

STATES, POWER, & SOCIETIES



LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

ANN HIRONAKA,
UC IRVINE

This year has brought tremendous challenge and change, to say the least. I would like to thank the many people who have helped keep the Political Sociology Section going through thick and thin: the past and incoming chairs, secretary/treasurer, council members, award committees, ASA staff, and many members who have generously helped out in big and small ways. As a direct result of everyone's efforts and contributions, the Political Sociology section has been able to carry on most of our

routine activities in a period of tumult and turmoil. I hope that the Section events and activities have been—and will continue to be—a source of intellectual community and support for our members.

The Political Sociology section continues to move forward. The ASA elections are upon us! We have a terrific set of nominees for future section leaders.

Please don't forget to vote — the election closes soon. At the ASA annual conference this summer, political sociology panels will feature an outstanding array of impressive papers, albeit delivered virtually rather than in person. And political sociologists continue to turn out academic scholarship of the highest caliber. The presentations span a broad array of topics, including several addressing current issues such as the COVID-19 pandemic, social justice movements, and controversial election proceedings. Please join in to support your colleagues,

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participate in our vibrant intellectual community, and hear some initial perspectives on recent events.

So may the summer months turn out to be brighter than those of the previous year. I look forward to connecting virtually in August and hopefully in person at the ASA meetings in 2022!

Best,
Ann Hironaka

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Recent Books



Throw me a life vest,
please!

EMILY ERIKSON,
YALE UNIVERSITY

I think we can all agree that Richard Lachmann's latest book, *First-Class Passengers on a Sinking Ship*, is a masterful work of history and political analysis. The question I want to address is whether this book should be read as an analysis of the current situation of the United States, a work on elite conflict theory, or as a work on imperial decline. Or perhaps this question could be better phrased as whether this work's greatest contribution is to contemporary analyses of the state of the United States, to the development of elite-conflict theory, or to theories of empire.

Lachmann has developed elite-conflict theory in, for example, earlier works like *Capitalists in Spite of Themselves*, and *From Manor to Market*. In those

books, as in this one, Lachmann mobilizes and develops elite-conflict theory to explain large-scale political outcomes. But this most recent book is not really about exploring the possible dimensions and contours of elite-conflict theory as much as it is about explaining imperial decline in general and US imperial decline in particular.

That balance between the general and particular is interesting because for a lot of readers there is going to be some implicit tension between how they feel about the current situation in the US and the idea of the end of US imperial ambitions. On the one hand, we might be ambivalent or even vaguely pleased about the end of an empire but simultaneously sad about the potentially disastrous way that era is winding down in the US.

To this end it should be noted that the book was finalized before the 2020 elections, and things surely looked much worse at that point than they do now, although Lachmann makes clear that he does not believe a change in administrations -- however awful one outgoing administration may be -- is going to resolve the underlying conflicts over resources propelling the decline of US power. He does, however, carefully keep the different outcomes of imperial decline and societal decline and/or stasis analytically separate.

It is mainly in the concluding chapter that the problem of rising inequality,

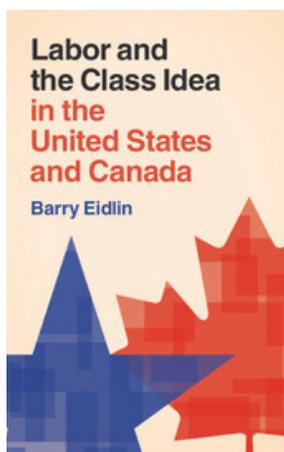
the rise of populism, and the decline of democratic institutions are addressed. It is clear that the end of US global hegemony is going to play an important role in how these issues play out over time. But it is equally clear that other factors largely unrelated to international relations and global power also play an extremely important role -- such as the presence of union organization and corporate tax rates. Just to drive this point home, only three nations have experienced global hegemony and decline, but nearly all nations have experienced changing patterns of inequality and democratization. Despite the fact that this analysis enters in at the end of the book, it is more than sufficient to advance a strong case that elite-conflict theory should also be at the heart of the analysis of these other very concerning trends -- whether or not they intersect with imperial decline. In this regard, Lachmann's analysis makes a nice companion for Thomas Piketty's recent volumes, *Capital* and *Capital and Ideology*, which give quite a lot of information about laws, taxation, and property regimes, but less on the political configurations that give rise to these institutional outcomes and/or the configurations that might lead to the changes for which Piketty advocates.

But despite the fact that the US is experiencing coterminous threats to equality, democracy, *and* empire, and despite the fact that Lachmann believes that imperial decline is going to exacerbate inequality and democratic failure in the US, they are still distinct processes. (And indeed we might hope that Lachmann's next book

is about increasing inequality in the US and elite-conflict theory!) So, while I think it is almost impossible for a reader to walk away from this book with much hope that US imperial decay is going to be reversed, there should -- at least until Richard's next book on inequality is published -- still be some hope for a different societal trajectory.

The point that is truly hammered home in an entirely convincing way is that you do need elite-conflict theory to explain imperial decline. Lachmann does a brilliant job in showcasing just how inadequate previous theories of the end of empire have been. We seem to have settled for 'it can't go on forever' as a major intellectual position on the issue. Here the book really shines new light on a very important topic and the central theoretical contribution is made. We have a breakdown of the four major elite fissures and thorough historical analysis to back it up. I have to admit, however, that I may prefer this interpretation since it gives me more intellectual distance from the depressing conclusions Lachmann ultimately reaches about the United States' social trajectory. We may be in a sinking ship but I'm hoping we can still contribute to knowledge that might produce a different kind of craft. One that is hopefully more durable, more sustainable, more equitable, and hopefully even more enjoyable for all its passengers.

Dr. Emily Erikson is an Associate Professor of Sociology and the School of Management (by courtesy) at Yale University.



What's left for the Left? A Commentary on Barry Eidlin's *Labor and the Class Idea in the U. S. & Canada*

CEDRIC DE LEON,
UNIVERSITY OF
MASSACHUSETTS, AMHERST

In this rigorous and impressive book, Barry Eidlin takes aim at existing accounts of the divergence in union density and labor third party support in the United States and Canada, which often point to differences in political culture. Such theories offer an account in which cultural and institutional forces exert themselves over time to prevent socialism and militant trade unionism from taking hold in the United States while enabling the same in Canada. The problem with these accounts, he says, is that union density and third party support were actually similar in both countries until the 1930s. The puzzle that orients the book, then, is why the divergence happened after the 1930s

despite a long history of convergence. Barry provides a two-step answer anchored in the theory of political articulation, according to which parties naturalize and denaturalize social divisions such as class inequality in their attempt to build and unbuild hegemonic blocs. First, the New Deal Democratic Party in the United States coopted the working class insurgencies of the 1930s, bringing them into the party fold as an interest group. By contrast, the ruling Conservative and Liberal parties in Canada chose a course of violent antilabor repression, a move which pushed organized labor into the waiting arms of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), later the New Democratic Party (NDP). Second, once labor became institutionalized in these competing ways, labor was split off from the left in the United States, thus making it increasingly difficult to pose class as an organizing principle of party and labor politics. The Democratic Party and its allies in labor officialdom then channeled the movement away from militant direct action and independent third parties toward the two-party system and a highly bureaucratized form of collective bargaining. Meanwhile, in Canada, labor's alliance with the NDP encouraged a posture of independence from the political establishment and allowed class politics and labor militance to flourish more than it did in the United States. Though the NDP and organized labor assisted in purging the Communist Party, labor and the left never severed ties, Barry argues, in part owing to radical political tendencies within the NDP itself. The result was a program

of mass mobilization that redounded to the benefit of organized labor in the form of pro-labor regulatory policies and higher union density.

