogate the foundational suppositions put forward by Fraser, Gerstle and their co-authors more than a quarter century ago. Is the concept of a New Deal order still a viable way of framing the reform impulses unleashed in the Depression decade and continuing through the 1960s and even after? How does the New Deal order fit into the larger sweep of American history, including what historian Richard Hofstadter once called "the American political tradition?" And finally, did the New Deal order actually fall, or, given the demographic reconfiguration of the American electorate and the emergence of movements and coalitions organized outside or in opposition to the New Deal framework, would "transformation" rather than "fall" be a better word to describe how such an order continues to function in the 21st century?

We invite panel and paper submissions for possible presentation at the conference. We are especially interested in broad and inclusive submissions that focus upon the following themes:

- How has the changing structure of capitalism, in the U.S. and the world, contributed to the fate of the New Deal order?
- Has a new political order, neoliberal or otherwise, taken shape in the United States?
- How have political parties evolved during and after the New Deal order?
- The New Deal order considered as a global project, and its relationship to American power, military, political, and ideological.
- Populisms of the Left and Right.
- Race and democracy in New Deal politics and political economy.
- The gendered politics of the American state and its social policy.
- The New Deal and its opposition as ideological and intellectual projects.
- The U.S. "Labor Question," from the Great Depression to the Great Recession.

Please send a two paragraph précis and a short C.V. by February 1. Some funding for graduate students and those with limited travel budgets may be available. Send proposals to Kristoffer Smemo at [ksmemo@umail.ucsb.edu](mailto:ksmemo@umail.ucsb.edu).

For the planning committee:  
Nelson Lichtenstein and Alice O'Connor, UCSB, co--conveners; Steve Fraser, The Murphy Institute, CUNY; Gary Gerstle, University of Cambridge; Romain Huret, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales; and Jean--Christian Vinel, Université Paris--Diderot.

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### Qualitative Sociology Special Issue on Gender and Globalization

In the past decade, pressing social changes have brought issues of gender, sexuality, and globalization to the fore, many of which are just beginning to be studied sociologically. New

## CFPs

social movements addressing issues of gender and sexuality are being organized at a global level – including LGBTQ activism, anti-trafficking activism, and domestic worker advocacy – and inciting contentious debates. The Arab Spring and turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa have raised new questions about women's agency and rights in Muslim societies and struggles over democratization. In some parts of the world, masculinity is going through significant shifts. Revitalized religious movements have gained influence across the globe, sparking renewed debate over gender and sexuality within these traditions.

Yet too often there is disconnection between studies that examine transnational institutions and movements and those that focus on the transnational dimensions of social phenomena in particular places. Additionally, sociologists who focus on different world regions or disciplinary subfields are not always in conversation. Finally, gender and sexuality in the United States are rarely studied with a transnational lens.

This special issue of *Qualitative Sociology* aims to address these gaps and highlight cutting-edge research on gender and sexuality in diverse global contexts. The goal is to deepen global/transnational sociology with a gendered lens, and help to advance a theoretical agenda for understanding how gender and sexuality are both constitutive of and constituted by contemporary global and transnational social relations.

This special issue seeks papers based on qualitative research on the transnational dimensions of gender and sexuality and/or that contribute to theorizing gender and globalization. Articles on the Global South are

especially welcome. Empirical and theoretical issues may include (but are not limited to):

- New forms of gendered labor and the global economy
- Gender and class in global contexts
- Transnational social movements addressing gender and sexuality
- Agency in an age of globalization
- Sexuality
- Civil society
- Migration
- Health and Disease
- Nationalism
- Religion
- Intimacy and Relationships
- Globalization and Masculinities
- Methodological Issues (especially in understanding links between the transnational and local)

The deadline for submissions is: April 1, 2015.

Submission Instructions: All papers should be submitted through: <http://www.editorialmanager.com/quas/> and should comply with the journal's standard editorial guidelines. When submitting an article, please send a note to Rachel Rinaldo and Manisha Desai (addresses below), and CC Rebecca Hanson ([beccara606@gmail.com](mailto:beccara606@gmail.com)). Be sure to select the article type "Special Issue: Gender and Globalization" when you submit your paper through Editorial Manager.

