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**Exclusive Interview with Marco Garrido**
Co-winner of the 2020 GATS best book award

**Research Features**
Insight from GATS members about how Bourdieu informs global sociological analysis!

**ASA Info**
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Dear GATS section members,

It has been my pleasure to serve as co-editor of the GATS newsletter since 2019. Dialogues with essayists and section chairs over the past six issues have been stimulating and edifying. I thank Aarushi Bhandari, the former newsletter editor now at Davidson College, for her guidance.

As I enter the job market, however, it is time for me to step down and focus on the search. Already I have taken a background role this semester and Jess Kim has stepped up to practical leadership. Unquestionably her graphic design skills have given the journal a fresh and engaging look far beyond my abilities! I hope you will continue to find some gems in this semester’s issue.

-Alex

Jessica Kim, Stony Brook University

Dear Section Members,

Wow! Another semester has come and gone and our newsletter is hot off the press. Yet this also marks another transition: Alex’s last edition as editor. I wish Alex the best of luck in all of his future endeavors. Many heartfelt thanks for your support over the last few years.

This newsletter also comes out approximately one year since we first discussed the global effects of COVID-19 as a section (Spring 2020). In recognition of this, we feature three pieces highlighting members’ published research on COVID-19. We also feature an interview with one of our book award winners, and a riveting theoretical engagement with Bourdieu. Regardless of substantive interest area, this edition is sure to delight!

Finally, I wish you all the best as things begin to return to “normal,” and stand in solidarity as we work to challenge the reinstatement of status-quo structures which perpetuate inequalities and injustices.

-Jess
ANNOUNCEMENTS
Section Election Results

GATS is very excited to announce results of our 2021 election. Congratulations to the incoming leadership team and many thanks to all who agreed to run. Your service is much appreciated. Welcome and good luck to our new officers!

**Chair-Elect (1-year term begins in 2021):**
- Claire Decoteau, University of Illinois in Chicago

**At Large Council Member (3-year term begins in 2021):**
- Ricarda Hammer, University of Michigan
- Mohammed Bamyeh, University of Pittsburgh

**Council Member, Student (1-year term begins in 2021):**
- Nabila Islam, Brown University

**Secretary/Treasurer (3-year term begins in 2021):**
- Ghassan Moussawi, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Call for Newsletter Editor

With Alex stepping down this year to focus on his job market applications (best of luck Alex!), we are in need of a new co-editor to take his place. This is a great service opportunity for anyone looking to be more active in the section. Graduate students interested in joining Jess should send an email to jessica.a.kim@stonybrook.edu.
Don’t Miss Out on ASA!

The Virtual Annual will be held from August 6 to August 10, 2021. Programming hours will run 8:00 a.m. – 4:30 p.m. Pacific/11:00 a.m. – 7:30 p.m. Eastern. Programming on August 6 will feature preconferences and courses, the 2020 ASA Awards Presentation, Student Forum Roundtables, and the opening plenary session.

Paper Sessions

▶ “The World and Africa” Today: Building on Du Bois’s Pan-Africanist Challenge to Sociology

When: Saturday, August 7  
Where: VAM, Room 16, 2:30-3:55pm  
Session Organizer: Luisa Farah Schwartzman, University of Toronto  
Presider: Luisa Farah Schwartzman, University of Toronto  
Papers:  
• Violation at the Edge of Representation: DuBois and the Roots of Cameroon's Hidden War - Semassa Boko, UC Irvine  
• Remembering and Forgetting the Kongos of Santiago de Cuba - Alexandra Pauline Gelbard, Florida International University  
Discussant: Alexandre White, Johns Hopkins University
Doing Decolonial Theory in the North vs. the South

When: Sunday, August 8  
Where: VAM, Room 14, 11:00am–12:25pm  
Session Organizer: Caroline M. Schoepf, Hong Kong Baptist University  
Presider: Caroline M. Schoepf, Hong Kong Baptist University  
Papers:
- A Subaltern Gaze on White Ignorance and (In) Security - Fatima Waqi Sajjad, University of Management and Technology Lahore  
- A Decolonial Reflection on Human Migration and Mobility under the Impact of "Colonizer-Linked Climate Crisis" - Barış Can Sever, Middle East Technical University  
- Global North vs. Local South in Domestic Work Scholarship - Erynn Masi de Casanova, American Sociological Association  
- Obstacles for Decolonising Knowledge in Sociology & Potentialities for Change - Siri Gamage  
Discussant: Alexandre White, Johns Hopkins University

Open Topic: The Making of the Global

When: Sunday, August 8  
Where: VAM, Room 14, 12:45-2:10pm  
Session Organizer: Ching Kwan Lee, University of California-Los Angeles  
Presider: Aaron Benanav, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin  
Papers:
- A Global Racism Approach: Islamophobia - Michelle Marie Christian, University of Tennessee-Knoxville; Steve Garner, Cardiff University, UK  
- Going global: Securing union inclusion in national supply chain labor governance initiatives - Sarah Ashwin, London School of Economics; Nora Lohmeyer, Radboud University; Niklas Egels-Zandén, University of Gothenburg; Rachel Alexander, Copenhagen Business School  
- Professional Arbitrage and Imperial Pathways: The Rise of Offshore Finance - Brooke Harrington, Dartmouth College; Leonard Seabrooke, Copenhagen Business School  
- The Strengths and Limits of Neoliberal Populism: The Developmentalism and Mass Organization of Rightwing Regimes - Cihan Ziya Tugal, University of California, Berkeley
Sociology in and from Africa: The Epistemic Challenge

When: Sunday, August 8
Where: VAM, Room 14, 4:15-5:40 pm
Session Organizer: Zine Magubane, Boston College
Presider: Zine Magubane, Boston College
Papers:
- Reconnecting African Sociology to the Mother: Towards a Woman-Centered Endogenous Sociology in South Africa - Babalwa Magoqwana, Nelson Mandela University
- Endogeneity and Modern Sociology in Africa - Jimi O. Adesina, University of South Africa
- Reimagining Every One African as Emancipatory Logic of American Sociology - John Stanfield, University of Mauritius
Discussant: Grace Khunou
▶ Work, Class, and Identity in Emerging Global Cities

**When:** Sunday, August 8  
**Where:** VAM, Room 46, 3:00-3:55pm  
**Session Organizer:** Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas–Austin  
**Presider:** Tiffany Jordan Chuang May, University of Michigan  
**Papers:**
- Double Consciousness between the Local and the Global: Istanbul’s Professionals at Work and in Leisure - Gamze Evcimen, Kalamazoo College  
- Singaporean Heartland or Bohemian Neighborhood? State Strategies of Nation-Building in the “Global City” Era - Tiffany Jordan Chuang May, University of Michigan  
- The Emergence of the Transnational Middle Class in Turkey - Mustafa Yavas, New York University-Abu Dhabi

▶ Global Institutions

**When:** Sunday, August 8  
**Where:** VAM, Room 47, 3:00-3:55pm  
**Session Organizer:** Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas–Austin  
**Presider:** Gru Han, Harvard University  
**Papers:**
- Bureaucratic Reform in Global Context: Decentralization to Subnational Governments in 130 Countries, 1970-2014 - Aaron W. Tester, University of California–Irvine  
- Cyber Power: Measuring Capabilities and Intent in Cyberspace - Anina Schwarzenbach, University of Maryland-College Park  
- The Interplay between Network and Institution: Intergovernmental Network and Antitrust and Merger Laws on Cross-border Acquisitions - Gru Han, Harvard University

