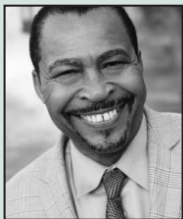


Inside

- 2 How Will Black Women Shape the 2020 Election? What Will the Outcome Mean for Them?
- 3 Are We Ready for a Woman of Color as President of the United States?
- 5 Politics and Inequality in Washington
- 6 Racial Capitalism and the 2020 Election: On the Presentism and Methodological Individualism of American Sociology
- 8 White Racial Projects in the 2020 Election and The American Indian Origins Controversy
- 10 Where the Sleeping Giant Lies? Latinos, Puerto Ricans, and the 2020 Election
- 11 Immigration and the 2020 Election
- 13 Why Voters Don't Get the Policies They Want
- 15 ASA News, including: Introducing 2021 ASA President Aldon Morris
- 22 Announcements



Special Issue:
 Election Reflections

If the Polls Are So Wrong,
 How Come You're Paying So Much Attention?

Andrew J. Perrin, Ruel W. Tyson
Distinguished Professor of the Humanities, Professor of Sociology, and Director of the Institute for the Arts and Humanities, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill



Andrew J. Perrin

Shortly before election day in 2016, poll aggregator Nate Silver famously pegged the likelihood of a Hillary Clinton victory at 70%. It was the more likely outcome of the election, but certainly not guaranteed based on his model and interpretation of the polls he was gathering. Observers, critics, and Clinton partisans ridiculed the call; competing poll interpreter Sam Wang vowed to “eat a bug” if Trump won—a promise he followed through on shortly thereafter.

In the public mind, the polls were wrong in 2016. Any pollster will be happy to explain that, in fact, they weren't wrong, or at least not by much. That's true in a technical sense, and actually quite impressive. But it misses the way most people interpret and, potentially, even act upon polls. Why are so many people still so focused on polls even as they claim to mistrust the results and dismiss the whole practice?

Poll predictions are a little like weather reports. Meteorologists have a sense of what an 80% chance of rain means, and pollsters (the good ones at least) grasp what a 70% chance of a Clinton victory means. When I check my weather app, though, what I actually want to know is whether it will rain this afternoon. If it will, I may adjust my behavior: plan outdoor

activities for a different day, bring an umbrella, and similar. Essentially, I am interested in a binary outcome (rain or no rain) but the weather predictors offer me only a probabilistic estimate.

So it is with polls. Just as yesterday at 4:00 it was either raining or not (it couldn't be 80% raining), the result of an election is categorical. As citizens we are interested in who wins and who loses; nobody can win 70% of an election (leaving aside proportional representation systems). Just as an 80% rain forecast can never be wrong, neither can a 70% election prediction; we only have one actual observation by which to evaluate the prediction.

Technically, it's true that the polls were pretty accurate. Most predicted the national popular vote quite closely, and in the few states that tipped the election (Wisconsin, Michigan, and Pennsylvania), the predictions were off only by a few percentage points. What made us view the polls as “wrong” is that those errors resulted in a change to the statewide result and that the same thing happened in each of those states and more (a problem known as *correlated errors*). So small errors in key places resulted in the glaring mistake of predicting the wrong outcome.

Getting that close was at least as much art as science, though. Response rates to polls have plummeted with the advent of Caller ID, the increasing number of homes without landline telephones, and the general suspicion of automated and scripted callers. Each polling organization—known as a “house”—tries to address those problems with some mix of changing modes (automated, text-mes-

sage, web, and other survey styles alongside traditional telephone), aggressive recruitment, and statistical weighting.

The weighting process in particular can be quite subjective; pollsters make educated guesses as to how different their respondents are from the population they're trying to understand, and they increase and decrease the amount of attention they pay to each of their respondents based on those guesses. With sample sizes often around 1,000 total, response rates frequently below 10%, and a rapidly changing electorate, those guesses end up accounting for a lot of variation in the results—results that can't be evaluated until election day. Aggregators like Silver, 538, and RealClearPolitics add an additional layer by trying to adjust for these “house effects” in their averages.

