# **SECTORS**

Newsletter of the American Sociological Association's Sociology of Development Section

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### MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

### Matthew R. Sanderson



Development remains the problem, the question. Development, as always, means many things; It has many dimensions. How can more of us thrive, flourish, survive, live, breathe? Would that be development?

Though the year is coming to a close (quickly? slowly?), it already feels cliché to remark that this

year, 2020, is without precedent, and that Covid-19 is laying bare the weaknesses of our political-economic structures. But it is, and it is. Now with vaccines being rolled out into 2021, the words seem to be everywhere: "I'm ready to get back to normal."

The person who just wants to buy toilet paper but finds the shelves empty. The parent, harried from months of childcare at home. The child, who spent much of the summer "seeing" friends via a screen, with no pool, no movie theater, no summer soccer or baseball team. The hourly employee, who lost their job in the shutdown, and sees unemployment benefits coming to an end. In the West, the person who flees the wildfires, who can no longer breathe the air. They each plead, "Let's get back to normal." The politician, eager to satisfy the rising chorus of petitions from their constituents, assures them: "We will get back to normal."

But, as development sociologists, we are aware that the events of 2020 were not

made this The vear. coronavirus, fires in the West, the protests of police killings, the list could go on these all emerged from our "normal," from model development, our project, the one enacted daily, hourly, minuteby-minute. And

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each shows us the ways in which our "normal" development project made our economy, our social relations, our communities, and our environment more vulnerable.

We are living through a wrenching time, a transition, a transformation. We feel it as the loss of employment, income, connection, life. We feel it as uncertainty amidst what seems to be a never-ending wait — for a vaccine, a job, a hug, for a breath. It is not easy to reflect on the pre-COVID-19 "normal" while in the midst of transformation. But, we should. What was this "normal" to which we ache to return?

For too many of us, "normal" was a continual cycle of work, spend, work, spend. It felt like being on a treadmill, or worse, a treadmill that seemed to be speeding up so that it was impossible to ever live, let alone live at a comfortable pace. All of us know this. Some of us benefited much more than others from this treadmill of existence, and so are less troubled (or just more confused) by these previous sentences. But, all of us know this at some level. And, many of us feel this. Many of us lived it. "Normal — let's just get back to normal" — we panted as we tried to jump back on the treadmill daily, hourly. It was hard to breathe. What would a return to "normal" fix? Here are but a few glimpses of our pre-COVID "normal":

Normal was profoundly unequal, in starting points and outcomes, with daunting levels of social and political tension stemming from such stark inequalities: economic, racial-ethnic, etc. It was a normal in which the real annual wages for an average American had not increased, at all, since 1979, while the top one percent of Americans saw their real annual wages grow 156 percent. It was a normal in which 60 million Americans had a net wealth of zero dollars (\$0). It was a normal in which the net worth of the average white family (\$170,000) was 10 times the net worth of the average black family (\$17,000). Normal was living in a \$20 trillion economy (yes, a \$20,000,000,000,000,000 economy) while one in every six of our children — our future — did not have enough to eat.

Normal was deeply unhealthy, and downright deadly for many of us. It was a normal in which nearly one-half of us were obese, while one of every nine of us, 37 million, did not have sufficient food to eat on a daily basis. Normal was shortening our lifespans. In our normal, suicides were at all-time highs, and were still rising, and drug overdoses and alcoholism were surging. It was a normal in which our life expectancy had actually been declining. A baby born in the U.S. in 2019 was expected to live a shorter life than a baby born in the U.S. in 2014.

Normal was killing us. Not all of us. And, certainly not all of us at the same rate. But it was killing too many of us, too quickly. It turns out that normal was also killing the very material basis for our economy, and indeed our lives: the ecosphere, the environment, the ecosystem, nature. Our normal was the hottest five years on record from 2015-2020, and 20 of the hottest years ever had occurred in the past 22 years. It was a normal that was killing not just us, but Life on Earth, Life with a capital "L." Our normal was the loss — the extinction — of species at a rate not seen in 66 million years. We could see the ecological devastation of our normal in the facts and figures for a long time. It was not news; it was *normal*; background static for our daily activities as we rode the treadmill. But, the "great pause" from our normal, coming in the wake of the COVID-19, is giving us a once-in-a-lifetime view of a different normal.

What is happening to the ecosphere while normal is on pause? Life seems to be recovering. Whales in Glacier Bay, Alaska, for example, are able to communicate with less interference from sonar signals emitted from boats and ships because there is much less international shipping and cruise ship traffic. Scientists are optimistic about the possibility of a slight recovery in their numbers from increased mating success. With factories and offices closed, and restrictions on travel, greenhouse gas emissions are down significantly for the year, with some estimates that 2020 will see the largest decline in carbon dioxide emissions on record. For the first time in 30 years, the Himalaya Mountains in North India are visible. In March, it was possible to breathe the air again in Los Angeles. Following stay-home orders, the cities quieted, and animals re-appeared: Coyotes were seen on the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco; A puma ventured out of the Andes Mountains into Santiago, Chile; Red foxes sauntered through London; Sika deer roamed into Nara, Japan; and mountain goats wandered through the streets of Llandudno, Wales.

What is happening to *us* while normal is in flux, on pause, in limbo? Most of us are *not* recovering, unfortunately. We seem to be *less* resilient than nature. Most of us are clamoring for a return to normal. We feel we need the treadmill to survive, even though we hate it.

How can we recover our lives?

Life is already so short. What are we doing with our short time, together?

Let's not get back to normal. With the vaccines on the way, there will be every reason, driven by deep-rooted human motivations, to try and rebuild our "normal" as quickly as possible.

But we can imagine better ways to live. We know more meaningful lives are possible. We can build a better "normal." The time and place are here and now, because the treadmill is starting to turn once again, and the few who benefit from it are working diligently to make sure it runs efficiently, normally, and at a good pace. But we know where that leads because we have been there. We lived there. It is the place where all treadmills lead — nowhere.

To be sure, the pathways out of nowhere, ahead, off the treadmill are anything but clear. No one alive has ever lived through a period like this. But we do build our "normal" together. And, we may never have a better opportunity to struggle with imagining and building a new normal, each of us, than right now. We must be able to live again, more of us, together.

I am honored to serve as Chair of the section this year, our 10th year as a section. It is more crucial than ever that, as development sociologists, we are engaged in meaningful ways with the world beyond the academy. Our panels at ASA this year will showcase research on themes with long-standing interest among our membership *and* that are decidedly of this moment: food, health, environment, migration, each amidst the Covid-19 pandemic, deepening racial and ethnic injustices, and ongoing tensions from political-economic restructuring in an increasingly multipolar world-economy. Along these lines, and with Council, I am working to encourage new forms of engagement between development sociologists and the world beyond development sociology, so that the insights gained from painstaking research are not entirely hidden away in the pages of academic journals but are also translated into ideas and actions in the world.

Ten years ago, when I first became involved with the section, I could not have imagined serving as Section Chair someday. Having served as a Council Member, Secretary-Treasurer, and now Chair, I have had the privilege of seeing firsthand the tremendous amount of work by so many people to foster this section. We went from a small, but dedicated group to a vibrant, diverse section of 500 people working to put out this newsletter, publish a policy briefs series, put on an annual conference, build a top-shelf academic journal, and run a mentoring program, all in addition to putting on the annual panels and roundtables at ASA. And we are all volunteers. It is beyond impressive. Over the past 10 years, the foundations have been established for a second decade (and more) of work toward furthering sociological engagement with the problem of development. As I look around the Council now, I see only new faces, and that is the way it should be. As we look ahead to the next 10 years, let us hope that the Chair's letter in 2030 noted this year, 2020, as an inflection point that moved us away from "normal," and that development sociologists played a part in those transformations.

Matthew R. Sanderson Department of Sociology & Department of Geography and Geospatial Sciences Kansas State University

### CALL TO ACTION FROM CHAIR-ELECT, FAUZIA AHMED

Dear Colleagues:

The 2020 election results have been greeted with joyous relief. President-elect Joe Biden has listed the end of systemic racism as a goal of his administration; Vice-president elect Kamala Harris is the first South Asian and Black Woman to be elected as Vice President.