▶ Culture and Identity Formation

**When:** Sunday, August 8  
**Where:** VAM, Room 48, 3:00-3:55pm  
**Session Organizer:** Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas–Austin  
**Presider:** Despina Lalaki, CUNY The New York City College of Technology
Papers:
- “My Mom is Shanghainese Too!” Language criticism, social exclusion, and the ambiguity of local identity - Fang Xu, University of California-Berkeley
- The French Yellow Vests Movement and the Visual Orders of Class - Eeva Luhtakallio, University of Helsinki; Karine CLEMENT, CNRS
- Trans-Atlantic Archaeological Networks and the Cultural Origins of Greek Political Identity - Despina Lalaki, CUNY The New York City College of Technology

Education and Institutions
*When:* Sunday, August 8  
*Where:* VAM, Room 49, 3:00-3:55pm
*Session Organizer:* Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas-Austin  
*Presider:* Kriti Budhiraja, University of Minnesota  
*Papers:*
- Becoming a desirable Fulbright applicant" -- Global mobility strategy through the Fulbright machinery - Shunan You, Northeastern University
- How students mobilize sociality to navigate inequality at the university: An ethnography of Delhi University - Kriti Budhiraja, University of Minnesota

The Individual and Society
*When:* Sunday, August 8  
*Where:* VAM, Room 50, 3:00-3:55pm  
*Session Organizer:* Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas-Austin  
*Presider:* Eric C. Dahlin, Brigham Young University-Provo  
*Papers:*
- Don’t YOU be my neighbor! Perceptions of Homosexuality in Global and Cross-Cultural Perspective - Claudia Geist, University of Utah; Wade M. Cole, University of Utah
- The Constitutionalization of Human Rights - Kristen Shorette, Stony Brook University; Colin J. Beck, Pomona College; John W. Meyer, Stanford University; Gili S. Drori, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- World Society and Organizational and Individual Actorhood - Eric C. Dahlin, Brigham Young University-Provo

Migration and Transnationalism
*When:* Sunday, August 8
Where: VAM, Room 51, 3:00-3:55pm  
Session Organizer: Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas–Austin  
Presider: Kristina Marie Fullerton, University of Wisconsin–Madison  

Papers:  
- Committing to Abolition: A Decolonial, Anti-Imperial Framework for Asian Diaspora Studies - Harleen Kaur, UCLA; Victoria Tran, University of California, Los Angeles  
- Diaspora Homecoming Events, Development, and Decolonization: The Okinawan Case of the Worldwide Uchinanchu Festival - Jane H. Yamashiro, Mills College  
- Micro Globalization: Methodological Consideration - Jiaming Sun, Texas A & M University-Commerce  
- “The Price We Pay”: Mexican Immigrants, Transnational Mourning, and Transforming Disenfranchised Grief - Kristina Marie Fullerton, University of Wisconsin–Madison

Citizenship and Migration  
When: Sunday, August 8  
Where: VAM, Room 52, 3:00-3:55pm  
Session Organizer: Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas–Austin  
Presider: Marta Panighel, University of Genoa  

Papers:  
- Citizenship as a caste marker: How persons experience crossnational inequality - Ana Veli-tchkova, University of Mississippi  
- Citizenship Borders: A Postcolonial Perspective on New Muslim Generations in Italy - Marta Panighel, University of Genoa  
- Lifestyle Migration: Studying Coloniality in North-South Migration - Matthew F. Hayes, St. Thomas University, Fredericton, Canada  
- Transnational marriages: A test of competing explanations - Inbar Weiss, University of Texas at Austin

Organizations  
When: Sunday, August 8  
Where: VAM, Room 53, 3:00-3:55pm  
Session Organizer: Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas–Austin  
Presider: Thomas John Fewer, Drexel University  

Papers:  
- Free space in cold war collaboration between NASA and the Soviet Space Program - Dali Ma, Drexel University; Thomas John Fewer, Drexel University  
- Hybridizations of Precision Medi-
- Hybridizations of Precision Medicine in Contemporary China - Larry Au, Columbia University
- The Civilizing Mission Persists: Racism and Justification for U.S. Intervention into Socialist Venezuela - Timothy M. Gill, University of Tennessee-Knoxville
- Table 10: Labor (Movements) and W Citizenship Borders: A Postcolonial Perspective on New Muslim Generations in Italy - Marta Panighel, University of Genoa

**Labor (Movements) and Work**

*When:* Sunday, August 8  
*Where:* VAM, Room 55, 3:00-3:55pm  
*Session Organizer:* Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas-Austin  
*Presider:* Rwiti Roy, Florida State University  
*Papers:*  
- Robots and Protest: Does Increased Protest Among Chinese Workers Result in More Automation? - L. Larry Liu, Princeton University; Han Zhang, The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology  
- Solidarismo: the effectiveness of solidarity in labour representation within the Costa Rican pineapple industry - Afshan Golriz  
- Tale of Two Labor Movements: Extending Political Opportunity Theory By Taking it South - Rwiti Roy, Florida State University; Paromita Sanyal, Florida State University  
- The ILO and the future of work: the politics of global labour policy - Vicente Silva, university of edinburgh  
- What Salience Does White Privilege Have in Non-Diverse Societies? - Reza Hasmath, University of Alberta
Research Clusters

▶ Arts, Culture, and Religion
When: Sunday, August 8
Where: VAM, Room 56, 3:00-3:55pm
Session Organizer: Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas-Austin
Presider: Kangsan Lee, New York University

▶ Empire and its Legacies
When: Sunday, August 8
Where: VAM, Room 57, 3:00-3:55pm
Session Organizer: Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas-Austin
Presider: Ricarda Hammer, Brown University

▶ Gender and Sexuality
When: Sunday, August 8
Where: VAM, Room 58, 3:00-3:55pm
Session Organizer: Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas-Austin
Presider: Reya Farber, William & Mary

▶ Global Environmental and Climate Crisis
When: Sunday, August 8
Where: VAM, Room 59, 3:00-3:55pm
Session Organizer: Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas-Austin
Presider: John Foran, University of California-Santa Barbara

▶ Global Populism
When: Sunday, August 8
Where: VAM, Room 60, 3:00-3:55pm
Session Organizer: Zachary Levenson, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Presider: Sefika Kumral, University of North Carolina-Greensboro
Events

▶ Business Meeting
When: Sunday, August 8
Where: Room 67, 2:30-3:00pm

▶ CTS-GTS Mentoring Event
When: Friday, August 6, 3-5pm EDT (2-4pm CDT)
Where: Zoom, TBD

Faculty and Students Register Now for the CHS-GTS Mentoring Event!!

At this year’s ASA meeting, the Comparative Historical and Global & Transnational sections are teaming up once again to host a Graduate Student and Postdoc Mentoring Event. The event will take place remotely on Friday, August 6 from 3-5pm EDT (2-4pm CDT). This event is designed as a space for graduate students and postdocs to connect with faculty who share similar research interests. Participants gather in small groups during the event with the goal to strengthen the sections’ intellectual networks and further professional development for students. Following last year’s virtual format, topical groups will gather on Zoom and then mentoring groups will enter into breakout rooms. If you would like to participate as a student or mentor, please register with this form by Friday, July 23 so that the organizing team (Berfu Aygenc, Amanda Ball, Mary Shi, Anna Wozny, and Andrea Zhu) can start planning mentorship groups based on interest areas.

