

# STATES, POWER, & SOCIETIES



## LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

Paul Almeida  
UC Merced

I enjoyed the opportunity to meet many of you at section events during the ASA meetings in Los Angeles this past August, from the reception to panels and other events. The ability to gather in person after two years of virtual conferences was an extraordinary achievement, even as we carry on in slow-motion adjusting to the lingering character of the pandemic. I appreciate the tremendous work and effort of outgoing Chair Fabio Rojas for making the section reception and political sociology panels a huge success. I am also grateful to Jasmine Kerrissey for taking on the

role of section Treasurer in mid-year.

Since the ASA, we have faced ongoing challenges where the work of political sociology remains indispensable. This includes the over 540 candidates for state-wide or federal office who have denied the legitimacy of the 2020 presidential election results to the the COP 27 Climate Conference in Egypt and how international pressure and social movements can enforce the actual implementation of the new “Loss and Damage Fund” for nations in the global South. Some of these issues will be debated within our ASA 2023 section panels, while we look to develop inclusive webinars this spring to engage with other pressing policies from reproductive and labor rights to racial justice.

The section also has a few positive developments to share. We underwent a membership growth campaign in late August that yielded over fifty new members! Thanks to the many of you that participated in the mobilizing drive and

recruited new affiliates or helped with renewals. As of late November, we had 830 members, making us the sixth largest section within the ASA (out of 53 sections).

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During the fall we also initiated an open call within the membership for panel themes for ASA 2023. We received over 20 submissions and used the

ideas and suggestions for all five of our section panels (listed later in this newsletter). We have also transitioned to ASA Connect as the main form of communication within ASA sections. I thank our Communications Director, Kerice Doten-Snitker, for facilitating the move to this new format as smoothly as possible. I am also delighted to see the interactivity of this forum versus the previous uni-directional messages from section chairs over the listserv. There seems to be some kind of update, opportunity,

or announcement from a section member on almost a daily basis on ASA Connect for Political Sociology.

Looking forward to 2023, we hope to have an important bylaw change on the ASA ballot. It will ask section members to vote on allowing our Political Section Career Award to be granted each year instead of on an occasional basis. Council felt that there are too many deserving scholars to not offer this prestigious award on an annual cycle (so keep a look

out for this item in the upcoming elections). Please also consider nominating yourself or a colleague for one of our other section awards. We are grateful for the willingness of past awardees to serve on this year's committees - we hope to sustain this trend in the future. The call for nominations can be found here:

<https://www.asanet.org/communities-sections/sections/section-award-nominations/calls#politicalsociology>.

Wishing you all a relaxing holiday season.

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## 2023 Annual Meeting Section Sessions

For the 2023 ASA Annual Meeting, the Section will sponsor the following panels. Submissions are due by 11:59 p.m. Eastern on Wednesday, February 22, 2023. Find [full descriptions on the ASA website](#).

- Tides and Struggles of Democracy and Constitutionalism (organizers Yao Lu, Columbia University & Ben Manski, George Mason University)
- The Politics of Gender and Sexuality (organizer Rita Stephan, North Carolina State University)
- The Politics of Climate Change (organizer Paul D. Almeida, University of California-Merced)
- BIPOC Political Thought in the Post-Trump Era (organizer Marya T. Mtshali, Harvard University)
- Populism and Authoritarianism (organizers Dana M. Moss, University of Notre Dame & Ali Kadivar, Boston College)
- The State and Racial Capitalism (joint session with Section on Comparative and Historical Sociology) (organizer Alexandre White, Johns Hopkins University)
- Refereed Political Sociology Roundtables

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## Bounded Futures

Borders have immense significance for everyday lives across the world. Borders are a perennial topic for political sociologists that paradoxically seem to have fresh exigency. Abigail Andrews and David C. Brotherton focus our attention on how borders are practiced and who they are practiced on. -Eds.

### **Banished Men: How Migrants Endure the Violence of Deportation**

Abigail Andrews

University of California San Diego

Ángel Morales had been locked up for almost two years the day U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) pulled him out of detention and loaded him into a van for the Mexican border – and deportation. They chained his hands in a box and cuffed his feet so tight he could hardly walk. Angel had been locked up for (allegedly) hitting an officer at an immigration protest. After 18 months in prison and six in immigration detention, he felt he was losing his soul. Every day, guards woke the men at 3:00 in the morning, blasting fluorescent lights. Ángel often saw people beaten by guards or gangs. As he said, “They break you.”

Angel had lived in the U.S. since he was four. When he tried to “return” to Guadalajara, people treated him like a stranger – and sometimes a criminal. He felt deeply alone. He explained, “You’re so used to being stuck inside four walls (of a prison) that you feel like you have to be inside to be protected ... It’s two different shocks, the shock of being inside four walls and then the shock of you being free, but you don’t recognize anything ... .. Your whole identity - you - get lost.”

Ángel was not alone. My 31 students and I interviewed 171 deported men for our

forthcoming book *Banished Men: How Migrants Endure the Violence of Deportation*. Most of them struggled to (re)build social connections and reclaim their very humanity. Some died by suicide. Others ended up killed.

Scholars have long argued that deportation enforces a system of apartheid (Burawoy 1976; Golash-Boza, 2015). In our forthcoming book, however, my students and I argue that the U.S. deportation system has changed. Today, it is a system of banishment.

Like apartheid, banishment relies on gendered and racial exclusion – and on family separation. Yet, banishment is distinct from apartheid in several key ways. First, it integrates immigration with the carceral system. Now, virtually all deportees get detained (in what are, in practice, prisons), and ICE pulls roughly 40% from U.S. prisons or jails. Second, banishment targets men. While men are just about half of unauthorized migrants, they make up roughly 95% of deportees. A gendered state logic demonizing Latino men as “bad hombres” and “gangsters” underwrites this deeply uneven removal. Third, banishment leaves men in limbo, funneling them to urban peripheries. Apartheid systems relied on a symbiosis between Bantustan and metropole,

production and reproduction, home and away. Yet deportees are rarely able to return to their places of birth. “Broken” by prison, most get trapped in a no-man’s land at the border or on the fringes of Mexican cities. Traumatized, alone, unable to go “home,” and hesitant to risk a return to the United States, deportees land in limbo.

If apartheid aimed to exploit migrant men, banishment strives to erase them. As scholars like Orlando Patterson (1985) or Lisa Marie Cacho (2012) might put it, banishment is one mode of social death. Incarceration, detention, and forced displacement erode men’s intimate ties and attack their humanity. They leave men’s relationships and identities disintegrated, let alone their capacity to advocate for themselves.

Still, this government-sponsored erasure is never complete. If migrants resisted apartheid by protesting back in their homelands, men and women transcend the limbo of deportation by finding new terms on which to exist as multinational humans. Often, they must do this outside “legitimate” outlets for politics, sometimes joining in organized crime, (re)crossing the U.S. border, or resisting the imaginary order forged by a wall. Resistance does not always arrive on the terms that scholars expect.

Angel was one of the lucky ones. He had friends that died after deportation, by

suicide, police violence, cartels, or addiction. But Angel ultimately found his way into Mexico City, where he joined a group of deportees fighting for a new existence “ni aquí, ni allá” (neither here nor there). As Ángel reclaimed deportation, he found community, rebuilt his life, and refused to be extinguished by the US or Mexican states.

*(This article includes excerpts from the forthcoming book of the same title.)*

Burawoy, Michael. 1976. “The Functions and Reproduction of Migrant Labor: Comparative Material from Southern Africa and the United States.” *American Journal of Sociology* 81 (5): 1050-87.

Cacho, Lisa Marie. 2012. *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected*. New York: New York University Press.

Golash-Boza, Tanya. 2015. *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor, and Global Capitalism*. New York: New York University Press.

Patterson, Orlando. 1985. *Slavery and Social Death*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

**Abigail Andrews** is Associate Professor of *Urban Studies and Planning (and by courtesy, Sociology) at the University of California-San Diego*. Her book *Banished Men: How Migrants Endure the Violence of Deportation – with contributions by 31 Latinx students – will be released free and Open Source by UC Press Luminos in 2023*.

## Borders

David C. Brotherton

John Jay College of Criminal Justice and the Graduate Center, City University of New York

The phenomenon of the border has long been a discursive point of departure in studies across the disciplinary spectrum in both the

social sciences and the humanities. In sociology our borderlands, be they physical, socio-cultural or epistemological, remain a major subject of our scholarly gaze, perhaps

more so now than ever with MAGA-fueled moral panics around borders providing the ideological gift that keeps on giving.

The border is a key social construct, linked socially and historically. Take, for instance, mass incarceration and deportation, both modes of exclusion that should be conceived in their dialectical relationship to one another. Eddie Ellis, an imprisoned intellectual whose study group was formed in the cells of New York State's Comstock Penitentiary in the 1980s, reminded us that the bulk of inmates came from just five zip codes in New York City, all populated by mainly working-class and poor Black and Latino populations. He maintained that there was nothing accidental about these pipelines to incarceration. They came from internal borderlands, whose boundaries were maintained by police, racist drug laws and housing policies, educational denial, and systemic economic disinvestment. Such border processes necessarily produced generations of youth who experienced criminal rather than social justice, criminalization rather than socialization, and punishment rather than empowerment.

