

STATES, POWER, & SOCIETIES



LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

PAM PAXTON, UT AUSTIN

Dear Political Sociology Section,

Spring is a busy time of year, with all of us juggling our varied responsibilities. As we look forward to the end of the academic year, let me begin by thanking all of the members who are currently serving on our section committees and/or have agreed to run for elected office. The award committees especially have been hard at work and will announce winners soon.

One upcoming highlight is the ASA annual meeting in New York. We have a fabulous regular program spread over a day and a half along with a day-long mini-conference to get everything started. Certainly, our five panels, roundtables, and mini-conference sessions will highlight the theoretical ambition and methodological range of our section.

On our section days our program explores classic and new themes, cutting-edge approaches, and pressing issues. Our panels cover 'Sociological Approaches to Corruption,' 'Race, Sexuality and Gender in Politics,' and 'The Resurgence of Political Parties in Political Sociology.' Our Open Topics session includes work on free assembly, recalls, and voter opinions. Be sure to also note our invited panel

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**IN FOCUS:
CONTEMPORARY U.S. IMMIGRATION POLITICS** (P. 4)

With an op-ed by Jennifer Jones, author of *The Browning of the New South*, and Q&A with Angela García, author of *Legal Passing: Navigating Undocumented Life and Local Immigration Law*

including Cedric de Leon, Joya Misra, Andy Clamo, and Stephanie Mudge who will discuss Innovations in Political Sociology, Old School vs New School.

The Friday mini-conference, “States of Exception? Political Conflict, Cultural Change, and Democratic Threat in the 21st Century” includes twelve panels and a plenary session. I’d like to thank all our panel and mini-conference organizers for setting up such an outstanding set of conference activities.

On Saturday night we can also look forward to our joint reception with Comparative and Historical Sociology and the Section on the Sociology of Human Rights.

As you can see we have a vibrant and exciting lineup and I hope you can join us in New York for some section solidarity!

I look forward to seeing you in New York.

SECTION OFFICERS, 2018-19

Chair: Pamela M. Paxton, University of Texas, Austin

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ASA 2019 Political Sociology Mini-Conference

States of Exception? Political Conflict, Cultural Change, and Democratic Threat in the 21st Century

Friday, August 9, 2019

Brooklyn College

Brooklyn, NY

Organized by:

Thomas Janoski, University of Kentucky

Richard Lachmann, SUNY Albany

Bart Bonikowski, Harvard University

Carlos de la Torre, University of Kentucky

Delia Baldassarri, New York University

Co-sponsored by the Department of Sociology and the
Department of Puerto Rican and Latino Studies, Brooklyn College

The mini-conference, organized by the Political Sociology section of the American Sociological Association, will consist of twelve regular panels and a plenary session on themes related to contemporary radical politics. The schedule below indicates the panel times and paper titles. A separate abstract listing contains each author and abstract in alphabetical order. Drinks and *hors d'oeuvres* will be served at 6:30 pm, following the completion of the formal program.

All attendees who wish to preregister, must do so by **July 15**. A \$25 fee should be sent by PayPal to the section treasurer, Stephanie Mudge (mudge@ucdavis.edu). On-site payment will also be available, but only by check or cash. If paying by PayPal, please be sure to choose the option "sending to a friend," not "paying for an item or service," to avoid a service charge.

9:30-10:50 am	Panel 1	Panel 2	Panel 3
11:00 am-12:20 pm	Panel 4	Panel 5	Panel 6
12:20-2:00 pm	Lunch break (attendees should make their own plans)		
2:00-3:20 pm	Panel 7	Panel 8	Panel 9
3:30-4:50 pm	Panel 10	Panel 11	Panel 12
5:00-6:30 pm	Plenary Panel		
6:30-7:30 pm	Drinks and <i>hors d'oeuvres</i>		

Continued on p. 32

I N F O C U S :

Contemporary U.S. Immigration Politics



21st Century Immigration Politics: Re-Making Race from the Ground Up

BY JENNIFER JONES

The state of immigration politics today feels impossibly grim. Central American asylum seekers are being turned away and framed as criminals, temporary protections for Haitians and others are being rescinded, families are being separated with little oversight or protections for minors, municipalities that seek to enact sanctuary policies are being threatened, immigrants from majority Muslim countries are being excluded through the Muslim Ban, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) is being attacked, billions of dollars are being diverted into a useless wall – the list goes on.

And yet, my work suggests that the current administration's exclusionary agenda obscures important dynamics that may lead not only to a better understanding of immigration politics, but pathways to resistance.

To that end, I argue that there are two important overlooked pieces to this manufactured drama. First, despite all of Trump's rhetoric, immigration politics are deeply local.

While it is certainly the case that visa denials, conflict at the border, and wall construction matter, immigration politics are now much more likely to unfold at the local level, to be shaped by state and municipal policies, to be enacted by partnerships with local law enforcement, or to be prevented by sanctuary law (García 2019; Varsanyi 2010).

A young undocumented woman in Los Angeles, for example, will have a very different set of risks and opportunities attached to her status, than a young undocumented woman in Atlanta. Currently, that young woman in L.A. is protected by Senate Bill 54, the California Values Act, which extends non-cooperation mandates to the entire state. She has several laws to protect her rights as a worker, including the right to unionize, and qualifies for in-state tuition, if she chooses to pursue higher education.

A young undocumented woman in Atlanta, by contrast, is at risk for deportation for any violation, including a traffic stop, because the Illegal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Act, HB87, requires law enforcement to check the immigration status of anyone who cannot provide ID, as well as statewide participation in secure communities, which runs all arrested individuals through an ICE database. She would also have few workplace protections and struggle to find work due to mandated e-verify use. Nor would she be likely to pursue higher education, as undocumented students are banned from the state's top institutions and barred from paying in-state tuition at others. These distinct regimes are also reinforced through interpersonal relations, in which individuals in punitive contexts are more likely to feel emboldened to discriminate against all those they perceive to be immigrants, creating a hostile climate (Jones 2018).

“...immigration politics today are about race.”

What this also implies is that like historical battles over marriage access, contraceptives, abortions, slavery, and federalism, the devolution of immigration politics to states changes the locus of political action (Jones and Brown 2019). State legislatures, city

councils, and local organizers now play a pivotal role in the lives of immigrants, particularly the undocumented, in their midst.

Second, immigration politics today are about race.

While the embeddedness of race in the production of immigration policy and politics is by no means new (Glenn 2002; Ngai 2004), this moment is important because it reframes our thinking about how immigration advocacy groups build success. In my work with Hana Brown, we find that Black politicians highlight the importance of integrating immigrants and resist punitive policy agendas throughout the South by framing immigration politics as a race issue. Traditional civil rights organizations such as the NAACP have made immigration a core policy issue. Multiracial coalitions are popping up around immigration and civil rights issues across the region (Brown et al. 2016).

I argue that these emergent coalitions are due in part to shifting local political conditions that change the way local residents think about racial meanings and intergroup relationships, producing positive relationships between blacks and Latinxs, perceptions of a shared racialized status, and what I call minority linked fate (Jones 2019). Collectively, these

processes highlight the importance of immigration practices and policies as race-making and establish the importance of experiential conditions for political mobilization.

In other words, it is the widespread recognition of anti-immigrant politics as part of a broader racist agenda, that seems to hold the most promise for sustainable alliances that successfully resist punitive policy regimes.

Mississippi has been most successful in this regard, using its coalition of immigrant activists in the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance (MIRA), union organizers, and the state's black caucus, to not only successfully stymie hundreds of punitive bills, but also declare Jackson, MS a sanctuary city (Brown et al. 2016).

Attention to these two dynamics adds nuance to what often feels like the blunt force of the Trump administration's anti-immigrant agenda, providing important context to help us understand how immigration politics are both experienced and resisted today.

References:

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Jennifer A. Jones is Assistant Professor of Sociology & Latin American and Latino Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Her book, *The Browning of the New South*, was published this spring with University of Chicago Press.

**Q&A with Angela
García, Author of *Legal
Passing: Navigating
Undocumented Life and
Local Immigration Law*
(2019)**

Subnational immigration laws and policies have become increasingly important for shaping immigrants' lives in the United States. How did this shift take place, and why do subnational policies matter?

For the first hundred years or so of US history, states and localities largely formulated their own immigration laws. Control of immigration policymaking didn't fully shift to the federal government until the late nineteenth century, when the Supreme Court articulated the plenary power doctrine. States, counties, and municipalities have since taken advantage of openings within the federal system that allow for different levels of government to respond to immigrants. Likewise, since the 1990s, the federal government has actively

devolved some responsibility around interior immigration enforcement to states and localities.

In reaction, subnational jurisdictions are positioning themselves—and their police forces—in ways that deepen the threat of deportation or mitigate it. In my new book, *Legal Passing: Navigating Undocumented Life and Local Immigration Law* (University of California Press, 2019), I write about why this matters. Part of the answer is that for immigrants—and particularly those who are undocumented and racialized—inclusion and exclusion are increasingly place based. The socio-legal context of receiving locales deeply influences immigrants' everyday lives and the ways in which adaptation unfolds over time. While “illegality” is a burden born by undocumented immigrants across the US, my work shows that the way this burden is experienced varies greatly by place.

How do sanctuary cities work? What are their limitations? What other policy changes should we be paying attention to around sanctuary cities?

Sanctuary cities do not have a legal definition. The measures behind them can be symbolic, broadcasting a political orientation, or substantive, involving resource allocation or institutional change. Today, sanctuary cities focus on disentangling local

police and city workers from federal immigration enforcement. In part, these efforts are intended to create trust between police and residents. Many sanctuary cities also advance measures to expand undocumented immigrants' access to rights and benefits. These include municipal identification programs, legal defense funds, and offices of "new Americans," amongst others. Despite this critical work, sanctuary measures are limited. First, no matter how robust their efforts, cities cannot eliminate the threat of deportation. Second, as I argue in my book, sanctuary measures are not a cure-all for immigrant-police relations, especially in highly stratified and under-resourced neighborhoods. Relatedly, police officers' use of gang databases in sanctuary cities is increasingly criticized. Not only are these databases riddled with errors, they have also been accessed by ICE for immigration enforcement. Sanctuary cities are under pressure to abandon gang databases as a way to broaden the meaning of "sanctuary" and protect more residents from imprisonment and deportation.

What recent books would you recommend to help us make sense of contemporary immigration politics in the US?

