
STATES, POWER, & SOCIETIES



LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

Paul Almeida

University of California,
Merced

Dear Political Sociologists,

I am looking forward to the upcoming ASA meetings in Philadelphia. The section planned several events as well as our regular panel and roundtable sessions. Friday, August 18 serves as our “conference day.” It is the first official day of the conference, which should generate much excitement and enthusiasm as we hold a second consecutive in-person gathering since the outbreak of the pandemic. At 5:30pm on August 18 we will have our mentoring event, immediately followed by the section reception. I hope section members will sign

up for the mentoring event as a mentee or mentor. The reception will be co-sponsored with the Collective Behavior and Social Movements, Human Rights, and Peace, War and Social Conflict sections. I look forward to meeting many of you at the reception and the Political Sociology section Business Meeting.

Our regular session panels should provide perspective and context to the current trends of election denialism, white nationalism, reversals in reproductive rights, an accelerating climate crisis, and growing authoritarianism. Based on last fall’s call for panel topics from the membership, we have sessions on: gender, sexuality, and politics; climate policy; race and Trumpism; democratization and constitutionalism; racialized capitalism; and populism and democratic backsliding. I would like to thank the panel and round table organizers for their work in coordinating the presentations, including: Yao Lu, Ben Manski, Luis

Rubén González, Caroline Martínez, Rita Stephan, Marya Mtshali, Dana Moss and Ali Kadivar.

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I also wanted to acknowledge the efforts of those serving on our section’s 2023 awards committees. Perhaps as a sign of the vitality of the section, we likely received a record number of submissions for our awards this spring. We received 51 nominations for the book

award, 41 for the paper award, and 38 for the graduate student paper award. Much gratitude goes out to Kiyoteru Tsutsui, Irene Bloemraad, Caroline Lee, Elisabeth Anderson, Nella Van Dyke, Lauren Duquette-Rury, Daniel Laurison, Bart Bonikowski, Maro Yousef, Jennifer Triplett and Pei Palmgren for sitting on these committees and volunteering their precious time.

In this issue of *States, Power, and Societies*, we feature a forum on climate change. As we witnessed over the past six months, the climate-related weather events continue to escalate. The flooding on the west Coast of the United States, heat waves in Asia, and the current wildfires in Canada where the hazardous smoke

has traveled to engulf major far away metropolitan areas in the northeastern United States, placing millions in danger with severe air pollution, all demonstrate the severity of the situation. Indeed, the most recent annual measure of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere registered at an all time high of 424 parts per million in May of 2023. Political Sociology has and can continue to contribute to addressing climate change. Expertise on policy networks has shown how elite ties connected to fossil fuel-related industries block climate reforms, while other political sociologists have examined how broad social movements coalitions with state actors may enact legislation reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

Issues of public opinion and climate denialism also fall into the sphere of political sociology. Perhaps the most pressing issue involving the climate crisis centers on how to implement a just and green transition without reproducing existing structures of domination and subordination. We see these debates and other dimensions of global warming in the forum below.

Finally, I look forward to handing over the gavel to our incoming section chair Caroline Lee at the meetings in Philadelphia.

Wishing everyone a productive and restful summer,

Paul

State of Nature? Politics and Environments

In three essays, Camila Alvarez, Maricarmen Hernández, and Caleb Scoville weigh in on how environmental sociologists conceptualize the links between environmental systems and societies. What are potential futures for coupled human-environmental systems? How are our environments interpreted and managed for social ends?

Environmental Sociology Helps Us Understand Inequalities and Environmental Problems

Camila Alvarez
University of California, Merced

One of my first college classes was an environmental sociology class. Like most freshmen, I did not know the definition of sociology. We read Michael Bell's textbook, *An Invitation to Environmental Sociology*. Throughout the course, the professor would refer to this Bell quote: "Environmental problems are *problems for society...* Environmental problems are as well *problems of society...*" (2004:2 italics from the professor). In the class, we discussed various environmental issues such as the massive infrastructure of water diversion from the Colorado River. More importantly, our professor pushed us to evaluate the philosophy behind environmental problems.

Social inequalities are a societal problem and thus are an important dimension to the field of sociology. Inequalities can happen through an unequal distribution of resources or a lack of access. As an environmental sociologist, I focus on the ways environmental problems happen as a result of social inequalities.

Classical theorist Allan Schnaiberg defined environmental problems as environmental withdrawals, such as natural resources extraction, and environmental additives, such as air, water, and land pollution. A common perception is to view environmental problems as solely an engineering problem instead of recognizing environmental problems as a reflection of societal norms, values, and beliefs. Within scientific literature, this perspective is known as ecological modernization; it argues our society can modernize itself out of environmental problems.

On the other hand, Schnaiberg and others argue that the systemic drive to capital growth (also known as the treadmill of production) accelerates environmental problems. This drive relies on natural resource extraction and pollution derivatives, and additionally the system breaks down the environment and communities. The treadmill of production erodes environmental justice

by taking away communities' access to clean and healthy environments, including one's home, school, or workplace.