Address questions to:

Rachel Rinaldo ([rar8y@virginia.edu](mailto:rar8y@virginia.edu)), University of Virginia

Manisha Desai ([Manisha.desai@uconn.edu](mailto:Manisha.desai@uconn.edu)), University of Connecticut



## CFPs

Sociology Preconference 2015  
Northwestern University, Kellogg School of  
Management  
August 21, 2015

We invite submissions for a third preconference on media sociology to be held at Northwestern University, Kellogg School of Management on Friday, August 21, 2015. (This is one day before the start of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in Chicago.) To encourage the widest possible range of submissions, we have no pre-specified theme again this year and invite both theoretical and empirical papers on any topic related to media sociology. Submissions from graduate students and junior scholars are particularly welcome.

This preconference is linked to an effort to strengthen media sociology within the ASA: After a long period of negotiation, the media sociology steering committee was able to broker a deal with the Communication and Information Technologies section (CITASA) at the end of 2014. If all goes well in 2015, CITASA will be changing its section name to "Communication, Information Technologies and Media Sociology." The current section membership still needs to formally vote in favor of this change but we have been assured--based on the recent survey of current CITASA members—that this will most likely happen.

Media sociology has long been a highly diverse field spanning many topics, methodologies, and units of analysis. It encompasses all forms of mass--mediated communication and expression, including news media, entertainment media, as well as new and digital media. Outstanding research exists within the different subfields both within and beyond the discipline of sociology. Our aim is to

create dialogue among these disparate yet complementary traditions.

Papers may be on a variety of topics including, but not limited to:

- Production processes and/or media workers
- Political economy (including the role of the state and markets)
- Media and the public sphere
- Mediatization
- Media content
- The Internet, social media, cellular phones, or other technology
- The digital divide
- New uses of media
- Media globalization or diaspora
- Media effects of media consumption
- Identity, the self, and media

Invited Speakers:

Last year's preconference, held at the Lorry I. Lokey Graduate School of Business at Mills College in Oakland, California, was again very well--attended and featured an invited keynote by Clayton Childress (University of Toronto -- Scarborough) and a plenary panel addressing the theme, "Media Sociology as a Vocation" featuring Laura Grindstaff (UC Davis), Paul Hirsch (Northwestern University), Ron Jacobs (SUNY Albany), Paul Lopes (Colgate University), and Guobin Yang (University of Pennsylvania).

This year's keynote speaker will be Tressie McMillan Cottom (Virginia Commonwealth University, starting fall 2015). There will again be a closing special plenary session. We will announce further invited speakers in due course.

Submissions should include:

- Separate cover sheet with: title, name and affiliation, and email address of author(s).

## CFPs

- Abstract of 150-300 words that discusses the problem, research, methods and relevance.
- Also include at least three descriptive keywords. Note: DO NOT put identifying information in the body of the abstract; only on cover sheet.
- Use Microsoft Office or PDF format.

Send abstracts to casey.brienza.1@city.ac.uk. Please write "Media Sociology Preconference" in the subject line.

Abstract deadline is March 31, 2015.

Notification of acceptance will occur sometime in mid-April.

Contact Casey Brienza (casey.brienza.1@city.ac.uk) or Matthias Revers (matthias.revers@uni--graz.at) for more information about the preconference.

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Connecting Students to the Labor Movement  
Annual Meetings of the Southern Labor Studies  
Association  
March 6–8, 2015

Washington, DC – The George Washington  
University  
Deadline: February 9, 2015 (Papers not  
necessary)

We invite labor activists and academics alike to participate in a panel to discuss how they have used the classroom as a conduit to engage students in the labor movement. This session, open to activists and academics, will offer lessons for new or emerging collaborative projects and can serve as a bridge between activists/scholars working independently but with similar goals. Participants may wish to address such questions as: What do unions need from student volunteers? What can

students, faculty, and universities gain from working with unions? What can students contribute to fights for economic justice, both when workers on campus are seeking student support and when students contribute to campaigns removed from their campus? What obstacles do academic--activist collaborations present and how can they be overcome?