In my view the book has three key strengths. The first is that it is notably systematic in accounting for nearly every alternative hypothesis. Over the course of several chapters (not just in the introduction), Barry explains why each competing approach, despite telling some part of the story, falls short in one particular or another. In a sea of squooshy and unserious books, *Labor and the Class Idea* is a refreshing counterexample. Second, and this is only a bit self-serving I promise, he mobilizes the theoretical framework of political articulation in a convincing way, showing how attention to the intersection of party and labor politics is the only plausible way to explain the divergence that begins in the 1930s. I would hasten to add, however, that he does so with a greater sensitivity to economic structural factors than I ever have, and that is a key intervention as political articulation grows as a paradigm as I hope it will. Third, I resonate with his diagnosis of what ails the American labor movement. It is its status as a captured constituency inside the Democratic Party that continues to stand in the way of an alternative strategy built on mass mobilization. Overall, at the risk of inviting charges of nepotism, since Barry is a friend, I think it is safe to say that *Labor and the Class Idea* has now finally, at long last, evicted Seymour Martin Lipset, from his place as the authority on the Canada-U.S. comparison. It's about time.

The book's considerable strengths notwithstanding, I would like to offer a critique that is anchored in the Black freedom struggle and the experience of colonialism, which Barry addresses at some length in the second half of the book. A good theory is like a good camera – it brings the target object into vivid focus but blurs or conceals that which is out of frame.

Barry's focus on critical turning points of divergence, which he shares with comparative historical sociologists in general, obscures from view the *persistence* of racial dispossession across multiple so-called turning points within the case of the United States and the *convergence* of American and Canadian labor in their silence on white settler colonialism, even most shockingly when the Canadian labor movement itself advances an anti-colonial critique against American and English capital. This necessarily implicates Barry's stirring call for resurrecting the class idea as a basis for the resurgence of the labor movement in both countries. Given the contemporary resurgence of feminist and anti-racist movements, not to mention the ascendancy of ethnic nationalists and Neo-Nazis, it is clear that what is left for the Left is not just the recuperation of the class idea, but also an intersectional vision of labor solidarity.

In a section titled, "The Role of Race," and later in the chapter on the Red Scare, Barry argues that whereas the Canadian labor movement was able to connect anti-colonial and labor

struggles in a coherent political program, the American labor movement was not. This is because the U.S. civil rights and labor movements were deradicalized by their incorporation in the Democratic Party, and because civil and labor rights became institutionalized as two separate policy domains.

But of course, as some of us know, the inability to connect the struggles for economic and racial justice is ancient. In *Black Reconstruction*, W. E. B. Du Bois criticized the labor and abolitionist movements of the 1830s thus: “The abolitionist did not sense the new subordination into which the worker was being forced by organized capitalism, while the laborers did not realize that the exclusion of four million [Black] workers from the labor program was a fatal omission” (Du Bois 1935: 25). Before Malcolm X ever said, “You can’t have capitalism without racism,” Du Bois lamented the lost opportunity to advance an intersectional vision of labor solidarity in the nineteenth century. He wrote,

Here, then, were two labor movements: the movement to give the black worker a minimum legal status which would enable him to sell his own labor, and another movement which proposed to increase the wage and better the condition of the working class in America, now largely composed of foreign immigrants, and dispute with the new American capitalism the basis upon which the new wealth was to be divided. Broad philanthropy and a wide knowledge of the elements of human progress would have led these two movements to unite and in their union to become

irresistible. It was difficult, almost impossible, for this to be clear to the white labor leaders of the thirties. They had their particularistic grievances and one of these was the competition of free Negro labor. (DuBois 1935: 20-21)

The emergence and foreclosure of this promise occurs over and over again throughout the history of the labor movement and the Black freedom struggle, including but not limited to the cooptation of those movements into the Democratic Party that Barry documents.

Moreover, as First Nations scholars Glen Coulthard (2014) and Audra Simpson (2014) remind us, for all the divergence between the mainstream Canadian and American labor movements, both to varying degrees fail to explore, beyond a thin “politics of recognition,” what an indigenous-labor alliance might be built upon. For example, if in the Marxist imaginary the exploitation of labor entails the theft of time, the Dene Nation of the Northwest Territories visualizes a spatial dispossession akin, though not identical, to primitive accumulation in Europe (Coulthard 2014: 62). What would a mass movement based on these interrelated aspects of racial capitalism look like? Apart from the shared critique of capitalism that these relations imply, the silence on this question is especially deafening given that the Canadian left was heavily influenced by anti-colonial and Black Power movements. But instead of looking inward to contemplate their complicity in dispossessing their aboriginal sisters and brothers, English-speaking union activists focused their anti-colonial and class rage against

American capitalism, while the Quebecois underscored their colonial subjection to the English. Being from Toronto, I believe I have earned the right to say that is so annoyingly Canadian.

In sum, with respect to racial subordination and violence, there is more persistence and convergence than there is rupture and divergence. I am no expert on gender and labor, but I would be willing to bet that not enough has changed on that side of the ledger either even if the Canadian labor movement may have been more reliably feminist over time. This then brings me to the question of what's left for the Left. Put another way, is "the class idea" enough to articulate all those left behind by the promise of organized labor? I ask this seriously as the director of one of the last remaining union-side graduate Labor Studies programs in the United States. My instinct, based on my analysis of the current conjuncture, is that we require an intersectional vision of collective struggle.

Consider now the prospects of an intersectional mass movement from the point of view of the American Left. The hegemonic political project of contemporary American politics is what I call postracial neoliberalism. That project is animated by two claims: that racial equality was achieved long ago and that the surest path to shared prosperity is the free market, unencumbered by state regulation and unions.

Colorblind racism and neoliberalism are not just two separate pillars of the

same political project, however: they are linked by deindustrialization. To win the votes of whites, the major parties promised to preserve their privileged access to social benefits. As more and more white union members joined the ranks of the unemployed, taking up a greater proportion of both welfare benefits and service sector jobs, there was a simultaneous push to remove unemployed Black workers from the welfare rolls and from the labor market. According to a report from the Congressional Budget Office, the poorest fifth of American households consumed 54 percent of social benefits in 1979; by 2011 they consumed only 36 percent, while the lion's share went towards what the CBO itself characterized as "maintaining the middle class from childhood through retirement" (Congressional Budget Office 2011). At the same time, as Michelle Alexander (2010) and Loïc Wacquant (2002) demonstrate, law and order initiatives from Nixon to Clinton inverted the proportion of white and Black inmates in America's prisons. The dispossession of unemployed Black folk, which recalls in its historical brutality the aforementioned dispossession of First Nations, deepened further as states passed laws stripping ex-convicts of their right to vote, denying access to social benefits such as interest free college loans, and limiting their access to the job market by mandating that job applicants list whether or not they have ever been convicted of a crime.

Modern American politics through the Obama administration had become a fight over who could best safeguard

the racial and economic privileges of whites under increasing pressure from deindustrialization. Donald Trump's nativist politics, which Steve Bannon has referred to as "economic nationalism," must therefore be understood as a promise to *alleviate* that pressure by accelerating mass deportation, canceling or modifying free trade agreements, expanding the takeover of indigenous lands for energy development, and intensifying a law and order strategy in the nation's Black neighborhoods. Economic nationalism is, however, a dead end street especially for white workers seeking relief from the scourge of neoliberalism.

White men, now as in previous centuries, must compete in the labor market with women and people of color as the workforce becomes increasingly feminized and racially diverse. The way backward is a program of social closure not unlike economic nationalism and the nineteenth century labor program, which ignores the linkages among race, class, and gender that are now fully on display with the movement for Black Lives and the disproportionate impact of the pandemic on women, indigenous peoples, and other communities of color both as patients and workers. The only way forward is an intersectional program that builds power by explicitly connecting these overlapping struggles. It is a matter of utmost urgency that in this crisis of hegemony, in which no political actor has the mass consent to rule, the labor movement and allied movements for social justice join forces so that we do not repeat the mistakes of the Black

freedom struggle and organized labor documented by Du Bois in *Black Reconstruction* and now in Barry Eidlin's *Labor and the Class Idea*.