Environmental inequality research asks, what mechanisms place historically marginalized communities to be more exposed to environmental problems? Environmental inequalities are an extension of institutional policies or practices that privilege some groups over other groups. An example of an environmental inequality is that [Black and Latinx people are exposed to over 50% more air pollution than what they produce through consumption](#). Regardless of the actual intent, these actions carry real material consequences.

My work as a quantitative sociologist is to reveal theoretical patterns through statistical models and data visualizations. One social institution and mechanism I study within environmental inequality is the U.S. military. In [an article](#) published last year, my colleagues and I show that areas in greater proximity to domestic military bases report higher environmental health risk from air pollution. This research uses secondary data sources from the Department of Defense and National Air Toxics Assessment.

This study cannot prove a direct causation relationship due to the use of cross-sectional analysis; however, we contextualize the findings to suggest that areas with greater military activity led to greater air pollution exposure. Moreover, the findings show military installations affect all neighborhoods, but Black and Latinx neighborhoods report an additional health risk from air pollution. This work highlights the role of societal institutions on environmental health exposures.

I appreciate the environmental sociological perspective for its approach on inequalities. The perspective stresses the often taken-for-granted non-human dimensions such as ecosystems which overlap with many

social systems of power, including structural racism and patriarchy. Additionally, the environmental perspective encourages viewers to think at a macro-level. There is a lot of room for expansion and cross-over within environmental sociology because it is a younger subfield as compared to sociology of education or political sociology. At the same time, environmental sociology offers a unique perspective to understand the mechanisms of social inequalities.

Bell, Michael Mayerfeld. 2004. *An Invitation to Environmental Sociology*. Pine Forge Press: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Dr. Camila Alvarez is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Merced.

Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier in Latin America

Maricarmen Hernández
University of New Mexico

The environment provides the raw materials and sources of energy for all human productive activity. Despite evidence of the degradation that capitalist ideologies and systems of production have wrought on the environment, many states continue to function as though they had the unlimited capacity to provide its citizens with natural resources, and to absorb the continued production of the toxic byproducts of our current systems. Scholars and activists have denounced the danger of our rapid natural resource extraction and the contaminating force behind the sustenance of our modern lifestyles since the 1960s, but for too long these issues were relegated to marginal conversations that were not considered central to public and academic debates or to political agendas.

In the 21st century, conversations about climate change, environmental degradation, and fossil fuel dependence are more common than they once were. More progressive states in the “Global North” are developing plans to decrease their greenhouse gas emissions and to move toward more sustainable sources of energy; yet, it is precisely the most

“developed” nations that have had the capacity and resources to take steps toward achieving, or at least aiming to achieve, a more sustainable way of life. While these more “developed” nations have the most significant per capita carbon footprint, it is often impoverished communities in the Global South who are overburdened with toxicity, and who lack the resources to protect themselves or to mitigate their exposure. The interconnectedness of global markets and the unequal sharing of their environmentally degrading consequences illuminates the inadequacy of a study of climate politics and environmental injustices that fail to take into account such global inter-connectedness.

As scholars of Latin America have documented, disturbances caused by environmental issues have been growing in number and severity in recent decades. The World Meteorological Organization’s (WMO) State of the Climate in Latin America (2021) noted that sea-level rise and ocean warming are expected to continue having a negative impact on coastal livelihoods, tourism, health, food, energy, and water scarcity in the

region. The report also highlights the far-reaching repercussions for ecosystems, food and water security, human health, and poverty.

In this context, I stress the importance of studying environmental issues and particularly the adverse impacts of climate change, as an axis of oppression that intersects with more commonly studied social issues that plague impoverished communities in Latin America, such as poverty, insecurity, and lack of educational opportunities. At this intersection, we find communities who adopt a mix of strategies that allows them to contain, navigate, and get ahead of increasingly dangerous situations. For example, through my ethnographic research I document how a marginalized and racialized contaminated community in Ecuador engages in risk management by attending to the urgent threat of disaster, while downplaying the risk of the more drawn out and invisible threat of industrial contamination. In this case, the conjunction of temporally distinct risks and generalized precarity has shaped the community's strategies of survival to focus on the urgency of impending disaster, while deprioritizing the mitigation of slower contaminants.

This case illustrates how climate change functions as a threat multiplier, meaning it exacerbates existing socioeconomic stress

factors in societies with high exposure, high levels of poverty, and limited institutional capacity to mitigate or adapt to changes in the environment. It is unclear how the effects of climate change will interact with other drivers of instability in politically unstable and conflict areas, making this a critical area of inquiry. We know that social divisions and categories of inequality do not exist or operate independently; instead, they are mutually constituted systems of oppression. We live in a deeply interconnected social and material world, and making this a central tenet of our study of climate change and climate politics is imperative.

We know that a disturbance in one part of the system may send ripples throughout, directly and indirectly impacting lives and social worlds. Taking into consideration how climate change as a threat multiplier will interact with the multiple axis of oppression that plague the lives of those living at the margins, especially in the Global South, is central to our study of this phenomenon. As sociologists, we are uniquely positioned to study climate change as a threat multiplier, whose effects may be unexpected, seemingly disconnected, and varying in temporality.

Dr. Maricarmen Hernández is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of New Mexico.