There are a lot of compelling recent books in this area. Since space here is limited, I'll point to a few that push

our thinking about the relationship between place and immigrants. Jennifer Jones's dynamic new book, *The Browning of the New South* (University of Chicago Press, 2019), focuses on Latinx immigrant newcomers in Winston-Salem. It's critical to understanding the possibilities for Black-Latinx alliances in a region that is rapidly shifting toward tri-racial relations. Also placed in the South, Amada Armenta's powerful *Protect, Serve, and Deport: The Rise of Policing as Immigration Enforcement* (University of California Press, 2017) shows how local politics and bureaucratic priorities combine to make funneling undocumented immigrants towards deportation a key function of police work in Nashville. Greg Prieto's captivating book, *Immigrants Under Threat: Risk and Resistance in the Deportation Nation* (NYU Press, 2018) centers on two cities in Central California to argue that local contexts condition the ways immigrants experience and respond to the risk of deportation, including their engagement in political mobilization. These books all emphasize how and why immigrants' lives are intimately shaped by where, specifically, they live within the US.

What questions are driving your research trajectory over the next several years?

I'm engaged in two new research

projects. The first takes increased settlement among undocumented adults as a launching point to explore the socio-temporal dimensions of waiting for a change in immigration status. What lessons do immigrants learn about the state as they wait—sometimes for decades—to legalize their status? How do they experience moments in which their routines of waiting are pierced, as the state presents the possibility of regularizing status or reunifying with family members left behind? This study draws from the perspectives of immigrants who would have been eligible for Deferred Action for the Parents of Americans (DAPA), a failed 2014 executive action of the Obama administration.

The second project is a collaborative study on the design, implementation, and impact of Chicago's municipal ID program. This initiative is the first municipal ID to launch under the Trump administration and, relatedly, it's also the first to safeguard enrollees' identities by not retaining any administrative data. In this project, we ask whether and to what degree such municipal ID can shape marginalized residents' access to the city's institutions, services, and local membership.

Angela García is a sociologist and Assistant Professor in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago.

TALES FROM THE FIELD

Reflections on the Research Process

This feature aims to generate reflections on and exchange about the research process by section members. We welcome stories about projects based on qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods approaches.

Expect Iteration for Historical Projects

BY KERICE DOTEN-SNITKER

When I first started data collection for my dissertation project, I thought the process would be relatively straightforward. My project studies why governments engage in violence against minority groups through the case of medieval European urban expulsions of Jews. I explore whether there was a relationship between city institutional development and expulsion. I had found a secondary resource that catalogued medieval German Jewish communities and the economic and political development of the cities they lived in. I was not weighing which archives to visit or which sources were most reliable; a team of historians had already done the archival and historiographic work. All I had to do was turn 400 pages of organized lists in modern German into columns and rows of numbers and English text.

The first challenge was developing a consistent method for coding the city

information. I had helped build a content analysis coding scheme before for a project analyzing congressional hearings. This would be easier, I thought, and I was right, but it wasn't so easy that I got the coding scheme right on the first try. After making it cover to cover through the city catalogue, I had to go back to the beginning and redo the records for a few dozen cities, since I had added and revised some codes as I became more familiar with the data source.

When I began looking at the data, I was faced with a choice I did not expect: deciding a rule for which cities would be part of the sample for my quantitative analyses. I had many more Jewish communities than I expected, but also many with limited information. It was easy to exclude places listed as "non-urban." In non-urban places, there was no local government that could issue an expulsion decree. While Jews may have been victims of interpersonal violence in these small places, the specific type of political violence I was interested in essentially could not occur.

In other quantitative studies of medieval cities, scholars restricted their samples to cities whose population reached a certain size. More records survive for bigger cities, and more studies are written using these records. Bigger cities were also where most expulsions occurred. Thinking about what exclusions to make next, I realized that my puzzle was actually a finding: Jews lived in over 800 cities in medieval Germany, the majority of them being smaller, more rural cities that did not expel their Jewish communities. If I used any more criteria to pare down my sample, I would produce a warped sense of medieval Jewish life. Ethically, I did not want to compound victimization by overrepresenting it. Methodologically, I would be selecting cases on the dependent variable. I had to include all the cities.

Because of this choice, analysis has also been an iterative process. My data collection revealed that expulsion was a rare event, which requires a bit more delicate regression analysis than other binary outcomes. I began with standard logistic regression models, but these failed. I had separation in my independent variables and too few occurrences of my dependent variable. I tried rare events logistic regression, but further reading taught me that this method was imprecise and unreliable, and the calculations still failed if I included too many binary independent

variables. I have settled on Bayesian logistic regression, which solves my computational issues but is quite rare in historical social science. I am not yet comfortable with it, and I confess to anyone who asks that I made a practical rather than principled switch to Bayesian analysis. This research process has not been straight-forward, but I am glad for the ways it expanded my thinking about medieval Jewish communities and my analytical skills.

Kerice Doten-Snitker is a Doctoral Candidate in Sociology at the University of Washington. Her scholarly and professional interests concern understanding institutional exclusion in order to build inclusive communities.

The Anti-Trump Movement: Who are the Grassroots Resisters?

BY LEAH GOSE

What is the anti-Trump grassroots resistance movement? For almost two and half years I have worked to answer this question with Harvard sociologist Theda Skocpol. We were extremely curious to know more about who was participating in anti-Trump grassroots resistance groups, where these groups were located, and what they were doing. Our initial study of anti-Trump resistance groups grew from a larger project on social and political changes

in eight nonmetropolitan counties in Ohio, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin that voted for Barack Obama in 2012 and for Donald Trump in 2016. Would we hear from these counties a similarly progressive outcry to that growing louder and louder across the nation? When millions gathered for the Women's March in Washington and at hundreds of satellite marches across the world, an affirmative answer quickly became quite clear.

The response to Donald Trump's presidency was widespread but extremely heterogeneous in how it played out across the nation. As a result, we immediately faced the challenges of identifying and explicating the differences between heavily city-oriented protests, activist movements like Black Lives Matter, and the grassroots groups in which we were primarily interested. In beginning our research, I wondered if we would find an overarching identity for anti-Trump grassroots groups and if they would have a significant impact in such a diverse progressive movement. I couldn't help but wonder: was this anti-Trump grassroots response a fluke?

Using interview and survey data from group leaders and their respective members in addition to local news and online sources, we explored group characteristics, strategies, and

political party affiliations. We purposely collected descriptive data, and in asking group members and leaders open-ended or semi-structured questions, we could craft follow-up questions in surveys and interviews to see how their stories progressed. Dr. Skocpol engaged in semi-structured interviews with political leaders in the eight counties we studied. Analyzing data from these first interviews with group leaders, we constructed initial profiles for each group, building on what we knew with supplemental data from their Facebook or Twitter pages or new stories found online. The interactions between members online and each group's public facing actions reflected strongly what we found to be true of group members who completed surveys sent out mid-2017: group members are largely upper middle class, liberal-identifying, well-educated, older, white women. Members developed and advanced their knowledge of activism by attending in-person meetings, writing letters, engaging with elected officials, or registering people to vote. Most unexpectedly, we found that people joined these groups to find comradeship and build friendships—many meetings happened over wine, and sometimes tears, too.

Persistent, longitudinal data collection proved itself vital to understand the establishment, continuance, and

possible lasting impact of these groups. We collected follow-up survey responses from group leaders and members in 2018 that solidified our conclusions that these grassroots group would have a unique lasting impact: members were running for office, engaging in midterm election voter registration, socializing, and contacting officials two years later with no sign of stopping. Some of the groups had merged with others or shifted their focus to reflect congressional district changes—they got smarter with their time and dedicated time to issues that group members were passionate about. These anti-Trump grassroots groups work hard to educate, engage, and empower members in nonmetropolitan areas not considered the heart of the progressive movement. While not as strongly liberal as other segments of the anti-Trump resistance, we expect that these grassroots groups will continue to influence elections. Anti-Trump grassroots groups, however they may evolve, will leave behind a (blue) wave of people who have learned or improved their skills in democratic political engagement. It is on this organizational potential for future impact that scholars should look to moving forward. While grassroots groups are not the dominant focus of the anti-Trump movement, their role in local activist efforts will be felt for years to come.

Leah Gose is a doctoral student in sociology and a Malcolm Hewitt Wiener PhD Scholar in Poverty and Justice, Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality & Social Policy at Harvard University.

Adventures in (Big) Data Construction: The Making of a New Political Contributor Database

BY JEN HEERWIG

It was 2010 and social scientists were convinced that something was not right with American politics. Political elites—and especially Republicans—were increasingly ideologically extreme. Partisan polarization, if not quite a household catchphrase, was slowly seeping into the mass consciousness as a political reality. Jon Stewart held court nightly on *The Daily Show* and shook his head in disbelief at the intransigence of party leadership. In this milieu of political disillusionment, I began my dissertation work. I, too, shook my head in disbelief. What explained these patterns?

One of the outstanding debates among social scientists at the time was the role of politically active citizens in driving partisan polarization. Some had pointed to individual political donors as key players in the process of

driving the two political parties further apart. But, like all good research puzzles that beget dissertations, we had few data sources to detect the evolution of politically active citizens over the era of polarization. From an earlier ill-fated course project, I knew the Federal Election Commission (FEC) had been cataloging and publishing disclosure records of the individual donations made in federal elections since the late 1970s. If political money were implicated in the process of partisan polarization, perhaps we might find evidence of it in this treasure trove of government data. There was just one problem—the quality of the disclosure records themselves.

Although the FEC had long been collecting disclosure records, the millions of records on individual contributors had rarely—if ever—been systematically analyzed. Why? As I detail in my work on campaign finance disclosure (Heerwig and Shaw 2014), the records are riddled with all manner of inconsistencies and omissions, and the records lack an identifier to follow unique political donors over time. Since I was young and naïve, I embarked on a multi-year data cleaning and record linkage adventure. The adventure began as a technical problem—how do we identify the same individuals over time given the variable quality of the available identifying information?—and evolved

into a much more interesting exploration of the intricacies of our campaign finance system, the laws that govern it, and the public servants that (sometimes) steward it. I quickly learned that such superficially “technical” problems necessitate deep understanding of the social and institutional processes that produce them.

Some two long years of probabilistic record matching algorithms and (mind-melting) regular expressions later, I had assembled the records into a new longitudinal database called the Longitudinal Elite Contributor Database (LECD). I could track individuals as they changed with the political winds. One of the first discoveries I made was the unexpectedly high prevalence of cross-party donors in the 1980s and then the rapid decay of this strategy over time. In one of the first analyses I wrote and later published (Heerwig 2018), I describe the mechanisms and timing of changes in donation strategies among these politically active citizens from 1980 through 2008.