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Dr. Cedric de Leon is Professor of Sociology & Director of the Labor Center at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.



The Politics of Environmental Justice & the Just Transition

Interview with
Maricarmen Hernández

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

Q: You've researched environmental justice and environmental racism in Esmeraldas, Ecuador and in Greater Houston, among other sites. Can you tell us a bit about these projects? Have you noticed any surprising connections or insights as a result of exploring similar processes across different communities and political settings?

A: My work in the Houston area was part of a larger research project comparing exposures to hazardous air pollutants. I used qualitative methods to examine pattern-process linkages in the production of distributional environmental injustices, focusing on the role of residential decision-making among Latinx immigrant groups living at risk to air toxics. In this work I emphasized the importance of looking at residential mobility as well as differences within immigrant groups to understand the factors that shape their exposure to cancer risks from hazardous air pollutants. My findings revealed that key determinants of high air pollution risk included economic constraints on

residential location options for both US-born and Latinx immigrants, as well as an attraction to living in their co-ethnic community.

My work in Esmeraldas, Ecuador is ethnographic, and I focus on how daily practices of placemaking, home building, and understandings of toxicity play into the reproduction and perpetuation of environmental inequalities. For this project, I conducted long-term ethnographic research in an informal neighborhood located next to the largest refinery in Ecuador. I emphasize the importance of recognizing that racialized and impoverished communities living under informal conditions in the Latin American city are more directly exposed to toxicity and have fewer resources to protect themselves.

The scope, focus, and context of each of these projects was very different, but in each my goal was to understand the sociopolitical production of environmental inequalities. One factor that proved central, despite the contextual and methodological differences of these projects, was the need to analyze internal community dynamics that create social cohesion. This attachment to community and place may at times work to ease the difficulties of navigating life in that space (in one case the pressures of

being an immigrant, in the other generalized material precarity), while at the same time keeping marginalized groups living in contaminated places.

Q: *Ethnography offers a distinctive lens for doing political sociology research. How was taking an ethnographic approach important to your work? What have been some of the challenges? How do you see ethnographic methods fitting with other qualitative methods?*

A: Because ethnography is based on close-up, on-the-ground observation in real time and space it was a fitting method to uncover the sometimes counterintuitive and unexpected dynamics of contaminated communities. As previously mentioned, I was interested in analyzing internal community dynamics, social cohesion and place-making, and their impact on risk perceptions in toxic spaces. I found that spending an extended period of time living in the neighborhood I was studying and participating in everyday activities provided me with an opportunity to observe and understand how such dynamics and cohesion are constructed. This, in turn, was pivotal to explaining why the neighbors chose to stay as opposed to looking for a safer place to live.

Conducting ethnographic research in a somewhat remote and contaminated place is both rewarding and challenging. The most obvious challenge is having the time and space to go off to the field for prolonged periods. Besides that, there is the

embodied cost of doing this type of work. For me these costs were manifested in the form of respiratory ailments, allergies, and skin rashes. I found these embodied costs to be an interesting source of data, yet generally irrelevant to the experiences of those who—out of necessity, and not by choice or theoretical interest—lived their entire lives under these toxic conditions.

Ethnography is especially fitting for understanding dynamics or processes that play out in the everyday experience. I think that it can yield great insight into a community's or group's experience, providing the researcher with the opportunity to make theoretically robust contributions. In my experience, using ethnographic observations along with other qualitative methodologies, such as in-depth interviews, life histories, and archival research has been effective for triangulation and for tracing historical processes such as the development of the oil sector and histories of displacement in the area.

Q: *To what extent do you think environmental racism is becoming part of broader political conversations about inequality in the US and Latin America?*

A: As we continue to witness the adverse effects of global warming on the planet, and subsequently on vulnerable populations, environmental injustice and racism have become more prominent in broader conversations about inequality. One important direction has been thinking about the environment as the place where we all

live, play, raise families, and work; meaning that along with poverty, insecurity, and housing precarity, living in hazardous areas is also an important vector of inequality in the lives of marginalized populations, especially in the context of the Global South. I think that environmental inequality and racism are more prominent in broader political conversations today than they have been in the past, and we can only expect this trend to continue as climate-related issues and disasters continue to impact our lives.

Q: As you think ahead to your future research, what new projects are on the horizon? Has the global pandemic affected how you approach ethnographic work?

A: I am interested in the compounding effect of inequalities, especially after we saw how pandemic restrictions and lockdowns impacted communities differently. I kept up with members of the informal neighborhood I work with in Esmeraldas, via video calls and messaging, and documented how quarantine devastated a way of life that is highly dependent on informal work and whose material precarity is extreme. Additionally, the neighborhood is a place where respiratory conditions are common ailments due to toxic exposure, thus increasing the likelihood that residents of this community may become severely ill from COVID-19, and who have limited access to quality healthcare.

The global pandemic will surely continue to impact the way we

approach ethnographic research in ways we have yet to see. I was fortunate to have just completed my data collection before the onset of restrictions, therefore the planned visits to the field that I cancelled were more personal than research-related. As vaccination campaigns are underway and international travel resumes, there are many factors to consider when planning a visit to a place like Esmeraldas. Vaccines are currently not available there, and will most likely not be available for some time. As long as most of the population goes unvaccinated, visiting should be done with extreme caution, following a two-week quarantine period and testing for COVID-19. As long as this continues to be the case, we should consider other methods that may be used to complement our research. As previously mentioned, video calls and messaging are a few options I have resorted to.

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

Interview with Mijin Cha

OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE

Q: Much of your research is about climate justice. To begin with, what is climate justice and how does it relate to environmental justice?

A: To me, climate justice is the recognition that climate change is not just about science but about people. Recognizing the human element of

climate change leads to research and advocacy on climate change expanding beyond a discussion of greenhouse gas emissions to questions about: Who is driving the climate crisis? How will climate change exacerbate existing inequities? How can we ensure the low-carbon future is just? Climate justice requires racial, economic, and social injustice to be addressed as part of climate policy and climate advocacy. This is similar to and in many cases directly overlaps with the environmental justice movement.

Q: In your work, you've used the term "just transition." What does this term mean? Can you tell us about an empirical case of a community historically dependent on fossil fuel extraction that made a just transition to a new political economy, in the US or elsewhere?

A: There are many definitions of just transition. Generally, just transition means understanding and mitigating the negative economic and social consequences of decarbonization. On a narrow level, this looks like supporting fossil fuel workers and communities, as we transition away from fossil fuel use, i.e., ensuring displaced workers have health insurance, housing support, re-training, a job to transition into, and tax revenue replacement. This narrow view is limited in that it doesn't acknowledge and support the many communities that have borne the environmental and social burden of fossil fuels but have been excluded from the benefits of the fossil fuel economy. It also does not take into account that replacing fossil

fuels with renewable energy is not necessarily more just, given the resource and labor exploitation that can accompany renewable energies, among other shortcomings.

A more holistic understanding is, as my collaborator and friend Manuel Pastor says, that the "just transition" is a transition to justice. In this understanding, just transition is a transition from an extractive economy to a regenerative economy. The extractive economy is about more than just extraction of resources-- it is the extraction of labor, people, and wealth. Predatory financial practices, the prison-industrial complex, and exploitative labor practices are all forms of extractive economy. Moving to a regenerative economy requires sustainable uses of resources, labor, and capital. This view of just transition acknowledges the historic burden placed upon communities of color and low-income communities and mitigates the burden, as well as ensuring well being and the ability to prosper. It also acknowledges that justice is a global issue and an energy transition that moves pollution and injustice elsewhere is not a just transition.

In terms of an example of where there has been a just transition, there are very few successful examples and we have largely been unable to support workers and communities in the transition away from a declining industry. The Ruhr region in Germany is often used as an example of successfully transitioning away from coal mining and steel manufacturing. It took around fifty years, comprehensive

social safety net supports, and strong governmental planning to diversify the economy away from coal and steel.