Climate Change and the Culture Wars

Caleb Scoville
Tufts University

Why do people oppose environmental protections? One explanation is material interest. Yet while all of our lives are conditioned by extractive and polluting industries, those with a clear stake in their

perpetuation – as opposed to, say, the increasingly lucrative green energy transition – are a small, if powerful, minority. What is more puzzling is why so many ordinary

people without such interests adopt anti-environmental positions.

In the US, partisanship is an important factor. Republicans and Democrats are sharply divided on environmental issues, especially climate change (Dunlap, McCright, and Yarosh 2016). Material interests factor into this trend, albeit in a mediated way: the climate change denial counter-movement, organized by fossil fuel companies and conservative political groups, has engaged in a decades-long disinformation campaign (Brulle 2021). But why and how does such disinformation work?

The modern environmental movement was always contentious, but not immediately partisan. Consider Republican President Richard Nixon's 1970 State of the Union address, in which he claimed that the "great question of the '70s," is "shall we make our peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damage we have done to our air, to our land and to our water?" But as the consequences of the Nixon-era environmental laws became apparent to property owners and businesses, conservative elites turned localized patches of discontent into a broader political opportunity.

Today, it is commonplace for right-wing politicians and media personalities to package climate change denial with partisan buzzwords, as did Louisiana Republican Senator John Kennedy, when he opined that "President Biden and Secretary Kerry and the other Trotsky-like 'Wokers,' they see climate change as a religion, and you can't talk about it unless you follow their dogma. It's much like their new critical race theory." Kennedy may have been doing the bidding of fossil fuel interests, but he sold them to the public with a culture war script.

Environmental politics is virtually absent from traditional chronicles of America's culture wars (e.g., Hartman 2019). Yet one need look no further than Patrick Buchanan's epoch-defining "culture wars" speech at the 1992 Republican National Convention to see that environmental issues have been integral to the culture wars all along. A culture war, in Buchanan's words, is about "more than who gets what. It is about who we are. It is about what we believe, and what we stand for as Americans." Although in proximate terms, environmental politics is precisely a politics of "who gets what," the figure of "environmental extremists" were central to Buchanan's anxious post-Cold War appeal to conservatives to target their domestic adversaries more aggressively on the terrain of culture.

This was in part a reaction to the Democratic ticket. In response to Al Gore's alleged claim that the "'central organizing principle' of governments everywhere must be the environment," Buchanan retorted, "Wrong, Albert! The central organizing principle of this republic is freedom." But Buchanan's speech dedicated even more time to concrete applications of the Endangered Species Act, which Nixon (in whose administration Buchanan worked) had signed into law two decades before:

There were the people of Hayfork, the tiny town up in California's Trinity Alps, a town that is now under a sentence of death because a federal judge has set aside nine million acres for the habitat of the spotted owl, forgetting about the habitat of the men and women who live and work in Hayfork.

Buchanan was not speaking to the people of Hayfork (population 2,605 at the time). He was mobilizing an evocative case to articulate a sense of solidarity between self-understood

conservatives and those imagined as having been harmed by liberalism's excesses. These constituencies were not natural blocs. The other sympathetic victims invoked at length – those harmed by the 1992 riots in Los Angeles – shared little with rural logging communities. Yet Buchanan sutured them together as “conservatives of the heart,” artfully threading in references to “homosexual rights,” “school choice,” “radical feminism,” and “Judeo-Christian values.”

Today's right-wing elites' attempts to link climate change with “wokeness” is a page out of the same book. Understanding how anti-environmentalism works – and finding persuasive ways of countering it – requires attention to how it has come to resonate with other sources of political division that may have little (if anything) to do with the natural environment. Indeed, recent research indicates that Republican opposition to climate policies is amplified by their antipathy for Democrats (Mayer and Smith

2023). Analyzing the processes that align environmental views with seemingly unrelated topics that qualify senses of “us” and “them” is a vital project for political sociology in a warming world.

Brulle, Robert J. 2021. “Networks of Opposition: A Structural Analysis of US Climate Change Countermovement Coalitions 1989–2015.” *Sociological Inquiry* 91(3): 603–624.

Dunlap, Riley E., Aaron M. McCright, and Jerrod H. Yarosh. 2016. “The Political Divide on Climate Change: Partisan Polarization Widens in the US.” *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* 58(5): 4–23.

Hartman, Andrew. 2019. *A War for the Soul of America: A History of the Culture Wars*. University of Chicago Press.

Mayer, Adam P., and E. Keith Smith. 2023. “Multidimensional Partisanship Shapes Climate Policy Support and Behaviours.” *Nature Climate Change*, 1–8.

Dr. Caleb Scoville is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Tufts University.

2023 Annual Meeting Section Activities

The entire conference program can be viewed here:

<https://convention2.allacademic.com/one/asa/asa23/>

BIPOC Political Thought in the Post-Trump Era

Fri, August 18, 8:00 to 9:30am

Social media misinformation, voter suppression, the rise of Black Lives Matter, the activism of the LANDBACK and #NoDAPL movements, the visible re-emergence and mainstreaming of white supremacy and Neo-Nazism, the formation of a (relatively) multiracial far right, the tumultuous and insecure fate of DACA, the continued

increase in BIPOC diversity due to immigration, the rescinding of Roe v. Wade, the Covid-19 pandemic -- a lot has happened in the last few years that has not only significantly impacted the lives of Black, Brown, and Indigenous Americans, but that also may have changed the ways in which they view themselves in relation to American institutions and social structures, what issues they believe should be important within BIPOC communities and within the country overall, and their future in a country that looks very different than it did during the

Obama era. This session will focus on understanding current understandings of various BIPOC political thought in the U.S., whether and how they have potentially changed in recent decades, and what we can learn from how BIPOC politics and political epistemologies have responded to the changes in larger sociopolitical structures in the United States.