If you have questions or are interested in joining us in Washington, DC this March, contact Jeff Larson (jlarson@towson.edu) or Kate O'Neil (k8oneil@gmail.com).

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### Work in Progress blog

The Work in Progress blog, of the Organizations, Occupations and Work section of the ASA, invites submissions (800-1,200 words) on all topics related to organizations, occupations and work, broadly understood. The primary purpose of the blog is to disseminate sociological findings and ideas to the general public. Articles should be accessible and jargon-free, written like a New York Times op-ed. We currently get over 3,000 views per month and are followed on social media by journalists from the New York Times, Washington Post, NPR, BBC and other outlets.

We will publish summaries by authors of all monographs related to organizations, occupations and work. Additionally, we invite proposals for three types of article: research findings (from your own study or summarizing the findings of others), news analysis, commentary.

Interested authors should send a proposed title and topic (one paragraph maximum) to Matt Vidal (matt.vidal@kcl.ac.uk). The WIP Editorial Team will decide whether to invite a full submission.

## 2014 Political Sociology Section Award Winners

### Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Book Award

**Committee Chair:** Edward Walker  
(University of California, Los Angeles)  
**Committee Members:** Kathleen Fallon  
(Stony Brook University), Nathan Martin  
(Arizona State University); Tom Medvetz  
(University of California, San Diego)

**Co-Recipient:** Mark Mizruchi (University of Michigan)

Mizruchi, Mark. 2013. *The Fracturing of the American Corporate Elite*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.



Mark Mizruchi's *The Fracturing of the American Corporate Elite* makes a compelling and elegant argument about the changing nature of the American corporate elite. Although there has now been a return to studying business elites in political and economic sociology, there remains an assumption that these elites are influential and effective in their efforts to shape politics, economy, and society. Integrating insights from painstaking historical investigation, quantitative analysis, and his own vast body of previous work, Mizruchi shows that as a major consequence of business's major political victories in the 1970s and 1980s, along with shareholder capitalism and changes in the state and labor unions, the business elite actually became fragmented and unable to exercise effective leadership in society. All of this, of course, sets the stage for gridlocked politics, government shutdowns, and a set of large global firms that are effective in winning battles for their own firm or industry but which do little to improve society. This book sets new agendas not only for political sociology but also for research on organizations, economic sociology, and management studies. The committee congratulates Mark Mizruchi for winning the award.

## 2014 Political Sociology Section Award Winners

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(Arizona State University); Tom Medvetz  
(University of California, San Diego)

**Co-Recipient:** Jocelyn Viterna (Harvard  
University)

Viterna, Jocelyn. 2013. *Women in War: The  
Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El  
Salvador*. New York, NY: Oxford University  
Press.



The award committee was equally pleased to award Jocelyn Viterna for her remarkable book, *Women in War: The Micro-processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*. Viterna draws on a number of years of fieldwork in El Salvador, conducting 230 interviews among former FMLN commanders, combatants, village leaders, and general community members, to investigate the causes and consequences of women's participation in the FMLN army. Viterna finds that, ironically, women were recruited into warfare through traditionally feminine narratives, which emphasized women's vulnerability. As a consequence of these traditional narratives, women's gender identities remained notably untransformed, even after engaging in the highly masculine-coded act of waging war. Viterna's findings help sociologists understand why gender identities are so resistant to change, even within movements that feature progressive gender roles. Viterna also develops a new model of micro-level mobilization, and demonstrates how paying attention to micro-level variations in activism can powerfully extend meso- and macro-level understandings of social mobilization. The findings from this book will not only help to inform future studies in the areas of social movements, gender, and war, but also in areas of politics, development, and civil strife. Congratulations also to Jocelyn Viterna for winning the award.

## 2014 Political Sociology Section Award Winners

### Article or Book Chapter Award

**Committee Chair:** Catherine Lee  
(Rutgers University)

**Committee Members:** Anne Costain  
(University of Colorado), Keith Bentele  
(University of Massachusetts-Boston),  
Cheol-Sung Lee (University of Chicago)

Winner:

**Recipient:** Hana E. Brown (Wake Forest College)

Brown, Hana E. 2013. "Racialized Conflict and Policy Spillover Effects: The Role of Race in the Contemporary U.S. Welfare State." *American Journal of Sociology* 119(2): 394-443.