Similar interlocking social and structural processes can be observed in the phenomenon of mass forced repatriation as external borders, the result of settler-colonial conquest, have become militarized, with immigration courts functioning as little more than sites of surplus class banishment with little due process. Currently, millions of formerly U.S. resident non-citizens now comprise this growing "American" diaspora primarily in the global south. Once again, primarily drawn from contained spaces inhabited by the lower classes and non-white populations, these excluded subjects move from one borderland to another as they are returned to nations with the least resources and often fragile

state structures, themselves the "developing" products of centuries of colonial and imperial labor exploitation and extraction.

Meanwhile in Europe the same question of "who belongs?" and "in which borders?" continues to exercise politicians and remain prominent in media headlines. As the supra-national agreements of the European Union come under strain from displaced populations produced by wars, climate change, and economic imperialism, men, women and children from the "periphery" are forced across seas, oceans, and multiple border crossings in a quest to escape their bare life existence. Although treated by society with some kind of compassion in the past (e.g. under the 1949 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights), these more recent border transgressors and sometimes stateless persons are systematically othered by various governments, with some even proposing to ship them off to formerly colonized nations much like they sent the exoriated to the New World in epochs past. There is no lack of irony in watching this transnational pool of labor, once a useful means for the attainment of middle-class lifestyles for so many, become a source of so much social, economic, and cultural anxiety as their alienage becomes their master status, especially to those whose politics of resentment have been translated into neo-fascistic and ultra-rightist rhetoric and ideology.

The question of the border enters its most dangerous moment in the invasion of Ukraine. Authoritarian politics from the East make use of the historical threat of Western militarism. Borders, in this case, literally take on the form of trench warfare. Another set of borders is at stake, too: the social and class relations of both countries, drawn and redrawn by previous revolutions.

For students of the border, a critical sociological imagination has never been more necessary. The forces of corporate global capitalism continue to rend borders asunder in its search for exploitable labor and marketplace advantage. But what is most crucial beyond the mapping of these structural and historical processes is the impact on the human condition and the solutions we must collectively ponder. After all, borders have to be socially enforced, legitimated, and obeyed, despite their legal

enshrinement. Our sociological task, therefore, is always to examine precisely what borders are, why they exist, and how they might be resisted. For surely both the debacles of the pandemic and the environment have taught us that our planet, in essence, is borderless.

**Dr. David C. Brotherton** is Professor of Sociology at John Jay College of Criminal Justice and the Graduate Center, City University of New York.

## Q&A with 2022 Award Winners



**Jack Goldstone**

### **Winners, Distinguished Career in Political Sociology Award**

Committee: Fabio Rojas (chair), Evelyn Huber, John Stephens

**SPS: What has most influenced your overall research agenda? What do you see as the core questions motivating your research going forward?**

I'd have to say I have multiple research agendas—understanding the causes and outcomes of revolutions; understanding how long-term demographic change affects politics and society; and identifying the key conditions for long-term economic growth,

especially the origins of modern economic growth. In all cases, I'm concerned to understand big long-term changes that I think are important, but that other people (as far as I can tell) haven't fully explained. I remember early in my career going to my first meeting of the British Economic History Society. I was excited to be able to ask the real experts what caused the Industrial Revolution to arise there. I spoke to six different distinguished scholars – and each one gave me a different answer! So I felt that there was something I had to research. Now it's probably the same but you would get twenty different answers (\$!#) So I still have a book I want to write on that--it will be about how politics, not simply economic factors, were crucial to the origins of modern economic growth.

**SPS: How has the field of political sociology changed throughout your career, and how do you see it evolving in the future? Alternatively, what can political sociology contribute to current academic and public debates?**

Unfortunately, like everything else in academics, political sociology has gotten more fragmented. Thirty years ago, Doug McAdam asked me to give a lecture on “political sociology” to his class at Stanford. I was able to give an overview of the entire field, based on a graduate seminar on Political Sociology that Theda Skocpol taught at Harvard. I couldn’t do that now – political sociology has research on social movements, gender issues, race and ethnicity issues, democracy and dictatorship, revolutions, urban politics, political parties, inequality, imperialism, slavery, citizenship, religion, the politics of different regions, non-violent conflict, states and state-making, welfare states, populism, fascism, etc. There are also more varied methods—more quantitative research but also more rigorous qualitative methods, and new ones like network theory and big data analysis of social media.

Right now, of all that, I think the most important contribution political sociology can make to current public debates is to talk about the deeply harmful impact of inequality on democracy, and about the development of ethno-nationalist populism and how it leads to dangerous conflicts. We need to warn people that democracy and peaceful pluralism are in real danger and can’t be taken for granted.

**SPS: How would you describe your research process? How has it changed over the years?**

That’s easy, and it hasn’t changed: Find a compelling question; read what other people have to say about it and figure out what they’re missing; figure out what data and methods I need to fill that hole with a convincing argument; go find the data and analyze it, and tell the story in a way that addresses, and will persuade, the other experts on that issue. Well, one change; when

I started, I had to do it all myself; now I can get help from really smart students.

**SPS: You’ve had a remarkable career in sociology. What advice would you give graduate students/early junior faculty working in political sociology?**

Find a compelling problem that you care about enough to dig into for years and make your own. Then learn from everyone you can who has worked on that, and don’t give up, don’t get discouraged. Have faith that criticism will help your work get better. And remember that you can always read more, revise, and improve anything you do. Push yourself to learn some methods outside your familiarity; you never know what may be useful. And talk to people in other fields too; it’s fun and you can learn things that will help you that others in your field might not know.

**SPS: What’s your favorite under-appreciated scholarly work?**

Barrington Moore’s *Injustice*. It’s not his most famous book (everyone reads *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*). But I think injustice is the crucial issue that ties together most of the world’s problems, and Moore’s book is a searching study of how feelings about injustice underlie the social order, and whether or not people accept that order. It has a lot to teach us about political conflict today. I’ll mention two others as well. First, Marx and Engels’ *Communist Manifesto*. People might say “who reads Marx today?” with communism mostly abandoned. But the criticisms of capitalism and inequality here still ring true, and there is a lot of important social theory here, if properly understood. Second, Trotsky’s *History of the Russian Revolution*. Of course we have more accurate histories – but to me this is the very best, most thoughtful, passionate and beautifully written account of what it’s like to try to lead a revolution. I still assign both of these books

to my students. To be sure, Moore's *Injustice* is a vehemently anti-Marxist book, but I think that's how we learn; by reading opposing points of view and figuring out what is of value in each.

**Dr. Jack Goldstone** is Virginia E. and John T. Hazel, Jr. Chair Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University, and a Global Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center.



**Poulami Roychowdhury**

**Co-Winner, Distinguished Contribution  
to Scholarship for an Article**

Committee: Irene H.I. Bloemraad (chair),  
Kiyoteru Tsutsui, Jessica Kang, Sourabh  
Singh, Jun Liu, Andrew N. Le

"Incorporation: Governing gendered violence  
in a state of disempowerment." *American  
Journal of Sociology* 126(4): 852-888.

**SPS: How did you start working on the  
research project that led to the article? How  
did the project evolve over time?**

I started by not really knowing what I was doing. I had some vague idea that I should study micro-finance because I cared about class and gender inequality. But in several meetings with people working in West Bengal's micro-finance space, the conversations turned towards the question of violence against women and everyone became very animated. I decided then and

there that I needed to study violence: how women experiencing violence ended up making legal claims, who helped them, and why some women got something from the law while most did not. The project evolved into a 26-month-long inquiry, involving multiple institutional sites and actors, and multiple villages and towns all over West Bengal.

In this article, I'm mainly trying to figure out why law enforcement were behaving in ways that defied my theoretical expectations. Having read the scholarship on gender and law, I was expecting police and judges would demand performances of victimhood from women in exchange for protection. But they weren't really protecting anybody. Instead, they were reassigning casework to women who were organizationally well-connected and politically mobilized, encouraging these women to engage in illegal activities and do their jobs for them.

All of this led me to argue that political pressure, women's organizing and collective threats, plays a central role in shaping state response. Existing scholarship in gender and law needed to pay greater attention to women's political behavior. When state officials feel politically threatened, they do not necessarily govern violence by protecting good victims, but rather by "incorporating" women into regulatory processes.

**SPS: What do you see as the core questions  
motivating your research going forward?**

In my book *Capable Women, Incapable States: Negotiating Violence and Rights in India* (Oxford 2021), I discuss the ways states use women's rights for diverse purposes, including shoring up their own legitimacy. I left my research thinking critically about the way women's rights becomes a political tool for states to achieve a range of other goals

that may or may not have anything to do with improving women's lives.