Organizer/Presider: Marya T. Mtshali, Harvard University

Panelists: Marcus A Brooks, Western Kentucky University; Stephanie L. Canizales, University of California-Merced; Maria De Jesus Mora, California State University-Stanislaus; Leslie Kay Jones, Rutgers University-New Brunswick

The Politics of Climate Change

Fri, August 18, 10:00 to 11:30am

Organizers/Presiders: Paul Almeida, UC Merced and Camila H. Alvarez, UC Merced

"An exciting future is one click away": Mitigation deterrence and carbon dioxide removal suppliers Ioana Sendroiu, *University of Hong Kong* and Amalia Alvarez Benjumea, *Max Planck Society*

Corporate, Community, Political, and Plant Effects on Greenhouse Gas Emissions from U.S. Electrical Power Plants Amber Michelle Blazek, *Texas A&M University* and Harland Prechel, *Texas A&M University*

The Inflation Reduction Act and the New Political Economy of Climate Change Andrew Jaeger, *University of California-Berkeley*

The Racial Politics of Progressive Reform in the São Paulo Sugar-Ethanol Industry Ian Robert Carrillo, *University of Oklahoma*

The symptoms of climate denial: tracing the intersections of denial, right-wing extremism and masculinity Debra J. Davidson, *University of Alberta*; Carrie Karsgaard, *Arizona State University*; Angeline Letourneau, *University of Alberta*; and Dasha Ivanova, *University of Alberta*

Section Roundtables

Fri, August 18, 2:00 to 3:00pm

Section Business Meeting

Fri, August 18, 3:00 to 3:30pm

The Politics of Gender and Sexuality

Fri, August 18, 4:00 to 5:30pm

Organizer/Presider: Rita Stephan, State Department

Discussant: Claudia Elizabeth Youakim, *Finlandia University*

Ambivalent Texts: State Feminism and Official Religion in the United Arab Emirates Sharif Ibrahim El Shishtawy Hassan, *Northwestern University*

Exploring Gender Identity and Rights in Pakistan in Light of the Transgender Bill, 2022 Mehtab Shaikh, *Shah Abdul Latif University* and Rizwan Shaikh, *Department of Public Administration, Yonsei University, Mirae Campus*

Gendering Elite Rebellion: Elite Feminist Mobilization during Tunisia's Democratic Transition Maro Youssef, *University of Southern California*

Silencing Queerness: LGBTQ Experience in Contemporary Anti-Racist Movement Space Jarvis Benson, *UNC Chapel Hill*

Urban Rebels? A Gendered Approach to Domicile and Protest Participation in Nine European Countries *Martín Portos, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid and Anna Lavizzari, Scuola Normale Superiore*

Mentoring Session

Fri, August 18, 5:30 to 6:30pm, Marriott
Philadelphia Downtown

Joint Reception

with the Sections on Collective Behavior and Social Movements; Peace, War, and Social Conflict; and Sociology of Human Rights

Fri, August 18, 6:30 to 8:00pm, Marriott
Philadelphia Downtown

Populism and Authoritarianism

Sat, August 19, 10:00 to 11:30am

Organizers/Presiders: Dana M. Moss, University of Notre Dame and Ali Kadivar, Boston College

Censoring for Legitimacy: The Social Dimension of Censorship and Reproduction of Legitimacy *Zhifan Luo, Concordia University*

Dividing Asians: Transnational Disjuncture of Anti-autocracy and Anti-racism Activism in the Age of Global Authoritarianism Resurgence *Kennedy Chi-pan Wong, University of Southern California*

Glass-Jawed Governance: Fragile Charisma and Academic Freedom in Comparative Context *Andrew P. Davis, North Carolina State University and Adam James Goldfarb, North Carolina State University*

Micro-dynamics of Prolonged Authoritarian Populism *Basak Gemici, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor*

Social Media and Populist Popularity: Evidence from Europe, 2010-2020 *Thomas Davidson, Rutgers University-New Brunswick and Jenny J. Enos, Rutgers University-New Brunswick*

Tides and Struggles of Democracy and Constitutionalism

Sat, August 19, 8:00 to 9:30am

Organizers/Presiders: Yao Lu, Columbia University and Ben Manski, George Mason University

Discussant: John Markoff, University of Pittsburgh

Polar Opposites: Real and Imagined Differences in Partisan Candidate Evaluation *Jennifer Dudley, University of Notre Dame and Steven Lauterwasser, Northeastern University*

Put Your Money Where Your Mouth is? The Effects of Democracy INGOs and Aid on Democratization *Jessica Kim, WZB Berlin*

Revolutionary struggle and constitution-making: Labor movement imaginations, capacities, and compromises in Egypt and Tunisia, 2011-2014 *Tyson Patros, New York University*