Hana Brown examines how racial divisions structure contemporary politics without the presence of de jure discrimination by drawing on archival research, content analysis, in-depth interviews, and public opinion data. Using a racialized conflict theory, Brown shows that racial divisions in policy outcomes are the result of spillover effects of prevailing conflicts in a social field. The selection committee was impressed by the article's thought-provoking question, sophisticated research design, and use of multiple methods and data. The article makes important substantive and theoretical contributions to studies of politics and race, helping to advance our understandings of welfare reform, policy choice, and racial divides.

**Honorable Mention:** Xiaohong Xu (National University of Singapore)

Xu, Xiaohong. 2013. "Belonging Before Believing: Group Ethos and Bloc Recruitment in the Making of Chinese Communism." *American Sociological Review* 78 (5): 773-796.

## 2014 Political Sociology Section Award Winners

### Best Graduate Student Paper Award

**Committee Chair:** *Greg Hooks (Washington State University)*

**Committee Members:** *Stefanie Mudge (University of California, Davis), Tasleem Padamsee (Ohio State University); Charles Seguin (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)*

**Recipient:** Hassan El Menyawi (New York University)

Menyawi, Hassan. "The Great Reversal: How Nations in the Muslim World Went from Tolerating Same-Sex Practices to Repressing LGB People, 1750—2010"

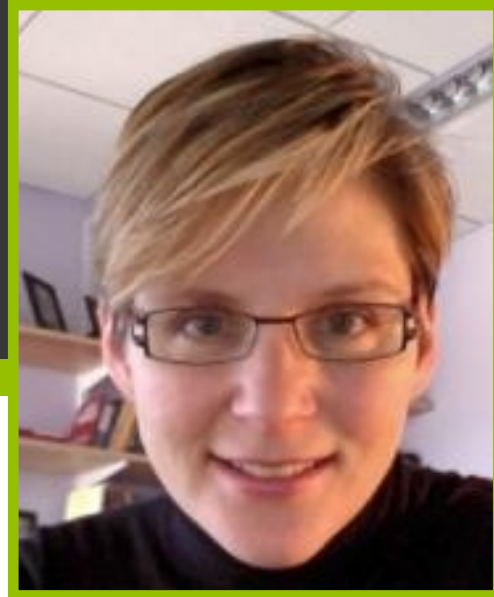


Hassan El Menyawi's paper, "The Great Reversal: How Nations in the Muslim World Went from Tolerating Same-Sex Practices to Repressing LGB People, 1750—2010" shows a 'Great Reversal.' While Muslim nations were once more tolerant of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people than was the West, Muslim countries are now less tolerant of LGB people than the West. El Menyawi's paper first establishes this pattern with an impressive data collection describing the extent of both formal state laws and state actions repressing LGB people globally from 1750-2010. El Menyawi then shows that this reversal was the result of state and religious leaders inventing "traditions" of LGB repression and intolerance in the Muslim world as these leaders sought to strengthen symbolic boundaries with an increasingly tolerant West. Ironically, these intolerant "traditions" were originally imported by Western colonialist powers. By showing this marked divergence in global norms over this period, the paper presents a powerful challenge to world polity theories that see global culture becoming ever more homogeneous. Rather, El Menyawi's paper suggests that global integration can also fuel cultural differentiation. El Menyawi thus brings a substantial contribution both to mainstream political sociology and to the relatively undeveloped political sociology of Muslim countries.

## Interview with Article Award Recipient

# Jocelyn Viterna

Interview Questions by Benjamin Lind  
National Research University-Higher  
School of Economics



Jocelyn Viterna was the co-recipient of the Political Sociology Section's Book Award in 2014 for her book *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador* (2013, Oxford University Press). Viterna is currently Associate Professor of Sociology and Social Studies and Co-director of the Transnational Studies Initiative at Harvard University.