Register Here!
BOOK AWARD FEATURE
The Patchwork City: Class, Space, and Politics in Metro Manila

An Interview with Marco Garrido, by Sneha Annavarapu
Abstract: In contemporary Manila, slums and squatter settlements are peppered throughout the city, often pushing right up against the walled enclaves of the privileged, creating the complex geopolitical pattern of Marco Z. Garrido’s “patchwork city.” Garrido documents the fragmentation of Manila into a mélange of spaces defined by class, particularly slums and upper- and middle-class enclaves. He then looks beyond urban fragmentation to delineate its effects on class relations and politics, arguing that the proliferation of these slums and enclaves and their subsequent proximity have intensified class relations. For enclave residents, the proximity of slums is a source of insecurity, compelling them to impose spatial boundaries on slum residents. For slum residents, the regular imposition of these boundaries creates a pervasive sense of discrimination. Class boundaries then sharpen along the housing divide, and the urban poor and middle class emerge not as labor and capital but as squatters and “villagers,” Manila’s name for subdivision residents. Garrido further examines the politicization of this divide with the case of the populist president Joseph Estrada, finding the two sides drawn into contention over not just the right to the city, but the nature of democracy itself.

The Patchwork City illuminates how segregation, class relations, and democracy are all intensely connected. It makes clear, ultimately, that class as a social structure is as indispensable to the study of Manila—and of many other cities of the Global South—as race is to the study of American cities.
M: After college, I spent several years in Manila working as a journalist and for various NGOs. I was in the country when Edsa 3—the heavily urban poor demonstrations in support of the deposed populist president Joseph Estrada, an event that figures centrally in the book—happened. In fact, I remember stepping out of a mall, blinded by the sun, to the sight of thousands of protestors running through the streets. They had marched to the presidential palace earlier that day and been repulsed by the police and military. I wondered why they supported a president whom everyone around me regarded as bad, even despicable. My aunt and uncle, friends, and all the newspapers were calling the demonstrators dumb and duped. A lot of these people lived in the slum areas nearby us. I was struck by how politically divided Manila was along spatial lines. It seemed that both Estrada’s strongest supporters and opponents came from Manila but from different spaces, urban poor slums and middle-class enclaves.

In graduate school, I decided to pursue this question of political polarization. At first, I conceived the project in terms of the scholarship on social movements, with a focus on Edsa 3. Eventually—and this happened later in the course of fieldwork—I realized that I had to take into account how the city itself had changed, its peculiar form of segregation, the proximity of slums and enclaves as a general pattern. I went into slum areas asking residents why they supported Estrada. They would say things like, “he helps us” or “he’s done so much for us,” which I knew to not be true. The more I probed, the more I would hear them tell stories of being discriminated against because of where they lived. Oftentimes, they would experience discrimination at the hands of their neighbors living in middle-class subdivisions. They would be barred from passing through the enclave or accessing the resources inside it (church or commercial services, for instance). When they were allowed inside, they would be disfigured as criminals and treated as if they were unclean. These experiences were common and shaped their sense of class identity. It was an identity based not just on their relative poverty but on their residence in stigmatized spaces. I began to understand why Estrada appealed to them despite the fact that, objectively speaking, he had been bad for them during his tenure as president. As they saw it, he treated them in a way that negated their stigma. They recounted stories of Estrada visiting slum areas, eating with his hands, and distributing groceries to slum areas on his birthday. These stories had spread like wildfire across the network of slums in Manila. They presented a picture of a politician who actually cared for them.

It became clear to me that if I wanted to understand the political views of slum dwellers, I had to take their segregation into account. I began the project as a political sociologist but had to become an urban sociologist in the process. I collected spatial data and started mapping the configuration of slums and enclaves across the metro. I tracked the growth of these spaces over time and situated this growth in the context of the country’s economic restructuring.

“I began the project as a political sociologist but had to become an urban sociologist in the process. I collected spatial data and started mapping the configuration of slums and enclaves across the metro. I tracked the growth of these spaces over time and situated this growth in the context of the country’s economic restructuring.”
it), the second part on relations between slum and enclave residents and how their everyday interactions clarify a class boundary, the third part on how slum and enclave residents view Estrada and politics generally, and the fourth part on the collision of these views in Edsa 3. It took some time, but, finally, I was able to see how these parts were connected. I make the argument that the proximity of slums and enclaves has led to greater opportunities for unequal interaction between the residents of these spaces, thus solidifying a sense of themselves as groups-in-opposition and conditioning their differential reception of Estrada.

Second, the notion of interspersion allows me to connect spatial form with social action—they’re really inextricable—and then to make the case that this action shaped the political dispositions of slum and enclave residents. For instance, with respect to slum residents specifically, I argue that interspersion makes an experience of boundary imposition more salient and thus heightens their sensitivity to discrimination. This is an important part of the reason they responded so strongly to Estrada. He did so little for them materially but his political performance, as distinguished by the demonstration of care for them, had the effect of negating their stigma as squatters and poor people.

M: The idea behind interspersion is that the groups in question, slum and enclave residents in my case, generally live close together and yet preserve their social distance. They’re not separated by physical distance, and they’re not socially integrated because of proximity. They draw sharp boundaries distinguishing their respective spaces— or, more precisely, enclave residents routinely impose spatial boundaries on slum residents. They keep them out of their own spaces, or when admitted into their spaces, they circumscribe their movements. For example, slum residents may be allowed inside an otherwise exclusive subdivision for work, mass, charity (for a food drive or free eye exams), or an event like, say, Halloween, but they’re confined to certain areas and their presence is policed. The notion is important for a couple of reasons. First, it describes a form of segregation that’s not defined by distance or separation in space. Quite the opposite: the situation is one of proximity and sharp social boundaries. It’s because proximity is felt to be unbearable that the boundaries are so sharply drawn. This is the pattern I see in Manila, and I believe it applies to several other cities in the Global South as well. “Interspersion” is a way of capturing an emergent pattern associated with the neoliberal restructuring of these cities in the 1990s and 2000s.

M: I just ended up collecting so much spatial and administrative data in the course of my research. I organized these data and worked them up into, say, maps showing the scale and spread of informal settlers in each neighborhood for every one of Metro Manila’s 16 cities and one municipality. I couldn’t feature all of these data in the book, and I felt that it would have been a waste to simply let them grow obsolete in my file cabinet. I needed a place to park them all, hence

S: The book tells a story about class conflict in Metro Manila through the lens of spatial politics. A central concept you introduce in your book is "interspersion". I invite you to tell us a little more about why interspersion is so key to understanding the crux of your argument.

S: Can you tell us a little bit about the Patchwork City archive, the addendum to your book? What is this and why did you decide to create this archive?

M: The idea behind interspersion is that the groups in question, slum and enclave residents in my case, generally live close together and yet preserve their social distance. They’re not separated by physical distance, and they’re not socially integrated because of proximity. They draw sharp boundaries distinguishing their respective spaces— or, more precisely, enclave residents routinely impose spatial boundaries on slum residents. They keep them out of their own spaces, or when admitted into their spaces, they circumscribe their movements. For example, slum residents may be allowed inside an otherwise exclusive subdivision for work, mass, charity (for a food drive or free eye exams), or an event like, say, Halloween, but they’re confined to certain areas and their presence is policed. The notion is important for a couple of reasons. First, it describes a form of segregation that’s not defined by distance or separation in space. Quite the opposite: the situation is one of proximity and sharp social boundaries. It’s because proximity is felt to be unbearable that the boundaries are so sharply drawn. This is the pattern I see in Manila, and I believe it applies to several other cities in the Global South as well. “Interspersion” is a way of capturing an emergent pattern associated with the neoliberal restructuring of these cities in the 1990s and 2000s.