In this vein, I am currently interested in understanding the gendered politics of Hindu Nationalism, as represented by India's ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) under Narendra Modi. Since coming to office, Modi has repeatedly flagged violence against women as a central issue for his administration. Various BJP-led state governments have passed new regulations against sexual harassment. In a recent blog post for UPenn's [India in Transition Series](#), I ask why the BJP cares about sexual harassment, and what the party may be achieving through this policy focus.

**SPS: Where do you see the political sociology subfield heading? What do you think are some of the key ways that political sociology can contribute to current academic and public debates?**

As a graduate student, I was drawn to the subfield because I identified as a feminist and a Marxist. The books I was reading at the time, about women's rights, Civil Rights, labor organizing, helped me understand how progressive transformations became historically possible and made me hopeful about the future.

But I fear the future of the subfield lies in a much darker direction. Right now, one of the key challenges we face as political sociologists is grappling with authoritarianism and right wing populism. Why are so many people in so many different countries, from the United States, to Brazil, India, Hungary, and Italy drawn to xenophobia and violence? Why do they seem to be tired of democracy? How and why are these countries also the places where we have seen setbacks and challenges to women's and LGBTQ rights? What do the politics of racism and authoritarianism have to do with sexism, homophobia, transphobia?

Why is all of this happening now, at a time of unprecedented economic inequality? And finally, what on earth can we do to turn this situation around?

**Dr. Poulami Roychowdhury** is Associate Professor of Sociology at McGill University.



**Bart Bonikowski, Yuval Feinstein, and Sean Bock**

**Co-Winners, Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship for an Article Award**

Committee: Irene H.I. Bloemraad (chair), Kiyoteru Tsutsui, Jessica Kang, Sourabh Singh, Jun Liu, Andrew N. Le

"The Partisan Sorting of 'America': How nationalist cleavages shaped the 2016 U.S. Presidential election." *American Journal of Sociology* 127(2):492-561.

**SPS: How did you start working on the research project that led to the article? How did the project evolve over time?**

BB: The idea for the project emerged from my long-standing research agenda on nationalism and radical-right politics. The aggregate stability of nationalist beliefs that I had documented in prior work was at odds with the success of Donald Trump's ethno-nationalist presidential campaign in 2016. Yuval Feinstein, Sean Bock, and I

decided to address this puzzle by looking at temporal trends in the distribution of nationalist beliefs by party. We were also eager to examine the associations between different types of nationalism and candidate support in the general and primary elections, in order to better understand not only between-party but also within-party variation. The data for the project came from a 2016 survey I had conducted with Yuval, funded by our joint US-Israel Binational Science Foundation grant. Sean did an enormous amount of conceptual and analytical work for the project over the course of four years, so the final product is as much his accomplishment as it is mine or Yuval's. I also workshopped this paper extensively and received tremendous feedback from a wide range of audiences. In particular, I recall Neil Fligstein's comments after my talk at Berkeley leading to an especially important realization: that demand for radical politics could appear flat in the aggregate while rising sharply within the Republican Party as a result of the partisan sorting of nationalist beliefs. That became the paper's central insight.

SB: I began working on this project with Bart Bonikowski almost immediately when I started my graduate program, back in 2017. I came into the program with a strong interest in socio-political beliefs and political behavior, and so when Bart told me about this incredible data he and Yuval had collected on nationalism and the 2016 election, I knew I wanted to be involved with any related projects!

The project took quite a long time from start to publication, but there was actually little conceptual evolution over its course. We had a fairly clear idea of what the project would look like from the beginning. But because of its scope, the project naturally grew more and more complex over time — as most

projects tend to do. I think it's safe to say that we weren't anticipating the final paper including quite so many moving parts when we began.

**SPS: What do you see as the core questions motivating your research going forward?**

BB: I have long sought to understand how radical-right actors effectively mobilize electoral support using nationalist, populist, and authoritarian appeals. My research has examined these constitutive components of radical-right politics at the level of public attitudes and political discourse, while also investigating the shifting resonance between them. Recently, I have been synthesizing the various strands of my work into an overarching cultural model of radical-right mobilization, which is the focus of my current book project. The model is multicausal and processual and is informed by a diverse range of country cases, from Eastern and Western Europe to the United States. It places the activation of latent nationalist cleavages via heightened collective status threat at the center of the explanation for radical-right success. The theory is substantiated with empirical evidence from surveys, the computational analysis of political texts, and experimental research. Additionally, I have a number of articles in the works, including a study analyzing temporal patterns in national identification on Twitter (with Yuchen Luo), a series of papers on fears of automation and voting preferences with colleagues from Canada, and a collaborative cross-national survey project featuring conjoint experiments on populist and nationalist attitudes, geopolitical rivalries, immigration, and political party support.

SB: A common theme across my work is trying to find more nuanced understandings of political-cultural trends. For instance,

political sociology and political science has devoted much attention to the growing divide between Democrats and Republicans in the United States. But treating partisans as homogenous groups obfuscates quite a bit of underlying variation within these two factions. To me, parsing this variation in order to map both between- and within-party dynamics, has important implications for our understanding of the current political-cultural situation and where it's heading.

**SPS: Where do you see the political sociology subfield heading? What do you think are some of the key ways that political sociology can contribute to current academic and public debates?**

BB: In my view, political sociologists should pay more attention to institutional politics—including the study of voting behavior—in the U.S. and comparatively. Despite long-standing calls for reengagement with this topic, which had once been core to our subfield, it was surprising to see how little sociology contributed to the debates surrounding the 2016 U.S. presidential election. The initial conversation was almost entirely monopolized by political scientists. Although I found these early accounts useful, it was clear that they would have benefitted from a greater presence of sociological perspectives on culture, political mobilization, collective identity, race, and nationalism. I believe that we should seize the opportunity created by the historical moment to prioritize work on electoral politics, contribute to public conversations about the crisis of democracy, and engage more closely with political scientists, who, in my experience, are open to dialogue about topics of shared interest. Fortunately, these efforts are already under way, as sociologists—including many graduate students—have risen to the occasion and

began making important contributions to the study of radical-right politics. A second research area that is urgently in need of our collective attention is the politics of climate change. Here again, there is progress, but the field is still in its infancy. Given the gravity of the looming threat, the unequal way in which the associated risks will be distributed, and the fundamentally political nature of the barriers that stand in the way of meaningful solutions, political sociologists are in a perfect position to study—and perhaps help mitigate—the inadequate global response to the crisis.

SB: My hope is that political sociology continues to pay more attention to political beliefs, behaviors, and institutional politics. For decades, sociology largely ceded this area to political science, but hopefully it's clear now that sociology brings a distinctive and important perspective to these topics. If I were to guess one area of research that will continue to gain popularity among political sociologists, it would be text analysis of political rhetoric and speeches. There's so much research to be done in this area, and I think political sociologists are particularly well-suited to do it.

**Dr. Bart Bonikowski** is Associate Professor of Sociology at New York University.

**Sean Bock** is a PhD Candidate in Sociology at Harvard University.



**Jiaqi Liu**

**Winner, Distinguished Contribution to  
Scholarship for a Paper by a Graduate  
Student Award**

Committee: Lauren Duquette-Rury  
(chair), Nella Van Dyke, Maro Youssef,  
Minwoo Jung

“State power beyond the state: Digital  
infrastructures of China’s diaspora  
governance during the Covid-19 pandemic”

**SPS: How did you start working on the  
research project that led to the article? How  
did the project evolve over time?**

This article grew out of my dissertation and book project, “Statecraft in Motion: Emigration Governance in the Age of Rising China.” The original plan for my dissertation was to study Chinese emigrants in both their hometown in China and their destination country of France. I received a research fellowship from the French government to conduct fieldwork there for a year. But then the pandemic hit. I could not go to France for health concerns, while China did a relatively good job of containing the pandemic in 2020. I had to limit my fieldwork to China only.

Despite all my frustration, this drastic change opened new opportunities. Once I began interviewing migration bureaucrats in China, I discovered that in the early stages of the pandemic, local governments in diaspora hometowns invested in new information

technologies to reach out to emigrants abroad and to manage their return migration and even daily lives abroad. I became interested in the promises and pitfalls of ICTs in extending homeland states’ infrastructural power overseas. I believed this project has the potential of advancing political sociology by examining the state’s ICT-mediated extraterritorial governance. After more than a year of immersive fieldwork and painstaking writing, I sent this article out. It is now under Revise & Resubmit at a general sociology journal.

**SPS: What do you see as the core questions  
motivating your research going forward?**

My research lies at the intersection of international migration, political sociology, digital sociology, and globalization. With a focus on China and Chinese diasporas, my research explores how global migration reshapes the state’s power over its territory and population. Migration politics is an understudied topic in political sociology, and I hope to promote a refocus on emigration states and how they manage citizens who leave. I will turn my dissertation into a book and submit it to a university press.