Q: With the arrival of the Biden-Harris administration, there is renewed emphasis on the politics of climate change. The US has rejoined the Paris climate agreement. An Executive Order signed earlier this year established the White House Environmental Justice Advisory Council, which met recently. The connections between environmental issues, green jobs, and social justice made in the Green New Deal seem to be reaching a broader audience. What is your assessment of the current political situation? What are the key elements for reorienting current models to an equitable low-carbon economy going forward?

A: I think there are definitely things to be optimistic about in a Biden/Harris administration. In addition to the things listed, the Biden Administration has made a pledge, Justice40, to ensure forty percent of all relevant federal investment is directed to disadvantaged communities. The recognition of social inequity as part of climate is also good.

My concerns are that 1) the emissions reductions targets are not as aggressive as we need to stop the worst impacts of the climate crisis. We should be doubling or tripling the targets. 2) With Justice40, the devil is in the details. What counts as a federal investment and is it applied directly in a community or to the "benefit" of a community? What does benefit mean? What is a disadvantaged community? These are all incredibly important questions and will determine how just the initiative is. 3) There doesn't seem

to be a fundamental change in approach. Many of the Biden Administration policies seem to be within existing paradigms--tax credits, private sector investment, etc. and not the bold and ambitious public sector programs that a Green New Deal requires. We are not going to achieve the emissions reductions we need through tax credits and incentive programs. We need direct emissions reduction through wide-scale building retrofits, infrastructure repair, public transit build-out, mass deployment of renewable energy, etc. and that cannot be achieved through instruments like tax credits and subsidies.

Q: Where do you expect to focus your own research going forward?

A: I'm currently finishing up some research on state just transition policies and power building. I'm also working on a book project that discusses the history of unjust transitions and what we can do to avoid making the same mistakes again. I'm also working with a collective of labor/climate researchers interviewing people who will be impacted by transition or who have previously gone through transition. We wrote a report for the Labor Network for Sustainability that was released earlier this year and we're looking to expand that work to look at transitions in other countries and develop a more global view on just transition.

Dr. J. Mijin Cha is an Assistant Professor of Urban and Environmental Policy at Occidental College. Dr. Cha is also a fellow at Cornell University's Worker Institute, where she works on the Labor Leading on Climate initiative.

Tales from the Field:

Research in Progress by Political Sociologists

Theorizing the New Experts

BY ANURADHA SAJJANHAR,
POSTDOCTORAL FELLOW,
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

I am drawn to asking how notions of expertise change in moments of political and democratic transformation, and how discourses surrounding policy debates can shift to produce new kinds of “common sense.” My doctoral dissertation, “The New Experts: Politics (and Anti-Politics) of Expertise in the Making of Hegemony,” examines how particular policy problems (and solutions) gain prominence in dominant political discourse and policy organizations. I focus on India and trace the evolution of a shifting network of experts and elites, interrogating what is considered to be expertise in the context of governance.

The Bharatiya Janata Party’s fragmented political project in India is rife with contradictions and inconsistencies that require strategically vague discourses: they are “fragmenting the polity on the one hand and conjoining them with a unified Hindutva narrative on the other...a populist narrative works as a glue in creating a new kind of discourse of us and them, in some instance, vis-à-vis the economic elites, while in others it could be the Muslims” (Gudavarthy 2018, p. 72). My dissertation explores how ideas spread through government

and civil society organizations to understand the politically influential processes that shape policy agendas. I analyze how people within these spaces make sense of and reflect on their decisions. The key here is the ability of actors to reflect -- not simply to unconsciously reproduce their circumstances, but to feel an impassioned conviction for, passively acquiesce to, reluctantly suffer through, or vehemently oppose them.

Fundamental to my analysis is a desire to deviate from a linear or transitive understanding of causality. Rather than studying the consumption of political narratives or presenting a positivist study of how much think tanks impact government policy, my work focuses on the agenda-setting role of authoritative voices of expertise in policymaking and the legitimacy of knowledge-producing organizations. To understand how ideas spread, gain prominence, and percolate between and through networks, I started out employing a combination of Althusser’s structural causality and Bourdieu’s field theory. By adopting a Bourdieusian approach to field analysis, I use think tanks to study the contradictory character of techno-populist politics and policy in India.

Methodologically, I draw on interpretive interviewing and discourse analysis to highlight the strategic ambivalence of the BJP’s political and ideological project. I seek inspiration most from Antonio Gramsci’s (2000) account of the role of intellectuals in hegemony, Stuart Hall’s (1979) approach to the

ambivalence of dominant discursive narratives, and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's (Laclau 1996; Laclau and Mouffe 1985) analyses of the inherent instability and flexibility of discursive constructs. Discourses, then, can always be put in new social relations which try to assign them new meanings. These new meanings emerge from the "outside," which attempts to shape their structural significance within relations of power. The notion of the "empty signifier" is effective primarily through its ability to be shaped. Concepts such as democracy, for example, are caught in a tussle of different political parties claiming that their definition of democracy is real and true. In Laclau's (2005) theorization, the shifting character of every discourse allows politics to thrive, such that politics becomes a struggle to determine the infinitely contested discursive center.

Studying Far-Right Populism on Social Media

BY THOMAS DAVIDSON,
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

My research examines how far-right social movements and political parties use social media and why they appear to have been much more successful on these platforms than other political actors. I developed an interest in this area while studying for my master's in political sociology at the London School of Economics. At the time, the English Defence League (EDL) was amassing a huge following on Facebook by capitalizing on the murder of British

soldier Lee Rigby. Despite riotous protests and extreme anti-Muslim discourse, they tried to maintain a veneer of legitimacy, claiming to be non-racist and non-violent. I was fascinated by the disjuncture between the claims made by its leaders and the content of the discussions occurring on its Facebook page, which often included threats of violence. My thesis focused on how social media exposes grassroots activists' views, making it more difficult for far-right groups to navigate the tension between moderates and extremists. I manually copy-and-pasted a sample of 1,200 comments from Facebook threads and analyzed them using qualitative content analysis.

My initial research allowed me to develop a rich portrait of EDL supporters' worldviews, but it was laborious and difficult to scale. This inspired me to learn how to collect and analyze social media data more efficiently. I took computer science courses and learned about new computational methods in Michael Macy's Social Dynamics Lab at Cornell. I wrote a program to collect millions of posts and interactions on various political actors' Facebook pages and used these data in my dissertation to study the dynamics of far-right mobilization and opinion leadership during the Brexit referendum. I also built upon my earlier interests, publishing a paper in *Mobilization* with Mabel Berezin, where we used social media to reveal the otherwise hidden connections between the EDL's anti-Muslim successor group Britain First and the UK Independence Party.

There are obstacles to studying contemporary politics using social media data. Much of the relevant data, such as

who views extremist content or how people are connected, are inaccessible to researchers. In 2018, Facebook further restricted access as it tried to limit the fallout from the Cambridge Analytica scandal, breaking my data-collection pipeline and rendering thousands of lines of code redundant. The ephemerality of social media data also hampers research on the far-right. When actors like Britain First or Donald Trump are suspended or banned from social media platforms, the record of their activity disappears with them. Unless social media companies change their policies, researchers must proactively collect such data in anticipation of deletion.

Recently, there has been some movement towards greater data accessibility. Twitter has a new initiative to make its entire archive available to academics, and Facebook provides access to aggregate data on pages and groups via CrowdTangle. I'm currently working on a project using these data to systematically assess whether disparities in social media activity and engagement between the far-right and other parties persist after controlling for other important factors and the extent to which social media have contributed to the far-right's electoral advances.