Now ten years later, I’ve made yet another important discovery: namely, dissertation ideas die hard. The LECD—and all of the knowledge I’ve accumulated about the American campaign finance system—continues to be backbone of my research agenda.

In closing, a bit of unsolicited advice: choose your adventures wisely.

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Jen Heerwig is an assistant professor of sociology at SUNY-Stony Brook and currently a visiting scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation. Her work in campaign finance uses big data to examine the political behavior of hard-to-access populations like corporate elites.

Open Source and Political Sociology

BY NICK JUDD

Public records and administrative data offer many opportunities for academic research, but only if scholars get their hands on these resources in a form that they are actually able to use. This can raise barriers to research. Well-resourced research teams can pay to license data, strike up partnerships to acquire data at reduced cost, and fund

the software development time necessary to clean and analyze interconnected administrative databases or large text corpora. Individual researchers, especially graduate students, may not have access to the necessary resources or expertise.

In my experience, open-source software has helped to break down these barriers and to accelerate the pace of knowledge production. One of my areas of interest is in sociological models of legislative behavior, where the properties of legislative districts help to explain the ways in which officials behave in Congress. To collect data on legislative behavior, in 2015, I began making improvements to an existing open-source software package that extracts text as data from the official record of proceedings of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. This corpus, the Congressional Record, is large. My own database includes 2.3 million discrete statements made by members of Congress between 1994 and 2014. As I started my work, only research teams with considerable access to resources had enjoyed any success analyzing the Record using computational methods (for e.g., Gentzkow, Shapiro and Taddy 2016). If developers at the pro-transparency nonprofit The Sunlight Foundation had not released their own Record parser as open-source software, my research would not have

been possible.

Rather than wait until after publishing my own findings before releasing my improvements to the code, I decided to continue developing my version of the Record parser as open-source software as well. When the software package was essentially complete, I merged my changes back into the original project and took over as the project's lead maintainer. It turns out that the decision to embrace open source facilitated at least one dissertation project by a researcher who needed legislative speeches in a machine-readable form, with each statement linked to a unique identifier for the legislator who entered it into the Record (Shoub 2018). Based on the emails I occasionally receive from researchers around the country, other work in progress is also under way. In return, other users have made improvements and fixed bugs, keeping the software up-to-date, adding new functionality, and increasing my confidence in my own findings. This kind of community involvement is the difference between software shared with the open-source community and software held back as a work of sole authorship.

Other research using this software tool has progressed even as my own findings are still in preparation. I have to appease Reviewer 2 before I can circulate those findings in an academic

journal. The source code, on the other hand, is not hostage to peer review. Releasing that code has allowed other scholars to produce their own work more quickly, and, for that reason, the code itself already stands as a contribution to knowledge.

Sharing source code isn't always possible or plausible for any number of reasons, ranging from the privacy of research subjects to restrictions on intellectual property. Code that extracts data from public resources like the Congressional Record are a special case, and, as my own research projects are still unfinished, I do not know for certain how my decision to share my source code will play out. However, that decision has already accelerated the pace of research. For this reason, other scholars who produce data tools to acquire, clean, and analyze public records should consider releasing their own work as open source software.

References:

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Shoub, Kelsey. 2018. "Shifting Frames, Shifting Policy: How Frame Sets Influence Policy Making in Congress."

Ph.D Dissertation, Chapel Hill, N.C.:
University of North Carolina at Chapel
Hill.

Nick Judd is a PhD candidate in sociology at The University of Chicago. He is the point of contact for congressional-record, a software package that extracts text as data from the official proceedings of the U.S. Congress. That package is available under an open-source license at <https://www.github.com/unitedstates/congressional-record>. More information about this and other software tools is available at his website, <https://nickjudd.com>.

Study This, Not That!

BY YAGMUR KARAKAYA

At the Panorama Museum of Conquest, experiencing the visceral cues of loud marching music, neighing horses, and exploding cannonballs, museum-goers find themselves in the middle of the siege, right before the city fell. The museum, which commemorates the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453, is run by the Culture.co, the artistic branch of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. For years, the AKP operated the municipality, making the Panorama Museum, a fruitful ground to observe both the discourse and the performance of emotions intrinsic to Ottoman nostalgia and populism in Turkey.

Its permanent evocation of Ottoman nostalgia nicely complements my study of more grandiloquent Conquest commemorations and election rallies. Between 2009 and 2015 almost five million people visited the museum, which is widely advertised in billboards around highways and bus stops, with the interpellation: "Have you visited the Panorama Museum of Conquest yet?"

One peculiar theme at the museum has been people's willingness to help me pick the appropriate groups to study if I want to "get it right." At first, I was resistant, and thought "Why are they trying to teach me my job?" Luckily it did not take me too long to realize that they were actually telling me a layered story through their speculations on the research-worthy subject.

Especially because I am interested in both the script and the reception of the nostalgic populist project, it made sense to pay attention to what the actors in the museum thought the right group of people, or the proper subject to study was. For example, one of the administrators, Selim Bey, told me to ask my questions to "Arab tourists" because they are educated about the topic unlike our nationals who come to the museum for emotional reasons, leaving the museum crying and shaken. Hence, Selim Bey taught me that the museum wants to be educational, and Turkish emotions are not in the curriculum. This

provided a good opening to think through the discursive dimension of emotions, one which I followed up in my in-depth interviews with the curators and the director.

Tansu, a young woman, furrowed her eyebrows and looked baffled when I asked her what she thought of the museum. She asked me in disbelief: “Have you seen it yourself? Everything is quite obvious, and this would not change from person to person.” Then, she went on to tell me that a better way to conduct my research would be to ask tourists and not the Turks, as I would always get the same answer. So Tansu reminded me of her imagined community, where every single Turkish person felt the same amidst the siege. Even though I got a variety of reactions from the Turkish visitors, many of them shared Tansu’s confidence in their own similarity to their fellow citizens, showing the continuing power of museums in creating a sense of belonging, and reproducing the nation.

Querying two retired teachers in their seventies provoked an animated reaction. Necla said: “Well, *we* are already educated in these matters [conquest, history], what makes me happy is seeing people here who are not as educated.” At this point, her friend Leyla, looking around restlessly, pointed to a group of people with headscarves, and told me I would.

probably be better off if I studied those people rather than them. While Necla tried to put Leyla’s pointing hand down, she added “Well, it’s good that they are at least learning some history, I saw them upstairs with open hands praying god knows to whom, martyrs maybe?” Necla and Leyla complicated Selim Bey’s educational agenda even further, designating who needed it the most, and underlining that prayer should have no place in the museum. They also highlight a common anxiety at the museum about the “other audiences,” akin to interviewee worries about populism I heard in other settings around Turkey. What if they are taking something that is beyond “educational” from the museum? What if they get swept away praying for the martyrs? Necla and Leyla’s emotive call did not lead me to prioritize a group in my observations, but it highlighted how much people cared about, and worried about others, to an extent that they were not able to articulate “what they thought.” Ultimately, the stories museum-goers told me gave me a bigger picture of the contested politics of emotional regulation and expression, complicating the common frame of liberal reason versus populist emotion.

Yagmur Karakaya is a PhD candidate in Sociology at the University of Minnesota. Her dissertation research examines Ottoman nostalgia in contemporary Turkey, focusing on both

popular and political settings, through a multi-method qualitative analysis. In an article in American Journal of Cultural Sociology, she argues that state-led populist nostalgia mobilizes both emotions and reflexive cognition to shape political engagement. In an earlier co-authored article, in New Perspectives on Turkey, she focuses on the reception of historical drama “Magnificent Century.”

Event Bids and the Future of the City

BY SAM MARON

The Olympic Games are a global phenomenon with the power to shape the urban sphere at a multitude of scales. Political agendas and development visions are built on the possibilities created by the events. Yet I discovered early on in my dissertation research that there are relatively few people actively involved with planning, organizing, and opposing Olympic bids. Boston’s short-lived bid for the 2024 Summer Olympics ended amidst growing public skepticism, then Los Angeles took its place and handily gained the right to host for a third time (in 2028, not 2024, a fluke decision). How did fifteen local activists and a few elite allies shift public opinion and lead to a premature end of the Boston bid? How is Los Angeles so open to hosting

again and why have opponents not yet gained traction in local media or with the public? What role do events play in shaping the future of global cities?

To explore the answers to these questions, I am conducting interviews with individuals on both sides of the issue. However, in the field I have been confronted with the significant challenge of gaining access to potential interviewees. Bidding for and hosting a mega-event is highly consequential for residents, and the efforts are subject to intense scrutiny that makes those most involved wary of speaking about their work. I have jokingly referred to the experience as an experiment in emailing elites.

Response from officials, planners, and partners in Los Angeles has been mixed, in part because it has been hard to identify them. While a few official sources readily agreed to speak, others hedged, and I simply never heard back from many insiders. Identifying myself as a curious researcher only led me so far. I used personal networks and the legitimacy of a holding a research grant to reach some key individuals connected to the planning, each of whom made clear that they do not typically grant interviews. One area of success was reaching administrators and professors at area universities that will be hosting Olympics facilities. Even in interviews, however, some insiders have been open and

forthcoming, while others answer initially with careful phrasing and soundbites. I probed further by asking for their personal perspectives and for their big picture thinking about the city. Regardless, those connected to the Olympics planning believe in the transformative opportunity of the event for the city and this comes through in their interviews.

It has been somewhat easier to identify members of the anti-Olympics groups in both cities, where individuals have engaged in extensive social media activism using their real identities. In Boston, a prominent former consultant with state-level political experience was the face of the opposition, though as part of a small coalition with left-wing and progressive organizers who all viewed the bid as a “bad deal” for the city. I conducted interviews with members of this group after the bid had ended, when they were very willing to reflect on their successful campaign. They showed that with the right conditions, elite political agendas can be confronted. By the end, a majority of the public had turned against the bid.

In Los Angeles, the opposition group is a campaign of the Democratic Socialists of America and has oriented their work in different terms: as a battle over the right to the city using an explicitly socialist lens. They see the Olympics as one issue in their

broader campaigns around gentrification and homelessness. I have closely followed their campaign through their outspokenness online and have been able to meet with several leaders. However, polls reflect a very supportive public who seem to view the Games as just one more spectacle in a city full of them.

Events are clearly central to political and cultural production of a city’s future identity, but are intensely contentious. Going forward, my project aims to understand how and for whom they are created. Meanwhile, my recruitment efforts are ongoing.