Inspired by this project on digital governance, I am developing new projects to investigate how digital technologies reshape migration politics. For instance, I will study the social meanings of cryptocurrency among a group of poorly educated Chinese emigrants in Europe. Detached from Bitcoin’s denationalizing and decentralizing missions, these emigrants utilized the cryptocurrency as a tool to reexplore frontier capitalism and build social solidarity against the rising sinophobic discrimination in host societies. I also collaborated with a colleague to analyze how unfavorable policies and discourses plunged Chinese overseas students into immobility during the pandemic and how

student migrants reclaimed mobility through digital media.

**SPS: Where do you see the political sociology subfield heading? What do you think are some of the key ways that political sociology can contribute to current academic and public debates?**

I envision political sociology to transcend the conventional focus on macro-historical phenomena, such as wars, revolutions, democracy, and political economy. Sociologists may draw on political anthropology to pay more attention to ordinary citizens, local bureaucrats, and grassroots organizations in their quotidian encounters with or everyday operation of the state. By studying non-elite actors and mundane political processes, sociologists can advance a bottom-up understanding of politics as diffused in our daily struggles.

I am also enthusiastic about pushing forward the political sociology of migration. As cross-border movements challenge the nation-state's neat congruence of territory, population, and sovereignty, mainstreaming migration in the sociology of the state provides new avenues to move beyond the previous knowledge about politics that is often confined within or along national territories. This agenda is particularly important, as digital technologies take on a new significance to channel and mediate state-society interactions, or more specifically, state-migrant interplays, across boundaries.

*Jiaqi Liu is a PhD Candidate in Sociology at the University of California, San Diego.*



**Pei Palmgren**

**Honorable Mention, Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship for a Paper by a Graduate Student Award**

Committee: Lauren Duquette-Rury (chair), Nella Van Dyke, Maro Youssef, Minwoo Jung

“State capacity and opportunistic governance: the Causes and consequences of regulatory brokerage in Thailand's guestwork formalization process”

**SPS: How did you start working on the research project that led to the article? How did the project evolve over time?**

The article comes from my dissertation project, which compares two regimes of labor migration in Thailand and seeks to understand why the state advances contrasting regimes to regulate and reproduce the same type of low-wage migrant labor. My interest in the topic began when I was working in Thailand prior to my PhD studies. During this time, the state had begun to formalize its migrant labor system in a very ad hoc and disorganized way, raising many questions about its capacity to control incoming migrant labor and the impact of new policies on migrant workers and their families. Later, as I began doing preliminary fieldwork in Thailand in search of a dissertation topic, Thailand's internal

regulatory variation – more lax policies for migrant workers contained in Special Economic Zones in border areas than those working throughout the rest of the country under a more formal guestwork system – caught my attention. As I continued doing fieldwork for the dissertation, the role of informal documentation brokers in the guestwork formalization process in both sites stood out, leading me to pay more attention to brokerage and processes of intermediation in the overall analysis. Sections on brokerage became the basis for the article.

**SPS: What do you see as the core questions motivating your research going forward?**

With a focus on Thailand and Southeast Asia, I continue to ask, how do states control labor migration over time and in a global context? Relatedly, how do state control efforts impact migrant workers and the organization of their households and communities? These questions aim to better understand the interrelation between state regulation of labor migrants and the social reproduction of their labor and communities over time, with implications for state power, economic development, and migrant wellbeing.

**SPS: Where do you see the political sociology subfield heading? What do you think are some of the key ways that political sociology can contribute to current academic and public debates?**

I think the subfield is diverse and broad, making contributions to several areas of inquiry. Work that I'm most familiar with is expanding and deepening our understanding of governance, state heterogeneity, and the interaction of different state actors and institutions with global processes during policy making and implementation. Much of this work analyzes cases from the global South to intervene in broader debates on

governance and state power, which I hope and expect to see more of.

*Dr. Pei Palmgren is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Immigration Policy Lab and Stanford University.*



**Elisabeth Anderson**

**Winner, Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Book Award**

Committee: Marco Garrido (chair), John Veugelers, Marina Zaloznaya, Nicholas Wilson

*Agents of Reform: Child Labor and the Origins of the Welfare State*

**SPS: How did you start working on the research project that led to the book? How did the project evolve over time?**

My interest in child labor reform originally grew out of my interest in expertise and politics in my first years of graduate school. I was interested in actors, particularly Progressive Era policy experts, who advocated for progressive social policies without standing to benefit directly from these policies themselves. I wondered why they did it, and how they managed to be effective without having a lot of resources or a social movement to back them up. As I learned more about the history of child labor regulation, it gradually dawned on me how important it was. It really represents the

beginning of the modern welfare state, the first time the state intervened in the relationship between the new industrial bourgeoisie and the “free” labor it employed.

The Prussian case was the first case I analyzed for my dissertation and out of it came the germ of the pragmatist field theory of reformer-driven policy change that I present in the book. In this approach, middle-class social welfare reformers are strategic and creative actors whose influence is conditioned by the policy field and their position within it. The influence of these kinds of actors was decisive, I argue, in bringing 19th-century worker protections into being.

This argument is developed over seven case studies, the original Prussian one and six more that I added one by one over the course of about ten years. The first half of the book looks at the passage of the first child labor laws in 1830s-40s Europe and the US. Comparing successful and unsuccessful reformers, positive and negative cases helped me to identify the particular strategies through which reformers were able to exercise influence, as well as the scope conditions under which they were more likely to be necessary and successful.

After studying the passage of child labor laws, I got interested in their implementation. And so the second half of the book looks at the factory inspection departments that were created in the last quarter of the 19th century to enforce these laws.

**SPS: What do you see as the core questions motivating your research going forward?**

One aim I have is to theorize more explicitly the relationship between social provision and what, in the book, I call “regulatory welfare.” For many decades, welfare states scholars have tended to focus on social provisions

(such as old age pensions) and services (such as childcare) while sidelining the regulatory side of welfare. (There are exceptions, but this has been the general tendency). Regulatory welfare consists of the web of policies – not only child labor regulations, but also workplace safety and hygiene standards, the normal working day, prohibitions against arbitrary dismissal, etc. – that limit capital’s freedom to exploit labor. Regulatory welfare safeguards our well-being as workers, putting boundaries around what our employers can do to us. Both sides of the welfare state contribute to workers’ partial decommodification by reducing the extent to which our quality of life is determined by market forces alone. In line with these ideas, I am working on two agenda-setting articles, one that is more of a theory piece and one that’s more of a literature review. The aim is to articulate more clearly what social provision and regulatory welfare have in common, how they differ, and how they intersect.

**SPS: Where do you see the political sociology subfield heading? What do you think are some of the key ways that political sociology can contribute to current academic and public debates?**

From my research and from paying attention to the news, I’m increasingly convinced that politics is largely the playground/battlefield of elites. And so, in the spirit of the late Richard Lachmann, I would like to see more work on political elites and the strategies through which they manipulate constituencies in pursuit of their anti-democratic, capitalist agendas. On a more optimistic note, I would like to see more research on progressive elites that helps us understand how and under what conditions they, too, can achieve policy influence.

**Dr. Elisabeth Anderson** is Assistant Professor of Sociology at New York University Abu Dhabi.

## Q&A with New Council Members



**Caroline Lee**

Chair-Elect // Professor of Sociology,  
Lafayette College

**SPS: Please tell us about your work and your plans during these unusual and uneasy times. How will you be spending your time on research and teaching this year?**

In an era of widespread concern about threats to democracy, my broader research agenda explores the political, economic, and organizational sociology of democratic innovations. This year, I am on sabbatical finishing my book, *Public or Perish: Community Engagement in U.S. Higher Education*, and working on other projects on young adults' political engagement. I have been studying the politics of the higher education field's investments in civic renewal and how they intersect with increased student mobilization since I published my book *Do-It-Yourself Democracy: The Rise of the Public Engagement Industry* in 2015. Needless to say, raising two toddlers during

COVID has not been helpful for research or writing! This fall I have blended my research, teaching, and service in new ways as I began serving as Faculty Director of Lafayette's Landis Center for Community Engagement, and have collaborated on non-partisan student voter mobilization efforts through Lafayette Votes. As the midterm election showed, it is an exciting time to be studying young people's involvement in reforming politics.

**SPS: What are you looking forward to doing on the council? What do you think are some of the priorities for the section going forward?**

As a scholar of political participation in institutions, I am eager to engage with the Council and membership on work to advance the section and build on remote opportunities afforded by the pandemic. For those of us who can not always make the in-person conference, I have appreciated various ASA sections' efforts to engage their memberships in different ways throughout the year. Political sociology research is more wide-ranging and publicly relevant than ever, and I would love to connect our section membership with public forums for sharing our work and with politics research happening in other venues like SSHA and IPSA's Committee on Political Sociology. I also believe the section is well-positioned to contribute informed dialogue on justice and

legitimacy crises facing the American Sociological Association and higher education generally. Finally, I have benefited from the mentorship and generosity of this section, and welcome the opportunity to support and promote undergraduates, graduate students, and junior faculty in political sociology. I am so energized by the work political sociologists at all levels are producing right now.