Section Announcements

2021 ASA: POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY SECTION SESSIONS

Saturday August 7th

- **The New-Normal Politics of Extremism: Judgement, Lies, Conflict, and Trauma**, 1:30-2:55pm CT, VAM, Room 31
- **Who Counts?: Politicizing Peoples in Cuba, Turkey, Mexico, and Europe**, 3:15-4:40pm CT, VAM, Room 31

Monday August 9th

- **Council Meeting**, 9-9:45am CDT, VAM, Room 67
- **Section Meeting**, 10-10:30am CDT, VAM, Room 67
- **Round Tables**, 10:30-11:25am CDT, VAM, Rooms 55-66
- **Challenging Repression: Social Movements in Comparative and Authoritarian Contexts**, 11:45am-1:10pm CDT, VAM, Room 11
- **Militating for Political Voice: Confronting Alternative, Second-class, and Non-citizenship**, 1:30-2:55pm CDT, VAM, Room 11
- **The Origins of Political Views and Partisanship: Attitudes toward Masking, Gender Equality, and Brexit**, 3:15-4:40pm, VAM, Room 11

Tuesday, August 10th

- **Polarization and Contention in Electoral Politics**, 3:15-4:40pm CDT, VAM, Room 10

CALL FOR PAPERS

Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change (RSMCC), Volume 47 Methodological Advances in Research on Social Movements, Conflict, and Change

The 21st century brought many changes to social movements, peacebuilding, and armed conflicts. More movements exist and use a wider range of tactics to influence a rapidly changing, interconnected world. Organizations and scholars developed new techniques for bridging cultural divides and enhancing democracy and respect for human rights. Technological changes have rapidly altered conflict spaces. Scholars interested in social movements, peace, and conflict have adapted or developed a range of techniques to keep up with these changes. This volume will explore recent qualitative and quantitative methodological developments as well as the controversies and ethical challenges that come with studying activism, war, and peace. We welcome contributions related to the foci of RSMCC that 1) advance methodological debates by identifying new tools and methodologies, 2) discuss new sources of data and their relative value, or 3) address controversies and ethical issues that have emerged in the process of collecting or analyzing data.

Submissions due by **October 15, 2021**

We seek chapters that expand and/or develop new methodological aspects of studying social movements, peace, and conflict processes broadly construed. We encourage submissions contributing to one of three themes, such as the following examples:

New Tools and Methodologies

- New approaches for attracting or building rapport with interviewees (e.g., activists, NGO leaders, or military members)
- Techniques for conducting interviews with activists using online platforms
- The methodological challenges of conducting comparative analyses
- Using experimental methods studying activism, conflict, and peacebuilding.
- Novel approaches to the historical study of social movements, peacebuilding, and armed conflict.

Developing New Sources of Data

- Developing methodologies for coding image- or video-based sources of data
- Coverage of social movements or conflicts from non-traditional media sources (e.g., social media, Google search analytics, citizen journalism, music and lyrics).
- Accessing raw data collected by militaries, the United Nations, or governments
- Emerging opportunities for ethnographic and other field-based approaches to data collection.
- Methodological advances in ties within movements, across organizations, or transnationally.
- The benefits and challenges of using “big data” for studying social movement organizations or revolutions (e.g., merging with other data sources, conceptualization and operationalization issues, etc.)
- Emerging opportunities for archival research on social movements, peacebuilding, and conflict

Controversies & Ethical Considerations

- The ethics of studying marginalized communities as an insider or as an outsider
- The ethics of using publicly available—and potentially identifiable—social media data to study movements, particularly participants.
- Treating social movements as a topic for study rather than studying specific social problems.

About the Series

RSMCC is a fully peer-reviewed series of original research that has been published annually for over 40 years. We continue to publish the work of many of the leading scholars in social movements, social change, nonviolent action, and peace and conflict studies. Although RSMCC enjoys a wide library subscription base for the book versions, all volumes are published not only in book form but are also available online through Emerald Social Science eBook Series Collection via subscribing libraries or individual subscriptions. This ensures wider distribution and easier access to your scholarship while maintaining the book series at the same time. This title is indexed in Scopus and volumes from this series are included in the Thomson Reuters Book Citation Index.

Submissions

To be considered for inclusion in Volume 47, papers must arrive by **October 15th**, with priority given to papers received on or before **October 1st, 2021**. Initial decisions are generally made within 10-12 weeks. Manuscripts accepted for this volume will have gone through double-blind peer review.

Send submission as an email to **rsmcc.methodology@gmail.com**. For initial submissions, any standard social science in-text citation and bibliographic system is acceptable. Remove all self-references in the text and in the bibliography. Word counts should generally not exceed 12,000 words, inclusive of supplemental materials (abstract, tables, bibliography, notes, etc.). Include the paper's title and an unstructured abstract on the first page of the text itself. Send a second file that contains the article title, the unstructured abstract, and full contact information for all authors. Any questions can be directed to the Volume's Guest Editors, Tom Maher at tvmaher@clemsun.edu, Eric Schoon at schoon.1@osu.edu, or Series Editor, Lisa Leitz at rsmcc@chapman.edu.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW DATASET

Dmytro Khutkyy et. al. 2021. Digital Democracy Database. Brussels: European Digital Development Alliance. <https://www.europeandigital.org/digital-democracy-database>.

This evolving project is designed to identify and analyze cases of digital democracy aspiring to consolidate global democracy by discovering and sharing good practices of open participatory governance worldwide. The focus of the pilot undertaking is pan-European. Therefore, the first version includes 50 countries (Europe according to the United Nations, the Council of Europe, and the European Union) and over 1000 digital democracy cases identified by manual online search and content analysis during May 2020–February 2021. All e-democracy websites in the database are systematically described and classified according to a unified conceptual framework. The Digital Democracy Database is open and available for free. You can use it for your academic research, teaching, policy making, community development, and other non-commercial purposes.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW EDITOR / CALL FOR BOOK REVIEW ESSAYS

New Book Review Essays Editor appointed to AJCS:

We are pleased to announce that Dr. Celso Villegas (Kenyon College) has been appointed the Book Review Essays Editor for the *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*. Villegas has published on the performance qualities of COVID press conferences, civil sphere theory and middle-class formation, as well as middle-class protests and populism in the Philippines, Venezuela, and Ecuador. He succeeds Dr. Isaac Ariail Reed (University of Virginia), who served as AJCS Book Reviews Editor from 2015–2020. Authors interested in submitting a book review essay to the journal should contact Dr. Villegas at villegasc@kenyon.edu, keeping in mind that AJCS only considers review essays that put two or more texts in conversation with one another. In addition to book reviews that focus on the meaning-centered, cultural aspects of contemporary sociology, Dr. Villegas is interested in reviews that open up conversations between the Strong Program in Cultural Sociology and W. E. B. Du Bois, critical race theory, queer theory, empire and decoloniality, and critical sociology more broadly.

SELF-SOCIETY SYMPOSIUM 2021: Pre-ASA Conference

Dear Colleague:

Once again, some of us are getting together our annual Self-Society Symposium. While primarily oriented to the legacies of cultural Marxism, the Frankfurt school, and its pathbreaking explorations of the relationships of authoritarianism and fascism, we typically have papers rooted in critical aspects of symbolic interactionism and identity. The agenda is generally quite eclectic. This year, quite unanticipated, a sure focus will include the relationship of subjectivity, culture, the basis of the support for Trump, the election, and of course the coup attempt and, to be sure, the pandemic. Does Biden mark a turning point? What is the future of the right wing? In our previous meetings, we have discussed various aspects of the relationship between subjectivity, identity, and values in relationship to capitalism and social mobilization, especially political behavior.

The format typically consists of four or five sessions with three or four paper presentations, plus q&a. Typically, our meetings bring about 25 or 30 people together. This year the ASA is requiring the participants be registered for the meeting, and if registering for the pre-conference, it's five dollars. So please let us know if you wish to attend and right now, the program is up in the air and if you wish to present, let us know. Lauren Langman, host, Llang944@aol.com and Jeremiah Morelock, co-host morelocj@bc.edu.