While the weather doesn't listen to the weather report, voters do pay attention to polls, probably far more than they should. In 2016, it's possible some ambivalent voters were so convinced by the polls that Clinton would win that they chose not to vote, to vote for a third-party or write-in candidate, or even to cast a protest vote for Trump. If the outcome is so clear as to make a polling expert offer to eat a bug if he's wrong, why *not* use the opportunity to express ambivalence or dissent?

People pay such close attention to polls because they seem objective: a theory-free window into what's happening out there in the world. Public opinion research was invented and adopted by the news media for precisely that purpose. But in fact, like any other research,

Continued on Page 2

How Will Black Women Shape the 2020 Election? What Will the Outcome Mean for Them?

Adia Harvey Wingfield, Professor of Sociology, Washington University in St. Louis



Adia Harvey Wingfield

To say 2020 has been unprecedented might be the biggest possible understatement about this year. It's a safe bet that no one had global pandemic, international protests for racial equity, and presidential impeachment on their Bingo card. In keeping with the theme of this being an unusual year, this presidential election is of enormous significance for many reasons. It is the first with one of the candidates seeking re-election after impeachment, it features the oldest two candidates for President in U.S. history, and it marks a politically unthinkable comeback, after one nominee lost the first two primary contests in resounding fashion. Yet it is also an election that will, in ways large and small, highlight the significant and important roles that Black women play in our politics and in our society at large.

Black women have long been an overlooked but essential voting bloc for the Democratic party. They vote Democratic in higher numbers than nearly any other group, with over 90% of Black women voters backing Hillary Clinton in 2016 (compared

to less than 50% of white women). During the midterm elections of 2018, Black women also made the difference in contests in Alabama, Virginia, and New Jersey, with high levels of turnout that affected outcomes in each state. And they were integral to Joe Biden getting the Democratic nomination in the first place, as Black voters' turnout in southern states, particularly South Carolina, enabled him to clinch the race decisively.

Kamala Harris's candidacy for Vice President means that this is also the first election to feature a woman of color on a major-party ticket. (Shirley Chisholm holds the distinction of being the first Black candidate to seek a major party ticket's nomination for President when she ran for the office in 1972.) Joe Biden, the Democratic Party's nominee for President, has also committed to naming a Black woman to the Supreme Court should he be elected and have the opportunity to do so. Of course, it's also worth noting that back in 1993, Biden was involved in shepherding Anita Hill's testimony before a panel of white men as she aired her allegations that Clarence Thomas, the second Black nominee for the Supreme Court, sexually harassed her while they were coworkers at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The aforementioned factors indicate that while the 2020 election has far-reaching significance, it is also

one that presents an opportunity to consider particular intersections of how race and gender matter. A Black woman is on the ticket, Black women are the Democratic Party's most reliable voting bloc, and Black people are responsible for throwing their weight behind Joe Biden, who has promised to put the first Black woman on a Supreme Court that currently has a conservative majority and has only had one woman of color in its long history.

From a purely representational standpoint, these are clear examples of advancement and signs of progress from an earlier age where including or committing to including Black women in these roles would have been unthinkable. And it is possible to make the argument that this upcoming election features Black women more prominently and significantly than any other one before it. But as sociologists, we know that representation is one thing, but the structural and institutional factors that inhibit that representation in the first place are another. And the institutional factors that create barriers for Black women continue to remain daunting. Black women have higher rates of maternal mortality than any other group—they are 2 to 3 times more likely to die than their white women counterparts. Accounts from Black women as well-known and influential as Serena Williams and Beyonce Knowles-Carter put

a spotlight on the fact that the dangers Black women face giving birth cross economic lines. Beyonce coped with preeclampsia, while Serena Williams writes that she nearly died after giving birth when a nurse dismissed her assertion that she was developing blood clots and needed a CT scan. (Williams ultimately received the treatment, which helped save her life.)