**Jasmine Kerissey**

Secretary/Treasurer // Associate Professor  
of Sociology, University of Massachusetts -  
Amherst

**SPS: Please tell us about your work and your plans during these unusual and uneasy times. How will you be spending your time on research and teaching this year?**

My work focuses on labor, politics, work, and inequalities. This is a special year for me. First, our long-researched book is nearing its final stages of publication— *Union Booms and Busts: The Ongoing Fight over the U.S. Labor Movement*, co-authored with Judith Stepan-Norris. Second, I've taken on a new position: Director of the Labor Center at UMass-Amherst. As Director, I'm charged with plotting the course for our graduate degrees in labor studies and our many applied projects with unions and other community organizations. This is an exciting

time to be doing work in labor and politics—there is more organizing activity than there's been in years. It's a real opportunity to elevate the work of sociologists and to speak to current issues. Third, I'm thrilled to be back in the classroom and at university events in person!

**SPS: What are you looking forward to doing on the council? What do you think are some of the priorities for the section going forward?**

As a council member, I look forward to helping build the community of political sociologists and to better connecting our work to public arenas.



**Bart Bonikowski**

Council Member // Associate Professor of  
Sociology,  
New York University

**SPS: Please tell us about your work and your plans during these unusual and uneasy times. How will you be spending your time on research and teaching this year?**

In my recent teaching, I have continued helping Ph.D. students develop their computational text analysis skills. As large textual corpora and advanced computational tools proliferate, it is important for sociologists—including those studying political discourse—to keep up, while remaining clear-eyed about the methods'

advantages and limitations. My pedagogical efforts on this front have coincided with the recent publication of two studies (co-authored with NYU graduate students Yuchen Luo and Oscar Stuhler) that use Transformer-based language models to analyze populism, nationalism, authoritarianism, and nostalgia in post-WWII U.S. presidential campaigns (demonstrating that Trump creatively recombined and made explicit political frames that had been previously legitimated by mainstream candidates). I also co-edited a special issue of *Sociological Methods and Research* with Laura Nelson (UBC) on applied computational text analysis, featuring eight exemplary empirical articles, an agenda-setting book review, and an introduction, in which we distil insights from the contributions about the effective use of text analysis methods in theoretically driven social science research. In the coming months, I will be finalizing article-based projects on nationalism, COVID-19, and voting preferences, while also making progress on a book about the rise of radical-right politics across contemporary democracies.

**SPS: What are you looking forward to doing on the council? What do you think are some of the priorities for the section going forward?**

I think political sociology is experiencing a renewal as it confronts pressing issues facing our societies, such as growing threats to liberal democratic institutions and the climate crisis. The section has an opportunity to promote this kind of work, by fostering spaces for intellectual exchange and by sharing sociological expertise with the public. Conference sessions, book panels, and networking events are all useful venues for such conversations, but we should also strengthen our outreach to the media and other disciplines, especially political science.

I place a particularly high priority on supporting the work of graduate students, so publicizing student research in the newsletter and section-led events is important to me, as is the organization of mentoring opportunities, where graduate students can build connections to faculty working on related topics. I greatly benefitted from such interactions as a student and want to pay this forward as a member of the section's council.



**Daniel Laurison**

Council Member // Associate Professor of  
Sociology, Swarthmore College

**SPS: Please tell us about your work and your plans during these unusual and uneasy times. How will you be spending your time on research and teaching this year?**

I'm very lucky to be on a Carnegie fellowship-funded research leave until the end of 2023, so I can focus entirely on my research (and editorial duties). My main projects, in order of done-ness, are, first, talking about my book that came out in June (*Producing Politics: Inside the Exclusive Campaign World Where the Privileged Few Shape Politics for All of Us*) - I've spent a good chunk of the fall giving talks to academics, political groups, and regular people, and I hope to get to do more of that. I've also been working with a team of community-based

researchers and first-gen and low-income students on interview-based research about how poor and working class people in Pennsylvania feel about and experience electoral politics; we've conducted over 200 interviews over the past 4 years and should be wrapping up recruitment this spring; I'm really enjoying getting to talk to so many people about what politics and voting mean to them. I'm also working on a few different quantitative analyses of levels of class inequality in political participation (with Ankit Rastogi and Hana Brown), and an R&R on a paper showing that there's a class-origin pay gap in top occupations in the US - people in higher professional or managerial jobs who are from poor or working class families earn about \$25k/year less than otherwise-similar people from professional/managerial origins in the same kinds of jobs (with Sam Friedman). Oh, and I'm putting together a book proposal arguing that we need to think about class and politics (and their intersections with race and racism) relationally to make sense of pretty much anything about the contemporary US.

**SPS: What are you looking forward to doing on the council? What do you think are some of the priorities for the section going forward?**

On Council, I'm looking forward to being on the awards committees (this year I'm chair of the grad student paper committee - submit your articles!) and generally trying to make sure our section is a good place for all sociologists who work on politics.



**Jen Triplett**

Council Member (Student) // PhD  
Candidate in Sociology, University of  
Michigan

**SPS: Please tell us about your work and your plans during these unusual and uneasy times. How will you be spending your time on research and teaching this year?**

This year, I am focusing on data analysis for my dissertation project, "Shaping Subjectivities and Articulating Solidarity in Revolutionary Cuba." This entails examining Castro speeches, daily newspapers, and serial magazines from the 1960s to understand how new regime leaders shape political subjects and promote cohesion across diverse social groups. I argue that political elites pursue these goals, in part, through a process of ideological transformation and consolidation grounded in political articulation, that is, the linking together of disparate social groups to form a unifying political identity. Additionally, I will be tracing these processes over time to see how regime leaders go about transforming the ideas, attitudes, and behaviors linked to the hegemonic ideology prior to the revolution. Preliminary findings suggest that, while the upheaval of revolutionary moments may create opportunities to articulate a new mass political identity, subsequent events like war or natural disaster have the potential to

disrupt such projects of political articulation. Beginning in January, I will also be working as a Graduate Student Instructor for the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan.

**SPS: What are you looking forward to doing on the council? What do you think are some of the priorities for the section going forward?**

As first-year student representative on the section’s council, I am excited to focus on initiatives to increase graduate student engagement and to promote interaction and collaboration between students and faculty within the section. Drawing on my two years of prior experience organizing in-person graduate student mentoring events with

other ASA sections, I plan to work with fellow council members and Philadelphia-area graduate students to design an event for next summer that will bring graduate students and faculty together and help to expand students’ personal and professional networks. I also am looking forward to serving on the graduate student paper award committee where I will have the opportunity to read the work of emerging scholars in the field. Finally, I sense that many council and section members are eager to find new ways to stay connected and engaged as a section between the ASA annual meetings. Coordinating virtual events that allow for exchanging ideas and support will be one way to continue building community in the section throughout the academic year



## Tales from the Field

### **Navigating U.S. Politics with an Asian Woman Body**

Chen Liang

University of Texas at Austin

My dissertation, “Critical Minority: Organizing Asian American Political Power in a Southern Metropolitan,” focuses on Asian American political organizers and candidates’ experiences in Houston, Texas. I am curious how Asian American politicians and organizers navigate formal political processes in a racially diverse context. How do they mobilize Asian American communities for political power, and how do they negotiate with the incumbents in local politics? To answer these questions, I conducted sixteen months of ethnographic fieldwork, including participating in and volunteering for voter outreach, community and fundraising events, and shadowing candidates and organizers for

their political and election campaigns. My fieldwork experiences revealed a specific racialized and sexualized oppression of Asian American women.

As an intersectional feminist and an East Asian woman, I am highly aware of how Asian women are fetishized in mainstream U.S. society. We are often perceived as passive, exotic, and hypersexualized, and people who do not fit into these stereotypes could be punished for their transgression (Azhar, Alvarez, and Klumpner 2021). During my fieldwork, I often noticed I was one of the few Asian women in the outreach or community events, which rendered me highly visible. I always felt the need to desexualize myself and diminish my existence in the room—not only because I want to reduce the impact I bring to the racial and gender dynamics in my fieldwork, but also to protect myself from unwanted attention. Thus, I seldom wore a

dress, always either T-shirt and jeans or very formal, business-style clothes, just to hide my Asian female body in the field.

But these efforts could only diminish my body, not remove it. Playing the stereotypical Asian subordinate woman for my respondents and even voters is still necessary for my fieldwork (Hoang 2015). For instance, when I knock on voters' doors or stand outside polling stations to ask voters to support Asian American candidates, many White people, especially White men, would talk to me and question my knowledge about U.S. politics. Some even asked where I come from. They assume I, an Asian woman, am a foreigner who does not understand U.S. politics. Yet I must be nice and not argue with them, or my candidates could lose the votes. On the other hand, when I am in the Asian American communities, sometimes Asian men would comment on Asian women's (including mine) appearance (for example: "You look more beautiful than your social media profile photo!" or "You need to fix your teeth!"). And I am not supposed to talk back to them because I am a young Asian woman who needs to respect our "elders" in these settings.