Yet we cannot afford to be complacent. A window of opportunity has opened and we must take advantage of it to end structural discriminations in the academy. In a political climate, where anti-immigrant bias, and race and gender injustice are starkly illuminated by the pandemic, you have chosen to elect me, a woman of color, who is also a Muslim immigrant feminist. Your choice has many meanings: First, it means a rejection of

intersectionalities, based on nation, race, and gender, and an open reception of the myriad diversities that exist in our world. Second, it means that you want to listen, with a warm heart, to marginalized narratives and to interrogate the center from the periphery. Third, it means you do not want to be bystanders, the pose of those who resist change. Instead, you want to join the struggle for justice in solidarity. After much reflection, here is my response to you as your chair-elect.

### The Quiet Violence

The murder of George Floyd, as depicted in a video, shocked the world by its crude violence. But the quiet violence, which exists in the ivory tower, with its multiple intersectionalities, remains invisible. Covid-19 has revealed these hierarchies as universities lay off employees in response to financial crises. I had stated that should I be elected, I would promote the analysis of justice and equality within the academy, to eliminate intersectionalities therein. Justice begins at home - in our workplace; this is where we can make the difference.

### The Call to Action

It is evident that we all want to do something as part of our legacy. The academy does encourage us to think of our legacy but in purely individualistic terms: our publications; our awards; and our titles. I argue, however, that in additional to our professional career, we should also think of our moral legacy. And this means that we need to do the following to institute structural justice in the academy:

- 1. <u>Define Values</u>. A first step in defining our moral legacy is to ask profound questions: Who am I? What values do I wish to enact through my everyday life? In light of the Black Lives Matter movement, I take a broad view of what it means to be Black. As Steve Biko (48:1978) said, "Being black is not a matter of pigmentation being black is a reflection of a mental attitude." Just as there are white men who have been steadfast; there have been people of color who have betrayed. So being Black is not just being African American. In essence, Being Black is about character, courage and values.
- 2. Active Listening: Active listening means listening with humility; it means listening to learn; it means challenging our assumptions. Each of us needs to listen actively to those at the margin and to understand how the university appears from their social locations. For example, the female engineering graduate student, the Black assistant professor, the janitor, who is supposed to do his or her work efficiently but quietly all their perspectives need to be understood and their narratives need to count.
- 3. <u>Take a Stand</u>: It is not enough to say "I'm sorry" when a fellow employee is oppressed by injustice. Instead, we need to say, "What can I do?" We must take a stand. We must build alliances across the hierarchical divides, ubiquitous in the academy. We must utilize our privilege to create a space, which places voices at the margin in the center of power. In these ways, we can build ideologies and structures of answerability in our daily lives in the academe.

As a first step, past chair Jennifer Keahey and I plan to hold a workshop on Academic Justice in collaboration with the Committee on Academic Justice (CAD), at the Sociologists for Women in Society (SWS) during the SWS winter conference: January 28-January 31, 2021. We will keep you informed of details nearer the date. Please note that this call to action is meant to spur all of us, including myself, as your chair-elect. To this end, I will work closely with Matt Sanderson, our current chair and Jennifer Keahey, outgoing chair. Many of you are doing this work already – as I know. It is my honor to serve you in this endeavor.

With respect and admiration, Fauzia

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### INTRODUCING THE NEW COUNCIL MEMBERS

In August 2020, the Sociology of Development section welcomed four new council members - Fauzia Ahmed (Chair Elect), Shiri Noy and Firuzeh Shokooh Valle (Council Members), and Lantian Li (Student Council Member). In order to learn more about them, the editorial team asked each council member the following: As a Development Sociologist what are the 'big questions' that animate your work? And, how does this work relate to multiple crises facing human society today? Read their fascinating responses below!

### Fauzia Ahmed, Miami University of Ohio (Chair Elect)



As development sociologists, we must focus on the answers not just the questions. Too often we explore problems, in fine-grained detail, without commensurate examination of the solutions. Justice in the academy is a one such arena: we all know the questions; we all know the problems; but there is little research on solutions.

How can we improve the quality of life (QOL) on our planet for everybody? This solution-oriented umbrella question encompasses a wide range: from a living wage and balanced ecosystems to the termination of domestic violence during the pandemic and structural justice in institutions. Here are some specific questions, which can be applied to various contexts:

- 1. Women often vote for the right-wing policies, which inevitably impair their QOL. How can the feminist movement include working class women as stakeholders?
- 2. Pro-woman masculinity remains subordinate and invisible. How can we highlight progressive masculinity, so that it can become ascendant, thereby improving the QOL for women and men.
- 3. Marginalized immigrant women of color have a low QOL. How can safety be created for them, so that they can belong as full citizens?
- 4. The nature of work, especially for those in the Global Value Chains, is oppressive. How can work be empowering so that it can improve the workers' QOL? How can feminist leadership of trade unions be developed so that workers' rights lead to the dignity of labor?

We need to emphasize Participatory Action Research (PAR), which focuses simultaneously on community - oriented problems and social-change solutions.

The analysis of solutions enables the following: 1) seats us on the policy table, where development economists have long since reigned; 2) responds to calls by policymakers who need well-researched solutions to pressing development problems, and 3) requires us not only to explore injustice but also how justice can be done.

### Firuzeh Shokooh Valle, Franklin & Marshall College (Council Member)



The big questions that animate my work are: What are the implications of mainstream technological development discourses and policies on historically marginalized communities in the Global South? and, What forms of feminist technopolitical agency are flourishing amid these discourses and policies? Development bases discourses on technology upon a politics of care that counters the cold, impassive, market-oriented prescriptions for the potential of women and other marginalized individuals in the data society. Simultaneously, feminist activists engage in numerous practices of care as intrinsic aspects of their technological activism. My research examines both the important and problematic relations between

development, technology, and care, themes that have become fundamentally intertwined during the global COVID-19 pandemic, our climate crisis, and the heightened antiracist struggle.

### Shiri Noy, Denison University (Council Member)



I am thrilled to have been elected to council for a section whose members do the important work, especially in the current moment, of drawing attention to inequalities, governance, and national and global systems and institutions involved in development, particularly internationally. My own work as a development sociologist is centered on questions of power and in particular, the relationship between national governments and international institutions—focused on the World Bank—and the ensuing implications for national policies and outcomes. My substantive focus has been on health and social policy, and geographically I have concentrated on Latin America while methodologically I employ a variety of methods: conducting mixed methods-research including analyzing quantitative cross-national data, conducting archival research, and interviews in Argentina, Costa Rica, and Peru personnel for my case studies.

The crises facing us globally, whose ill-effects and costs are distributed unevenly and often most keenly felt by the global South, require rigorous methodological and conceptual attention. In my work, I focus on the barriers and opportunities for promoting equity and investing in comprehensive health and social policies. These are urgent issues in the context of the multiple economic, health, and political crises that manifest globally, nationally, and locally: my research can inform answers to questions including, what role can international institutions play in highlighting the problems facing us and coordinating and promoting particular narratives, policies, and solutions? When national governments and international institutions have differing visions of effective development and health policies, how are these negotiated and what affects which approach gets adopted? Like many of us development sociologists, I'm fundamentally interested in figuring out who decides what development means and what it should look like, the debates and stakes for how development should be pursued and promoted at the global, national, and local levels, and the consequences of these decisions for equity, and people's well-being and rights.

### Lantian Li, Northwestern University (Student Council Member)



I am a development sociologist of health politics and economy. My research primarily asks how health governance institutions interact with each other and what socio-economic consequences such interaction may produce. For instance, in my dissertation, I explore the origin and outcome of institutional contradiction in the Chinese pharmaceutical sector, triangulating extensive historical documents, statistical data, and 156 interviews with a diverse set of key stakeholders. Specifically, I elaborate how China's uneven market reform in health-related sectors inadvertently subjected pharmaceutical governance industry to contradictory institutions: decentralized developmental states prioritizing local economic growth on one hand, and a centralized bureaucratic state prioritizing healthcare cost containment on the other. Such institutional contradiction steered China's pharmaceutical industry onto a problematic growth path I

characterize as rentier developmentalism. I show that although rentier developmentalism is growth-friendly in the short term, it can spoil the industry and cause social suffering in the long run.