Sam Maron is a PhD candidate in Sociology at Northeastern University. His research uses mega-events as a lens to explore the intersections of global cultural institutions and power in cities. www.samuelmaron.com

Organized Labor Gives a Lift to the Students in the Streets

BY DIDEM TÜRKOĞLU

Our first stop: Frankfurt, Germany, 2007. University students have just blocked the highway. We meet a student who is angry at CDU, the center-right party in government. She grew up in an education system in which public universities had no

tuition. Then comes this decision to ask 500 euros/semester. For her, it is a big deal, and it is an attack on education as a public good. She is not very hopeful though because previous demonstrations against the introduction of tuitions did not stop tuitions.

Our next stop: Istanbul, Turkey 2008. Tuition increases are on the agenda here, too. It is no surprise that the students already have a “no tuitions!” banner; it is recycled from a previous protest. Student groups here have been protesting tuitions and demanding free higher education for 24 years. They don’t expect to change the tuition policy of the government, but they feel like they have to voice their opposition nevertheless.

Fast-forward to 2012. Tuitions are abolished in public universities in both countries! Well, at least for those who follow the regular track and finish their degree on time. And yet here in the US, tuitions keep increasing. This is the starting point of my story.

I set out to answer the question of how student protests successfully oppose tuition hikes by analyzing the tuition policies and student protests in advanced industrialized countries since 2000. In my book project, I analyzed 34 OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) countries and built an

original dataset of protest news, tuition hikes, and the positions of political parties. Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) analysis showed the importance of students building an alliance with opposition parties. That is a story for another time though.

I then focused on case studies that present different pathways, based on the OECD analysis: Germany and Turkey, where protests succeeded in blocking tuition hikes through different mechanisms, and England and the United States, where protests failed to block tuition hikes, in different ways. For the case studies, I decided to gather data on media coverage of tuition hike debates. Initially, I thought about interviewing union members simply because education unions could be a relevant interest group in these debates. However, as I gathered more information, via media coverage, I started to suspect that they played a more significant role than that. As I conducted interviews with student activists, union members, and politicians, it became apparent that labor unions played the role of brokers in making student-party alliances effective. For example, media coverage of tuition protests in Turkey mention the presence of labor unions a few times which does not look very significant among hundreds of protest events. However, as I talked to union

members and student activists, I discovered that two unions actually played an important role in informally coordinating student protests and providing know-how. I tell the role unions played in detail in a forthcoming article in *Current Sociology*: “Student Protests and Organised Labour: Developing a Research Agenda for Mobilisation in Late-Neoliberalism.”

This surprising finding shows the strength of mixed methods research. Medium-N QCA analysis helped me test existing theories and the premise of the theory I develop. Qualitative comparison of the countries based on the pathways I establish with QCA demonstrated how countries clustered in different pathways. Finally, a process-tracing approach of within-case comparisons in the case studies helped me discover unions’ brokerage role in the very different political contexts of Germany and Turkey. As opposed to England and the United States, oppositional alliances in Germany and Turkey stopped tuition hikes and reversed the government policies.

If you’d like to read more on student protests, check *Current Sociology*’s forthcoming special issue, which will also include articles on the student protests in Chile, Canada, England, and South Africa, written by Cesar Guzman-Concha, Marcos Ancelovici,

Alexander Hensby and Lorenzo Cini.

Didem Türkoğlu is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

BOOK DIALOGUE

In the fall 2018 newsletter, Alexander Hicks reviewed John Campbell's *American Discontent: The Rise of Donald Trump and Decline of the Golden Age* (Oxford University Press, 2018) as part of his essay on two recent books explaining the outcome of the 2016 US election. In this issue, John Campbell responds to the book review. The full exchange is posted on the section website.



Discontent with American Discontent? A Reply to Alex Hicks

BY JOHN CAMPBELL

Alex Hicks's review in the latest newsletter (Fall 2018, pp. 19-21) of my new book, *American Discontent: The Rise of Donald Trump and Decline of the Golden Age* (Oxford University Press, 2018), is sympathetic to my argument about the structural and historical conditions that led to Donald Trump's victory in the 2016 presidential election. But he also raises some criticisms that deserve a response. In brief, he got one thing terribly wrong about my argument and missed the point on a couple of others.

First, Hicks wrote that in my view "only long-term trends" in the American economy, race relations, ideology and politics were responsible for Trump's rise to power, attributing this quotation to page 11 in my book. The problem is that I never wrote that! On the contrary, I said explicitly that these long-term trends were at work and were very important but not that they were the "only" things that propelled Trump to the White House. In fact, on p. 3, before reviewing a number of other factors that probably influenced the outcome of the election too, and again four pages later, summing up what I wrote about them in the previous few pages, I acknowledged that idiosyncrasies were influential, such as James Comey's handling of the Clinton email issue, various strategic blunders by the Clinton campaign, Russian email hacking, Trump's media-savvy persona, and more. With reference to these idiosyncrasies I wrote the following (p. 7):

"There may be some truth to all this speculation about why Trump won. But this Monday morning quarterbacking

ignores the underlying structural and historical factors that created an opening for him in the first place.”

Without question attributing Trump’s victory exclusively to long-term trends and ignoring the more proximate peculiarities of the election would be wrongheaded and overly deterministic. But that was not what I argued. Moreover, I explained that one reason I wrote the book was to correct the general impression being given by many popular books, newspaper and magazine articles, and media pundits in the months soon after the election that Trump’s victory was simply due to these idiosyncrasies. I wanted to reveal the deeper currents that were also at work. I wanted to balance the debate. To my knowledge, my book is still the only one that does that.

The second criticism Hicks levels at *American Discontent* is that I should have started my historical analysis of the long-term trends that helped Trump win the White House much earlier than the late 1960s and early 1970s, which is where my story begins. In particular, he focuses on my argument that Trump benefitted from the Nixonian-based Southern strategy of dog-whistle racial politics that persisted from that time in various forms right through the 2016 election—a trend upon which Trump capitalized on the campaign trail, often in outrageous terms. Hicks argues that I

ignored the historical continuities connecting these post-1960s developments with earlier political shifts stretching back to the late 1930s where the “conservative coalition” of Republicans and Southern Democrats first began to congeal. He is certainly right about the connection there. But that misses the point. On the one hand, insofar as race is concerned, how far back do we need to go for my argument about structural and historical conditions to be satisfying? One can imagine extending the argument back to the post-Civil War Reconstruction era or even farther back to the days of slavery. But I’m not sure there would be much value-added in doing so. On the other hand, and much more important for the book’s primary claim, the late 1960s and 1970s were a pivotal point in my story not just because they witnessed the rising Southern strategy but also because this was a time when economic trends in the United States began to sour, the ideological turn to the right, particularly in economic policy, gathered widespread momentum, and, of course, it all got mixed politically with issues of race. This was a critical structural and historical juncture. So, I would defend the dawn of the 1970s as the appropriate starting point for the story simply because this is where all of the major trends I discussed in the book began to converge in ways that laid the foundation for Trump’s eventual victory.

Hicks's third concern is the flip side of his first one. In his view, I should have paid much more attention to two particularly important idiosyncrasies in the 2016 election. One was the role that Jill Stein and Gary Johnson's third-party candidacies played in siphoning off votes from Clinton in crucial swing states—Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania—that many people believe cost her the election.[1] The other was FBI Director James Comey's October 28 letter to Congress resuscitating concerns that Clinton had mishandled official emails while she was Secretary of State. Without their candidacies and without that letter, Hicks argues, Clinton probably would have carried these three states and won the election. I do not dispute this. But, as I suggested on p. 16 in my book, the larger question remains: Why was the election so close to begin with that these things mattered so much, particularly in these states? After all, based on her résumé Clinton was arguably one of the most qualified candidates for the presidency the nation had ever seen. She also had a formidable campaign war chest and organization behind her. The answer is that the trends identified in *American Discontent* had reached a point where someone like Trump could win enough support in swing states and elsewhere that the difference between victory and defeat was slim enough that peculiarities like these mattered a lot on election day.

Hicks and I may continue to disagree about *American Discontent*. But I'm sure that the next time we meet we can go out for a beer together and continue the conversation in a civil tone. Too bad that sort of civility has become so rare in American politics these days.

[1] Ironically, while Hillary Clinton may have lost due to the defection of third-party voters, her husband won the presidency in 1992 thanks to Ross Perot's third-party candidacy pulling votes away from George H. W. Bush.

CORRIGENDA for fall 2018 newsletter:

p. 19 ("Theories, Trends, Trifles and Trump's Election"):

- Original text: "John Campbell's *American Discontent* posits that 'only long-term trends' in the American economy, race relations, ideology and politics stretching back to the 1970s can explain Trump's rise to power"

- Corrected text: "John Campbell's *American Discontent* principally stresses 'long-term trends' in the American economy, race relations, ideology and politics stretching back to the 1970s as root causes of Trump's rise to power"

- Insert "to" between "decades of the 'conservative coalition'" and "the Republican Southern conservatism"

Announcements: New Publications and Other News

NEW ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Alves, Jorge Antonio and Christopher L. Gibson. 2019. "States and Capitals of Health: Multi-level Health Governance in Brazil." *Latin American Politics and Society* 61(1): 54-77.

Asal, Victor R., Karl Rethemeyer and Eric W. Schoon. 2019. "Crime, Conflict and the Legitimacy Trade-off: Explaining Variation in Insurgents' Participation in Crime." *Journal of Politics* 81(2): 399-410.

Burstein, Paul. 2019. "The Influence of Organizations on Policy: Theories, Findings, Conclusions." *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 8: 1-22.

Compion, Sara and Lisa Cliggett. 2018. "The Gift of Volunteering: Relational Implications for Social Inequality and Welfare Distribution in Southern Africa." *Sociology of Development* 4(4): 374-393.

Doering, Jan. 2019. "Ethno-Racial Appeals and the Production of Political Capital: Evidence from Chicago and Toronto." *Urban Affairs Review* (Forthcoming, avail. online).

Dromi, Shai and Gülay Türkmen. 2019. "What Does Trauma Have to Do with Politics? Cultural Trauma and the Displaced Founding Political Elites of Israel and Turkey." *The Sociological Quarterly* (Forthcoming, avail. online).

Ermakoff, Ivan. 2018. "Frail Democracy," pp. 47-60 in *Militant democracy: political science, law and philosophy*, edited by Afshin Ellian and Bastiaan Rijpkema. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Hammond, John L. "Relations of Media Production in Occupy Wall Street." *International Journal of Communication* 13: 897-917.

Kallman, Meghan E. 2019. "The 'male' privilege of White women, the 'White' privilege of Black women, and vulnerability to violence: an intersectional analysis of Peace Corps workers in host countries." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (Forthcoming, avail. online).