My fieldwork gave me first-hand observations of how racialization and

sexualization render Asian American women disadvantaged in politics. Because Asian women are expected to be passive, they often are viewed as quiet and not loud enough for politics. But if they become vocal, they might be viewed as "aggressive." Consequently, even though Asian American female politicians have become more visible in recent years (such as Vice-President Kamala Harris or Senator Tammy Duckworth), my research still demonstrates the racialized and sexualized experiences they encounter in the formal political process. My own embodied experiences thus help me to have a deeper engagement with Asian American women's disadvantaged status in politics in my writings.

Hoang, Kimberly Kay. 2015. *Dealing in Desire: Asian Ascendancy, Western Decline, and the Hidden Currencies of Global Sex Work*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Azhar, Sameena, Antonia R.G. Alvarez, Anne S.J. Farina, & Susan Klumpner. 2021. "You're So Exotic Looking": An Intersectional Analysis of Asian American and Pacific Islander Stereotypes. *Affilia* 36(3):282-301.

**Chen Liang** is a Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin.

## The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly of Visual Sociology

### Some Long-Term Reflections on a Hot Topic

Rebecca Jean Emigh

University of California, Los Angeles

The journal *Vectors* (see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vectors\\_\(journal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vectors_(journal))) and <https://vectors.usc.edu>) launched its

inaugural issue in 2005. One of these inaugural pieces was my article, "The Unmaking of Markets." The production of this article was a great experience. USC had a

program to pair a virtual visual artist with an academic to create unique pieces. I was matched with Erik Loyer (<https://erikloyer.com/>), an incredibly talented digital artist. Together we worked through the creation of the piece. This was a learning process in and of itself (on both sides, I think, though I probably shouldn't speak for Erik!). The result was, I think, a stunning e-article that was not only beautiful but substantively engaging and illuminating.

The central idea for this article was that evidence for fifteenth-century Tuscany was plentiful but fragmentary. That is, there were tons of information, documents, art, pictures, but most of it, was in one way or the other, incomplete. While there are lots of written documents, for example, they in no way formed a complete record (and of course, what was even written down and saved was also highly partial). Fiscal documents, the *catasti* and *estimi*, provide relatively comprehensive information about most households, but the information is limited to cross-sectional snapshots. Notarial documents exist for many households, even rural ones, but it is unclear which ones survived and which ones were destroyed. Any extant documents, therefore, form a highly partial list from virtually any perspective. Interestingly, notarial documents sometimes can, but sometimes cannot, be linked to *Catasto* records, again suggesting that many documents are missing. Many other types of documents also exist, but again they are scattered and partial. For all documents, the problem remains that they may be illegible and fragmentary.

A visual method makes it possible to combine these documents into what we called composites. We took the various pieces of the visual record and combined them into single images (also sometimes with "clickthroughs" to other documents). We

used my knowledge of agriculture to do so. For example, we took famous paintings (of roughly the same time period; we definitely took some artistic license here) and "cut out" the peasants from digital images of the paintings and then "pasted" them into photographs that I had taken of rural Tuscan villages. We arranged them spatially and set the peasants to work at tasks that were roughly consistent with what written documents suggested. Thus, through these visual composites, informed by textual documents, we were able to bring to life these systems of agricultural production and to provide a much fuller sense of rural life.

In addition, the e-article made a substantive point. Through images and simulations, it visually showed how Florentine capitalist markets "unmade" rural ones. In rural Tuscany, in regions relatively unaffected by Florentine markets, local markets (in the Polyanian sense) were common. Rural smallholders bought, sold, and leased land to adjust the size of their landholdings to the size of their families' labor force. In this way, they tried to assure their survival. Since partible inheritance prevailed, landholdings tended to be divided among heirs. And, inherited land might be located at some distance when it was deeded by a distant relative. Thus, smallholders also used these local markets to recombine and reorganize pieces of land. However, once Florentines entered the markets, they could almost always outbid the rural inhabitants, as they were much wealthier (by orders of magnitude). And, once the rural inhabitants no longer owned land, their basis for participation in markets was completely undermined. Thus, the penetration of the capitalist market erased or unmade these rural ones. The e-article showed these transactions in a series of visual simulations, thus capturing the temporal, social process. This process is, of course, quite common. For

example, Chinese investment in African countries generally does not promote local development, it undermines it. Likewise, Harvey's (2003:145) idea of "accumulation by dispossession" suggests a similar process of individuals losing the basis for their participation in economic life. The Tuscan case, however, shows not only how the process of capital accumulation is nonlinear (full scale capitalism arrived later in Tuscany than elsewhere in Europe), it also shows how this very process can undermine itself (capitalist markets can undermine their own growth).

For many years, this foray into visual sociology all worked very well. I taught undergraduate classes with this e-article on the syllabus, and the students loved it. While the text-only renditions of some of the same materials received yawns (Emigh 2009), the students enthusiastically engaged with e-article. The visual simulation was a great way for students to grasp the historical trajectory and its social implications. However, in December 2020, Flash was decommissioned, so the e-article no longer works. This was a disaster not only for my article, but of course, more fundamentally, for many web designers and digital artists whose work could no longer be viewed. In the Fall of 2020, Johanna Hernández-Pérez took a video of the e-article, saving as much of the content as possible (though, of course, it is no longer interactive). This video can be found

at:  
<https://ucla.box.com/v/UnmakingofMarket>  
 and here at:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yewnjcCTI0s>

When we initially had the conference at USC to work on the articles in the first issue of *Vectors*, I asked how we were going to preserve our work for the future. Someone told me to think of the articles as

performances. They happen once, not necessarily with a recording, but they still have social value and effect. Since I am an amateur musician, I accepted this interpretation. Nevertheless, in an attempt to save the material, I also made CDs of the article, and checked periodically to see that USC was maintaining the website (it still exists!). Yet, it never occurred to me that the program to run the e-article would become obsolete—although of course this is not an unexpected outcome. Many computer programs no longer function! Techniques for capturing, saving, and retrieving textual materials developed over hundreds and hundreds of years. Digital materials are quite new in comparison, and the equivalent techniques are vastly underdeveloped in comparison (Emigh and Hernández-Pérez 2022). Visual digital materials are often complicated subsets of these sorts of documents, with many pieces that have to be saved (which we did!) and that also have to be retrievable (which we now cannot). Interestingly, in the Fall of 2020, I learned that an emulator had been developed to substitute for Flash. This emulator pulled out pieces of the e-article, but it could not retrieve all the pieces and organize them into the original format. So, mine is a cautionary tale. My experience with this e-article was terrific, and I'm glad to have had it, but the state of the art is far from providing a way to preserve visual sociology in a way analogous to textual sociology.

- Emigh, Rebecca Jean. 2009. *The Underdevelopment of Capitalism: Sectors and Markets in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Emigh, Rebecca Jean and Johanna Hernández-Pérez. 2022. "The Present of the Past: A Socio-technological Framework for Understanding the Availability of Research Materials." *IEEE Annals of the History of Computing*. doi: [10.1109/MAHC.2022.3213232](https://doi.org/10.1109/MAHC.2022.3213232).
- Harvey, David. 2003. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Dr. Rebecca Jean Emigh** is Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles.

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## New Publications

### Academic articles or chapters

Albanese, Anthony. 2022. "Book Review: Aspects of the New Right-Wing Extremism." *Critical Sociology* 48(3): 538-539.

Bloemraad, Irene, Ali R. Chaudhary, and Shannon Gleeson. 2022. "Immigrant Organizations." *Annual Review of Sociology* 48: 319-341.

Bloemraad, Irene. 2022. "Claiming membership: Boundaries, positionality, US citizenship, and what it means to be American." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 45(6): 1011-1033.

Charrad, Mounira M., Amina Zarrugh and Hyun Jeong Ha. 2021. "The Arab Spring Protests." *Contexts: Sociology for the Public* 20 (1): 58-61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1536504221997871>

Conner, Jerusha, Johnnie Lotesta, and Rachel Stannard. 2022. "Intersectional Politicization: A Facet of Youth Activists' Sociopolitical Development." *Journal of Community Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22941>

Josse, Paul, and Dominik Zelinsky. (2022). "Berserk!: Anger and the Charismatic Populism of Donald Trump." *Critical Sociology* 48(6), 1073-1087. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205211063131>

Khutkyy, Dmytro. 2022. "The Diffusion of Electronic Voting for Participatory Budgeting Projects: Evidence from Ukraine." Pp. 117-120. In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Joint Conference on Electronic Voting E-Vote-ID 2022*, eds. R. Krimmer et al. Tartu, Estonia: University of Tartu Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15157/diss/026>.