My work shows that while diseases may incapacitate individuals, flawed governance institutions can induce sufferings and inequality on a much larger scale. During the COVID-19 crisis, my co-authors and I applied a similar institutional lens to analyze China's initial mishandling of the local outbreak, highlighting the danger of institutional imbalance in pandemic management (*Journal of Chinese Governance*). We also identified the mutual structural constraints of states and global value chains in the emergent supply of personal protective equipment (forthcoming in *World Development*). Building on these insights, I call for more inquiries into the institutional roots of variations in pandemic responses, which I believe can both enrich sociological theory of development and assist the arduous fight against the devastating global pandemic.

### Acknowledging Outbound Council Members

As we welcome the new council members, we also applaud the outgoing council members, whose work has helped this section thrive over the past several years. In particular, we would like to acknowledge: Andrew Jorgenson, Boston College (Outgoing past-chair), Poulami Roychowdhury, McGill University (Outgoing council member), Kristy Kelly, Drexel University (Outgoing council member), Maria Akchurin, Tulane University (Outgoing newsletter editor), and Alvin Camba, Johns Hopkins University (Outgoing student representative).

# U.S. WARS ON NEGATIVELY RACIALIZED WORKING PEOPLE

How do the policies of the United States government undermine development for negatively racialized working and marginalized people? In the articles below, the authors examine this question in international and domestic arenas. Justin Podur considers how sanctions and economic war carried out by the U.S. have wrought havoc upon a wide variety of mostly global south populations. Importantly, many sanctions have been ratcheted up during the Covid-19 pandemic. Podur also notes how UN sanctions need to be understood as leading to *even more* human suffering and mass death when they are applied upon a country. Salvador Rangel and Jamella N. Gow look domestically at how negatively racialized black and brown workers in the United States have suffered under the Coronavirus. They point out how U.S. federal government policies consistently side with industry owners over workers. They look at the example of meatpacking plants.

# Sanctions as a weapon targeting development JUSTIN PODUR

The United Nations is currently sanctioning groups in Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Libya, Guinea-Bissau, the Central African Republic, South Sudan, and Mali. Sanctions on Non-African countries and groups include Iraq, Lebanon, North Korea, Yemen, the Islamic State and al-Qaeda, and the Taliban. The Security Council states that "since 1966, the Security Council has established 30 sanctions regimes, in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, the former Yugoslavia (2), Haiti, Iraq (2), Angola, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Eritrea, Eritrea and Ethiopia, Liberia (3), DRC, Côte d'Ivoire, Sudan, Lebanon, DPRK, Iran, Libya (2), Guinea-Bissau, CAR, Yemen, South Sudan and Mali, as well as against ISIL (Da'esh) and Al-Qaida and the Taliban." None of the sanctioned countries are developed countries to begin with - sanctions devastate their capacities for future development.

The UN says that "sanctions measures, under Article 41, encompass a broad range of enforcement options that do not involve the use of armed force." The deadliness of UN sanctions, however, cannot be disputed. The sanctions regime imposed on Iraq after the US bombing of the country in 1990/1 was acknowledged to have killed 500,000 children by 1996, when Madeline Albright famously told 60 Minutes that she thought the price was worth it. Guttman et al. (2019) found that a UN sanctions episode lowered a country's average life expectancy by 1.2-1.4 years, reduced the targeted countries GDP by 25%, increasing poverty and income inequality. The main mechanisms for this reduction: child mortality, cholera deaths, and decreased resources for public health spending. These aggregate statistics disguise.

The list of countries under unilateral sanction by the US (or the US plus any coalition it can build for the purpose of punishing a regime) is much longer than the UN list. In addition to its own list, the US also sanctions those on the UN list. The US Treasury site lists financial sanctions details for the Balkans, Belarus, Burundi, the Chinese military, Cuba, Nicaragua, Syria, and Zimbabwe. Up until 2012, when Guttman et al. (2019) study period ended, unilateral US sanctions were less deadly than UN sanctions (shortening life expectancy in the targeted country by an average of 0.4-0.5). The deadlier sanctions are UN sanctions.

It is one of many paradoxes of today's world order that the United Nations, the body responsible (through its Security Council) for the deadliest sanctions also produces the most eloquent reports (through its Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights) on the ill effects of proliferating unilateral sanctions. The Special Rapporteur on Unilateral Economic Measures, Idriss Jazairy, has produced five reports on the matter to date. The latest (a report to the General Assembly presented July 5, 2019) specifies violations of human rights stemming from these sanctions regimes:

- US sanctions against Iran violate UN Security Council resolutions, deprive Iranians of relief, and have been complied with "unduly" by the European Union such that trade has virtually collapsed between Europe and Iran. Sanctions have devastated Iran's food security (Hejazi and Emangholipur 2020), its health system and ability to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic (Takian et al. 2020), even its long-term scientific capacity (Butler 2019).
- US sanctions against Cuba have "shattered" the normalizing relations that began in 2017, violate agreements between the US and Europe, and "exert a massive toll on the Cuban economy."
- US sanctions against Venezuela have played, in the colorful UN prose, "a non-negligible role in crippling the economy." The rapporteur cites Weisbrot and Sachs (2019), who showed that during just the initial period of the sanctions that tens of thousands of Venezuelans died as a result, and millions have been displaced.
- US sanctions against Russia, the rapporteur complains, "have unintended effects, including boosting the domestic (indigenous) capabilities of Russian industries and the agricultural sector to the detriment of Europe." And also, sanctions have caused price increases that hurt workers.
- Israel's blockade against Gaza "constitutes collective punishment of the people of Gaza, contrary to article 33 of the Geneva Convention."
- The US and EU sanctions against Syria, openly proclaimed as being part of a strategy of "isolating the Assad regime", "is a crude admission of disregard for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, human rights and humanitarian law." They have a "catastrophic impact on the Syrian economy and population."
- The US-UK-Saudi blockade on Yemen has the rapporteur noting "with concern that the flow of essential foodstuffs and other commodities into Yemen continues to be restricted de facto, even though the naval blockade was lifted after the UN Verification and Inspection Mechanism for Yemen was set up." This is a particularly euphemistic, given the genocidal nature of the assault on Yemen (e.g. Bachman 2019).

Sanctions against Russia and China are part of a broader US strategy: with these sanctions, the US hopes to isolate targeted countries from potential sources of military aid (e.g., Russia's aid to Syria) or investment (e.g., China's investments in Cuba, Nicaragua, Iran, Venezuela, or various targeted African countries). These sorts of US strategies can never be isolated from questions of international development. Sanctions regimes represent the most profound weaponization of development: targeted economic isolation to punish populations by inflicting mass mortality through starvation and preventable disease, all the while destroying future economic prospects.

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Weisbrot, M., & Sachs, J. (2019). Punishing Civilians: U.S. Sanctions on Venezuela. *Challenge*, 62(5), 299–321. https://doi.org/10.1080/05775132.2019.1638094 Justin Podur is an Associate Professor at York University, Canada. He is the author of Extraordinary Threat: The U.S. Empire, the Media, and Twenty Years of Coup Attempts in Venezuela (Monthly Review Press, 2021), America's Wars on democracy in Rwanda and the DR Congo (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), Siegebreakers (Roseway Publishing, 2019), and Haiti's New Dictatorship: The Coup, the Earthquake and the UN (Pluto Press, 2012).

# The Economy vs. The People: Capitalism & Essential Labor in the Pandemic

### SALVADOR RANGEL and JAMELLA N. GOW

"There are decades where nothing happens; and there are weeks when decades happen" - Lenin

"It is easier to imagine the end of the world than it is to imagine the end of capitalism." A phrase attributed to both Frederick Jameson and Slavoj Žižek has rarely seemed more appropriate than during the last several months (Fischer 2009). The COVID-19 outbreak has exposed the abject failure of capitalism to confront species-threatening catastrophes such as pandemics. Nowhere has this failure been clearer than in the paragon of capitalism—the United States. The dismantling of the welfare state facilitated by the neoliberal program left the country utterly unable and unwilling to take the necessary measures to control the pandemic and protect its population. Instead, what we observed was the willful sacrificing of its people, especially of racially marginalized populations, on the altar of "opening the economy"—the "economy," being a dog-whistle for protecting capitalists profit margins. Countries with centralized planning, such as Cuba, China and Vietnam meanwhile set the example for how to contain the pandemic and thus reopen their economies without much delay, and more importantly, with little loss of human life.