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the online archive: https://patchworkcityarchive.com/. Hopefully, readers will find the data and photos interesting and other researchers find them useful somehow.

My new project is on the experience of democracy in the Philippines in the last thirty years and how it has changed. I’m trying to root the illiberal turn manifest in the election of presidential strongman Rodrigo Duterte in an experience of democracy as “disorder.” (I expand on this point in recently published pieces in Social Forces and Qualitative Sociology). I was hoping to begin fieldwork this summer but have had to delay my plans because of the pandemic. I’m still hoping to be in the Philippines in time for the presidential election in May. The delay is frustrating, but it has allowed me to work on other projects, including one on corruption and another on landlessness in Cambodia. So I’ve been productive but not in the way I expected or planned for. Who am I to complain, though?

Marco’s book is now available from Oxford University Press.

S: What are you working on currently, and how has the pandemic shaped your ongoing research?

Be sure to check out Marco’s Patchwork City FREE online archive containing spatial and administrative data and graphics which informed this project at:
https://patchworkcityarchive.com/
1. ENGAGING THEORY:
GLOBALIZING BOURDIEU

Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, was a renowned sociological theorist, perhaps best known for introducing novel concepts to the discipline, such as habitus, the field, and symbolic violence. Featured here are two pieces based on recent member publications utilizing a Bourdieusian framework to analyze global phenomenon.

We first hear from Besnik Pula, who discusses the centrality of phenomenology to Bourdieu’s sociology and its relevant to global sociology. We then turn to Yueran Zhang, who sheds light on the CCP’s “Chongqing Model” of populism using Bourdieusian concepts.

Be sure to check out their full publications!


By now it is virtually commonplace knowledge among sociologists that Pierre Bourdieu’s intellectual project was deeply shaped by phenomenology. Yet, as anthropologists Throop and Murphy (2002) documented extensively in a critical article, in his written work Bourdieu never fully admitted the importance of the phenomenological tradition to his own practice of sociology. When speaking of phenomenology, Bourdieu is often dismissive. At other times his statements misrepresent the aims and contents of the phenomenological project. In a series of two articles (Pula 2020, 2021) and in ongoing research, I engage phenomenology in substantive ways with Bourdieu’s sociology, and highlight the continued relevance of phenomenology to sociology. In the first, I argue why a phenomenological reading can aid in a critical reconstruction of one of Bourdieu’s signature concepts, that of habitus. In the other, I historicize and contextualize phenomenology’s impact on sociological theory, by distinguishing three phenomenological traditions and characterizing their relationship with social theory. In this short piece, I wish to extend the latter argument to point ways in which phenomenology can aid the conduct and practice of global sociology.

In any discussion of phenomenology and Bourdieu, attention to habitus seems justified by the fact that it is arguably the most phenomenological of the entirety of Bourdieu’s battery of concepts. Famously, Bourdieu (1990, and elsewhere) offers habitus as a means of overcoming the structure/agency dualism of classical sociological theory. It accomplishes this goal by incorporating the agency of actors in the form of embodied dispositions (rather than of “will” or “action”), while simultaneously defining habitus as the generative basis of social structure. While Bourdieu’s conception seems to resolve the structure/agency dualism, it introduces, as countless critics have argued, other problems. If habitus indeed reflects deeply embodied dispositions, such that (as Bourdieu at times suggests) they evade even the reflective grasp of actors, it would appear that the actor is engulfed by habitus not only in observable patterns of behavior, but in the totality of their personal self-knowledge and existential being. Another problem is the mode Bourdieu conceives habitus as the internalization of external (objective) structures. For this point, Bourdieu relies heavily on the classic work of Durkheim and Mauss, who develop a correspondence theory of social structures and mental structures in...
which the latter is argued to originate in the former.

There are clear phenomenological underpinnings to Bourdieu’s habitus. Edmund Husserl, the founder of modern phenomenology, made formidable and lasting interventions in philosophy that exploded notions of the Cartesian mind/body dualism, Kantian transcendentalism, and the tradition of psychology which Husserl traced back to Locke and through its scientific variants in modern empirical psychology. Husserl instead emphasized embodiment, and examined reality in its dual existence as objective and as mental representation emergent in the temporal unfolding of structures of consciousness. This resulted in distinct insights, such as the role of unthought (habitual) and pragmatic knowledge in everyday behavior. Even the term habitus was employed by Husserl in this context.

Bourdieu selectively adopted some of Husserl’s insights, but his total sociologization of habitus and subjectivity results in a position that stands far from the phenomenological position on the actor’s relationship to the world. That position is best expressed by another twentieth century phenomenologist, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, who argued that human behavior, reliant on the sui generis structures of consciousness, cannot be reduced to an analogous effect of external determinations. Here, however, it would seem that phenomenology results in extreme subjectivism – and in one variant, such as the existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre, it does. Indeed, Bourdieu often targets Sartre to denounce phenomenology as subjectivist. But neither Sartre, nor the hermeneutical tradition developed by Martin Heidegger, are the sole traditions of phenomenology on offer. In attacking his targets and in his own theoretical construction, Bourdieu unfortunately elides the very deep engagement between phenomenology and sociology, and the effort undertaken in particular by Alfred Schutz.

**Phenomenology’s contributions to sociology**

An earnest examination of Schutz’s pioneering work illustrates that the history of engagements between phenomenology and sociology runs deep. In the case of Schutz (1967[1932]), he applied phenomenological methods towards fundamental theoretical, epistemological, and methodological problems of Max Weber’s interpretive sociology. His goal was to develop a scientific grounding for social science. Unlike the philosophical concerns of the existential and hermeneutical offshoots of phenomenology (in the work of Heidegger, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, etc.), Schutzian social phenomenology had a narrower and more sustained concern. The motivating problem for Schutz was addressing the problem of social reality, in its apparently dual status as a subjective reality that one experiences and is oriented towards mundanely, and as an objective set of structures that transcend any particular individual existence and which the social scientist tasks herself with identifying and characterizing in a systematic fashion. The epistemological problem of social science, as Schutz saw it, was that the task of objective sociological description was a purely conjectural exercise without engagement with social reality as subjectively and meaningfully experienced by living social actors. There is thus a peculiar co-dependence between the “ordinary” meaning of actors’ lived reality, and the scientific descriptions social scientists construct. The historical im-
pact of Schutz’s work on the development of social constructivism and ethnomethodology are largely known, as are the latter’s impact on offshoots such as neo-institutionalism. As such, several American sociological traditions already incorporate many elements of the Schutzian phenomenological legacy.

But simply highlighting social phenomenology’s historical role in the development of sociological theory is insufficient. By engaging in earnest with the work of Schutz, my goal is to recover the ontological and epistemological insights for sociology that Schutz generated in his extensive phenomenological studies. This entails understanding the relationship between objectified (social) structures and embodiment, premised upon the recognition of the distinct ontological status of intersubjectivity and subjective (embodied) structures of consciousness. This is different both from a traditional conception that describes structure as a constraint on personal agency, as well as one (like Bourdieu’s) that rolls personal agency and social structure into a single construct. Contra Sartre, a phenomenologically-heimian structuralism). Neither is external reality a mere outward projection of internal mental states, through which all reality (including social reality) can be reduced to the operation of cognitive functions (as in certain variants of cognitive and constructivist sociology). Instead, Husserl describes the genesis of subjective knowledge as one following the principles of transcendental logic. Knowledge of the world is constituted by acts of meaning, with the result being deeply embodied (un- and pre-conscious) systems of taken-for-granted presuppositions about the world. Schutz explores the implications of this insight for social reality, in which social reality is not conceived as an external, static object that actors confront subjectively, but as an interactive sphere of shared experiences, objects and schemes of interpretation formed in the “we-

“Phenomenological investigation is a critical method for investigating embodied but socially marginal experiences of world society, such as those of migration and labor in globalized production, organized “ethnic” conflict, systemic inequalities of gender and race, the socially and geographically uneven experiences of environmental degradation and collapse, and other social fields where conventional forms of macro-sociological description fail.”
relationship” between ego and alter. Neither socially nor mentally reductive, the social phenomenological position holds the view of the co-original nature of objective and intersubjective reality. This is but one among many other important insights and implications.