New Section Publications

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- Abascal, Maria, Kinga Makovi, and Anahit Sargsyan. 2021. "Unequal treatment toward copartisans versus non-copartisans is reduced when partisanship can be falsified." *PloS one* 16(1).
- Chang, Andy Scott. 2021. "Selling a Resume and Buying a Job: Stratification of Gender and Occupation by States and Brokers in International Migration from Indonesia." *Social Problems*.
- Chang, Paul Y. and Kangsan Lee. 2021. "The Structure of Protest Cycles: Inspiration and Bridging in South Korea's Democracy Movement." *Social Forces*.
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher, and Dmytro Khutkyy. 2020. "The Evolution of Geopolitics and Imperialism in Interpolity Systems." Pp. 111-154 in *The Oxford World History of Empire. Vol. 1: The Imperial Experience*, edited by P.F. Bang, C.A. Bayly, and W. Scheidel. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chung, Angie Y, Hyerim Jo, Ji-won Lee, and Fan Yang. 2021. "COVID-19 and the Political Framing of China, Nationalism, and Borders in the US and South Korean News Media." *Sociological Perspectives*.
- Driscoll, Daniel. 2021. "Drivers of Carbon Price Adoption in Wealthy Democracies: International or Domestic Forces?" *Socius* 7:1-11.
- Engeman, Cassandra. 2020. "Breaking the Liberal-Market Mold? Family Policy Variation across US States and Why It Matters." Pp. 431-458 in *The Palgrave Handbook of Family Policy*, edited by Rense Nieuwenhuis and Wim Van Lancker. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hammond, John L. 2019. "Relations of Media Production in Occupy Wall Street." *International Journal of Communication* 13:897-917.
- Hammond, John L. 2020. "Carnival Against the Capital of Capital: The Carnavalesque in Occupy Wall Street." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2(1):265-288.
- Hechter, Michael. 2021. "Internal Colonialism, Alien Rule and Famine in Ireland and Ukraine." *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 8(1):145-157.

- Hopewell, Kristen. 2021. "Heroes of the developing world? Emerging powers in WTO agriculture negotiations and dispute settlement." *Journal of Peasant Studies*.
- Hopewell, Kristen. 2021. "Strategic Narratives in Global Trade Politics: American Hegemony, Free Trade, and the Hidden Hand of the State." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 14(1):51-86.
- Hopewell, Kristen. 2021. "Trump & Trade: The Crisis in the Multilateral Trading System." *New Political Economy* 26(2):271-82.
- Jardine, Eric, Andrew M. Lindner, and Gareth Owenson. 2020. "The Potential Harms of the Tor Anonymity Network Cluster Disproportionately in Free Countries." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117(50):31716-31721.
- Jiang, Anli, and Tony Huiquan Zhang. 2021. "Political Trust in East and Southeast Asia: The Joint Effects of Education, Corruption Perception, and Urbanization." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*.
- Katz, Nathan. 2020. "Do-it-Yourself White Supremacy: Linking Together Punk Rock and White Power." *Poetics*.
- Khutkyy, Dmytro, CEPPS, and IRI. 2020. "Chapter 4: Ukraine." Pp. 47-55 in *Political Parties in the Digital Age: A Comparative Review of Digital Technology in Campaigns Around the World*, edited by J. Surotchak and G. Macdonald. New York: Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening and International Republican Institute.
- Kidder, Jeffrey L. and Amy J. Binder. 2020. "Trumpism on College Campuses." *Qualitative Sociology* 43:145-163.
- Kidder, Jeffrey L., and Amy J. Binder. 2021. "The Politics of Speech on Campus." *Sociological Forum* (Online first).
- Liu, Jiaqi M. 2020. "Diasporic placemaking: The internationalisation of a migrant hometown in post-socialist China." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.
- Liu, Jiaqi M. 2021. "Citizenship on the move: The deprivation and restoration of emigrants' hukou in China." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47(3):557-574.
- Mijs, Jonathan J.B. and Christopher Hoy. 2021. "How Information About Inequality Impacts Belief in Meritocracy: Evidence from a Randomized Survey Experiment in Australia, Indonesia and Mexico." *Social Problems*.

- Mijs, Jonathan J.B. and Elizabeth L. Roe. 2021. "Is America Coming Apart? Socioeconomic Segregation in Neighborhoods, Schools, Workplaces, and Social Networks, 1970 – 2020." *Sociology Compass*.
- Mueller, Sean and Michal Hechter. 2019. "Centralization through Decentralization? The Crystallization of Social Order in the European Union." *Territory, Politics, Governance* 9(1): 133-152.
- Nassauer, Anne. 2021. "'Whose Streets? Our Streets!': Negotiations of Space and Collective Violence." *Social Problems*.
- Paxton, Pamela, Kristopher Velasco, and Robert W. Ressler. 2020. "Does use of emotion increase donations and volunteers for nonprofits?" *American Sociological Review* 85(6):1051-1083.
- Pettinicchio, David, Michelle Maroto, and Martin Lukk. 2021. "Perceptions of Canadian Federal Policy Responses to COVID-19 among People with Disabilities and Chronic Health Conditions." *Canadian Public Policy*.
- Rap, Robyn, and Pamela Paxton. 2021. "How Accurate are Self-Reports of Voluntary Association Memberships?" *Sociological Methods and Research* 50(2):866-900.
- Schoon, Eric W., and Colin J. Beck. 2021. "Repertoires of Terror: News Media Classification of Militant Groups, 1970 to 2013." *Socius* 7:1-13.
- Singh, Sourabh. 2020. "Rethinking Political Elites' Mass-Linkage Strategies: Lessons from the Study of Indira Gandhi's Political Habitus." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 33(4): 644-664.
- Singh, Sourabh. 2020. "To rely or not to rely on common sense? Introducing critical Realism's insights to social network analysis." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 50(2):203-222.
- Siroky, David, Sean Mueller, Andre Fazi, and Michael Hechter. 2021. "Containing Nationalism: Culture, Economics and Indirect Rule in Corsica." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(6):1023-1057.
- Valentino, Lauren and D. Adam Nicholson. 2021. "Message Received? The Roles of Emotion, Race, and Politics in Social Movement Perceptions and Support." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 26(1):41-64.

BOOKS AND EDITED VOLUMES

THE IMPACT OF NATURAL
DISASTERS ON SYSTEMIC
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL
INEQUITIES IN THE U.S.

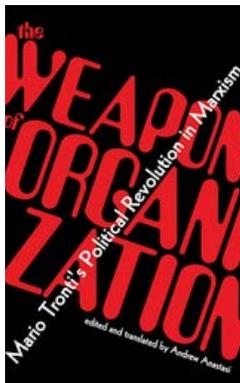


EDITED BY PAUL S. ADAMS
AND GEOFFREY L. WOOD

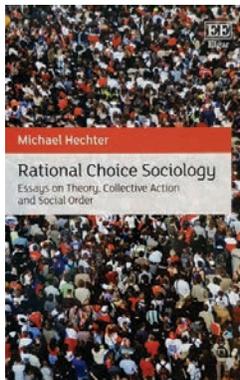
Adams, Paul S. and Geoffrey L. Wood, eds. 2020. *The Impact of Natural Disasters on Systemic Political and Social Inequities in the US*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

The Impact of Natural Disasters on Systemic Political and Social Inequities in the U.S. examines how natural disasters impact social inequality in the United States. The contributors cover topics such as criminal justice, demographics, economics, history, political science, and sociology to show how effects of natural disasters vary by social and economic class in the United States. This volume studies social and political mechanisms in disaster response and relief that enable natural disasters to worsen inequalities in America and offers potential solutions.

Anastasi, Andrew, ed. 2020. *The Weapon of Organization: Mario Tronti's Political Revolution in Marxism*. Translated by A. Anastasi. Brooklyn, NY: Common Notions.