Social Movements and the European Union: Framing 'Responsibility' and 'Responsiveness' in Times of Multiple Crises *Martín Portos, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid; Donatella della Porta, Scuola Normale Superiore; and Louisa Rosemary Parks, University of Trento*

The evolution of socioeconomic status disparities in political engagement in

Western Europe, 1973–2022 *Sergio Galaz Garcia, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid*

The State and Racial Capitalism
(joint session with Section on
Comparative-Historical Sociology)
 Sat, August 19, 8:00 to 9:30am

Organizers/Presiders: Alexandre White, Johns Hopkins University and Durgesh Solanki, Johns Hopkins University

Building Consent Under Racial Capitalism: Dalits in the Communist Party of India in

Urban Kerala (India) *Samantha Agarwal, Johns Hopkins University*

Counting “Colonial-Race”: Censuses in Africa from 1880 to 2000 *Yao Lu, University of California-Davis*

Dispossession, Commodification, and Indigenous Justice in Botswana *Jason C. Mueller, Kennesaw State University*

Notes toward a Theory of the Transnational Racial State *Kristina E. Lee, Northwestern University*

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Tales from the Field

Navigating Access: Navigating Identities

Upasana Garnaik
 The University of Texas at Austin

In my dissertation “Between the Home and the Law: Indian Women's Experiences in Family Housing Disputes”, I explore why women, even from privileged backgrounds, find it extremely difficult to claim economic rights in family disputes. I conducted twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork. I observed hearings in courts and mediation centers, interviewed women litigants, mediators, lawyers and male litigants and did archival research consisting of case documents and significant judgments. This dissertation is crucially shaped by the fact that many of the cases I follow are cases of domestic violence, and subsequent breakdown of marriages. Through this qualitative study, I map out the socio-legal terrain which affects women's

material reality leading to dispossession at various stages.

As a former practicing lawyer and an academic, I have worked in and around New Delhi for many years. I was curious to find out how my unique position and previous professional experience would affect my access to the field. Further, as we were still amidst a pandemic, I was worried about the feasibility of data collection. Although my qualification as a licensed lawyer eased my physical access to the field-site, access wasn't as easy as I had imagined. Many lawyers were wary of what I might write about their practice and litigants would assume I am a journalist. In both cases, my “reporting” was construed as something that would be detrimental to their statuses as lawyers or litigants.

The initial gaining of trust in the field was difficult even with some of my former

connections, as I was not a true insider, i.e., a practicing lawyer, anymore. I did a couple of things to gain the trust of my respondents. First, clarifying my status as a researcher based in a foreign university bound by certain ethical principles and regulations eased their qualms. Second, I would connect to the women litigants by opening up to them about my own family's similar experiences. Finally, trust of former colleagues was crucial as they would get me in touch with other lawyers and clients. I was thus able to secure access strategically using my ethnographic toolkit by deploying different personal and professional identities (Reyes 2018).

However, being a former practicing lawyer also affected the ways in which respondents in the field would interact with me. Some lawyers wanted me to act in my professional capacity as a lawyer and appear in cases. To avoid any ethical issues, I politely declined any such requests. Women litigants would often seek legal advice. I would answer their questions to the best of my abilities, and preface it by saying that their lawyers would be acting in their best interest. Treading

these situations with care was important as I didn't want to overstep and lose trust of lawyers who were crucial for my access to the fieldsite.

My fieldwork has taught me that access is always tricky, even if you have been in some ways an "insider" to the field in the past. Further, one's former and current identities interact to shape not only access to the field but also interactions with respondents therein. My ethnographic toolkit developed during the course of the fieldwork helped me successfully complete fieldwork. In my research, I find how familial and legal schemas interact to dispossess and disinherit women from natal and marital wealth, which furthers our understanding of relational work, i.e., how people manage interactions between their intimate and economic lives.

Reyes, Victoria. 2020. "Ethnographic toolkit: Strategic positionality and researchers' visible and invisible tools in field research." *Ethnography* 21(2):220-240.

Upasana Garnaik is a Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin.

Job Market Candidates

Basak Gemici
University of
Michigan



Website:

<https://ii.umich.edu/wced/people/postdoctoral-fellows/basak-gemici.html>

I am a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies, University of Michigan. I received my Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Pittsburgh in 2022. My book manuscript, "Authoritarian

Populism and Daily Conflict in Turkey,” analyzes how ordinary interactions institutionalize authoritarian populism in everyday life. My forthcoming article in *Social Problems* argues that authoritarian populism unfolds as intensified boundary work in everyday life and explains the ethnic and gendered principles that organize rising civilian disciplinary actions in step with formal state repression. My book chapter in *Islam and Security in the West*, Palgrave Macmillan, discusses emergency rule as an intersectional experience and process that intensifies community insecurities. I will present my work on the role of clashing meanings that people attach to democracy and the expansion of social capital in the endurance of authoritarian populist regimes at the ASA and APSA 2023 annual meetings.