In the United States the deadly calculation from the part of the federal government to risk people's lives to save "the economy," became clear early on in the pandemic. After a modest increase in unemployment benefits and a paltry stimulus check during the first few months of the pandemic, it became clear that no further assistance was forthcoming and that workers would have to choose between staying home to keep themselves and their families safe or continuing to go to work amid a deadly pandemic—this latter option was reserved only for those fortunate enough to still have a job. In what is perhaps the most apt illustration of Engels' concept of "social murder," workers quite literally have been forced to risk their lives in order to earn a living. Engels developed the concept in his work, *The Condition of The Working Class in England* to explain how the normal operation of the capitalist machine grounded workers into an early grave and how this condition was made to appear natural and thus not the fault of the capitalist class. His poignant description is worth quoting here at length:

"...when society places hundreds of proletarians in such a position that they inevitably meet a too early and an unnatural death, one which is quite as much a death by violence as that by the sword or bullet; when it deprives thousands of the necessaries of life, places them under conditions in which they cannot live – forces them, through the strong arm of the law, to remain in such conditions until that death ensues which is the inevitable consequence – knows that these thousands of victims must perish, and yet permits these conditions to remain, its deed is murder just as surely as the deed of the single individual; disguised, malicious murder, murder against which none can defend himself, which does not seem what it is, because no man sees the murderer, because the death of the victim seems a natural one, since the offence is more one of omission than of commission. But murder it remains" (Engels and Kelley 1982, p. 95- 96).

### Like Pigs to the Slaughter

Engels' critique of the nefarious effects of the normal operation on the working class has become all the more salient during the pandemic as workers have been forced to work in conditions that could lead to them becoming seriously injured or even die—as was the case in countless meat processing plants and many other workplaces. What's particular about meat processing plants is that the relationship between corporate interests and government policy became disastrously clear. Despite being one of the main sites of infection early on and eventually representing some of the worst hotspots around the country, the meat processing industry was singled out by the federal government to benefit from the president's invocation of the Defense Production Act.

The diligence with which the Trump administration decided to use the Defense Production Act to keep the meat industry operating was impressive, especially considering that it took weeks to finally invoke the Act to pressure companies to make much-needed ventilators to treat the worst cases of COVID-19. It should perhaps not be surprising that "the order came within hours of Tyson, a \$22bn company and the world's second-largest meat processor, taking out paid adverts in major US newspapers, including the *New York Times*" (Laughland and Holpuch 2020). The ads relied on using food scarcity as a way to put pressure on public officials. By declaring meat production an "essential service," the Defense Production Act served to protect the industry from legal liability of having workers become infected at work, therefore reducing the pressure on industry executives to do much to reduce the risk of new infections. In fact, it has been reported that, in at least one of the plants, managers were actively gambling on the number of workers likely to contract COVID-19 (Bote 2020).

Another significant aspect is that while it was the actions of corporate executives and government officials that led to the propagation of the virus throughout the meat processing industry, both of these entities sought to shift blame to the workers themselves. In an industry where migrant workers and other negatively racialized groups make a significant part of the workforce, this blame shifting quickly took on racial overtones and echoed the worst of "culture of poverty" arguments. For instance, Secretary of Health and Human Services, Alex Azar, told lawmakers that "workers' lifestyles," not the working conditions in the plants were to blame for the spread of the virus in the plants (Westwood and Serfaty 2020). This is remarkably similar to what a Smithfield spokesperson reportedly said about the Sioux Falls plant outbreak.

### Racialized Laborers as Sacrifice

What these examples show is the propensity of capitalism to extract from those most vulnerable their labor value and demand of them the ultimate sacrifice: their lives. The <u>suggestion</u> made by Texas lieutenant governor Dan Patrick in March of 2020 that he and other elderly would willingly sacrifice their health and lives to keep the capitalist economy running in spite of COVID-19 is neither the first nor last time such as a suggestion has been made (Knodel 2020). That the meat processing industry is staffed mostly with low-waged negatively racialized people and those whose immigrant status in the U.S. is always at risk is no accident (Stuesse and Dollar 2020). Before the elderly, these workers had already been perceived and treated as a "disposable commodity" (De Genova 2004, p. 179)—one whose value is in their very flexibility to be exploited and disposed of once they are no longer of use (Chang 2016; Harvey 2007; Robinson 2014).

To understand the creation of meatpackers' disposability is to trace the history of racialized labor in the United States. The majority of essential workers subjected to the risks of COVID-19 infection are Black and other negatively racialized groups in working class or impoverished conditions (Gould and Wilson 2020). Negatively racialized people, including migrants, make up the vast majority of service work (BLS Reports 2019) and the vast majority of workers in the food processing industry (Stuesse and Dollar 2020). That fact, coupled with the caging of migrants and a majority racialized Black and Brown people in cramped prisons, reveals how sacrifices have already been made to allow the wreckage of capitalist development before and after the pandemic to continue (Macmadu et al. 2020). The pandemic has only highlighted the fact that such an altar to capitalism exists. It is negatively racialized people who are demanded to make the sacrifice, and it is for that sacrifice that they are deemed essential to the economy.

Once the pandemic subsides, we may see a mass-forgetting of those workers who keep capitalism running. As they experience the negative health effects of their service to capitalism's continued maintenance, their plight and need for care will be framed as a burden on an already weakened system. We have seen time and time again that for every capitalist crisis, negatively racialized groups are recruited into service, demonized, or even disposed of through deportation or incarceration. The results of this pandemic may be no different.

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# 2020 SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT SECTION PRIZE WINNERS

### 2020 Sociology of Development - Book Award

The award committee selected two co-winners of the 2020 ASA SocDev Book Award. These books were selected for thier innovative approach, their originality, rigor and maturity of research, their theoretical sophistication and depth, and their contribution to the field of Sociology of Development and beyond.

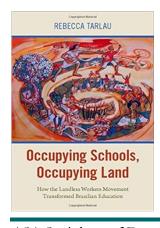
# Chris Bobel, The Managed Body: Developing Girls and Menstrual Health in the Global South (Palgrave Macmillan 2019).



Chris Bobel is Professor and Chair of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the College of Liberal Arts, University of Massachusetts Boston. Her recent book, *The Managed Body*, brings together development, feminist, and social movement theory to address an under-researched problem in sociology of development, namely the "girling of development." Her focus on bodies and what they mean, both as objects and frames of development, bring menstruation into the center of critical feminist development theory to unveil the underlying neoliberal and disciplinary fundaments and mechanisms of "well intentioned" menstrual hygiene management initiatives and campaigns in the Global South. It is an exemplary work in public sociology that combines solid scientific research with passion for the cause of equal rights and treatment for girls and women; and agency for the "girling of development" in the global south. Bobel debunks the frames of benevolent intentions of international Menstrual Health Management (MHM)

organizations and campaigns geared more to managing the female body rather than emancipating its gender. She does not set out to prove a theory but was instead driven by a social justice and gender equality cause that enabled the framing of a research question and the adaptation of theoretical constructs to shed light along the way. Her study is both global and multilocal in focus, speaking to diverse audiences beyond sociology or academia. In *The Managed Body*, Bobel demonstrates how to write effectively for diverse audiences, including policymakers, activists and practitioners. She applied her learnings to make policy recommendations and translated her work into mass digestible media formats. *The Managed Body* draws the connections between the human body, culture, and the economic and political structures of power in society. It is a must-read not only for sociology of development scholars, but for anyone studying sociology and/or gender and development.

### Rebecca Tarlau, Occupying Schools, Occupying Land: How the Landless Workers Movement Transformed Brazilian Education (Oxford University Press 2019).



Rebecca Tarlau is Assistant Professor of Education and Labor & Employment Relations at the College of Education and School of Labor and Employment Relations at Pennsylvania State University. Her recent book, Occupying Schools, Occupying Land, is gutsy and disciplined. It is an extraordinary contribution to social movement literature that looks at the ways in which the Landless Workers Movement, Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST) in Brazil has negotiated with the state and simultaneously established itself firmly within the state apparatus--in the realm of education--while maintaining its grassroots and radical politics. Tarlau's focus is on the role of the MST in formulating, advocating, and implementing educational policy at the state and community levels while retaining its autonomous existence. Contrary to conventional social movement notions, she demonstrates how co-governance and partnership with

state institutions strengthened the Janus-face Landless Workers Movement in Brazil rather than lead to its routinization. Occupying Schools, Occupying Land details how MST activists have pressured municipalities, states, and the federal government to implement their educational proposal in public schools and universities, affecting hundreds of thousands of students. Through a comparative ethnographic approach based on twenty months of fieldwork in four regions of Brazil, Tarlau documents how institutional change varies across regions and time, especially in a federal system such as Brazil. Interviews and ethnographic observations with both movement leaders and state officials illustrate the nature of state-society relations and illuminate new perspectives for the long-standing debate about the consequences of social movements working within state institutions. Importantly, the book also shows that public education is a particularly powerful sphere for activists to promote their goals. Occupying Schools, Occupying Land will be essential reading for scholars interested in politics of knowledge, social movement theory, sociology of development, education policy, state-society relations.