What does phenomenology offer to global sociology?

Clearly, these broad insights are especially pertinent to global and transnational sociology. Phenomenological investigation is a critical method for investigating embodied but socially marginal experiences of world society, such as those of migration and labor in globalized production, organized “ethnic” conflict, systemic inequalities of gender and race, the socially and geographically uneven experiences of environmental degradation and collapse, and other social fields where conventional forms of macro-sociological description fail. It is also the only effective method of exposing underlying presuppositions that structure social reality (a task that, in spite of advertisements to the contrary, sociology alone is unsuited for).

Phenomenology is thus indispensable for critical social analysis. But phenomenology can also inform the practice of a planetary project of social science, grounding that project not on any given set of canonical authors or methodologies, or any particular set of social problems, but on the understanding of the essential relationship between universal features of human consciousness, structures of meaning, and lived experiences of historical lifeworlds. At the very least, phenomenology makes these domains amenable to descriptive study in a manner in which no one, not even the social scientist, can claim extraordinary privilege.

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Between 2007 and 2012, Chongqing, a city in China’s southwest, attracted nationwide attention. Under the leadership of Bo Xilai, the municipal secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Chongqing’s municipal government engaged in a set of extraordinary political practices, commonly known as the “Chongqing Model”. At the heart of this “Model” was a project of mass mobilization that drew the masses into believing an ideological vision that identified the municipal government, and especially a charismatic state leader, as the champion of the “people”. The ideological message of economic egalitarianism, directed against Chongqing’s wealthy elite, played a prominent role, but it alone was not enough to cultivate a sense of collective identity between the “people” and the state. Also necessary were concrete mobilizational measures to organize the masses to actively participate in various political activities. Through mobilized participation, the Chongqing Model sought to shape citizens into political subjects who identified with the state.

For example, the municipal government regularly organized, or encouraged people to self-organize, large public assemblies in which thousands gathered to sing classic “red” songs of the Maoist era. Whether such participation was voluntary or not, the very experience of participating in a massive spectacle professing support for the state was itself instrumental in cultivating a sense of political identity and loyalty (Wedeen 1999). The government also launched a high-profile “Striking Black” campaign to prosecute the city’s entrenched local elite in the name of cracking down on “black” gangsters. In tandem with the campaign were a series of efforts to mobilize ordinary citizens to celebrate the campaign’s “victories” by putting up street banners, lighting firecrackers and marching. In 2011, Chongqing’s municipal government enacted a wealth tax on private homeownership, imposed exclusively on the richest homeowners. Though the amount of money actually collected through the tax was negligible, government officials took great care to use highly visible and confrontational methods to collect the tax, ensuring that ordinary citizens saw “the government was on their side”, and even called on the masses to join tax collection drives.

If we follow Hetland (2014) to define as “populist” top-down mobilization of broad
popular sectors in the name of the “people”, the mass-mobilization project in Chongqing clearly had a populist flavor. Whereas instances of populist mobilization identified in the existing scholarship mostly took place in (at least electoral) democracies, the political logic of populist mobilization in non-democracies remains to be understood: why and under what conditions would political figures and state leaders resort to populist mobilization even in the absence of electoral competition?

A research project I have conducted over the past few years, which resulted in a paper published in Theory and Society, helped to address this question by tracing the political process leading to the enactment of the above-mentioned property tax. Many commentators have already characterized the Chongqing Model as Bo’s attempt to strengthen his position in the political competition for China’s highest political offices in the 2012 leadership turnover (for example, Zhao 2012). However, it is not obvious why Bo would take the trouble to launch an all-out mass-mobilization project to compete in China’s elite politics; after all, leadership competition in post-Mao China did not have a visible relationship with popular sentiment.

It is here that the conceptualization of the state as a field of competition, as systematically outlined by Bourdieu (1999, 2015), becomes crucial. Particularly relevant is his insight that the strategy a state actor adopts in the political competition is fundamentally shaped by their location in the field and relative position vis-à-vis other competitors. Revisiting with a Bourdieusian lens the interview data I had collected, I noticed a passage that had been initially overlooked. In this passage, a retired official from the State Administration of Taxation recounted what happened when Chongqing officials reached out to the central fiscal ministries about their proposal to tax private homeownership:

“When Chongqing’s top leadership reached out to us saying they were planning to experiment with the tax.....we were really concerned that, given the fact that Bo had so many enemies within the central leadership, the central leadership might not approve of this plan. Chongqing’s people said Bo was also concerned about this, and this was why they worked so hard in the previous two years to rally lots of support from every corner of the society. If the central leadership did not approve, Bo was ready to use this support to put pressure on them. They said that in the hypothetical worst-case scenario, if the central leadership did not want to approve, they could just announce the plan to the public and demonstrate how popular it would be, so that the central leadership would have no choice but to approve.”

And this is indeed what happened: Chongqing’s govern-
ment publicly announced the initiative and rallied popular support months before receiving approval from the central leadership.

What this evidence suggests is that Bo’s resorting to mass mobilization should be understood as a response to his marginalized position in China’s high-level politics or to the fact, well-known among the elite political circles, that he “had so many enemies”. In 2007, Bo, then the minister of commerce, was assigned to the post of Chongqing’s CCP secretary rather than promoted to a higher position within the central government, in a deliberate move by some top national leaders to thwart Bo’s political ambition and marginalize him politically. Therefore, it makes sense to see Chongqing’s mass-mobilization efforts as an extraordinary yet desperate move by a marginalized politician. Rallying grassroots support was a way for Bo to counter and pressure those forces opposed to him within the political establishment. Riding on popular momentum to disrupt the political establishment’s conventional rules of the game represented Bo’s attempt to find a path forward in a political competition that was stacked against him.

Therefore, even in non-democratic polities where elite political competition does not directly depend on popular sentiment, such competition could still give rise to populist mobilization. Understanding how this happens requires a Bourdieusian analysis to map competitors’ strategies onto field locations.

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2. REFLECTING ON COVID: GLOBAL SOCIOLOGY’S CONTRIBUTION

We first addressed the then-emergent COVID-19 pandemic in our Spring 2020 newsletter. Members proposed insightful considerations for mitigating the global fallout against something we knew little about.

One year later, we invite global sociology to reflect upon the world’s successes and failures in relation to responses and effects. This research feature does just this. What follows here are summaries of three published articles, penned by current GATS members, highlighting their timely and important findings about COVID-19 in the context of global sociology.
Covid-19 and the Plight of the Global South

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The scourge of the global Coronavirus pandemic is now hitting India, making it the new global hotspot. The other two countries next to India in terms of Coronavirus deaths and cases are Brazil and the USA. One of them is, unsurprisingly, a superpower. A significant similarity between the three countries is that three right-wing populist commanders in chief—Donald Trump, Jair Bolsonaro, and Narendra Modi—have brought their country to this level of crisis. However, in this piece, I will pay heed to two Global South countries, India and Bangladesh, country of my origin.