Katz, Nathan. 2022. "Polling, Partisanship, and Promoting Violence: New Developments in Impression Management From Candidate and Super PAC Advertisements." *Journal of Communication Inquiry*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01968599221130059>

Kadivar, Mohammad Ali. 2022. "Social Development and Revolution in Iran." *Sociology of Development* 8(2):213-37.

Perrings, Charles, Michael Hechter, and Robert Mamada. 2021. "National Polarization and International Agreements." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118(50): e2102145118.

Ren, Cheng and Irene Bloemraad. 2022. "New Methods and the Study of Vulnerable Groups: Using Machine Learning to Identify Immigrant-Oriented Nonprofit Organizations." *Socius* 8: 1-14.

Riley, Dylan, Patricia Ahmed, and Rebecca Jean Emigh. 2021. "Getting Real: Heuristics in the Sociology of Information Gathering." *Theory and Society* 50 (2): 315–356.

Santos, Maria-Fátima. 2022. "Modernizing Leviathan: Carceral Reform and the Struggle for Legitimacy in Brazil's Espírito Santo State." *American Sociological Review* 87(5), 889–918.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00031224221121294>

Song, Sarah and Irene Bloemraad. 2022. "Immigrant Legalization: A dilemma between justice and the rule of law." *Migration Studies* 10(3): 484–509.

Spires, Anthony J. 2022. "Built on Shifting Sands: INGOs and Their Survival in China." Pp. 218–234 in *Authoritarianism and Civil Society in Asia*, edited by A. J. Spires and A. Ogawa. New York, NY: Routledge.

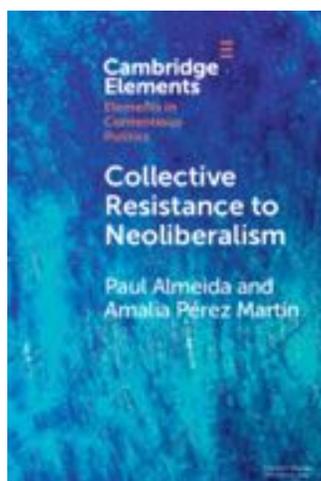
Spires, Anthony J., and Akihiro Ogawa. 2022. "Introduction – Civil Society in Asia: Challenging and Navigating the Boundaries of Authoritarianism." Pp. 1–15 in *Authoritarianism and Civil Society in Asia*, edited by A. J. Spires and A. Ogawa. New York, NY: Routledge.

Trevizo, Dolores. 2022. "Mexico's Armed Vigilante Movements (2012–2015): The Impact of Low State Capacity and Economic Inequality." *Latin American Politics and Society*, 1–25.  
doi:10.1017/lap.2022.14

Youssef, Maro. 2022. "Strategic Choices: How Conservative Women Activists Remained Active throughout Tunisia's Democratic Transition" *Sociological Forum* 37(3): 836–855.  
doi:10.1111/socf.12828.

Youssef, Maro and Sarah Yerkes. 2022. "COVID-19 and Gender-Based Violence: Pandemic Response and Impact in Tunisia." *Project on Middle East Political Science Studies* (47).  
<https://pomeps.org/covid-19-and-gender-based-violence-pandemic-response-and-impact-on-civil-society-in-tunisia>

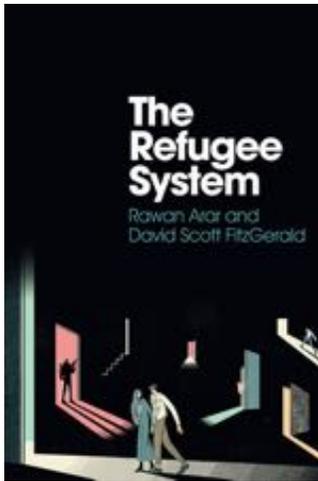
## Books



### **Collective Resistance to Neoliberalism**

Paul D. Almeida and Amalia Pérez Martín. 2022. Cambridge University Press.

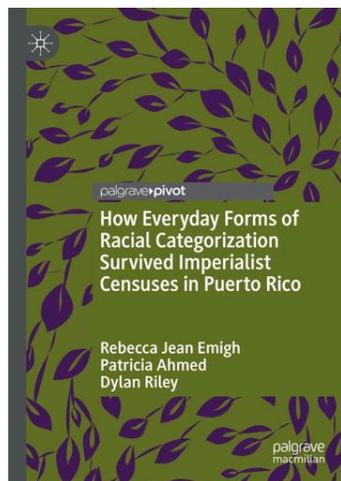
Civil society actors contested the fifty-year long transition to a global economy based on the principles of neoliberalism. Mobilization against neoliberal measures represents one of the most common forms of social-movement activity across the world. We explore the evolution of resistance to economic liberalization from the 1970s to the current period. Our study highlights several dimensions of civic opposition to the implementation of free market policies, including: forms of neoliberalism; geographic distribution of protest events across world regions and time; and outcomes of movement campaigns.



### **The Refugee System: A Sociological Approach**

Rawan Arar and David Scott FitzGerald. 2022. Routledge. (Discount code: P2022)

Some people facing violence and persecution flee. Others stay. How do households in danger decide who should go, where to relocate, and whether to keep moving? What are the conditions in countries of origin, transit, and reception that shape people's options? This incisive book tells the story of how one Syrian family, spread across several countries, tried to survive the civil war and live in dignity. This story forms a backdrop to explore and explain the refugee system. Departing from studies that create siloes of knowledge about just one setting or "solution" to displacement, the book's sociological approach describes a global system that shapes refugee movements. Changes in one part of the system reverberate elsewhere. Feedback mechanisms change processes across time and place. Earlier migrations shape later movements. Immobility on one path redirects migration along others. Past policies, laws, population movements, and regional responses all contribute to shape states' responses in the present. As Arar and FitzGerald illustrate, all these processes are forged by deep inequalities of economic, political, military, and ideological power. Presenting a sharp analysis of refugee structures worldwide, this book offers invaluable insights for students and scholars of international migration and refugee studies across the social sciences, as well as policy makers and those involved in refugee and asylum work.



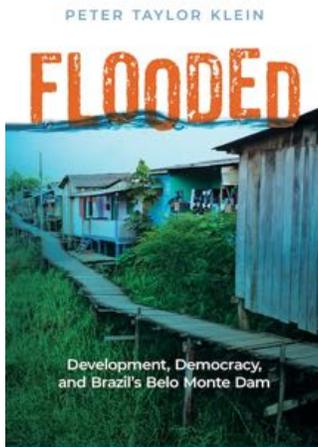
### **How Everyday Forms of Classification Survived Imperialist Censuses in Puerto Rico**

Rebecca Jean Emigh, Patricia Ahmed, and Dylan Riley. 2021. Palgrave Press.

This book examines the history of racial classifications in Puerto Rico censuses, starting with the Spanish censuses and continuing through the US ones. Because Puerto Rican censuses were collected regularly over hundreds of years, they are fascinating "test cases" to see what census categories might have been available and effective in shaping everyday ones. Published twentieth-century censuses have been well studied, but this book also examines unpublished documents in previous centuries to understand the historical precursors of contemporary ones. State-centered theories hypothesize that censuses, especially colonial ones, have powerful transformative effects. In contrast, this book shows that such transformations are affected by the power and interests of social actors, not the strength of the state. Thus, despite hundreds of years of exposure to the official dichotomous and trichotomous census categories, these categories never replaced the continuous everyday ones because the census categories rarely coincided with Puerto Ricans' interests.

**Flooded: Development, Democracy, and Brazil's Belo Monte Dam**

Peter Taylor Klein. 2022. Rutgers University Press.



In the middle of the twentieth century, governments ignored the negative effects of large-scale infrastructure projects. In recent decades, many democratic countries have continued to use dams to promote growth, but have also introduced accompanying programs to alleviate these harmful consequences of dams for local people, to reduce poverty, and to promote participatory governance. This type of dam building undoubtedly represents a step forward in responsible governing. But have these policies really worked? *Flooded* provides insights into the little-known effects of these approaches through a close examination of Brazil's Belo Monte hydroelectric facility. Billions of dollars for social welfare programs accompanied construction. Nonetheless, the dam

brought extensive social, political, and environmental upheaval to the region. Klein tells the stories of dam-affected communities, including activists, social movements, non-governmental organizations, and public defenders and public prosecutors. He details how these groups, as well as government officials and representatives from private companies, negotiated the upheaval through protests, participating in public forums for deliberation, using legal mechanisms to push for protections for the most vulnerable, and engaging in myriad other civic spaces. *Flooded* provides a rich ethnographic account of democracy and development in the making. In the midst of today's climate crisis, this book showcases the challenges and opportunities of meeting increasing demands for energy in equitable ways.