Health care is only one area where Black women suffer from structural and institutional biases. They are also overrepresented in "bad jobs" that provide fewer benefits, less autonomy, and lower wages. Across occupational categories and industries, Black women face a wage gap, earning 65 cents for every dollar earned by white men. Interestingly, this gap is widest for Black women with college and postgraduate degrees, wider than for Black women with high school diplomas or less. This creates a situation where Black women's high levels of educational attainment serve to result in greater wage disparities relative to comparably educated white men. As income inequality continues to grow in the United States, Black women are disproportionately concentrated in jobs that are not designed to provide workers with economic security, and even the most educated Black women can't count on receiving an equitable, fair wage.

Continued on Page 3

Perrin

From Page 1

polls rest on a set of theories—about human behavior, about representation, and about political decision-making—that are mostly hidden under the scientific veneer of crosstabs and margins of error.

Academics like to think, for example, that people make political decisions the way we (think we) do: develop a set of preferences about values and policies, then match

these with each candidate's stated policy proposals, adjusting perhaps for the likelihood of the candidate winning or succeeding in those policies once elected. Pollsters and interpreters often extend that basic model by identifying groups of people with sets of preferences, whether these are demographic (women, non-college whites, Black voters, etc.) or ideological (moderates, religious voters, conservatives).

There's not great evidence even that highly educated voters actually

practice that theory of political decision-making. There is some good evidence that less-educated, less-committed voters really don't. The best explanation, for example, of the Obama-Trump voting bloc (of whom there were probably around 6 million) is not that they shifted values or policy positions dramatically in four years, but that they were making their decision based on something other than values and policies. That's just one example of a probably wrong theory

embedded in poll interpretation. Reading the polls well means making those theories explicit and considering their likelihood.

The polls this time around are likely to be pretty accurate at predicting election outcomes, in part because pollsters will work overtime to correct for the mistakes of 2016. But they won't be perfect, and a rapidly changing, poorly understood, and divided electorate means there are likely to be consequential errors.

Are We Ready for a Woman of Color as President of the United States?

Caroline Heldman, Professor of Critical Theory and Social Justice, Occidental College

On a chilly night last October, presidential candidate Kamala Harris asked an Iowa crowd, “Is America ready for a woman of color to be president? I’m ready for it, but I don’t know if other people are.” Within two months, Harris would be out of the race.



Caroline Heldman

Nearly a year later, Joe Biden kept his promise of choosing a woman as his running mate when he tweeted, “Kamala Harris will be an incredible Vice President.” Biden is the oldest presidential candidate in history, and if he wins, few expect him to run again in four years. This sets Harris up to be the first woman president, and her potential tenure as vice president will break a significant barrier for women in U.S. politics. Is America ready for a woman of color in the White House?

Barriers for women candidates have mostly disappeared in recent decades, but not for the presidency or the vice presidency. I begin this essay with an overview of Harris’ background, followed by a summary of scholarship on women and the vice presidency, women and the presidency, race and the presidency, and women of color as candidates.

I conclude that the misogynoir Harris is already facing in public and media discourse will intensify if she gains the vice presidency and presidency, but Biden’s nomination of Harris may be the backdoor way to our first woman president.

A Life of “Firsts”

Senator Kamala Harris is the first woman of color on a presidential ticket in a life marked by “firsts.” She was born in Oakland, CA, to academics—a Jamaican father and a Tamil Indian mother. Harris attended a Hindu temple and a Black Baptist church growing up and participated in marches for civil rights with her parents. She has held public office since 2003, first as San Francisco District Attorney—the first woman, Black person, and Indian American person to be elected to that position. She checked the same lists of “firsts” as state Attorney General. Harris was the second Black woman to serve in the U.S. Senate and the first Indian American.