India’s deadly situation has brought the Global South to international attention. Until then, however, few were asking how the world’s poor and the world’s marginalized countries might be able to survive the COVID-19 pandemic. Like many Global South countries, India has been highly vulnerable to this pandemic primarily due to its population size and density and miserable health infrastructure. The same, or even worse, go for Bangladesh, which has 170 million people with a relatively small size (~57 mi²), and its capital, Dhaka, is the world’s most densely populated city. Given that approximately 30 percent of both countries live below the national poverty line, the consequences are likely to be devastating over time. At the beginning of this pandemic, the poor and vulnerable people in the US were denied testing (Twohey 2020), and the virus is disproportionately killing Black Americans in the US (Pirtle 2020). Globally, affluent nations and wealthy folks continue to “focus on saving themselves to the exclusion of international solidarity and medical aid (Davis 2020),” leaving poor countries’ megacities, such as Dhaka and Mumbai, unavoidable sites of death and devastation by the virus.

One doesn’t have to be an infectious disease expert to make such predictions. Yet, the Indian government embraced this pandemic by spreading propaganda of containing it across the country. Additionally, the two countries’ governments did not impose any restrictions on religious and cultural festivals until very recently. What do you expect after pouring combustible ingredients on the fire? It is utterly shocking to see such complacency in a country that has Asia’s largest slum in Mumbai, where approximately 100,000 people live per square mile. Similarly, some slums in Dhaka have about 250,000 per square mile (Deb and Rao 2020). The compounded risk slum residents face is apparent because, in slums, it is almost impossible to enforce social distancing, a primary

“The situation in India is now indescribable—the flames from the funeral pyre have painted a clear picture of India’s health infrastructure.”
guard against the virus. Thus, Arundhati Roy (2020) rightly points out that the pandemic “has illuminated hidden things” in India and Bangladesh. Furthermore, research shows that exposure to environmental contaminants increases the spread of infections, causing people living in poor environmental conditions, such as slums, are more likely to die from Covid-19.

We will never really know how many died in India or Bangladesh — the official account is unquestionably an underestimate. As I was composing this piece, Covid death has become so common in India that several dead bodies, suspected to be of Covid patients, have been found along the Ganges and the Yamuna River banks. Given both countries’ poor health infrastructure, the rising rage of the pandemic will continue to cause death and devastation. To be specific, Bangladesh has only 5,630 hospitals with 58,124 beds and as many as 85,633 registered physicians (BBS 2017). Only 11 percent of these hospitals are run by the government, spending only 3 percent of GDP. The situation in India is now indescribable—the flames from the funeral pyre have painted a clear picture of India’s health infrastructure.

The plight of Global South countries must be tied to the impact of neoliberal global economic policy. A defining factor behind the growth of urban poverty and the displacement of many rural populations in Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean is the vast economic restructuring of these countries, dictated by the IMF and the World Bank. Despite the idealistic rhetoric that has become prominent as the neoliberal projects gathered steam, the quality of life in slums remains abysmal while their populations continue to explode. According to UN-Habitat, the number of people living in slums worldwide increases by 25 million each year. Like in India and Bangladesh, the millions of Brazilians living in favelas or Kenyans living in Nairobi slums are subject to debilitating living conditions that facilitate the community spread of diseases such as Covid-19.

The governments in the developed world must not ignore the plight of poorer nations battling the Coronavirus. More than 70 percent of the global population must be vaccinated, the WHO recommended, to stop Covid-19. In particular, developed countries must share Covid vaccine and supply medical aid to poor countries along with technical expertise, while providing financial assistance in the form of debt reduction of bilateral and multilateral loans. Excluding the Global South from public health efforts would not reduce the risk to the entire global population. Finally, this unprecedented global crisis of our time must compel us to reexamine the order in which the world as a whole is organized. It is worth repeating that the existing global society is unsustainable; we must reimagine the ways in which we understand growth, development, the environment, public health, and poverty and inequality to overcome a pandemic as such.

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Civil Repair and Anti-civil Undercurrents: How will Taiwan’s COVID Success Story Conclude?

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Last spring, my husband and I struggled mightily with the all too familiar burden of pandemic parenting, with both of us teaching full-time on Zoom and helping our students navigate related challenges, while trying to keep our then 6-year old son sane, safe, and at least half-heartedly engaged in on-line kindergarten. From our isolated bubble, I enviously watched my families and friends in Taiwan send their kids to school and dine in restaurants. As some Americans publicly burned facial masks, I marveled at Taiwan’s near 100% compliance rate for its mask mandate. I was equally amazed to follow how Taiwan’s Central Epidemic Command Center (CECC) traced the contact history of every infected patient. As of May 15, 2021, the CDC reported more than 588,000 COVID-related deaths in the U.S.; in contrast, Taiwan had 12 COVID fatalities, for a population of 23 million.

I wanted to know why. How did Taiwan contain the virus for more than a year, without citywide lockdowns, prolonged school closures, or significant curtailment of civil liberties? This quest resulted in “The ‘Societalization’ of pandemic unpreparedness: lessons from Taiwan’s COVID response” (Lo and Hsieh 2020), which reports Taiwan’s civil society mechanisms for consolidating robust pandemic preparedness, with a cautionary note about the ever-present anti-civil undercurrents.

While I was invited by the GATS newsletter to write about Taiwan’s COVID success story, as I began to pen the essay, Taiwan is suddenly confronted with its first wave of community transmission. After reporting 180 new cases on May 15, 2021, the CECC drastically raised its COVID alert, restricting public gatherings and reinforcing rules for social distancing. This development brought to the surface the aforementioned anti-civil undercurrents, making it that much for difficult to predict the next chapter in this story.

“How the pandemic will conclude in Taiwan, I believe, will largely depend on the interactions between its civil society mechanisms and anti-civil undercurrents.”

How the pandemic will conclude in Taiwan, I believe, will largely depend on the interactions between its civil society mechanisms and anti-civil undercurrents. Lo and Hsieh (2020) argue that, while many have attributed Taiwan’s early COVID success to its SARS experience, the key lies not in the SARS experience per se, but in the “societalization” of pandemic unpreparedness. Societalization is the process through which an institutional failure is transformed into a societal crisis, with the civil sphere mobilized to deliberate and demand reforms (Alexander 2018). If
If successful, societalization results in “civil repair,” namely, civic groups reforming noncivil institutional practices (e.g., profit maximization) with civil values (e.g., equality). Similarly, social actors may mobilize to hold the failing institution accountable to its own institutional norms (e.g., coordination, precaution), which is conceptualized as “systemic repair” (Park 2019).

During the 2003 SARS crisis, the Taiwanese state’s responses were tragically delayed and uncoordinated, resulting in Taiwan suffering the third largest SARS outbreak in the world. In its aftermath, citizens voiced their discontent in protests, newspapers, and other media, demanding a “systemic repair” to restore preparedness, transparency, and coordination in Taiwan’s public health administration. Under pressure, the state implemented a series of reforms, putting in place government mechanisms for coordinating centralized command during outbreaks, increasing the national stockpile of PPE, building isolation wards, and developing healthcare infrastructures for coordinating patient transfer. Similarly, attempting a civil repair, medical professionals launched protests and discussion forums, arguing that the noncivil value of market incentives created unsafe working conditions and compromised their professional ethic. With partial success, healthcare workers invoked the civil value of individual rights to purge these polluted qualities from their profession. After the COVID-19 pandemic began in 2020, Taiwan’s civil society turned to discussions of its own failures during SARS, when many hoarded masks, lied about symptoms, or disregarded self-quarantine guidelines. Reflections of past uncivil acts fostered a discourse of community interdependence, which encouraged citizens to recognize government-issued COVID restrictions as their civic duties. Newspapers across the political divide temporarily came together in the civil repair of rebalancing the boundaries between personal choices and civic virtues.