Paret, Marcel. 2018. "Critical Nostalgias in Democratic South Africa." *The Sociological Quarterly* 59(4): 678-696.

Paret, Marcel. 2018. "Beyond Post-Apartheid Politics? Cleavages, Protest, and Elections in South Africa." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 56(3): 471-496.

Paret, Marcel. 2018. "Citizenship and Work in Global Capitalism: From Domination to Aspiration." *Sociology Compass* 12(8): 1-13.

Paret, Marcel. 2018. "The Politics of Local Resistance in Urban South Africa: Evidence from Three Informal Settlements." *International Sociology* 33(3): 337-356.

Paret, Marcel. 2018. "Migration Politics: Mobilizing Against Economic Insecurity in the United States and South Africa." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 59(1): 3-24.

Rodríguez-Muñiz, Michael. 2019. "Racial Arithmetic: Ethnoracial Politics in a Relational Key," Pp. 278-295 in *Relational Formations of Race: Theory, Method and Practice*, edited by Natalia Molina, Daniel Martinez HoSang, and Ramón Gutiérrez. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schoon, Eric W. 2018. "Why Does Armed Conflict Begin Again? A New Analytic Approach." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 59(5-6): 480-515.

Türkmen, Gülay. 2018. "Negotiating Symbolic Boundaries in Conflict Resolution: Religion and Ethnicity in Turkey's Kurdish Conflict." *Qualitative Sociology* 41(4): 569-591.

Türkmen, Gülay. 2019. "Civil War and Religion: Turkey." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion*.

Zhang, Tony Huiquan. 2019. "The Rise of the Princelings in China: Career Advantages and Collective Elite Reproduction." *Journal of East Asian Studies* (Available online).

Zhang, Tony Huiquan and Robert Brym. 2019. "Political Freedom, Education and Tolerance of Homosexuality: A Comparative Study of 88 societies based on the World Values Survey." *Sociological Forum* (Available online).

NEW BOOKS

Garcia, Angela S. 2019. *Legal Passing: Navigating Undocumented Life and Local Immigration Law*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Gibson, Christopher L. 2019. *Movement-Driven Development: The Politics of Health and Democracy in Brazil*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Jones, Jennifer. 2019. *The Browning of the New South*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kay, Tamara and R. L. Evans. 2018. *Trade Battles: Activism and the Politicization of International Trade Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levine, Rhonda. 2019. *When Race Meets Class: African Americans Coming of Age in a Small City*. Routledge.

Merriman, Ben. 2019. *Conservative Innovators: How States are Challenging Federal Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

UPCOMING CONFERENCES

"Development in Dialogue: Engaging Practitioners and Other Disciplines"

8th Annual Conference of the Sociology of Development Section

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana
Conference Dates: Oct 17-19, 2019

The conference will explore points of connection as well as tension between sociologists of development, scholars of other disciplines, and development practitioners. In the public eye, the development field has been largely dominated by economists, policy analysts, donors, and practitioners. Recently, however, there has been a surge in research that uses the unique tools of sociology to understand the problems and dilemmas of development. This conference will generate deeper dialogue between sociological research and other perspectives in the field of development. We will consider opportunities for (and barriers to) broader communication and exchange across disciplines, and address the challenges involved in connecting the insights of systematic sociological research with the experiences of practitioners.

Submit abstracts by **June 14**. For more information, please visit the conference website:
<https://devcon19.weebly.com>

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGISTS IN THE NEWS

Tamara Kay participated in a panel discussion on U.S. trade policy and its role in the 2018 midterm elections, hosted by the Economic Policy Institute and aired live on C-SPAN: <https://www.c-span.org/video/?453172-1/trade-policy-2018-midterm-elections>. She also spoke on the panel "NAFTA vs. USMCA: Why it Matters and What's at Stake": <https://kellogg.nd.edu/nafta-vs-usmca-why-it-matters-and-whats-stake>.

Jonathan Jan Benjamin Mijs was quoted in *The Guardian* ("How the right tricked people into supporting rampant inequality," Jan. 24, 2019), *The Washington Post* ("Ivanka Trump comes out against all guaranteed jobs except her own, Feb. 26, 2019), and the *Financial Times* ("Why people underestimate the problem of inequality," March 3) for his recent article "The Paradox of Inequality: Income Inequality and Belief in Meritocracy go Hand in Hand" published in *Socio-Economic Review* (doi: 10.1093/ser/mwy051).

political sociology bookshelf



The newsletter editors invite you to submit your entries to "political sociology bookshelf," a new feature which aims to highlight the breadth of scholarly traditions covered by political sociology in a short format. Please send in a 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 polsocnews@gmail.com.

Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History, by Rogers Smith

BART BONIKOWSKI,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

My shelves are lined with books that mark important moments in my academic trajectory. Some ignited my love for the discipline, some provided the building blocks for my theoretical outlook, others were especially memorable for their writing style and narrative richness, and others yet offered compelling explanations of substantive phenomena central to my work. From among dozens of favorites, however, one monograph in particular stands out for having fundamentally shaped my research agenda. I have cited it in most of my publications and I routinely reference it in my talks. It was not written by a sociologist but it is required reading for anyone in our discipline who cares about U.S. politics and the renewed importance of ethnic, racial, and religious

exclusion in contemporary elections, policy, and public discourse. That book is Rogers Smith's *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History*.

The book's premise is simple but powerful: contrary to dominant popular and scholarly perceptions, the United States is not a fundamentally civic-nationalist country that has been steadily moving toward ever greater social inclusion—a view that dismisses Native American genocide, slavery, the Chinese Exclusion Act, Japanese internment, and Jim Crow as detours on the path to progress. On the contrary, for Smith, racism, xenophobia, nativism, and religious intolerance are just as American as the collective commitment to egalitarianism. Indeed, since the nation's founding, political factions adhering to competing conceptions of nationhood—specifically, liberalism, civic republicanism, and ascriptive Americanism—have continually struggled for dominance over the public imaginary and state policy. This "multiple traditions" framework,

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substantiated by Smith's meticulous analysis of the entirety of American citizenship law over a period of a century and a half, is crucial for understanding historical cycles of racial progress and ethno-nationalist backlash in the United States, of which Trumpism is the most recent example.

My own research has sought to identify similar competing understandings of the nation, not in legal documents but in survey data and political discourse, in order to understand the rise of radical-right politics in the United States and Europe. My central claim is that multiple varieties of nationalism constitute latent cultural cleavages that can become resonant during times of rapid structural change, particularly when entrepreneurial elites channel dominant groups' status anxieties into powerful out-group resentments (with partisan polarization as a mediating process). Even though my work draws on a variety of ideas from cultural sociology, nationalism studies, race and ethnicity research, social psychology, and comparative politics, *Civic Ideals* continues to provide a central organizing logic for much of what I do. I am grateful to Rogers Smith for the inspiration and I hope that more political sociologists will incorporate the book into their work. Given its theoretical sophistication and empirical rigor, *Civic Ideals* should figure prominently in our subfield's canon.

Abolition of Feudalism, by John Markoff

RICHARD LACHMANN,
UNIVERSITY AT ALBANY-SUNY

John Markoff's *Abolition of Feudalism* changed my understanding of how elites respond to mass mobilization. Markoff devotes most of the book to identifying the factors that led peasants and the urban poor to engage in violent and non-violent actions. His research of course was not available to the members of the National Assembly of 1789 who variously were panicked about the collapse of order and who also sought to use the violence to undermine elite rivals. The outcome, a set of laws that abolished most feudal privileges and the coincidental or resulting diminution of mass protest, can't be understood as a clear consequence of confrontation or negotiation. Instead, Markoff shows that actors in revolutionary situations usually were confused and lacked the information or analytic capacities to make reasoned and effective decisions to repress or compromise with opponents.

Markoff's analysis taught me first that rulers and rivals for power often or usually act in ignorance and fear, especially in times of war and revolution. Actors deal with uncertainty above all by trying to enlist allies. When allies come from longstanding ties (kinship, shared

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business ventures, ethnicity, religious affiliation) actors can be more confident that those ties will hold in the face of great pressures. However, when actors need to reach beyond existing allies, and allies of allies, as did the members of the National Assembly, they then improvise, adopting policies and making offers that they can't be at all certain will succeed. When those innovations quiet opposition or bring in new allies (or at least convince actors that they have done so) those new policies can last for a long time and reshape the terrain of future politics.

Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil, by W.E.B. Du Bois

MICHAEL ROSINO, UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

As a whole, *Darkwater* is a rich and perceptive text. But one chapter stands alone in shaping my thought as a political sociologist. That chapter, "Of the Ruling of Men," deserves further canonization within political sociology, especially in the context of contemporary racial politics. It artfully fuses aspirational and pragmatic modes of democratic theory with critiques of social, economic, and political inequality. Du Bois (1920:110) defines democracy as "a method of realizing the broadest measure of justice to all human beings." Du Bois' conception of democracy is imminently holistic.

He ties it to everyday social interactions, group dynamics of oppression and exclusion, and the structure of institutions and industries. This conception of democracy has influenced my research and teaching on racial politics, political power, and collective action, and my work with civic organizations. It sheds light upon a paradox at the heart of American political life--the tension between democratic ideals and the reality of racial oppression. As Du Bois (1920:134) writes, "Democratic movements inside groups and nations are always taking place and they are the efforts to increase the number of beneficiaries of the ruling [of men]." In other words, active and inclusive grassroots organizations are crucial to democratization. Du Bois points out that black citizens must be fully empowered within the democratic franchise to embrace their perspectives, wisdom, and interests and thus transform U.S. society toward greater justice. Yet, such additions "must, of course, be from time to time bewildering and confusing" (Du Bois 1920:145). This insight has enabled me to further understand what I call the problem of awkwardness within political action. Only by surfacing and facing such dilemmas and oppositions can new modes of democratic engagement emerge that dismantle the structural and interactional causes of racialized political inequality.