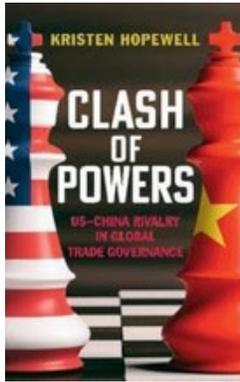
Mario Tronti was the principal theorist of the radical political and intellectual movement of the 1960s known in Italy as *operaismo*. His “Copernican revolution” in Marxism—which proposed that working-class struggles against exploitation propel capitalist development—has since inspired critical thought and political action around the world. *The Weapon of Organization* is the first English-language critical edition of Tronti's writings and a crucial introduction to his work. This edited volume comprises seventeen never-before-translated texts—personal letters, public talks, and published articles—along with introductory essays, editorial notes, and an appendix to aid the reader. This book will be of interest to students, scholars, and activists interested in political sociology, labor studies, social theory, Marxism, radical politics, 20th-century Italian history, and more. An interview with the editor recently appeared in *Spectre*.



Hechter, Michael. 2019. *Rational Choice Sociology: Essays on Theory, Collective Action, and Social Order*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

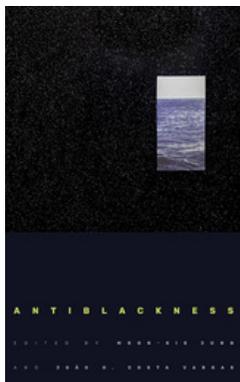
Rational Choice Sociology shows that despite the skepticism of many sociologists, rational choice theory indeed can account for a variety of non-market outcomes, including those concerning social norms, family dynamics, crime, rebellion, state formation and social order.

Hopewell, Kristen. 2020. *Clash of Powers: US-China Rivalry in Global Trade Governance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.



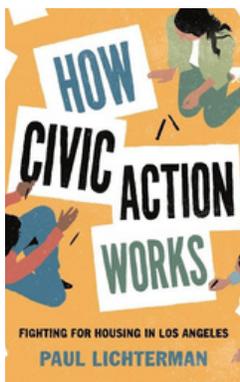
The US-China trade war instigated by President Trump has thrown the multilateral trading system into a crisis. Drawing on vast interview and documentary materials, Hopewell shows how US-China conflict had already paralyzed the system of international rules and institutions governing trade. The China Paradox – the fact that China is both a developing country and an economic powerhouse – creates significant challenges for global trade governance and rule-making. While China demands exemptions from global trade disciplines as a developing country, the US refuses to extend special treatment to its rival. The implications of this conflict extend far beyond trade, impeding pro-development and pro-environment reforms of the global trading system. As one of the first analyses of the implications of US-China rivalry for the governance of global trade, this book is crucial to our understanding of China's impact on the global trading system and on the liberal international economic order.

Jung, Moon-Kie, and João H. Costa Vargas, eds. 2021. *Antiblackness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.



Antiblackness investigates the ways in which the dehumanization of Black people has been foundational to the establishment of modernity. Drawing on Black feminism, Afropessimism, and critical race theory, the book's contributors trace forms of antiblackness across time and space, from nineteenth-century slavery to the categorization of Latinx in the 2020 census, from South Africa and Palestine to the Chickasaw homelands, from the White House to convict lease camps, prisons, and schools. Among other topics, they examine the centrality of antiblackness in the introduction of Carolina rice to colonial India, the presence of Black people and Native Americans in the public discourse of precolonial Korea, and the practices of denial that obscure antiblackness in contemporary France. Throughout, the contributors demonstrate that any analysis of white supremacy--indeed, of the world--that does not contend with antiblackness is incomplete.

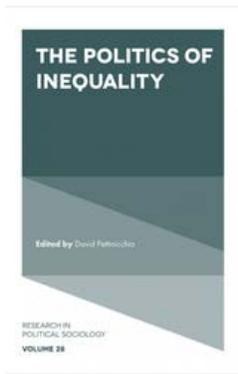
Lichterman, Paul. 2021. *How Civic Action Works: Fighting for Housing in Los Angeles*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.



How Civic Action Works follows grassroots activists, nonprofit organization staff, and community service volunteers in Los Angeles as they campaign for affordable housing, develop new housing and address homelessness. Lichterman shows that to understand how social advocates build their campaigns, we need to move beyond well-established thinking about what is strategic. Extensive ethnography reveals that advocates' styles of collective action shape distinct understandings of strategy and generate cultural filters that legitimate some claims about social problems while subordinating or delegitimizing others. Different styles of collective action accommodate varying social and institutional pressures, producing different dilemmas and trade-offs. Understanding these patterns helps us explain why coalitions fragment when members agree on many things, and what makes advocacy campaigns separate housing from homelessness or affordability from environmental sustainability. In all, the book explains how advocates meet relational and rhetorical challenges while enriching the possibilities for dialogue between social advocates and researchers.

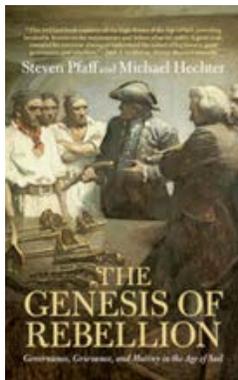
Special offer for section members: enter discount code P239 on PUP website to receive 30% off through Dec. 2021.

Pettinicchio, David, ed. 2021. *Politics of Inequality: Research in Political Sociology*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing.



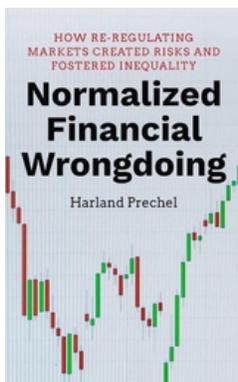
In *The Politics of Inequality*, David Pettinicchio has gathered an interdisciplinary team of leading experts to make a valuable contribution to the existing inequalities literature through a political sociology lens. Broad social, political and economic forces associated with neoliberalism and globalization, climate change, migration and immigration, health, global financial crises, and crime and punishment, among others, have manifested themselves in a variety of different ways, in turn influencing the politics of inequality across local, national and international contexts. This volume explores a wide range of topics showcasing the multidimensional nature of the politics of inequality. Some of these topics include inequalities within democratic movements, youth political engagement, environmental justice, the impacts of neoliberal capitalism on reproductive autonomy, the politics of educational inequalities, the effects of different forms of collective action on perceptions of inequality, public health and care work, the intersection of race and LGBTQ status in political representation, and much more.

Pfaff, Steven and Michael Hechter. 2020. *The Genesis of Rebellion: Governance, Grievance and Mutiny in the Age of Sail*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.



The Age of Sail has long fascinated readers, writers, and the general public. Herman Melville, Joseph Conrad, Jack London et al. treated ships at sea as microcosms; Petri dishes in which larger themes of authority, conflict and order emerge. In this fascinating book, Pfaff and Hechter explore mutiny as a manifestation of collective action and contentious politics. The authors use narrative evidence and statistical analysis to trace the processes by which governance failed, social order decayed, and seamen mobilized. Their findings highlight the complexities of governance, showing that it was not mere deprivation, but how seamen interpreted that deprivation, which stoked the grievances that motivated rebellion. Using the Age of Sail as a lens to examine topics still relevant today-what motivates people to rebel against deprivation and poor governance-*The Genesis of Rebellion: Governance, Grievance, and Mutiny in the Age of Sail* helps us understand the emergence of populism and rejection of the establishment.

Prechel, Harland. 2021. *Normalized Financial Wrongdoing: How Re-Regulating Markets Created Risks and Fostered Inequality*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.



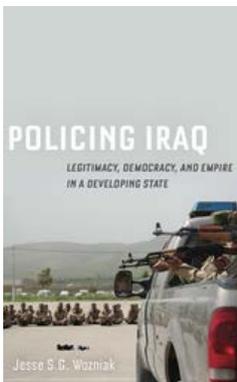
In *Normalized Financial Wrongdoing* (2021), Harland Prechel examines how changes in political-legal arrangements and the organizational structures that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s extended corporate property rights and opened the door for opportunism and misconduct that contributed to the 2008 financial crisis and historically high levels of income and wealth inequality. Beginning his analysis with the financialization of the home-mortgage market in the 1930s, Prechel shows how pervasive these political-legal arrangements had become by the end of the century, when the banks created political coalition with nonbank corporations to redefine their political embeddedness. The book examines political-legal arrangements in which corporations are embedded to answer two questions: First, how did banks and financial firms transition from being providers of capital to financial market actors in their own right? Second, how did the new organizational and political structures create opportunities for market participants to engage in high-risk financial activities?