Lo and Hsieh (2020) challenges the prevalent worry that “authoritarianism is more effective but less desirable” by demonstrating that civil and systemic repairs can function as effective and democratic mechanisms for repairing social ills. These mechanisms are integral structures of civil society, but civil society actors must activate these mechanisms, navigating through pushbacks, inertias, and limits of their own political imaginations.

However, anti-civil undercurrents remain a threat. Political polarization, roughly along the pro-Taiwan versus pro-China fault-line, overshadows many public conversations. Politicians and journalists often weaponize setbacks in the CECC’s containment efforts, spinning populist narratives such as “the people are unhappy with waiting in line for masks.” Polarization and populism, in turn, encourage a black-and-white framework for considering the scientific ambiguities in pandemic intervention measures. Questions about whether to implement mass-testing or how to evaluate the side effects of vaccines should be addressed by a deliberative public evaluating options for balancing risk management and social costs. Yet these conversations rarely take place. Furthermore, Taiwan’s pandemic preparedness is limited by the nationalistic agendas pursued by both authoritarian and democratic regimes. Taiwan’s exclusion from the WHO reflects not only China’s political will but also Western democracies’ prioritizing their geopolitical interests over “defending democratic principles.” High-income countries have engaged in vaccine-hoarding. China allegedly pressured Germany’s BioNTech into cancelling its contract with Taiwan.

“The fight against COVID-19 is never just about the virus.”
Observing how the current outbreak unfolds, I find myself equally anxious about the tug-of-war between Taiwan’s capacities for civil and systemic repair and its internal and external anti-democratic threats. The CECC is now under great public pressure to correct the problems of insufficient testing capacities and slow-paced vaccination – potential culprits for the current surge of COVID cases. The public is reactivating the discourse of civic interdependence, urging each other to stay home and mask up. The medical force remains highly dedicated. However, civil society conversations about policy flaws and potential remedies are repeatedly hijacked by extremist rhetoric, such as “Execute Dr. Chen (the head of CECC)!” Disinformation and conspiracy theories filled social media. Taiwan’s difficult international position has limited its access to COVID vaccines. The only vaccine in stock to date, AstraZeneca, was coded as subpar in a populist discourse of “but the people want Moderna or Pfizer.” After keeping the island largely COVID-free for more than a year, Taiwan finds 99% of its population unprotected by even the first dose of COVID vaccine. In contrast, the U.S. has recorded 33 million confirmed cases, but has roughly 40% of its population fully vaccinated now.

Will this young civil society once again mobilize itself to contain the pandemic and the ever-present anti-civil undercurrents? After all, the fight against COVID-19 is never just about the virus.

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COVID-19, the Vanishing Mediator, and Indigenous Justice in the United States

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Approximately 1 year ago, we wrote “COVID-19, the Vanishing Mediator, and Postcapitalist Possibilities” (Mueller, McCollum, and Schmidt, 2020). Although knowledge on how devastating the pandemic would be was still somewhat unclear, a few things were apparent. The distribution of harm inflicted by COVID-19 in the US was allocated along lines in ways sociologists might expect: large portions of the working class and precarious laborers, Black, Latinx, and Indigenous Peoples were bearing the brunt of hyperexploitation as ‘essential workers,’ and deaths from COVID-19. Second, the paltry US’ healthcare system was woefully unprepared to handle the pandemic. At minimum, we were facing a medical, political-economic, and social-psychological “triple crisis” (Žižek, 2020: 90). Given these facts, it would be easy to believe the crisis would only deepen the suffering so many feel living through the ongoing structural crisis of capitalism. However, we sought to highlight the contradictions and openings of this moment that had the potential to change the shape of the American polity in a positive direction.

We saw inspiring work being done across the country, with mass movements fighting for ecological, Indigenous, political, racial, and economic justice. This included work being done by Indigenous Peoples to stop capitalism’s war on human and non-human life, including during the pandemic; growing popularity for heretofore marginalized policy ideas, like a universal basic income (UBI); and strategizing to overcome coronavirus capitalism and nativism by creating networks of mutual aid and solidarity. Our article focused on the intersecting struggles for Indigenous, ecological, and social justice. Enter the vanishing mediator.

The concept of a vanishing mediator was first proposed by Fredric Jameson (1973), and later elaborated by Slavoj Žižek (1991). A vanishing mediator connects two seemingly disparate trends/moments in history, leading to massive structural change. Jameson first outlined this concept in his analysis of Max Weber’s account of Protestantism and its relationship to the emergence of capitalism, deploying the concept to show how the central values of Protestantism mediated the rise of capitalism, and then vanished as the structuring principle—per Weber’s writings of this phenomenon. This highlights an important distinction between form and content. As we outline, “first, the initial change of content takes place within the existing form. Then, once its substantive content within the old form has been altered enough, it sheds the old form entirely”—unveiling a new social structure that

“People would no longer see the provision of healthcare, better pay & respect for ‘essential workers,’ and the widespread enactment of socially-just policies as a contingent act brought about by a pandemic, but an ethically necessary structuring principle for a just society.”
was present just below the surface (Mueller, McCollum, and Schmidt, 2020: 182).

This concept also helps theorize a relationship between contingency and necessity (Žižek, 1992). For example, COVID-19 brought upon several political ‘contingency plans’ that were heretofore considered unrealistic in the US. This included providing adults with direct payments (akin to a UBI), proposals for the federal government taking over and coordinating vaccination plans and production of personal protective equipment, and the provision of vaccines at no cost to all (akin to a form of universal healthcare). And, generally—despite stubborn pockets of refusal—people showed solidarity with those they’d never met before by following one simple rule: wear a mask when out in public, to protect others (and yourself).

We saw hope within regions and social groups in areas which many political observers often overlook. The state of North Dakota—rife with ultra-conservative politics—has many programs that could represent the germ of new social forms beyond the capitalist present. Governor Burgum has overseen a policy of ‘all-of-the-above’ in the state’s energy profile. While the state is a center of the US’s boom in hydraulic fracturing, the state is rapidly becoming a leader in wind energy. This contrasts sharply with the political statements of the governor’s office, which appeal to the state’s anti-environmental voters. Nevertheless, as coal’s profitability wanes, renewables will become an even larger portion of the state’s energy profile. The state has invested tax returns on oil drilling in a “Legacy Fund,” and state lawmakers are holding public hearings to determine where interest returns should be spent. This type of participatory budgeting is a democratic form of fiscal management outside the norm for a conservative state.

Indigenous nations in the state are also expanding their social programs through systems of collective ownership and responsibility. Many of these include a transition towards environmental sustainability—including tribal colleges’ embracing of green technology programs, increased investment in renewables by tribal governments, and successful legal challenges to strengthen tribal sovereignty over land and water. The COVID-19 pandemic revealed persistent and devastating racial health inequalities, yet many tribes moved quickly and effectively to stem outbreaks. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa and Spirit Lake Dakota tribes became leaders in vaccine distribution to the extent that non-tribal members became eligible for vaccines through the Indian Health Service.