### 2020 Sociology of Development - Faculty Article Award

Co-Winner: Victoria Reyes, Assistant Professor of Sociology, UC Riverside Victoria Reyes. 2018. 'Port of Call: How Ships Shape Foreign-Local Encounters.' Social Forces, 96 (3): 1097–1118.

Co-Winner: Marcel Paret. Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Utah Marcel Paret 2018. "Critical Nostalgias in Democratic South Africa." The Sociological Quarterly, 59 (4): 678-696.

Honorable Mention: Swethaa Ballakrishnen. Assistant Professor of Law, UCI Law Swethaa Ballakrishnen. 2019. "Just Like Global Firms: Unintended Gender Parity and Speculative Isomorphism in India's Elite Professions." Law & Society Review, 53 (1): 108-140.

### 2020 Sociology of Development - Graduate Student Paper Award

Winner: Annavarapu, Sneha. University of Chicago, Department of Sociology. "Risky Routes, Safe Suspicions: Gender, Class, and Cabs in Hyderabad, India."

Honorable mention: Utama, Rahardhika Arista, Northwestern University, Department of Sociology. "Embedded Peasantry: Path-Dependence and Economic Transformation in Indonesia and Malaysia."

# SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT MEMBERSHIP SURVEY

In mid-2020, the Sociology of Development section undertook a survey of its members in order to gather feedback and suggestions. Karin Johnson headed this project with support from committee members, Annika Reiger, Sam Cohn, and Alvin Camba. At the time of the survey, there were 433 section members, of whom 62 responded (14% response rate). Here, we provide a summary of key findings and associated responses from the Council. The full survey report can be accessed here.

**Finding #1:** On a scale of 1-10, with one being low and ten being high, the *average* satisfaction level with the section was 9 out of 10. Most members felt the section is vibrant, inclusive, and community-minded. However, there were some concerns that the section should assume a more critical orientation.

**Council Response:** The intellectual diversity clause is our section's trademark, and during the next few years we will be working to expand our commitment to social diversity as part of Chair-Elect Fauzia Ahmed's Call to Action.

**Finding #2:** Our section members find all our services to be of value, with high rates of usage for ASA section events, Sectors newsletter, and Policy Brief in particular. The new mentorship program has also been popular. In terms of growth, members wish to see more liaising with development practitioners and organizations and deeper collaboration with other ASA sections and other sociology organizations, like SSSP and ISA.

**Council Response:** In the coming year, the Sociology of Development Section will be forming a committee to explore strategies for professionalizing the Policy Brief to build contacts with practitioners and develop intellectual linkages with other organizations.

**Finding #3:** The Annual Sociology of Development conference is popular and well regarded. However, it is not always accessible. Some members have been unable to attend due to travel costs or geographic distances. There was no interest in hosting pre-conferences. However, there was high interest in hosting virtual conferences to make engagement more accessible to those who cannot travel.

**Council Response:** The Sociology of Development Council plans to reformulate our Section conference approach to host virtual conferences every other year so that both in-person and virtual options are available. Virtual conferences also provide an opportunity for us to build linkages with other organizations and support the inclusion of international and practitioner members.

# SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT MENTORSHIP PROGRAM

For the second year in a row, the Sociology of Development section offered its annual mentorship program. This program pairs mentors and mentees for a one-time meet-up during the ASA conference event. Due to the global pandemic, the 2020 Mentorship Program was entirely virtual. Additionally, Karin Johnson, the SocDev mentorship coordinator, made a "Speed Mentoring" event available to mentees and all other section members.

In 2020, 49 people participated in the mentorship event. Including 10 mentors and 39 mentees. Mentors included junior and senior scholars, as well as one person working in the public sector. Mentees included Graduate Students, Post Docs, and junior scholars, mainly from the United States but also from Canada and elsewhere. About 30 participants signed into the virtual Speed Mentoring event, in which panelists answered questions about the job market, about academic success, and about translating work into development consulting. Worth noting is the diversity of participants: several mentors came from low-income or first-generation college graduate backgrounds, many mentees had international backgrounds, and, among both groups, there was excellent representation of women.

Following the Mentorship Program events, the coordinator solicited feedback from participants. Twenty people responded (21% response rate). The majority of mentors and mentees reported having a positive experience. Mentees, in particular, appreciated the fact that mentorship was people-focused, not research-focused. Participants also provided constructive criticisms, namely, the need for clearer "ground rules" about mentorship and greater attention to the needs of graduate students coming from or going into teaching or applied positions.

Moving forward, the section will continue the mentorship program, while incorporating the critical feedback of survey respondents. Specifically, the coordinator will try to schedule a common time for mentors and mentees to meet (a "Mentoring Café") and take steps to ensure that all participants clearly understand the goals and expectations of the program. The Speed Mentoring event will also be restructured to facilitate engagement with mentors with different professional trajectories or at different career stages of their career. View the full Sociology of Development Mentorship report <a href="here.">here.</a>

### NEW PUBLICATIONS



### Sociology of Development Journal (http://socdev.ucpress.edu/)

This is an international journal addressing issues of development, broadly considered. With basic as well as policy-oriented research, topics explored include economic development and well-being, gender, health, inequality, poverty, environment and sustainability, political economy, conflict, social movements, and more.

Editors: Andrew Jorgenson & Jeff Kentor

Frequency: Quarterly in March, June, September, and December

eISSN: 2374-538X Table of Contents

Vol. 6 No. 3, Fall 2020, https://online.ucpress.edu/socdev/issue/6/3

### Production Globalization and the Segmentation of the Global Manufacturing Sector

Matthew Mahutga

(pp. 275-295) DOI: 10.1525/sod.2020.6.3.275

# The Empowerment Paradox: Exploring the Implications of Neoliberalized Feminism for Sustainable Development

Orla Kelly

(pp. 296-317) DOI: 10.1525/sod.2020.6.3.296

# "What Do They Want from Us?": How Locals Work to Meet Their Employers' Expectations in Jordan's Aid Sector

Patricia Ward

(pp. 318-337) DOI: 10.1525/sod.2020.6.3.318

# What a Small Group of People Can('t) Do: An Analysis of Capable Agents for the Mobilization of Social Capital in Two Ghanaian Ecotourism Projects

Ana-Elia Ramón-Hidalgo; Howard W. Harshaw; Robert A. Kozak; David B. Tindall (pp. 338–367.) DOI: 10.1525/sod.2020.6.3.338

The Technological Basis of Egalitarian Economic Growth: How Nineteenth-Century Norway's Boats with No Decks Provided a Humanistic Alternative to Industrial Slums

Samuel Cohn; Michael Upchurch

(pp. 368–393) DOI: 10.1525/sod.2020.6.3.368

### **NEW BOOKS**

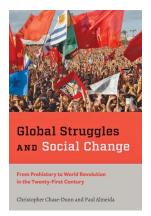




Almeida, Paul. 2020. *Movimientos Sociales: La estructura de la acción colectiva*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

Este libro surge de una preocupación académica y política: las acciones colectivas de ciudadanos y ciudadanas comunes en las más diversas regiones del mundo podrían ser decisivas en la desaceleración del calentamiento global, en las luchas contra el racismo y la violencia de género, entre muchas otras formas de explotación de la sociedad y la naturaleza.

En las páginas de Movimientos sociales... asoma una tesis: desde las formas cotidianas de resistencia, pasando por la creación de movimientos locales y grupos de base, hasta llegar a las olas de protesta y los movimientos sociales transnacionales, la movilización colectiva ha creado una poderosa herramienta de transformación humana, cuyos objetivos se extienden a un amplio abanico de propósitos. Este libro se enfoca en su estudio desde una mirada actualizada y comprometida.