Nathan Katz

University of
Pittsburgh



Website:

<https://www.sociology.pitt.edu/people/ant-21>

Nathan (Ph.D. University of Missouri) is a Visiting Lecturer at the University of Pittsburgh. He is a political and media sociologist broadly interested in how political ideologies shape institutions and culture and spread through media. His forthcoming book *Campaign Money, Speech, and the Marketplace of Ideas* (under review) tracks how Congress and the Supreme Court use the notion of a “marketplace of ideas” to continually redefine the relationship between money and speech from 1971-2020. The book shows how changing ideas about competition

and what qualifies as the “best speech” empowers interest groups by reshaping political coordination and communication with the public in a way that weakens democracy. His current project builds off his publication “Do-It-Yourself White Supremacy: Linking Together Punk Rock and White Power” in *Poetics* is a cross-national analysis of the development and use of aesthetics in White Supremacist music scenes.

Chen Liang

University of Texas
at Austin



Website:

<https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/sociology/gradstudents/cl44486>

Chen Liang is a doctoral candidate of the Department of Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin. Her research interests are in the areas of race and ethnicity, political participation, immigration, and transnationalism. Her doctoral dissertation “The Critical Minority: Organizing Asian Americans’ Political Participation in a Southern Metropolitan” uses qualitative methods to explore how Asian American partisan political organizers coordinate Asian American communities and negotiate with incumbent groups to increase Asian Americans’ political power and representation in formal political processes. Her study illuminates the contemporary race-making processes in the US South, and how Asian Americans strive for political power in a time of rising anti-immigrant sentiment and political polarization.

Prior to her time in Texas, she received her M.A. degree from the Humboldt University of Berlin and her B.A. degree from the National Taiwan University.

Angeline Letourneau

University of Alberta



Website:

angelineletourneau.com

Angeline Letourneau (she/they) is a Ph.D. Candidate in Environmental Sociology at the University of Alberta whose research focuses on gendering the sociology of climate change. Angeline's work examines the affective influence of identities under threat in the age of environmental and climate crisis, and the contribution of these identity processes to widening cultural divisions and political polarization. Her research is inspired by the possibility of synergies despite differences. Angeline's prior experience in industry and the non-profit landscape informs her attention to purposeful intervention and actionable outputs.

Her current project explores how the political framing of the just transition movement to decarbonize global economies intervenes in culturally specific understandings of gendered identities. Through case studies with fossil fuel workers in Alberta and Indigenous mine workers in the rare earth mineral-rich regions of Northern Canada, Angeline explores the role of various institutional and grassroots actors in shaping climate futures.

Wendy Y. Li

University of
Wisconsin-Madison

Website: wendyyli.com

I am a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

My research and teaching interests include political sociology, political economy, law and society, public policy, and mixed methods research. My dissertation, "Careers, Social Networks, and the Revolving Door in Policymaking Processes," investigates the revolving door, or the movement of personnel between government and private sector lobbying. Using sequence analysis, social network analysis, and qualitative methods, I measure the prevalence and patterns of the revolving door, as well as its cultural and relational effects on individual careers and policy networks. I explore lobbying in U.S. trade policy to show that the revolving door is a widespread phenomenon among political elites, playing a major role in structuring how interest groups interact with and influence the policymaking process. My work has been published in the *Socio-Economic Review* and cited by members of Congress, think tanks, and profiled in *The American Prospect*.



**Simon Yamawaki
Shachter**

University of Chicago



Website:

<https://sociology.uchicago.edu/directory/simon-yamawaki-shachter>

Simon Yamawaki Shachter studies the relationship between civil society and the state and how these interactions change or reify institutional inequalities. His work on contemporary philanthropy focuses on the field of organizational philanthropy and how it operates, as a state actor or challenger, to perpetuate conservatism and plutocracy. He has studied these patterns in the areas of international development, biomedical research, policing, and political advocacy. His dissertation is historical and analyzes the role immigrant organizations played in building the early political and civil society institutions in West Coast cities from the mid-19th to the early-20th centuries. The unique immigrant and racial demography of the West Coast provides an informative case to update our theories of race and immigration, particularly through the study of communities' organizational lives. In turn, this provides a new history of the founding of local civil society and urban politics in the U.S.

**Gabriel L.
Suchodolski**University of
California, Los
Angeles

Website:

<https://soc.ucla.edu/person/gabriel-suchodolski/>

I'm a political sociologist with expertise in development, policy, environment, ethnography, and comparative-historical sociology. My dissertation project investigates land policy implementation in Brazil and India to analyze why weak state bureaucracies succeed or fail at efforts to establish clear land property rights (land titles). In a paper on clientelism and contentious politics, I show that clients often lead collective action but produce conflict and social fragmentation that maintain social hierarchy and sources for further patronage—in what I term the 'contentious client cycles' of social change without transformation. Drawing from my decade-long ethnography in the Amazon region, I analyze the social and political mechanisms of deforestation and alternative climate futures. Finally, in a collaborative project with Professor Susanna Hecht, I trace the development policies, politics, and environmental history of the Amazon frontier.

Jen Triplett

University of
Michigan



Jen Triplett is a qualitative comparative-historical sociologist working in the subfields of political sociology, sociology of culture, gender, and collective behavior and social movements. She is particularly interested in the political participation of traditionally marginalized groups (especially women) in various countries, historical settings, and regime types. Previous projects have included examinations of state/movement relations in authoritarian Peru, women's mobilization and

party affiliation in post-Chavez Venezuela, and women's contributions to ideas of nationalism in independence-era Cuba.