2019 Political Sociology Mini-Conference Schedule

9:30–10:50 am

Panel 1: Insecurity, Representation, and Populist Support

Presider: Carlos de la Torre, University of Kentucky

Mabel Berezin and Thomas Davidson, Cornell University

“Insecurity Talk: What We Can Learn About Populist Politics through Social Media”

Benny Witkovsky, University of Wisconsin, Madison

“Trump’s Populism and the Local Politics of Exclusion”

Chandra Mukerji, University of California, San Diego

“Sovereignty and Anti-Liberal Politics”

Dolores Trevizo, Occidental College

“Insecurity and the Recent Rise of Vigilantes in Mexico”

Panel 2: Authoritarian Politics

Presider: Thomas Janoski, University of Kentucky

Zuhao Zhuang, University of Chicago; Tong Ju, Renmin University-China

“Phantom of the Past: Resurgence of Totalitarian Discourses in Post-Socialist Propaganda”

Sinem Adar, Humboldt University; Gulay Turkmen, Gottingen University

“Whither Nations? Nationalism, Populism, and Emotional Disintegration”

Yang Zhang, American University; Feng Shi, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

“Factions in Action: Elite Networks and Political Alignment in China’s Reform Era”

Yao Li, Harvard University

“Beyond Legality: Informal Norms and Protest Control in Democracies and Non-Democracies”

Panel 3: The Politics of Fear and Resentment

Presider: Bart Bonikowski, Harvard University

Kristin Mar and Pete Ramand, University of Wisconsin, Madison

“Mapping Varieties of Populism in the United States and Europe”

Francesco Duina and Dylan Carson, Bates College

“‘Not So Right After All’: Making Sense of the Progressive Rhetoric of Europe’s Far-Right Parties”

Catherine Bolzendahl, University of California, Irvine

“The Shifting Symbolic Boundaries of Populist Intolerance”

Lane Crothers, Illinois State University

“Fear and Loathing in the American Militia Movement: Identity Essentialism and the Politics of Anti-State Mobilization”

11:00 am–12:20 pm

Panel 4: Trumpism in a Comparative Perspective

Presider: Carlos de la Torre, University of Kentucky

Leslie C. Gates, Binghamton University

“Trump: More Fox than Chávez?”

Timothy M. Gill, University of North Carolina, Wilmington

“Hugo Chávez, Donald Trump, and the Analytical Limits of Populist Discourse”

Marco Garrido, University of Chicago

“Duterte v. Trump: Towards a Thick Definition of Populism”

Matthew Baltz, Bucknell University

“The Economic Nationalism(s) of Donald Trump and his Administration”

Panel 5: Political Leadership in the Populist Era

Presider: Richard Lachmann, SUNY Albany

Benjamin Abrams, University of Cambridge

“Me, the People: Democratic Substitution in Hungary and the United States”

Bo Yun Park, Harvard University

“Is (S)He Presidential? The Changing Scripts of Political Leadership in Trump and Macron’s Era”

Betul Eksi, Harvard University

“Toward an Understanding of Right-Wing Populism as Gendered Performance: Janus-Faced Masculinity in the Leadership of Vladimir Putin and Recep T. Erdogan”

Paul Joosse, University of Hong Kong

“Charisma as a State of Exception”

Panel 6: Institutional Approaches to Populism

Presider: Lane Crothers, Illinois State University

Carlos H. Waisman, University of California, San Diego

“Populism North and South: Toward a Typology of Generative Contexts”

Barbara Wejnert, University at Buffalo, SUNY

“Diffusion of Democracy: The Past and Future of Global Democracy”

Veda Hyunjin Kim and Can Mert Kökerer, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

“A Global-Historical Approach on the Populist Reconstruction of Integral-states in South Korea and Turkey”

Patrisia Macías-Rojas, University of Illinois at Chicago

“‘Penal Populism’ and the Punitive Turn in Immigration in the United States”

12:20–2:00 pm Lunch Break

2:00–3:20 pm

Panel 7: Polarization, Partisan Sorting, and Political Cleavages

Presider: Delia Baldassarri, New York University

Josh Pacewicz, Brown University

“Illiberal Populism in the American Rust Belt”

Eric Wright, Indiana University

“Conflict Extension, Economic Attitudes, and Evangelical Republican Realignment: 1980–2016”

Sadie Dempsey, University of Wisconsin, Madison

“No Blue, No Red”: Partisanship, Populism, and Collective Identity”

Jaesok Son, NORC, University of Chicago

“Partisan Social Class and Gun Control”

Panel 8: The Politics of Redistribution

Presider: Dana Fisher, University of Maryland

Luke Elliott-Negri, CUNY Graduate Center

“American Exceptionalism and Working Families Party Now”

Jeffrey Broadbent, University of Minnesota

“Policy Networks in the Field of Power: US, Japanese and German Labor Politics”

Marcel Paret, University of Utah and University of Johannesburg; Michael Levien, Johns Hopkins University

“Redistribution and/or Reaction? Global Left and Right Populist Opinion after the Crisis”

Stephanie Ternullo and Ariel Azar, University of Chicago

“When Policies Make Partisans: Social Policy and Democratic Electoral Gains in the U.S., 1935–2014”

Panel 9: Transnational Politics

Presider: Reynaldo Ortiz, Brooklyn College

Lucas Dolan, American University and Université Libre de Bruxelles

“Nationalist Appeals Beyond Borders: Surveying the Repertoires of Transnational Populist Entrepreneurs”

Kerem Morgül, University of Wisconsin–Madison; Osman Savaşkan, Marmara University

“Popular Attitudes toward Syrian Asylum Seekers in Turkey”

Celso M. Villegas, Kenyon College

“Extrajudicial Killings in the Philippines as a Transnational Narrative Trope”

3:30–4:50 pm

Panel 10: Money in Politics

Presider: Thomas Janoski, University of Kentucky

Nathan Katz, University of Missouri

“Beyond Donors: Working Toward a Sociological Study of Campaign Expenditures”

Elisabeth Clemens and Yuhao Zhuang, University of Chicago

“Politics of the Make-or-Buy State: Public Revenues, Private Firms, and the Erosion of Democratic Governance”

Joshua Basseches, Northwestern University

“Whether & How Private Business Interests Influence the Content of US Climate Policy”

Johnnie Anne Lotesta, Brown University

“Beyond the Koch Network: Making Sense of Conservatives’ Variable Success in the States”

Panel 11: Nostalgia and Cultural Politics

Presider: Richard Lachmann, SUNY Albany

Yagmur Karakaya and Penny Edgell, University of Minnesota

“Populist Rallies in United States and Turkey”

Amir Teimouri, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

“Perceived Policy Threats, Cultural Mobilization and the Rise of Conservative Identities in the Iran’s State Politics (1994-2001)”

Marcos Perez, Washington and Lee University

“Working Class Nostalgia and Progressive Mobilization in Latin America”

Ritchie Savage, John Jay College, CUNY

“The Politics of Recursive Calendars”

Panel 12: Political Elites and Democratic Representation

Presider: Bart Bonikowski, Harvard University

Sourabh Singh, Florida State University

“Is an Elite’s Mass-Linkage Strategy a Choice or a Habit? Lessons from the Study of Indira Gandhi’s Populist Mass-Linkage Strategy”

Elizabeth McKenna, University of California, Berkeley

“Perennial Plutocracy: The Role of Capital in the Return of Authoritarianism in Brazil”

D. Adam Nicholson, Indiana University

“Uneven and Stalled: Women’s Representation in State Legislatures”

Zhifan Luo, SUNY Albany

“‘Freewheeling Generals’ and Inter-Elites Consensus in the US: Evidence from Computer-Assisted Text Analysis”

Plenary Panel

5:00–6:30 pm

Plenary: Populist Support, Anti-Populist Mobilization, and the Future of Democracy

Presider: Catherine Bolzendahl, University of California, Irvine

Dana R. Fisher, University of Maryland

“Beyond Resistance”

Rory McVeigh, University of Notre Dame

“The Politics of Losing”

Kim Lane Scheppelle, Princeton University

Title TBA

6:30–7:30 pm Drinks and *hors d'oeuvres*

Meet the Newsletter Editors



Maria Akchurin is the managing editor of *States, Power, & Societies*, the section newsletter. She is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for Inter-American Policy & Research at Tulane University. Maria's research focuses on the urban politics of water and sanitation, as well as social mobilization around socio-environmental issues. Her work has been published in *Law & Social Inquiry*, the *Sociology of Development*, the *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* (with E. Silva and A. Bebbington), and the *American Sociological Review* (with C.S. Lee). She will be starting a position as Assistant Professor of Sociology at Loyola University in Chicago in fall 2019.



Sara Compion is the Director of the Center for Interdisciplinary Studies and the undergraduate Global Studies coordinator at Kean University. A cultural and political sociologist, her work focuses on the nonprofit and voluntary sector, citizenship, and grassroots development movements in southern Africa. She specializes in global-comparative and mixed methods analysis and has received funding from the National Science Foundation and the South African National Research Foundation. Her work has been published in *Sociology of Development*, *Voluntas*, *Agenda*, and the *New Handbook of Political Sociology*. She received her undergraduate and master's degree from the University of Pretoria, and her Ph.D. from the University of Kentucky in 2016.



Nathan Katz is a PhD candidate at the University of Missouri-Columbia. The majority of his research focuses on how culture and media influence politics and the democratic process. His dissertation "Turning Money into Speech: Campaign Finance, Political Advertising, and the Civic Sphere" looks at how the ideology behind campaign finance reform influences the content of political advertising. His past publications can be found in *Symbolic Interaction* and *Society and Animals*.

Meet the Newsletter Editors



Julia Miller is a doctoral candidate at the University of Kentucky. The unifying principle of her research is a focus on the effects of normative structures on the lives of marginalized groups, be they minority and first-generation students persisting in their academic pursuits or rural residents seeking to save their local schools. Her dissertation examines the micro-level processes by which rural marginalization is reproduced in local education policy. She was recently awarded the Rural Sociological Society's Dissertation Award to support this project. In the classroom, she prioritizes preparing students to be competent democratic participants in courses such as "Sociology and Democracy" and "Quantitative Sociological Analysis".

Joseph Sterphone is a PhD candidate at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His research focuses on the ways that categories are deployed as a basis for and (re)produced as a result of potentially sanctionable social action across a variety of contexts. Specifically, his dissertation, entitled "Messermänner und Kopftuchmädchen: Examining the use of racialized categories in contemporary Germany," explores the (re)production of racialized and nationalized categories in both policy and everyday life in a way that maintains the norm that Germany is a "space free of race." He will be a visiting Fulbright scholar at Universität Bielefeld during the 2019-20 academic year. His research has been published in *Populist Nationalism in Europe and the Americas*, *EC Psychology and Psychiatry*, and *Aggression and Violent Behavior*.

Meet the New Webmaster



Jennifer Dudley is our new section webmaster. She is currently a doctoral student in the Sociology Department at the University of Notre Dame. Her research interests are in the movement of power and authority. This manifests in research that explores a variety of topics including student loan debt, Supreme Court decisions, and voter preferences. Jennifer holds a MA in Sociology at California State University, Northridge. Previously, she spent six years working as a compliance professional in the educational debt collection industry.