*1. Your book draws considerable attention to network context. I would like hear your thoughts about how ties form. Some scholars presuppose that actors have their own localized preferences with whom they form ties and do so accordingly, whereas others treat tie formation as a more "global" process that results from some general norms. Given how few options the women had in your study, I take it that you fall into the latter camp. If so, which sort of general norms describe how the women in your study formed ties? Also, under which set of hypothetical circumstances could women in high-risk activism afford to choose their own ties?*

**JV:** Women's large-scale participation in violent warfare is a relatively new and expanding phenomenon, but we know little about how women's militant participation shapes their

lives after the war ends. Some scholars have theorized that women's participation in socialist-inspired militant groups will catapult them into positions of political leadership after the war, and light the fuse of feminist mobilization more generally. Women's individual transformation through participation is theorized to be the causal mechanism: through socialist, militant activism, women were thought to gain awareness of gender inequalities, and confidence that they could challenge those inequalities.

One of the central conclusions in my book is that this hypothesized causal relationship is wrong. While a few women gained new social, political and economic opportunities after the war, most did not. Moreover, those that did gain new opportunities after the war gained them through ties with powerful others, not through their individual feminist transformation. After the war, NGOs flooded the war-zone with post-war projects, many of them aimed at women's empowerment. Men in charge during the war were often asked by the NGOs to nominate women to work in their

## Interview with Award Recipient: Viterna

projects. These commanders nominated the women they knew—generally those who worked geographically close to the central command during the war, like radio operators or field hospital directors. Thus it was not the women on the front lines—women who bent gender the most—who were rewarded with post-war positions, but rather women who were most likely to work in support positions near the male commanders.

In short, women had very little say about what position they were assigned in the guerrilla camps. Those who were most insistent about challenging gender norms were the only ones who made it to the front lines, and ironically, they were the least likely to win post-war power and opportunity. It was women who chose to maintain more traditional gender roles who were most likely to form ties that linked them to post-war opportunities. So I would say I fall into both of the “camps” you describe: local preferences matter, but they matter more in some contexts than others, and ties affect different people differently.

*2. The recognition of women's military service varies considerably cross-nationally, from non-acknowledgement to celebration. To what extent do Salvadorans publicly recognize female military service? How does it compare to that of the US?*

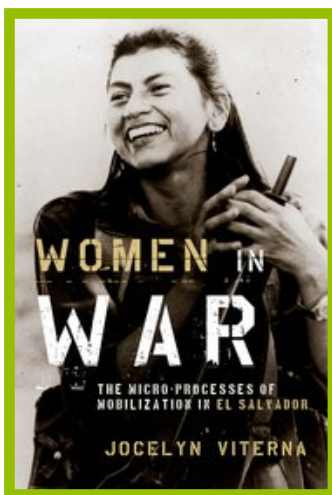
**JV:** During the war, the FMLN advertised women's participation in their ranks to international audiences for two reasons. One, women's participation suggested that there's

was a “just” war. In fact, it was so just that even women—and mothers!—were fighting. Two, women's participation appealed to socialist and feminist organizations in developed countries, encouraging them to send money to support the FMLN. Each branch of the FMLN developed a woman's organization primarily with the purpose of gaining monetary donations from solidarity groups in the global north. After the war, this celebration of women's participation largely disappeared. There are no public memorials to women combatants, and few local scholars writing about their activism. Women who served in the FMLN, even in top leadership roles, felt that they were discriminated against during the demobilization process because of their gender.

I would have to know more about the US military than I do to compare them in a rigorous way, but my hunch is that the experience of discrimination after combat service will be shared, as women take on more combatant roles in the US military.