Sobieraj, Sarah. 2020. *Credible Threat: Attacks Against Women Online and the Future of Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.



Greta Thunberg. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. Anita Sarkeesian. Emma Gonzalez. When women are vocal about political and social issues, too-often they are flogged with attacks via social networking sites, comment sections, discussion boards, email, and direct message. Rather than targeting their ideas, the abuse targets their identities, pummeling them with rape threats, attacks on their appearance and presumed sexual behavior, and a cacophony of misogynistic, racist, xenophobic, and homophobic stereotypes and epithets. Sarah Sobieraj shows that this online abuse is more than interpersonal bullying--it is a patterned response to the threat of equality in digital conversations and arenas that men would prefer to control. Thus identity-based attacks are particularly severe for those seen as particularly out of line, such as those from racial, ethnic, and religious minority groups or those working in domains dominated by men (e.g., technology, politics, sports). Feminists and those who subvert traditional gender norms are also frequently targeted. Drawing on interviews with over fifty women who have been on the receiving end of identity-based abuse online, *Credible Threat* shows that this toxicity comes with economic, professional, and psychological costs for those targeted, it also exacts societal-level costs that are rarely recognized. Online attacks erode our civil liberties, diminish our public discourse, thin the knowledge available to inform policy and electoral decision-making, and teach all women that activism and public service are unappealing, high-risk endeavors to be avoided.

Wozniak, Jesse. 2021. *Policing Iraq: Legitimacy, Democracy, and Empire in a Developing State*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.



Policing Iraq chronicles the efforts of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq to rebuild their police force and criminal justice system in the wake of the US invasion. Jesse S. G. Wozniak conducted ethnographic research during multiple stays in Iraqi Kurdistan, observing such signpost moments as the Arab Spring, the official withdrawal of coalition forces, the rise of the Islamic State, and the return of US forces. By investigating the day-to-day reality of reconstructing a police force during active hostilities, Wozniak demonstrates how police are integral to the modern state's ability to effectively rule and how the failure to recognize this directly contributed to the destabilization of Iraq and the rise of the Islamic State. The reconstruction process ignored established practices and scientific knowledge, instead opting to create a facade of legitimacy masking a police force characterized by low pay, poor recruits, and a training regimen wholly unsuited to a constitutional democracy. Ultimately, Wozniak argues, the United States never intended to build a democratic state but rather to develop a dependent client to serve its neoimperial interests.

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Political Sociology Job Candidates



Joshua A. Basseches

University of Michigan

Website: www.joshuabasseches.com

Research Interests: Political Sociology; Environmental Sociology; Economic Sociology; Public Policy (especially climate and energy policy); Social Movements and Interest Groups; Legislative Process and Procedures; U.S. State Politics; Comparative-Historical Sociology; Sociology of Law

Bio: Basseches' research focuses on state-level climate policy in the U.S. Given that the power of private interests is an oft-cited reason for federal climate policy inertia, his dissertation asks why the same interests have been unable to prevent so much progress in the states. On close examination, he finds that even in the so-called "leading states," there is significant variation in the quality of the adopted policies. After accounting for the role of the full range of political actors with a stake in these policies, he explains this variation in terms of the policy preferences of a particular type of private political actor: investor-owned utilities. The immense political power of these utilities also explains the appearance of cost-shifting provisions in all states' policies. His previous work appears in *Mobilization*, and he has a forthcoming paper in *Research in Political Sociology* analyzing the conflict between justice-oriented and market-oriented environmental organizations.

Nathan Katz

Research Interests: Political Sociology, Parties and Elections, Mass Media, Culture, Comparative-Historical Sociology, Sociological Theory

Bio: I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Missouri whose main interest is the relationships between politics and media, specifically how political processes and movements shape the creation of media. My dissertation, *Turning Money into Speech*, is a historical project that examines how campaign finance law is used to construct a marketplace of ideas. Specifically, I examine the Congressional record and Supreme Court hearings to uncover the changing relationship between money and speech. I use this data to make sense of how campaign finance law impacts political advertisers' organizational practices. Other research projects have focused on the use of media in social movements. My most recent paper in *Poetics* examines how white supremacist punk bands connect punk and white supremacist ideologies to create both a scene and social movement. Other publications can be found in *Young* and *Symbolic Interaction*.



Ioanna Christodoulaki

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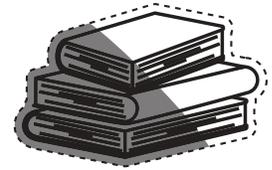
<http://www.bu.edu/sociology/graduate-programs/current-students/ioanna-christodoulaki/>

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Bio: Ioanna’s research interests lie in the intersection between political science, sociology, and education. Her research focuses on state-society relations, the politics of European integration, democratic governance, globalization and social inequalities, public policy, and education for democratic citizenship. Her PhD thesis “Disaffected Publics: Globalization, the European Union, and the Greek Economic Crisis”, takes a comparative approach to the study of the current state of liberal democracies in the United States and Europe with a focus on the Trump presidency, Brexit and the Greek economic crisis in the context of globalization and European integration. She has a bachelor’s degree in Greek Philology, from the University of Patras (2009). She received a master’s degree in Political Science with a focus on European and public policy (2011), and a master’s degree in Sociology with a focus on social organization and social change (2014) from the University of Crete. She was a Glenn Fellow at Boston University School of Education where she received a master’s degree in Education with an emphasis on civic education, democratic engagement, and leadership in organizations.

political sociology bookshelf



The newsletter editors invite you to submit your entries to "political sociology bookshelf," which highlights the breadth of scholarly traditions covered by political sociology in a short format. Please send in a 250-word comment responding to either of the following: 1) *What's a book that drew you into or got you excited about political sociology? What was the context in which you came across it and why did you find it powerful?* or 2) *What book have you read or reread recently that has inspired you, or changed the way you approach a topic in political sociology? What did you learn?* We welcome submissions by scholars at any stage and look forward to hearing about more well known books as well as answers that will make us learn something new. Please send all submissions to polso news@gmail.com.

Making Sense of Shifting Gender Politics in Iran

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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Recently, I read Nazanin Shahrokni's *Women in Place: The Politics of Gender Segregation in Iran*. This is a stimulating book on two accounts; 1) it calls attention to an authoritarian regime's shifting gender politics in response to women's growing demand for rights; and 2) it is a deep ethnography, which was conducted throughout more than nineteen months between 2008 and 2014. According to the author, the Iranian state's "mode of regulation" has morphed from prohibition ("the disabling of undesired effects") to provision ("the enabling of desired effects"). This change from prohibition to provision is also accompanied by a "discursive shift from protecting women's virtue and chastity in the name of Islamic morality to protecting women's rights and safety in the name of secular liberal citizenship."

This insightful book, through deep ethnography in multiples sites in Tehran (city buses, the Mothers' Paradise Park,

and outside of Freedom Sports Stadium), changed my perceptions of gender politics in Iran. It helps go beyond the bifurcated secular/religious level of analysis, helping us make sense of women's growing demands from within the country. The spatial policies of the Iranian regime, though unintentionally, not only paved the way for women's empowerment, but also provided more space for women's political and social contention. Shahrokni has discussed the shifting political and social landscape regarding women's encroachment and expansive demands without undermining the regime's repressive policies and political practices. Her findings have helped me better advance and revise my current project regarding the rise of the rightist authoritarian movement in Iran and the extent to which women's growing demand for rights have incentivized and shifted state-organized rightist mobilization in the country.