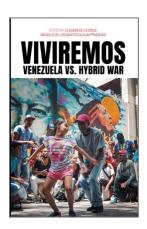


Chase-Dunn, Christopher and Paul Almeida. 2020. *Global Struggles and Social Change*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. <a href="https://jhupbooks.press.jhu.edu/title/global-struggles-and-social-change">https://jhupbooks.press.jhu.edu/title/global-struggles-and-social-change</a>

https://jhupbooks.press.jhu.edu/titie/giobai-struggies-and-sociai-change

In the early decades of the twenty-first century, an international movement to slow the pace of climate change mushroomed across the globe. The self-proclaimed Climate Justice movement urges immediate action to reduce carbon emissions and calls for the adoption of bold new policies to address global warming before irreversible and catastrophic damage threatens the habitability of the planet. On another front, since the 1980s, multiple waves of resistance have occurred around the world against the uneven transition from state-led development to the neoliberal globalization project. Both Climate Justice and Anti-Austerity movements represent the urgency of understanding how global change affects the ability of citizens around the world to mobilize and protect themselves from planetary warming and the loss of social protections granted in earlier eras. In Global Struggles and Social Change, Christopher Chase-Dunn and Paul Almeida explore how global change stimulates the formation and shape of such movements. Contending that large-scale economic shifts condition the pattern of social movement mobilizations around the world, the authors trace these trends back to premodern societies, revealing how severe disruptions of indigenous communities led to innovative collective actions throughout history. Drawing on historical case studies, world system and protest event analysis, and social networks, they also examine the influence of global change processes on local, national, and transnational social movements and explain how in turn these movements shape institutional shifts.

Touching on hot-button topics, including global warming, immigrant rights protests, the rise of right-wing populism, and the 2008 financial crisis, the book also explores a broad range of premodern social movements from indigenous people in the Americas, Mesopotamia, and China. The authors pay special attention to periods of disruption and external threats, as well as the role of elites, emotions, charisma, and religion or spirituality in shaping protest movements. Providing sweeping coverage, *Global Struggles and Social Change* is perfect for students and



anyone interested in globalization, international and comparative politics, political sociology, and communication studies.

### De la Cruz Claudia, Manolo Dos Santos, and Vijay Prashad. 2020. Viviremos: Venezuela vs. Hybrid War. New York City, NY: International Publishers

https://www.intpubnyc.com/product/viviremos-venezuela-vs-hybrid-war/

Ever since the Bolivarian Revolution began in Venezuela in 1998-99, the United States government – on behalf of its various allies – pursued a policy of hybrid war to undermine and destroy Bolivarianism. This hybrid war has included the unilateral, criminal sanctions regime which has been deepened during the COVID-19 pandemic; the Venezuelan people are being suffocated by a policy imposed on them. Venezuela's only provocation was to chart out a path for itself that consolidates the country's sovereignty and improves the life of the Venezuelan people. Viviremos, say the Venezuelans as they struggle to uphold their dignity, we will live.

The authors of this book chart out the character of the unilateral, criminal sanctions and offer heartfelt assessments of how this hybrid war is being prosecuted by the United States and how it is being resisted by the people. Their essays are a contribution to ending the imperialist attack on Venezuela. Contributors: Carlos Ron, Claudia De La Cruz, Manolo De Los Santos, Vijay Prashad, Prabhat Patnaik, Ana Maldonado, Paola Estrada, Zoe PC, Samuel Moncada, Joe Sammut, Gregory Wilpert, Anya Parampil, Belén Fernández, Miguel Stédile, and George Ciccariello-Maher.



# THE FUTURE OF U.S. EMPIRE IN THE AMERICAS THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION AND BEYOND

# Gill, Timothy. 2020. *The Future of U.S. Empire in the Americas: The Trump Administration and Beyond.* New York: Routledge Press.

Abstract: With the rise of President Trump, many are coming to question where the United States (U.S.) is headed and, whether we might witness an imperial decline under Trump. Social scientists largely recognize the contemporary hegemonic position of the U.S. at the global level, but questions persist concerning the future of the U.S. Empire. With the Trump Administration at the helm, these questions are all the more salient.

Drawing on the expertise of a panel of contributors and guided by Michael Mann's model of power, this book critically interrogates the future of U.S. global power and provides insights on what we might expect from the U.S. Empire under Trump. Recognizing that U.S. imperial power involves an array of sources of power (ideological, economic, military, and political), the contributors analyze the Trump Administration's approach towards nine countries in the Western Hemisphere, and five sets of global policies, including inter-American relations, drugs, trade, the environment, and immigration. Each case presents a historical look at the trajectory of relations as they have developed under Trump and what we might expect in the future from the administration.

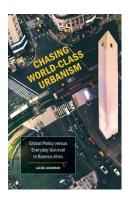
The Future of U.S. Empire in the Americas will be of great interest to students and scholars of U.S. foreign policy, Foreign Policy Analysis, political sociology, and American politics.



Lachapelle, Paul R., Isabel Gutierrez-Montes, and Cornelia Butler Flora. 2020. *Community Capacity and Resilience in Latin America*. New York: Routledge.

Community Capacity and Resilience in Latin America addresses the role of communities in building their capacity to increase resiliency and carry out rural development strategies in Latin America. Resiliency in a community sense is associated with an ability to address stress and respond to shock while obtaining participatory engagement in community assessment, planning and outcome. Although the political contexts for community development have changed dramatically in a number of Latin American countries in recent years, there are growing opportunities and examples of communities working together to address common problems and improve collective quality of life.

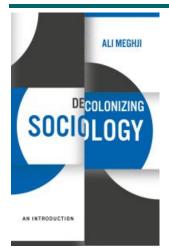
This book links scholarship that highlights community development praxis using new frameworks to understand the potential for community capacity and resiliency. By rejecting old linear models of development, based on technology transfer and diffusion of technology, many communities in Latin America have built capacity of their capital assets to become more resilient and adapt positively to change. This book is an essential resource for academics and practitioners of rural development, demonstrating that there is much we can learn from the skills of self-diagnosis and building on existing assets to enhance community capitals.



# Lederman, Jacob. Chasing World-Class Urbanism: Global Policy versus Everyday Survival in Buenos Aires. Vol. 30. U of Minnesota Press, 2020.

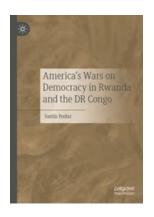
What makes some cities world class? Increasingly, that designation reflects the use of a toolkit of urban planning practices and policies that circulates around the globe. These strategies—establishing creative districts dedicated to technology and design, "greening" the streets, reinventing historic districts as tourist draws—were deployed to build a globally competitive Buenos Aires after its devastating 2001 economic crisis. In this richly drawn account, Jacob Lederman explores what those efforts teach us about fast-evolving changes in city planning practices and why so many local officials chase a nearly identical vision of world-class urbanism. Lederman explores the influence of Northern nongovernmental organizations and multilateral agencies on a prominent city of the global South. Using empirical data, keen observations, and interviews with people ranging from urban planners to street vendors he explores how transnational best practices actually affect the lives of city dwellers. His research also documents the forms of resistance enacted by everyday residents and the tendency of local institutions and social relations to undermine the top-down plans of officials. Most important, Lederman highlights the paradoxes of world-class urbanism: for instance, while the priorities identified by international agencies are expressed through nonmarket values such as sustainability, inclusion, and livability, local officials often use market-centric solutions to pursue them. Further, despite the progressive rhetoric used to describe urban planning goals, in most cases their result has been greater social, economic, and geographic stratification.

Chasing World-Class Urbanism is a much-needed guide to the intersections of culture, ideology, and the realities of twenty-first-century life in a major Latin American city, one that illuminates the tension between technocratic aspirations and lived experience.



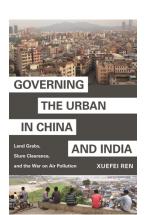
### Meghji.Ali. 2020. Decolonizing Sociology. Cambridge: Polity Books.

Sociology, as a discipline, was born at the height of global colonialism and imperialism. Over a century later, it is yet to shake off its commitment to colonial ways of thinking. This book explores why, and how, sociology needs to be decolonized. It analyses how sociology was integral in reproducing the colonial order, as dominant sociologists constructed theories either assuming or proving the supposed barbarity and backwardness of colonized people. Ali Meghji reveals how colonialism continues to shape the discipline today, dominating both social theory and the practice of sociology, how exporting the Eurocentric sociological canon erased social theories from the Global South, and how sociologists continue to ignore the relevance of coloniality in their work. This guide will be necessary reading for any student or proponent of sociology. In opening up the work of other decolonial advocates and under-represented thinkers to readers, Meghji offers key suggestions for what teachers and students can do to decolonize sociology. With curriculum reform, innovative teaching and a critical awareness of these issues, it is possible to make sociology more equitable on a global scale.