Jen's dissertation contributes to a sociological understanding of immediate post-revolutionary periods by focusing on how new regime leaders shape political subjects and promote cohesion across diverse groups. Using qualitative analysis of textual data from Cuba in the 1960s, she argues that political elites pursue these goals, in part, through a process of ideological consolidation grounded in political articulation, that is, the linking together of disparate social groups to form a unifying political identity.

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New Publications

Academic articles or chapters

Bloemraad, Irene, Victoria M. Esses, Will Kymlicka, and Yang-Yang Zhou. "Unpacking immigrant integration: Concepts, mechanisms, and context." Background paper to *World Development Report 2023: Migrants, Refugees, and Societies*.

<https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/454db131e2fb1cd039409bd6f78e1778-0050062023/original/Social-integration-FINAL-FORMATTED.pdf>

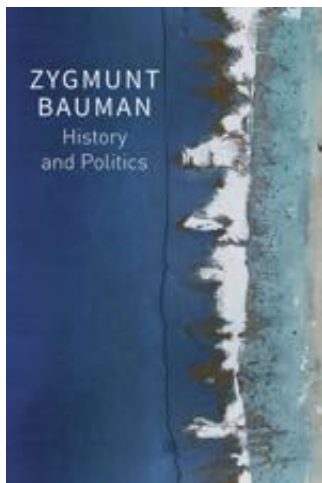
Bruch, Sarah K., Joseph van der Naald, and Janet Gornick. 2023. "Poverty Reduction through Federal and State Policy Mechanisms: Variation over Time and across the United States." *Social Service Review* 97(2). <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/724556>

Conner, Jerusha, Johnnie Lotesta, and Rachel Stannard. 2022. "Intersectional Politicization: A Facet of Youth Activists' Sociopolitical Development." *Journal of Community Psychology* 51(3):1345-64. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22941>

Kamenou, Nayia. 2023. "Feminism Contested and Co-opted: Women, Agency and Politics of Gender in the Greek and Greek-Cypriot Far Right." *European Journal of Women's Studies*, online first: <https://doi.org/10.1177/13505068221145412>

- Leader Maynard, Jonathan and Aliza Luft. 2023. "Humanizing Dehumanization Research." *Current Research in Ecological and Social Psychology* 4:100102.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cresp.2023.100102>
- Mora, Maria De Jesus and Paul D. Almeida. 2023. "Incubator Campaigns and California's Immigrant Rights Movement." *Mobilization* 28(1): 23-40. <https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671X-28-1-23>
- Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "Does the United States owe Reparations to Somalia?" *Race & Class*, online first: <https://doi.org/10.1177/03063968231155358>.
- Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "Universality, Black Lives Matter, and the George Floyd Uprising." *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, online first: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2023.2168717>.
- Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "The Politics of Identity, the Identity of Politics: Thinking with Badiou and Táíwò." *Critical Sociology*, online first: <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205231171321>.
- Ozgen, Zeynep. 2023. "From secularization to religious resurgence: an endogenous account." *Theory and Society*, online first: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-023-09512-9>.
- Roubenoff, Ethan, Jasmijn Sloopjes, and Irene Bloemraad. 2023. "Spatial and Sociodemographic Vulnerability: Quantifying Accessibility to Health Care and Legal Services for Immigrants in California, Arizona, and Nevada." *Socius* 9. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23780231231157683> (ASA podcast about the article: <https://sagesociology.libsyn.com/socius-spatial-and-sociodemographic-vulnerability-quantifying-accessibility-to-health-care-and-legal-services-for-immigrants-in-california-arizona-and-nevada>)
- Soener, Matthew. 2022. "Class Power in Hard Times: Excavating Nicos Poulantzas's Theory of the Capitalist State through the History of the 2007–2008 Crisis." *Critical Historical Studies* 9(2): 195–220. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/721840>
- Song, Sarah and Irene Bloemraad. 2022. "Immigrant Legalization: A dilemma between justice and the rule of law." *Migration Studies* 10(3): 484–509.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnac014> plus a response to critics:
https://migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/dilemmas/4th_dilemma_5th_response.pdf
- Steele, Liza G., Joseph Nathan Cohen, and Joseph van der Naald. 2022. "Wealth, Income, and Preferences for Redistribution: Evidence from 30 Countries." *Social Science Research* 108.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2022.102746>
- Türkoğlu, Didem, Meltem Odabaş, Doruk Tunaoglu, and Mustafa Yavaş. 2023. "Political polarisation on social media: Competing understandings of democracy in Turkey." *South European Society and Politics*, online first:
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2023.2200901>.

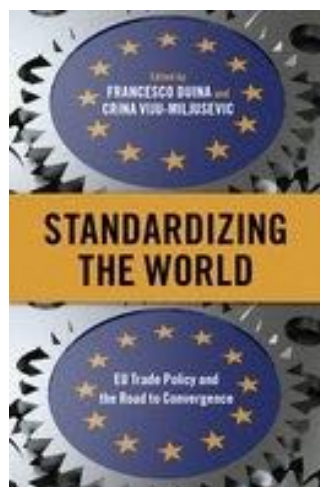
Books



Bauman, Zygmunt. 2023. *History and Politics: Selected Writings, Volume 2*. Eds. Mark Davis, Jack Palmer, Dariusz Brzezinski, Thomas P. Campbell. Transl. Katarzyna Bartoszynska. Polity Press.