*3. Your book clearly took a tremendous amount of dedication: you had been studying El Salvador society for eighteen years, lived in the country for three years, and conducted 230 interviews during that time, at least one lasting eight hours, not to mention considerable archival work. Aside from wearing practical shoes, what general advice would you offer young scholars interested in conducting extended international fieldwork?*

**JV:** Ha! Most importantly, I would say you have to be passionate about exploring new places





**Interview with Award Recipient: Viterna**

and meeting new people. Some people find knocking on strangers' doors and spending hours in conversation invigorating and energizing; others find it excruciating. If it's not fun, then you should look for another topic. I would also say that, when you're doing a project about the lives of individuals who, due to poverty and illiteracy, cannot write their own stories, you have to be especially careful about your research. You don't have previous literature or archival documents to draw from; you only have their stories. Oral histories help build histories of individual lives relatively easily, but to use oral histories to build a story about an entire social movement requires numerous stories from a carefully selected population of individuals. For example, if you want to understand how war affected the life chances of Salvadoran women combatants, you shouldn't only interview women combatants; you should also compare those women's experiences to the experiences of men combatants, or to similarly situated women who did not fight in the war. If you are asking a question that demands a generalizable answer, then you need to think critically about your sampling design, and how you can creatively achieve your intellectual goals despite the constraints of the research environment.

I think training is also crucial – and sadly missing—for graduate students doing fieldwork in places characterized by long histories of inequality and violence. How do you stay safe in the field? How do you mitigate the unavoidable arrogance of being the privileged scholar studying the lives of the poor? How do you “give back” to the communities you study without compromising your data? We need to develop summer courses, or ASA workshops, or at minimum, build an infrastructure to connect

individuals who work in particular areas for the sharing of context-specific information.

*4. In light of the conclusions reached in your book, which future directions would you like to see political sociology take on the subject of high-risk political participation? Which avenues seem the most promising?*

**JV:** In reading stories about other insurgent groups around the world, I'm astounded by how similar they are in tactics, narratives, organizational structures, relationships with community, and movement goals. In talking to scholars of other insurgent movements, I find that they, like me, learned of many situations when members of the movement they studied were directly collaborating with other movements around the world. For example, guerrilla men I interviewed in rural El Salvador may have never visited neighboring Guatemala or Honduras, but they had traveled during the war to countries like the USSR, Cuba, East Germany and Angola for training and political missions. I would like to see someone study the transnational connections between insurgent movements. Which movements speak to each other and why? How might they influence one another? I also think someone needs to do a study on how insurgencies are funded. I stumbled across some interesting connections between Hollywood actors and the FMLN, for example. And I think the time has come to do a meta analysis of women insurgents. What do women's militant experiences have in common across movements? How do they differ? And what does that mean for how militant participation affects gender systems, as well as for how women's participation is re-shaping the act of political violence?



**Journal Review: *Journal of Politics and Society*****Findings and Ideas from *Journal of Politics and Society***

Marita Wright's article "Making it Personal: How Anti-Fracking Organizations Frame Their Messages" explores the frame creation process of social movement organizations. She argues that the targeted audience of a social movement organization is an important part of frame creation process.

The study uses empirical data collected through ethnographic research of environmental organization and a number of interviews with employees of local anti-fracking movement groups. Based on this data, Marita Wright proposes a frame creation process which includes three components: backstage strategizing, front stage testing grounds, and front stage official messages.

She finds that an environmental organization testing messages with each target audience creates unique approaches to each.

**Findings and Ideas from *Journal of Politics and Society***

In the paper "Forced Marriage and the Absence of Gang Rape: Explaining Sexual Violence by the Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda," Sophie Kramer explored the deviant case of sexual violence during the war in Northern Uganda. The case of LRA exemplified controversy between theoretical models and practice.

Following the literature, wartime sexual violence typically includes widespread gang rapes. However observations from Northern Uganda demonstrate that rape outside of the forced marriages between rebel soldiers and civilian women were rare.

Kramer proposed a theoretical framework to explain this observation, providing three scenarios: there is a need to control troops and create loyalties among them; there are other elements of violence that substitute for group rape; and a cultural rejection of rape as well as support for marriage and children.

**Call for Submissions:****States, Power, and Societies**

The Newsletter of the Political Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association

We invite your contributions for the next issue.

Please continue to send your abstracts from newly published articles, books, and completed dissertations along with announcements of meetings, or other opportunities of interest to the Political Sociology section members. We also welcome suggestions for future symposiums.

**Please send your materials to Benjamin Lind at:**

blind@hse.ru