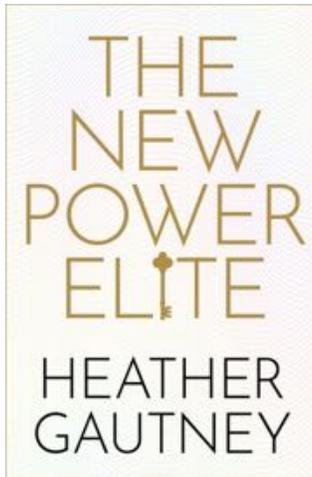
**Contentious Politics in Emergency Critical Junctures: Progressive Social Movements during the Pandemic**

Donatella della Porta. 2022. Cambridge University Press.



Social movements have often played an important role in emergencies, mobilising in defence of those rights that they perceive as being at risk or more urgently needed than ever. In general, progressive social movements develop in moments of intense change, mobilising with the aim of turning them to their advantage. The variable mix of challenges and opportunities related to a critical juncture. The specific balance of challenges and opportunities faced by progressive social movements during the Covid-19 crisis is a central question addressed in this volume. Based on existing research on the first phases of the pandemic Covid-19, this Element addresses the ways in which the health emergency had an

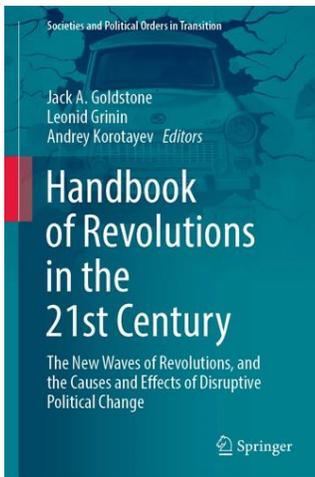
impact on the repertoire of action, the organizational networks and the collective framing of progressive social movements that adapted to the pandemic conditions and the related crises, but also tried to transform them.



### **The New Power Elite**

Heather Gautney. 2022. Oxford University Press.

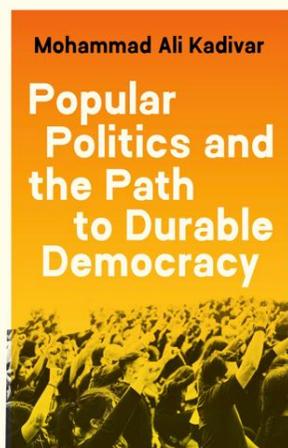
In *The New Power Elite*, Heather Gautney takes up the problem of concentrated political, economic, and military power in America that Mills addressed in his original text and echoes his outrage over the injustices and ruin brought by today's elites. Drawing from years of experience at the highest levels of government and in the entertainment industry, Gautney examines the dynamics of elite power from the postwar period to today and grounds her analysis in political economy, rather than in institutional authority, as Mills did. In doing so, she covers diverse, yet interconnected centers of elite power, from the US State and military apparatus, to Wall Street and billionaires, to celebrities and mass media. Gautney also accounts for changes in global capitalism over the last forty years, arguing that neoliberalism and the centering of the market in political and social life has ushered in ever more extreme forms of violence and exploitation, and a drift toward authoritarianism.



### **Handbook of Revolutions in the 21st Century**

Jack A. Goldstone, Leonid Grinin, and Andrey Korotayev, eds. 2022. Springer.

This handbook offers a comparative perspective on the new wave of revolutions of the last decade. Presenting case studies on the color revolutions, the Arab revolutions of 2010–2011, and the global wave of revolutions in 2013–2018 that spanned regions ranging from Africa to the Caucasus, it offers a better understanding of the varied forms, features, and historical backgrounds of revolutions, as well as their causes. Accordingly, it highlights recent revolutions in their historical and world-systems contexts. Given its scope, the book will appeal to scholars and students from various disciplines interested in historical trends, sociopolitical change, contentious politics, social movements, and revolutionary processes involving both nonviolent campaigns and political violence.

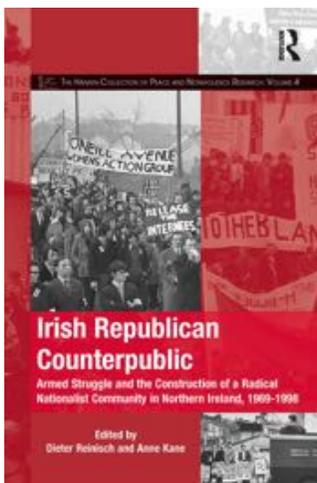


### **Popular Politics and the Path to Durable Democracy**

Mohammad Ali Kadivar. 2022. Princeton University Press.

When protests swept through the Middle East at the height of the Arab Spring, the world appeared to be on the verge of a wave of democratization. Yet with the failure of many of these uprisings, it has become clearer than ever that the path to democracy is strewn with obstacles. Mohammad Ali Kadivar examines the conditions leading to the success or failure of democratization, shedding vital new light on how prodemocracy mobilization affects the fate of new democracies. Drawing on a wealth of new evidence, Kadivar shows how the longest episodes of

prodemocracy protest give rise to the most durable new democracies. He analyzes more than one hundred democratic transitions in eighty countries between 1950 and 2010, showing how more robust democracies emerge from lengthier periods of unarmed mobilization. Kadivar then analyzes five case studies—South Africa, Poland, Pakistan, Egypt, and Tunisia—to investigate the underlying mechanisms. He finds that organization building during the years of struggle develops the leadership needed for lasting democratization and strengthens civil society after dictatorship. *Popular Politics and the Path to Durable Democracy* challenges the prevailing wisdom in American foreign policy that democratization can be achieved through military or coercive interventions, revealing how lasting change arises from sustained, nonviolent grassroots mobilization.

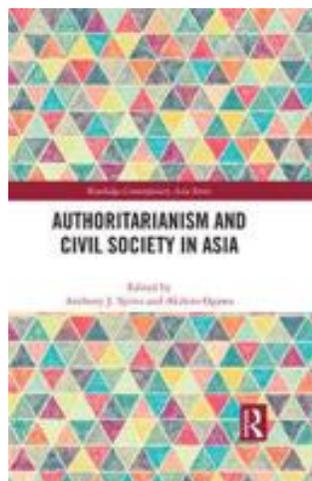


**Irish Republican Counterpublic: Armed Struggle and the Construction of a Radical Nationalist Community in Northern Ireland, 1969-1998**

Dieter Reinisch and Anne Kane. 2023. Routledge.

This volume examines the critical factors and processes by which the Provisional Irish Republican movement campaign from 1969 to 1998 transformed a once acquiescent nationalist population in Northern Ireland into a counterpublic of resistance demanding national self-determination and social justice. Considering the establishment of Irish Republican community institutions, prison protests, Republican Feminism, and Provisional IRA media and communications, this volume explores the emergence of Republicanism as a mass social movement in the nationalist Catholic ghettos and rural regions of Northern Ireland in

the 1970s – a development that helped to sustain the armed struggle of the Provisional Irish Republican Army for three decades. An examination of the emergence and transformative power of the counterpublic discourse and action of the Irish Republican movement, this volume provides a framework for conceptualizing counterpublics in social movement studies. As such it will appeal to scholars of sociology, history, and politics with interests in social movements and mobilization.



**Authoritarianism and Civil Society in Asia**

Anthony J. Spires and Akihiro Ogawa, eds. 2022. Routledge.

This book represents a pioneering interdisciplinary effort to analyze Asian civil society under authoritarianism, a regime type that is re-appearing or deepening after several decades of increased political liberalization. By organizing its approach into four main themes, this volume succinctly reveals the challenges facing civil society in authoritarian regimes, including: actions under political repression, transitions to democracy, uncivil society, political capture and legal control. It features in-depth analyses of a variety of Asian nations, from 'hard' authoritarian regimes, like China, to 'electoral' authoritarian regimes, like Cambodia, whilst also addressing countries experiencing democratic regression, such as the Philippines. By highlighting concrete

responses and initiatives taken by civil society under authoritarianism, it advances the intellectual mandate of redefining Asia as a dynamic and interconnected formation and, moreover, as a space

for the production of new theoretical insight. Contributing to our understanding of the tensions, dynamics, and potentialities that animate state-society relations in authoritarian regimes, this will be essential reading for students and scholars of civil society, authoritarianism, and Asian politics more generally.



**The Culture of Democracy: A Sociological Approach to Civil Society**  
Bin Xu. 2022. Polity.

Against the bleak backdrop of pressing issues in today's world, civil societies remain vibrant, animated by people's belief that they should and can solve such issues and build a better society. Their imagination of a good society, their understanding of their engagement, and the ways they choose to act constitute the cultural aspect of civil society. Central to this cultural aspect of civil society is the "culture of democracy," including normative values, individual interpretations, and interaction norms pertaining to features of a democratic society, such as civility, independence, and solidarity. The culture of democracy varies in different contexts and faces challenges, but it shapes civic actions, alters political and social processes, and thus is the soul of modern civil societies. The Culture of Democracy provides the first systematic survey of the cultural sociology of civil society and offers a committed global perspective. It shows that, as everyone is eager to have their voice heard, cultural sociology can serve as an "art of listening," a thoroughly empirical approach that takes ideas, meanings, and opinions seriously, for people to contemplate significant theoretical and public issues.

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