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY JOB CANDIDATES



Name: Benjamin Bradlow

Affiliation: Brown University

Website: <https://www.brown.edu/academics/sociology/people/benjamin-bradlow>

Research Interests: Comparative urban sociology, political economy of development and globalization, urban housing and infrastructure policy

Benjamin Bradlow is a PhD candidate in sociology at Brown University and will be a Visiting Democracy Fellow at the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation at the Harvard Kennedy School in the 2019-2020 academic year. His dissertation research compares the governance of urban public goods — housing, sanitation, and collective transportation — in São Paulo and Johannesburg after transitions to democracy. Additional work analyzes the relationship between contentious mobilization and democratic deepening, the economic and social outcomes of place-based public housing subsidies, and the authoritarian style in democratic politics. His dissertation has been supported by grants and fellowships from the Mellon Foundation/American Council of Learned Societies, the National Science Foundation, the Fulbright Program and the Brazilian Studies Association. As part of his field work, he has been a visiting researcher at the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the University of São Paulo and the Public Affairs Research Institute at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. His research has been published or is forthcoming in *Social Forces*, *Environment & Urbanization*, and *International Development Planning Review*. He holds a Masters in City Planning from MIT and a BA in history from Swarthmore College.



Name: Blu Buchanan

Affiliation: University of California, Davis

Website: bb-buchanan.squarespace.com

Research Interests: Right-wing social movements, homonationalism, whiteness studies, masculinities

Blu Buchanan is an ABD graduate student in sociology at the University of California, Davis. They hold a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of Notre Dame and a Masters degree from UC Davis in sociology. Their research interests lie in the areas of homonationalism, whiteness studies, and conservative social movements. Their work ties together past trends in LGBT intracommunal violence to the political radicalization of white gay men in today's America.



Name: Daniel P. Burrridge

Affiliation: University of Pittsburgh

Research Interests: Social Movements and Social Change, Political Sociology, Latin American Studies, Global and Transnational Sociology, Democracy, Revolutions, Social Theory, Violence and Crime

I study the territorialized relationships between social movements and governments in Latin America, especially during the ostensibly favorable conditions presented by leftist governments of the past two decades. My dissertation interrogates the dynamics of power and conflict within the post-revolutionary “movement-parties” of the FMLN in El Salvador and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua as they administer neoliberal democratic states. I contextualize the exhaustion of “electoral vanguardism” by highlighting how diverse social movements are reinventing efforts for social change through “co-governance” with sympathetic state institutions and pragmatic self-governance when institutions prove hostile. My comparative design across subnational territories elucidates how revolutionary legacies intersect with trans-local flows of ideas to shape divergent movement-state dynamics. I have two additional research projects. One interrogates the theoretical and practical implications of grassroots peacemaking amid violent contests over sovereignty between gangs and state actors in El Salvador. The other project surveys social movement practices across Latin America as they relate to globalization and democratic innovations. I have taught Social Theory, Social Change, Social Movements, and Global Society, and recently received our Latin American Center’s award for Social Justice and Human Rights. I am committed to public sociology and participatory-action research models that co-create knowledge with research participants.

Name: Benjamin Steinhardt Case

Affiliation: University of Pittsburgh

Research interests: Social movements, violence and nonviolence, riots, Jewish studies and antisemitism, sociology of race and ethnicity

I come to sociology via a background in community organizing and activism, and I study social movements both as a scholar and as a practitioner. My current project examines the violence/nonviolence framework that is often used to interpret social movement strategy and tactics, aiming to push through the limitations that come with this language using mixed-methods research. In addition to multiple works in progress, I have published this research in *Journal of Resistance Studies*, as a chapter in Hank Johnston’s 2019 edited volume *Social Movements, Nonviolent Resistance, and the State*, and in multiple popular-audience and movement-facing venues. A secondary area of interest both personally and as a public sociologist is the study of Jewish identities and antisemitism. I have conducted numerous public and intra-organizational trainings on

understanding antisemitism and its intersection with other forms of racism, most recently following the synagogue attack in Pittsburgh, and have contributed to publications and training manuals on the topic. In 2018, I published the longform essay “Decolonizing Jewishness,” which unpacks Jewish identities, antisemitism, Zionism, and solidarity through a Fanonian lens, in *Tikkun* magazine, and based on its impact I was invited to guest edit a special issue focused on decolonization, forthcoming in 2019.



Name: Thomas Davidson

Affiliation: Cornell University, Department of Sociology

Website: www.thomasrddavidson.com

Twitter: @thomasrddavidson

Research interests: political sociology, social movements, far-right politics, social media, computational social science

Thomas Davidson studies radical right social movements and political parties. His dissertation analyzes the rise of the far-right Britain First movement and the tactics it used to build up a social media following of unprecedented scale, its relationship to more moderate U.K. Independence Party (UKIP), and the role of these groups and online opinion leaders in the Brexit referendum campaign. To study these topics he combines social media, newspaper, and other online data sources. He uses computational and statistical methods including natural language processing, social network analysis, and time series modeling. He recently co-authored an article with Mabel Berezin on the relationship between Britain First and UKIP, published in *Mobilization*. His analyses of recent elections in Germany and Italy have appeared in *The Washington Post*. In addition to his work in political sociology, he has also published papers on topics including online hate speech, social capital, and machine learning in venues including *Social Forces* and *Socius*. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of East Anglia and a master's degree in political sociology from the London School of Economics and Political Science.



Name: Maria De Jesus Mora

Affiliation: University of California, Merced

Research interests: Social Movements, Immigration, Comparative-Historical, Latino/a Movements, Political Sociology, Environmental Sociology, Race/Ethnicity

A first-generation student from a small farm working community in the Salinas Valley of California, Maria's dissertation research explores immigrant rights campaigns against political and repressive threats in order to better understand how low-income Latino immigrant communities are able to sustain mobilization over the long-term at the local

level. This research is being carried out in seven cities in the San Joaquin Valley using interview and archival data with funding support from UCMEXUS. She has published her work on immigrant movements and excluded groups with *Sociology Compass* and the *CLACSO Handbook on Latin American Social Movements*.

Name: Kerice Doten-Snitker

Affiliation: University of Washington, Seattle

Website: <http://students.washington.edu/kmdoten/>

Research interests: Race and ethnicity, religion, political economy, exclusion, economic history

Who belongs? Who doesn't? This perennial question has become a principal touchstone of contemporary politics. I study decisions about political exclusion and institutions that define and redefine political communities. Political and economic competition within a majority group provides incentives for increasing the exclusion of minorities. Minority groups are part of the social structure; shifting laws and norms to exclude them are strategies to gain political or economic advantage in intra-group competition. My dissertation examines medieval urban expulsions of Jews in the Holy Roman Empire 1000 CE - 1520 CE as policy decisions reached within a political economy that placed increasing value on religiously based concepts of political responsibility and community purity. The patchwork landscape of overlapping jurisdiction created conditions of competition over legitimacy, supremacy, and rights to resources. Expulsions were a policy tool to manage foreign and domestic political relationships and help authorities achieve their political and economic goals.

Name: Tamra L. Gilbertson



Affiliation: University of Tennessee

Website: www.sociology.utk.edu/grad/grads/gilbertson.php

Research Interests: Environmental violence and power, extractive industries, social movements, social justice, carbon trading, ecofeminism, environmental racism, forests, agroecology, fishing, health inequalities, research methods, global studies, development, intersectionality, Indigenous Peoples and colonialism

I am a PhD candidate in political economy and environmental sociology at the University of Tennessee. My dissertation probes questions of conflict in social power relations of the Colombian coal mining sector through the lens of repression, violence and social justice at three levels: the globalized economy, the role of the state, and experiences of impacted communities. Based on 14 months of field research in Colombia, funded by a US Student Fulbright, I aim to offer fresh insights into the connections between fossil fuel extraction and parallel environmental and social

violence, as well as environmental and climate justice. I hold a double BS in biology and zoology from Humboldt State University, and a masters degree in public health (MPH) from Universitat Pompeu Fabra and Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. I have 19 years of experience collaborating with a wide range of networks including social movements, academics and NGOs working towards social and environmental justice. As a founder and co-director of Carbon Trade Watch and former project coordinator of the Environmental Justice Project of the Transnational Institute, my commitment to social, climate and environmental justice has been at the core of my work. My past investigations have resulted in a durable body of research and extensive international experience with Indigenous Peoples, small-scale farmers, youth, women's groups, fishing communities, in diverse cultural settings including: Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Thailand, and South Africa. I speak fluent Castellano/Spanish, advanced Brazilian Portuguese, and beginning Català and French.



Name: Karin Johnson

Affiliation: University of California, Riverside

Research Interests: Political economy, international migration, internationalization of higher education, public policy, and post-industrial development

Karin A. C. Johnson's dissertation comparatively studies how incoming foreign student flows in the UAE, Russia, and South Africa are shaped by higher education institutions' implementation of national internationalization policies. Her recent publications include, "9/11 and International Student Visa Issuance" and her co-authored work has also appeared in interdisciplinary international academic journals. Karin's research informs her teaching in courses such as Introduction to Statistics, Organizations, and Economic and Political Globalization and Development. Karin will complete her dissertation in June 2020.



Name: Yagmur Karakaya

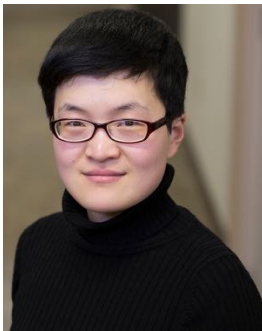
Affiliation: University of Minnesota

Website: www.yagmurkarakaya.com

Research Interests: Populism, nostalgia, political performance, collective memory, political culture, popular culture, emotions

I am a PhD candidate at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. My research and teaching interests are comparative-historical sociology, political sociology, cultural sociology, and collective memory. Specifically, I study nostalgia as a collective force,

highlighting its central place within both populist political discourse and popular culture. My dissertation, *Disentangling Contemporary Ottoman Nostalgia in Turkey: Popular and Political Forms of Collective Memory*, examines the contemporary Ottoman revival in the making as a dynamic process between two forms: state-sponsored neo-Ottomanism observable in public displays, and the entertainment-oriented popular Ottomania exemplified by leisure activities. In my article in the *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, I argue that state-led populist nostalgia mobilizes both emotions and reflexive cognition to shape political engagement. In an earlier co-authored article, in *New Perspectives on Turkey*, I focus on the reception of historical drama “Magnificent Century.” A third lead-authored paper, forthcoming in *Sociological Forum*, compares Holocaust Remembrance Days (HRD) in Spain and Turkey to argue that even though memory travels transnationally, the nation-state still is the most powerful translator. In a co-authored project, I am looking at Trump’s rallies using ethnographic discourse analysis. I will present this work at the “States of Exception” mini-conference.