# Podur, Justin. 2020. America's Wars on Democracy in Rwanda and the DR Congo. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

This book examines US interventions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda -- two countries whose post-independence histories are inseparable. It analyzes the US campaigns to prevent Patrice Lumumba from turning the DR Congo into a sovereign, democratic, prosperous republic on a continent where America's ally apartheid South Africa was hegemonic; America's installation of and support for Mobutu to keep the region under neo-colonial control; and America's pre-emption of the Africa-wide movement for multiparty democracy in Rwanda and Zaire in the 1990s by supporting Paul Kagame's Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). In addition, the book discusses the concepts of African development, democracy, genocide, foreign policy, and international politics.



# Ren, Xuefei. Governing the Urban in China and India: Land Grabs, Slum Clearance, and the War on Air Pollution. Princeton University Press, 2020.

Urbanization is rapidly overtaking China and India, the two most populous countries in the world. One-sixth of humanity now lives in either a Chinese or Indian city. This transformation has unleashed enormous pressures on land use, housing, and the environment. Despite the stakes, the workings of urban governance in China and India remain obscure and poorly understood. In this book, Xuefei Ren explores how China and India govern their cities and how their different styles of governance produce inequality and exclusion. Drawing upon historical-comparative analyses and extensive fieldwork (in Beijing, Guangzhou, Wukan, Delhi, Mumbai, and Kolkata), Ren investigates how Chinese and Indian cities manage land acquisition, slum clearance, and air pollution. She discovers that the two countries address these issues through radically different approaches. In China, urban governance centers on territorial institutions, such as hukou and the cadre evaluation system. In India, urban governance centers on associational politics, encompassing contingent alliances formed among state actors, the private sector, and civil society. Ren traces the origins of territorial and associational forms of governance to late imperial China and precolonial India. She then shows how these forms have evolved to shape urban growth and residents' struggles today.



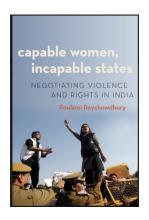
Reese, Ellen and Jake Wilson, Eds., *The Cost of Free Shipping: Amazon in the Global Economy*. London, UK: Pluto Press.

https://www.plutobooks.com/9780745341484/the-cost-of-free-shipping/

Amazon is the most powerful corporation on the planet and its CEO, Jeff Bezos, has become the richest person in history, and one of the few people to profit from a global pandemic. Its dominance has reshaped the global economy itself: we live in the age of 'Amazon Capitalism'.

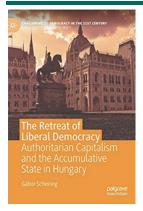
'One-click' instant consumerism and its immense variety of products has made Amazon a worldwide household name, with over 60% of US households subscribing to Amazon Prime. In turn, these subscribers are surveilled by the corporation. Amazon is also one of the world's largest logistics companies, resulting in weakened unions and lowered labor standards. The company has also become the largest provider of cloud-computing services and home surveillance systems, not to mention the ubiquitous Alexa.

With cutting-edge analyses, this book looks at the many dark facets of the corporation, including automation, surveillance, tech work, workers' struggles, algorithmic challenges, the disruption of local democracy and much more. *The Cost of Free Shipping* shows how Amazon represents a fundamental shift in global capitalism that we should name, interrogate and be primed to resist.



# Roychowdhury, Poulami. 2020. Capable Women, Incapable States: Negotiating Violence and Rights in India. Oxford University Press.

In recent decades, the issue of gender-based violence has become heavily politicized in India. Yet, Indian law enforcement personnel continue to be biased against women and overburdened. In Capable Women, Incapable States, Poulami Roychowdhury asks how women claim rights within these conditions. Through long term ethnography, she provides an in-depth lens on rights negotiations in the world's largest democracy, detailing their social and political effects. Roychowdhury finds that women interact with the law not by following legal procedure or abiding by the rules, but by deploying collective threats and doing the work of the state themselves. And they behave this way because law enforcement personnel do not protect women from harm but do allow women to take the law into their own hands. These negotiations do not enhance legal enforcement. Instead, they create a space where capable women can extract concessions outside the law, all while shouldering a new burden of labor and risk. A unique theory of gender inequality and governance, Capable Women, Incapable States forces us to rethink the effects of rights activism across large parts of the world where political mobilization confronts negligent criminal justice systems.



Scheiring, Gabor. 2020. The retreat of liberal democracy: Authoritarian capitalism and the accumulative state in Hungary. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Democracy is on the retreat around the globe. A New Right hegemony has arisen in Brazil, in India, in the UK, among others. Hungary under Viktor Orbán is one of the most frequently cited examples. Yet, popular explanations about this New Right hegemony are not satisfying. Gabor Scheiring's book, The Retreat of Liberal Democracy: Authoritarian Capitalism and the Accumulative State in Hungary (Palgrave, 2020), addresses these questions. Relying on three years of mixedmethod empirical research and four years in politics the book provides a fresh answer to a simple yet profound question: why has liberal democracy retreated in Hungary? The book argues that Hungary's new hybrid authoritarian regime emerged as a political response to the tensions of globalization. It demonstrates how Viktor Orbán's Fidesz exploited the rising nationalism among the workingclass casualties of deindustrialization and the national bourgeoisie to consolidate illiberal hegemony. Yet, workers are not among the prime beneficiaries of the new regime, which relies on national-populist fixes to bolster Orbán's exclusionaryneoliberal rule. As the world faces a new wave of autocratisation, Hungary's lessons become relevant across the globe, and this book represents a significant contribution to understanding challenges to democracy. The book offers valuable insights for students and researchers across political sociology, political science, economics, and social anthropology, as well as democracy advocates. Further details on the book:

https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9783030487515/



Stephan, Rita and Mounira M. Charrad, eds., 2020. Women Rising: In and Beyond the Arab Spring, New York: New York University Press.

Women Rising brings together groundbreaking essays by female activists and scholars documenting women's resistance before, during, and after the Arab Spring. In this timely volume, Stephan and Charrad paint a picture of women's first-hand experiences in sixteen countries. Contributors provide insight into a diverse range of perspectives across the entire movement, focusing on often marginalized voices, including rural women, housewives, students, and artists. Women Rising offers an indepth understanding of an important twenty-first century movement, telling the story of Arab women's activism.

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### JOB MARKET CANDIDATES

### CANDIDATE PROFILES



# Lantian Li Ph D. Candidate, Northwestern University

I am a development sociologist of health politics and economy. My research primarily asks how health governance institutions interact with each other and what socio-economic consequences such interaction may produce. For instance, in my dissertation, I explore the origin and outcome of institutional contradiction in the Chinese pharmaceutical sector, triangulating extensive historical documents, statistical data, and 156 interviews with a diverse set of key stakeholders. Specifically, I elaborate how China's uneven market reform in health-related sectors inadvertently subjected the pharmaceutical industry to

contradictory governance institutions: decentralized developmental states prioritizing local economic growth on one hand, and a centralized bureaucratic state prioritizing healthcare cost containment on the other. Such institutional contradiction steered China's pharmaceutical industry onto a problematic growth path I characterize as rentier developmentalism. I show that although rentier developmentalism is growth-friendly in the short term, it can spoil the industry and cause social suffering in the long run.

My work shows that while diseases may incapacitate individuals, flawed governance institutions can induce sufferings and inequality on a much larger scale. During the COVID-19 crisis, my co-authors and I applied a similar institutional lens to analyze China's initial mishandling of the local outbreak, highlighting the danger of institutional imbalance in pandemic management (*Journal of Chinese Governance*). We also identified the mutual structural constraints of states and global value chains in the emergent supply of personal protective equipment (forthcoming in *World Development*). Building on these insights, I call for more inquiries into the institutional roots of variations in pandemic responses, which I believe can both enrich sociological theory of development and assist the arduous fight against the devastating global pandemic.

### **OPPORTUNITIES**

### **GIFT MEMBERSHIPS**

ASA and ASA section memberships

ASA members can purchase ASA and section memberships as gifts at <a href="https://asa.enoah.com">https://asa.enoah.com</a> (Login required).