[Discount code: PPB23, for paperback edition]

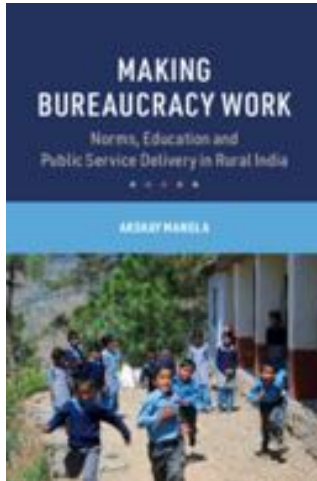
As a follow-up to *Culture and Art: Selected Writings*, this new edited collection makes available some of Bauman's previously unpublished and rare writings on the social and political upheavals of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The book features a substantial introduction by the editors that provides readers with a lucid guide through the material and draws connections to Bauman's other major works and ideas.



Duina, Francesco and Crina Viju-Miljusevic, eds. 2023. *Standardizing the World: EU Trade Policy and the Road to Convergence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

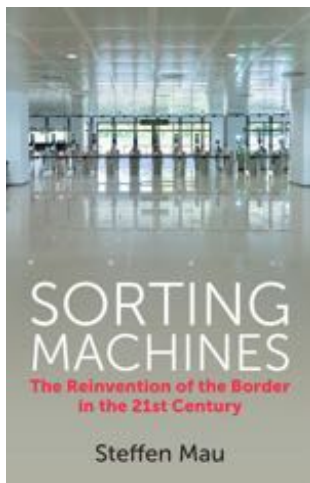
In *Standardizing the World*, Francesco Duina and Crina Viju-Miljusevic have gathered a group of leading experts to present an unprecedented assessment of the EU's efforts to standardize a wide array of economic, political, and social aspects of life through its trade agreements across the globe. Drawing on economic sociology and constructivist strands in international political economy, the volume examines what is being standardized, the extent to which the EU has been able to project its worldviews, and what explains the observable patterns of standardization across policy areas and geographies. Ten leading scholars from across the world offer as many chapters on EU agreements with all major trading partners and cover efforts in social and labor rights, the environment, investments, rule of law and anti-corruption, agriculture and food quality, services, public procurement, sustainable development, and more. Their findings paint a picture of a dynamic EU capable of projecting its worldviews across the globe that is nonetheless not always consistent or successful.

Standardizing the World provides a wide-ranging and rigorous understanding of standardization in trade agreement as well as the EU's abilities to project its power and worldviews across the globe.



Mangla, Akshay. 2022. *Making Bureaucracy Work: Norms, Education and Public Service Delivery in Rural India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Studies in the Comparative Politics of Education.

What makes bureaucracy work for the least advantaged? Across the world, countries have adopted policies for universal primary education. Yet, policy implementation is uneven and not well understood. *Making Bureaucracy Work* investigates when and how public agencies deliver primary education across rural India. Through a multi-level comparative analysis and more than two years of ethnographic field research, Mangla opens the 'black box' of Indian bureaucracy to demonstrate how differences in bureaucratic norms - informal rules that guide public officials and their everyday relations with citizens - generate divergent implementation patterns and outcomes. While some public agencies operate in a legalistic manner and promote compliance with policy rules, others engage in deliberation and encourage flexible problem-solving with local communities, thereby enhancing the quality of education services. This book reveals the complex ways bureaucratic norms interact with socioeconomic inequalities on the ground, illuminating the possibilities and obstacles for bureaucracy to promote inclusive development.



Mau, Steffen. *Sorting Machines: The Reinvention of the Border in the 21st Century*. Transl. Nicola Barfoot. Polity Press.

[Discount code: PPBK1, for paperback edition]

It is commonly thought that, thanks to globalization, nation-state borders are becoming increasingly porous. Sociologist Steffen Mau shows that this view is misleading: borders are not getting more permeable today, but rather are being turned into powerful sorting machines. Supported by digitalization, they have been upgraded to smart borders, and border control has expanded spatially on a massive scale. Mau shows how the new sorting machines create mobility and immobility at the same time: for some travelers, borders open readily, but for others they are closed more firmly than ever. While a small circle of privileged people can travel almost anywhere today, the vast majority of the world's population continues to be systematically excluded. Nowhere is the Janus nature of globalization more evident than at the borders of the 21st century.

Public sociology and other venues

Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "The United States and Somalia." *This is Revolution Podcast*. Video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LHXtP80P-6Q>. Audio available at: <https://open.spotify.com/episode/1VnScMnd6GxtXGCKn2mrSU>.

Mueller, Jason C. 2023. "Universality and the Enduring Relevance of the George Floyd Uprising." *Marxist Sociology Blog: Theory, Research, Politics*. Available at: <https://marxistsociology.org/2023/02/universality-and-the-enduring-relevance-of-the-george-floyd-uprising/>.

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