For this moment of crisis, turning dreams for a socially-just future from contingency to necessity would indicate the emergence of it as a vanishing mediator. In other words, people would no longer see the provision of healthcare, better pay & respect for ‘essential workers,’ and the widespread enactment of socially-just policies as a contingent act brought about by a pandemic, but an ethically necessary structuring principle for a just society. This is desperately needed on a world-scale as well. As UN Secretary-General António Guterres remarked, the global distribution of COVID-19 vaccines has thus far been “wildly uneven and unfair.” A UN report released in April 2021 found that, “Although more than 700 million vaccine doses have been administered globally, richer countries have received more than 87 per cent, and low-income countries just 0.2 per cent.”

World scale inequities require worldwide solidarity.

“World scale inequities require worldwide solidarity.”

Citations:
Articles and Book Chapters


Articles and Book Chapters


Articles and Book Chapters


**Books**


*Fields of Gold* critically examines the history, ideas, and political struggles surrounding the financial sector’s growing interest in buying farmland. In particular, Madeleine Fairbairn focuses on developments in two of the most popular investment locations, the US and Brazil, looking at the implications of financiers’ acquisition of land and control over resources for rural livelihoods and economic justice. At the heart of *Fields of Gold* is a tension between efforts to transform farmland into a new financial asset class, and land’s physical and social properties, which frequently obstruct that transformation. But what makes the book unique among the growing body of work on the global land grab is Fairbairn’s interest in those acquiring land, rather than those affected by land acquisitions. Fairbairn’s work sheds ethnographic light on the actors and relationships—from Iowa to Manhattan to São Paulo—that have helped to turn land into an attractive financial asset class.


The university is experiencing an unprecedented level of success today, as more universities in more countries educate more students in more fields. At the same time, the university has become central to a knowledge society based on the belief that everyone can, through higher education, access universal truths and apply them in the name of progress. This book traces the university’s rise over the past hundred years to become the cultural linchpin of contemporary society, revealing how the so-called ivory tower has become profoundly interlinked with almost every area of human endeavor. As the university expanded, student and faculty bodies became larger, more diverse, and more empowered to turn knowledge into action. Their contributions to society underscored the public importance of scholarship, and as the cultural authority of universities grew they increased the scope of their research and teaching interests. As a result, the university has become the bedrock of today’s information-based society, an institution that is now implicated in the solution to every conceivable problem. But the conditions that helped spur the university’s recent ascendance are not immutable: eruptions of nationalism, authoritarianism, and illiberalism undercut the university’s universalistic and rationalistic premises, and may threaten the centrality of the university itself.


*Political Invisibility and Mobilization* explores the unseen opportunities available to those considered irrelevant and disregarded during periods of violent repression. In a comparative study of three women’s peace movements, in Argentina, the former Yugoslavia, and Liberia, the concept of political invisibility is developed to identify the unexpected beneficial effects of marginalization in the face of regime violence and civil war. Each chapter details the unique ways these movements avoided being targeted as threats to regime power and how they utilized free spaces to mobilize for peace. Their organizing efforts among international networks are described as a form of field-shifting that gained them the authority to expand their work at home to bring an end to war and rebuild society. The robust conceptual framework developed herein offers new ways to analyze the variations and nuances of how social status interacts with opportunities for effective activism. This book presents a sophisticated theory of political invisibility with historical detail from three remarkable stories of courage in the face of atrocity. With relevance for political sociology, social movement studies, women’s studies, and peace and conflict studies, it contributes to scholarly understanding of mobilization in repressive states while also offering strategic insight to movement practitioners.
**Books**


Fossil-fueled power plants are the single largest sites of greenhouse gases, making them one of the greatest threats to our planet’s climate. Significant as they are, we lack a comprehensive understanding of the social causes that enable power plant emissions and continue to delay their reduction. *Super Polluters* offers a groundbreaking global analysis of carbon pollution caused by the generation of electricity, pinpointing who bears the most responsibility for the energy sector’s vast emissions and what can be done about them. Don Grant, Andrew Jorgenson, and Wesley Longhofer analyze a novel dataset on the carbon dioxide emissions and structural attributes of thousands of fossil-fueled power plants around the world, identifying which plants discharge the most carbon. They investigate the global, organizational, and political conditions that explain these hyper-emitting facilities’ behavior and call into question the claim that improvements in technical efficiency will always reduce emissions. Grant, Jorgenson, and Longhofer demonstrate which energy and climate policies are most effective at abating power-plant pollution, emphasizing how mobilized citizen activism shapes those outcomes. A comprehensive account of who bears the blame for our warming planet, *Super Polluters* points to more feasible and effective emission reduction strategies that target the world’s most profligate polluters.


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


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


This is a comparative research of the earlier Japanese immigration to Brazil in the beginning of the 1900s to the 1980s migration to Japanese Brazilian to Japan. Most of the Japanese immigrants settled as agricultural colonists, and were part of the Japanese expansion to the Americas. The migration of Japanese Brazilians to Japan is related to the need of labor for the Japanese factories and to keep the myth of the Japanese societal homogeneity. How these two people’s movements affect their families is the aim of this work.


In Queer in Translation, Evren Savcı analyzes the travel and translation of Western LGBT political terminology to Turkey in order to illuminate how sexual politics have unfolded under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s AKP government. Under the AKP’s neoliberal Islamic regime, Savcı shows, there has been a stark shift from a politics of multicultural inclusion to one of securitized authoritarianism. Drawing from ethnographic work with queer activist groups to understand how discourses of sexuality travel and are taken up in political discourse, Savcı traces the intersection of queerness, Islam, and neoliberal governance within new and complex regimes of morality. Savcı turns to translation as a queer methodology to think Islam and neoliberalism together and to evade the limiting binaries of traditional/modern, authentic/colonial, global/local, and East/West—thereby opening up ways of understanding the social movements and political discourse that coalesce around sexual liberation in ways that do justice to the complexities both of what circulates under the signifier Islam and of sexual political movements in Muslim-majority countries.


Efforts to build bottom-up global labor solidarity began in the late 1970s and continue today, having greater social impact than ever before. In Building Global Labor Solidarity: Lessons from the Philippines, South Africa, Northwestern Europe, and the United States Kim Scipes—who worked as a union printer in 1984 and has remained an active participant in, researcher about, and writer chronicling the efforts to build global labor solidarity ever since—compiles several articles about these efforts. Grounded in his research on the KMU Labor Center of the Philippines, Scipes joins first-hand accounts from the field with analyses and theoretical propositions to suggest that much can be learned from past efforts which, though previously ignored, have increasing relevance today. Joined with earlier works on the KMU, AFL-CIO foreign policy, and efforts to develop global labor solidarity in a time of accelerating globalization, the essays in this volume further develop contemporary understandings of this emerging global phenomenon.

Based on longitudinal ethnographic work on migration between the US and Taiwan, Time and Migration interrogates how long-term immigrants negotiate their needs as they grow older and how transnational migration shapes later-life transitions. Ken Chih-Yan Sun develops the concept of a “temporalities of migration” to examine the interaction between space, place, and time. He demonstrates how long-term settlement in the United States, coupled with changing homeland contexts, has inspired aging immigrants and returnees to rethink their sense of social belonging, remake intimate relations, and negotiate opportunities and constraints across borders. The interplay between migration and time shapes the ways aging migrant populations reassess and reconstruct relationships with their children, spouses, grandchildren, community members, and home, as well as host societies. Aging, Sun argues, is a global issue, and must be reconsidered in a cross-border environment.

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