To gift an **ASA membership**, click "Purchase a gift membership for a student" under the **Contribute/Give** heading and then select "To search for or add a new individual, please click here." Per the ASA, "Your gift will be redeemable by the recipient for a 2021 ASA student membership (or a \$51 discount on another membership type for 2021). Your gift recipient will receive their gift credit via e-mail immediately after your purchase. Gift memberships are not refundable if unredeemed by the end of the 2020 membership year, September 30, 2020. Gift memberships are not tax deductible."

To gift a **section membership**, click "Purchase a gift section membership" under the Contribute/Give heading and then select "Sociology of Development" from the dropdown option. Per the ASA "Section membership requires 2021 ASA membership. Only 2021ASA members who do not already have a membership in that section are eligible to receive a gift. Your recipient will receive an e-mail immediately after your payment notifying them of the section gift. Your name will be included in this message. If the recipient declines the gift within 30 days of receipt, you will receive a refund by mail. Gifts are not tax deductible."

### CALLS FOR PAPERS

### 24th Annual Conference on the Americas, Virtual, February 19-20, 2021

The Americas Council provides an annual conference for presenters and participants to explore critical sociocultural, political, economic, environmental, global, regional and national issues including the challenges and opportunities facing Latin America, the Caribbean and Canada. While the focus of this conference is primarily for university/college faculty members, we encourage graduate and undergraduate students to showcase their research on the Americas. For more details, please check: <a href="https://ung.edu/college-of-arts-and-letters/conference-on-the-americas/index.php">https://ung.edu/college-of-arts-and-letters/conference-on-the-americas/index.php</a>

Deadline for submission of Abstracts: December 30, 2020

Women and Gender in Development Virtual Conference 2021, February 23-26, 2021

Out of the Theory & Into the Field: A Dialogue on Gendered Approaches to Inclusive Rural Development



The Women and Gender in International Development team at the Center for International Research, Education, and Development (CIRED) of Virginia Tech invites students, faculty, practitioners, extension professionals, and all interested individuals to an intensive learning and networking opportunity engaging renowned experts in gender and development—both international and domestic— with particular emphasis on inclusive rural development. See <a href="website">website</a> for details and follow @wgdconf on Twitter for more information. If you have any questions please write to <a href="website">womengenderdev@gmail.com</a> and use 2021 WGD Conf in your subject heading. Fees are under \$50, and only \$20 for students. Scholarships are available but limited. Apply <a href="here">here</a>.

### **ANNOUNCEMENTS**

Development Sociologists Earn National Recognition for Rural Population Research

### Fall/Winter 2020 SECTORS Volume 7 (2)

A multidisciplinary, multi-institution research team of sociologists, geographers, economists and statisticians has earned the National Excellence in Multistate Research Award from the Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities and the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). This prestigious and highly competitive award recognizes scientists who conduct exemplary research and outreach efforts across multiple states and in doing so enhance the visibility and impact of USDA multistate programs. This is the first time this award has been presented to social scientists. It typically goes to applied biologists working in areas of food, agriculture and nutrition.

The project, known as W4001: Social, Economic and Environmental Causes and Consequences of Demographic Change in Rural America, conducts research on the most pressing demographic, economic, social, and environmental challenges faced by rural communities in the U.S. Rural areas make up 72% of the nation's land area, house 46 million people, and are essential to agriculture, natural resources, recreation, and environmental sustainability. These areas are constantly changing, and many face challenges such as limited access to healthcare, education, broadband internet, and jobs.

Earlier this year the team earned the Western Region Excellence in Research Award; the new award recognizes the team's national excellence. The team includes 39 investigators across 28 colleges and universities and federal government agencies spanning all regions of the U.S. In the last three years, the group has produced over a hundred peer-reviewed publications, published several influential books on rural community and demography, developed numerous policy briefs, secured over \$13 million in research funding, led workshops for community organizations, delivered over 200 presentations to stakeholders (including the U.S. Congress and the National Institutes of Health), and consulted for experts in multiple state and federal agencies.

In recent years, W4001's research has helped address multiple major national health crises. This project has provided essential information about the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on rural communities, guiding states' social distancing policies, resource allocation, testing, and reopening strategies. The research on population aging by Nina Glasgow, Eddy Berry, Brian Thiede and others highlights how changing population structure can affect rural communities' access to, and utilization of, health care and other services. This research provides important context for understanding a critical weakness in rural community response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, research by Shannon Monnat at Syracuse University was among the first to identify rising rural opioid overdose rates and explanations for those trends. This information shaped national legislation, influenced the design of an interactive data visualization tool that helps communities assess and respond to the overdose crisis, and led to rapid resource allocation. The group's research also guided the placement and training of community health workers after the Deepwater Horizon disaster, resulting in enhanced preparedness and health capacity.

Research by sociologists Dan Lichter and David Brown examines how the socio-demographic, economic and environmental relationships between large cities and their rural hinterlands produce and reproduce the rural-urban interface. This research is especially important in states where a large and growing share of population and economic activity is located in the rural-urban interface, and where people's contact with the natural environment is increasingly frequent, intense, and often problematic.

W4001's research has informed anti-poverty policies, including changes in official measurements of poverty and underemployment and the distribution of safety net resources. Project members were the first to discover that rural populations are shrinking due to young adult outmigration, fewer births, and increased mortality. Researchers created a database that details county-level age-specific net migration trends. Hundreds of thousands of regional planners, insurance companies, school districts, senior housing developers, public health agencies, and other stakeholders have used the database to understand rural needs and market demand and to inform infrastructure development and resource allocation. Recently, the group's research and outreach has helped numerous state governments prepare for the 2020 Census and facilitate a complete count. W-4001 scholars were among the first to use advanced GIS techniques to examine the impacts of measurement error at the local level on the accuracy of public statistics.

### **Member Announcements**

Karin A. C. Johnson, Ph.D. I completed my dissertation, entitled "Shifting Skilled Migration Trends in the Global Economy: A Comparative Analysis of International Student Mobility to the United Arab Emirates and Russia," in May 2020. I graduated in June 2020 from the University of California, Riverside, Department of Sociology. My core interests are how policy shapes incoming skilled migration, especially to areas with low or declining populations. In July 2020, I began my new position as a federal employee. I am the Administrator of the U.S. Census Bureau Federal Statistical Research Data Center at Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas. (TXRDC website <a href="https://liberalarts.tamu.edu/txrdc/">https://liberalarts.tamu.edu/txrdc/</a> and the Census FSRDC website <a href="https://www.census.gov/fsrdc">https://liberalarts.tamu.edu/txrdc/</a> and the Census FSRDC website <a href="https://www.census.gov/fsrdc">https://www.census.gov/fsrdc</a>). The FSRDCs allow researchers to access restricted demographic, economic, health, and business data. For more information about me, my research, or the RDC, please email me at karin.johnson[at]census.gov</a>

**Aaron Arredondo** was elected as a member of the ASA Student Forum Advisory Board (SFAB), effective September 1, 2020 through August 31, 2022. He was also selected as a recipient for the Labor Research and Action Network's (LRAN) New Scholars grant for my project titled, *The Nuevo Midwest: Racialized Organizations, Community Life, and Workplace Experiences in a Diversifying Agroindustrial Town.* 

**Holly Reed** was promoted to full professor effective Fall 2020. She is now Professor and Associate Chair in the Department of Sociology at Queens College.

### **MISSION STATEMENT**

The Sociology of Development Section of ASA promotes work in sociology on the causes and effects of development. We support work in all geographical regions including the United States, other advanced industrial nations and the Global South. We are open to work of all theoretical orientations and all methodological orientations. Both theoretical and applied work is welcome.

### SECTION COMMUNICATION PLATFORMS

ASA Sociology of Development Page: <a href="http://www.asanet.org/sections/development.cfm">http://www.asanet.org/sections/development.cfm</a>

Sociology of Development Website: http://sociologyofdevelopment.com/

Sociology of Development Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/ASA-Sociology-of-Development-Section-160936710615717/

Sociology of Development Listserv: SOCDEV

<u>DEVELOPMENT-ANNOUNCE@LISTSERV.ASANET.ORG</u>

Sociology of Development Newsletter:
Please send all your ideas, feedback, and submissions to socdevsectors@gmail.com.