Name: Zhifan Luo

Affiliation: University at Albany, State University of New York

Website: <https://albany.academia.edu/ZhifanLuo>

Research Interests: Political sociology, computational social science, elite politics, global hegemony, political discourse

Zhifan Luo is a PhD candidate of sociology at the University at Albany—State University of New York. Synthesizing historical-comparative, quantitative, and qualitative methods, her research is motivated by a cross-national interest in different forms of state power and the impacts on the social relations and interstate dynamics. Her past works scrutinized the military dynamics underlying hegemonic rise and decline in the cases of China and the United States. Her current project explores the roles played by the political, the economic, and the military elites in shaping U.S. policy towards China in the post-Cold War era. In this project, she uses the quantitative big-data methods to analyze legislative and administrative records, news articles, and other organizational publications. She is also collaborating with colleagues on projects that use techniques of data-mining and automatic text analysis to examine political discourse on China’s online public sphere. Her research has been published in the *Journal of World-Systems Research*, and currently she has three manuscripts under review. Her papers have been accepted for presentation by multiple conferences, including the Annual Conference of the American Sociological Association, the International Conference on Computational Social Science, and the Annual Conference of the International Communication Association.



Name: Ben Manski

Affiliation: UC Santa Barbara

Website: www.BenManski.com

Research Interests: Sociology of constitutions, social movements, legal mobilization and legal change, philosophy of social science, federalism & municipalism, global governance and democratization, environmental movements & inequalities, climate sociology, rights of nature

Ben Manski studies the participation of ordinary people in the deliberate constitution of their societies. His work takes in social movements, law, politics, climate and ecology, focusing on democracy, democratization, and constitutionalism, and he has published widely on these themes. He is a PhD candidate in Sociology at the UC Santa Barbara, a Liberty Tree Fellow, IPS Associate Fellow, Next System Project Research Fellow, and Critical Realism Network Associated Fellow. Manski practiced law for eight years and managed national advocacy organizations, direct action campaigns, and political campaigns and parties for over twenty years. Selected recent publications include "Introduction: The Dynamics and Terrains of Local Democracy and Corporate Power in the 21st Century," with Jackie Smith in the *Journal of World-Systems Research* (2019); "Methodological Approaches to Movement Waves and the Making of History," in *The Palgrave Handbook on Social Movements, Revolution, and Social Transformation* (2019); "No Gods, No Masters, No Coders? The Future of Sovereignty in a Blockchain World," with Sarah Manski in *Law & Critique* (June 2018); and "Beginning the World Again: Social Movements and the Challenge of Constitutional Change," in *Human Rights Of, By, and For the People: How to Critique and Change the U.S. Constitution* (2017).



Name: Jennifer Nations

Affiliation: Postdoctoral Fellow with the Scholars Strategy Network, Visiting Fellow at UC San Diego

Website: jennifernations.com

Research Interests: Subnational U.S. policy development, redistribution, fiscal sociology, social inequalities

Jennifer is a sociologist studying the formation of public policies, social inequalities, and the equitable redistribution of goods in the United States. Currently, she is writing a book manuscript on state-level policy decisions around college affordability titled, *Deciding Who Pays for Higher Education*. She is also working with several co-authors on the Fiscal Democracy Project. The FDP researchers study the policy features and social contexts that lead California voters to support local taxes. Jennifer is also beginning a new project on how stakeholders from diverse organizational positions

work together, or at odds, on crafting local policies for the unhoused in San Diego. She completed a PhD in Sociology at UC San Diego in 2017 and is currently a postdoctoral fellow with the San Diego chapter of the Scholars Strategy Network.



Name: Simeon J. Newman

Affiliation: University of Michigan

Website: <https://simnew.weebly.com/>

Research Interests: Political, comparative-historical, and urban sociology; clientelism and Latin America; political economy, social theory, and the philosophy of the social sciences

Simeon J. Newman's dissertation, *The Political Development of Urban Clientelism*, represents an attempt to rethink the relationship between urbanization and politics. It is rooted in a comparative-historical study of three cities in twentieth-century Latin America, a region which experienced the fastest and most extensive urban growth in world history largely in the form of vast squatter settlements. Newman shows, first, that this gave rise to clientelist quid-pro-quo relations between squatters and the state, which were mediated by patrimonial urban brokers. Second, he shows that urban growth enhanced brokers' power, giving them the power to dominate their settlements. Urbanization generated conflicts between older and newer squatter generations which drove the latter into pro-growth brokers' arms for protection, giving them command of followers with which they extended control over settlement turf and extracted rent from residents. Newman received his B.A. in sociology (departmental citation) and history (highest honors) from UC Berkeley (2011) and his M.A. in sociology from the University of Michigan (2014), where he is completing his PhD. His research has been supported by the National Science Foundation, two Social Science Research Council fellowships, and the University of Michigan International Institute, among others.



Name: Michael L. Rosino

Affiliation: University of Connecticut

Website: michaelrosino.com

Research Interests: Race and ethnicity; stratification; political sociology; media; collective action; crime, law, and deviance; qualitative methods

Michael L. Rosino is a doctoral candidate in sociology at the University of Connecticut. His teaching agenda focuses upon stratification; politics; social problems; and collective behavior. His research agenda centers the role of racial politics in: parties; power; public debates; mass media; collective action; and social interactions. His work

has appeared in *Social Currents*, *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Sociological Inquiry*, and *Deviant Behavior*. His dissertation research examines how the participants of a progressive grassroots party in the Northeast engage with issues of racial and political inequality through their identities, habits, and political strategies. It is a multisite ethnographic case study concurrent with the 2016 election. The project sheds light on possibilities and barriers for equitable and inclusive forms of grassroots democracy and advances new understandings of racial politics grounded in everyday social life. His first book, *Debating the Drug War: Race, Politics, and the Media*, is forthcoming with Routledge Press. It investigates mass and digital media in the debate over drug policy and demonstrates the influence of political ideologies and identities, the omission of racial justice concerns, the use of implicit racial meanings, and identity construction through racial discourse.

Name: Joseph Sterphone

Affiliation: University of California, Santa Barbara

Research Interests: Race and racism, political sociology, ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, national memory, nationhood and nationalism, comparative historical sociology

Joseph Sterphone is a PhD candidate at the University of California, Santa Barbara and will be a visiting Fulbright Fellow at Universität Bielefeld during the 2019-20 academic year. His dissertation explores the co-constitution of race and nation in contemporary Germany, asking if and how race matters for understandings of German nationhood in everyday interactions in mainstream German society. Moreover, he studies how Germans maintain their belief in a Germany that is a “space free of race” while nevertheless contending with a range of ways in which membership in racial categories is potentially consequential. His dissertation research employs conversation analytic and ethnomethodologically-informed discourse-historical methods to understand the ways in which everyday members (re)produce German and white as overlapping categories. As an extension of his interest in how participants manage employing potentially sanctionable categories in interaction, he also conducts research on conflict, norm orientations, and category-relevance among players of historical war games. His research has been published in *Populist Nationalism in Europe and the Americas*, *EC Psychology and Psychiatry*, and *Aggression and Violent Behavior*.



Name: Gülay Türkmen

Affiliation: University of Goettingen, Institute of Sociology

Website: <https://www.gulayturkmen.com/>

Research interests: Political sociology, culture, religion, comparative and historical sociology, social theory

Gülay Türkmen is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Goettingen's Institute of Sociology. She is a comparative-historical and cultural sociologist with research interests that stand at the intersection of religion and politics. Her work examines how certain historical, cultural and political developments inform questions of belonging and identity-formation in multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies. Under that rubric, her research focuses on how religious, ethnic and national identities intersect, intertwine and compete with each other, especially in Muslim communities in the Middle East and in Europe. She also conducts research on cultural politics of nationalism and national identity formation through a comparative-historical lens. She mainly employs qualitative methods, such as interviews, ethnography, and archival research. She has published in several academic outlets including the *Annual Review of Sociology*, *Qualitative Sociology*, *Sociological Quarterly*, and *Nations and Nationalism*. In addition to academic publications she occasionally writes opinion pieces for non-academic and semi-academic outlets.



Name: Luis Antonio Vila-Henninger

Affiliation: Université Catholique de Louvain

Website: <https://uclouvain.be/fr/repertoires/Luis.Vila>

Research Interests: Political legitimacy, legitimation, voter reasoning, direct democracy, political values, political socialization, partisanship

Luis Antonio Vila-Henninger holds a PhD in Sociology from the University of Arizona. He is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow for the European Research Council Starting Grant Qualidem at the Université Catholique de Louvain (Belgium). His dissertation data are based on semi-structured interviews with respondents about legitimation of economic ballot measures and American presidential vote choice. He has used these data to publish on voters' ideological legitimation and moral economy. Luis is currently using his dissertation data to investigate how voter legitimation is structured by partisanship and economic incentives—as well as how such legitimation draws upon political values and economic ideologies. Luis' work with Qualidem focuses on the qualitative reanalysis of data relevant to understanding the evolution of citizens' connections to national and supranational political systems since the Maastricht Treaty in Western Europe—using

the US as a counter point. Within this project, Luis has developed operationalizations of neoliberal socialization, moral economy, and political judgments of trust and fairness. Luis' research areas include political sociology, economic sociology, the sociology of culture, criminology, and sociological theory. His work has appeared in *The Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *Sociology Compass*, *Sociological Perspectives*, *The Sociological Quarterly*, and *Sociological Inquiry*.

Name: Tony Huiquan Zhang

Affiliation: St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan

Website: <https://huiquan.weebly.com>

Research Interests: Public Opinion, Social Movements, Chinese Politics

Tony Huiquan Zhang is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the St. Thomas More College federated with the University of Saskatchewan. His research interests include public opinion, social movements and politics in China. His works have appeared in *British Journal of Sociology*, *Chinese Sociological Review*, *Sociological Forum*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, and *Weather, Climate and Society*.



Name: Yongjun Zhang

Affiliation: University of Arizona

Website: yongjunzhang.com

Research Interests: Political sociology, organizational behavior, social movements, social inequality, and computational methods

Yongjun Zhang is a sociology PhD candidate at the University of Arizona using computational and quantitative methods to study the sources, dynamics, and consequences of political and organizational change. His dissertation focuses on shareholder activism that seeks to improve corporate political transparency and accountability in the United States after 2000. Other ongoing work examines the policy impact of social movement organizations and social scientists before Congress. His work has been (will be) published in *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *Demography*, *Poetics*, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, and *American Journal of Sociology*.