Sexism and Racism in the 2020 Race

Harris experienced sexism, racism, and intersecting sexism/racism in the 2020 election cycle. On the Democratic side, a group of Biden allies waged a shadow campaign to derail her vice-presidential candidacy, framing her as “too ambitious.” Ambition-shaming has a long and sexist history in U.S. politics because so many Americans

have a deep-seated distaste for power-seeking women. On the Republican side, Trump used the sexist stereotype that women must be likeable to demean Harris, calling her “extraordinarily nasty... nasty to a level that was just a horrible thing.” Trump also invoked the “angry Black woman” trope by calling Harris “mad” and “angry” at numerous public events. Radio personality Rush Limbaugh called Harris a “public escort and mattress” for Willie Brown, which smacks of the hyper-sexual “Jezebel” trope associated with Black women. Also, Chapman University Professor John Eastman published an op-ed in *Newsweek* claiming that Harris was not eligible to be president because her parents were immigrants (like the racist Birther Movement against Obama). Harris was born in Oakland so this claim is bizarre, and *Newsweek* later apologized for advancing this racist framing. It is also worth noting that many Republicans are purposefully mispronouncing “Kamala” to mark her as “foreign.”

Harris has also been the target of an onslaught of sexist/racist comments and memes in public discourse. An NBA photographer was fired from the league for posting a meme with the caption “Joe and the Hoe.” The mayor of a Virginia town posted a social media message that Biden picked “Aunt Jemima” as his running mate. Another GOP official in Virginia posted a crude

meme on the official party Facebook account that suggested Harris slept her way to the top. Feminist groups launched the hashtag campaign #WeHaveHerBack in response to the sexist/racist discourse around Harris.

Ferraro, Palin, and Harris

Harris is the third woman in U.S. history to be nominated for the vice presidency. Walter Mondale ran with Geraldine Ferraro in 1984 and John McCain with Sarah Palin in 2008, and both women faced severe sexism. Reporter Tom Brokaw introduced Ferraro as “The first woman to be nominated for vice president... size six.” Other reporters questioned Ferraro’s use of her maiden name and who would take care of her children. Reporters asked Palin who would care for her children, sexually objectified her, and treated her wardrobe expenses as newsworthy. Limbaugh made constant comments about her “great legs” and Ed Schultz led into Palin segments with “Bimbo Alert” on his radio show. A content analysis of media finds that Ferraro and Palin received more negative coverage than male vice presidential candidates, more focus on their appearance and family roles, and more overtly gendered insults (Conroy et al. 2015). As a vice presidential candidate, Harris is facing sexism as well as racism (being framed as “other,” “foreign”) and intersec-

Continued on Page 4

Harvey Wingfield

From Page 2

Finally, Black women are subject to various forms of state and vigilante violence at alarming rates. This summer’s killing of EMT Breonna Taylor means that her name has been added to the list of Black women and girls like Aiyana Stanley Jones, Rekia Boyd, Alteria Woods, and others who have been killed by police officers who ultimately faced no charges for causing these deaths. Additionally, Black trans women face daunting, horrific rates of violence, along with

higher rates of poverty and housing instability than the general population. Bree Black, Draya McCarty, Merci Mack, Shaki Peters, and Brayla Stone are just a few names of Black trans women who were murdered this summer alone. The American Medical Association has identified violence against transgender people as an epidemic, and underreporting and inconsistent data collection mean the numbers of Black trans women who are murdered are likely higher than known.

While a Black woman is on the

ballot and Black women will likely, as in years past, vote in especially high numbers, this visibility does not and will not necessarily mean systemic change. What will the 2020 election mean for Black women when racial and gender discrimination in the health care system transforms the act of giving birth into a life-or-death situation? What policies have respective candidates advanced to address the mismatch between Black women’s ambitions and educational attainment, and their wages and opportunities for

upward mobility and occupational advancement? Can this election, and the political choices and decisions that result, make the world safer for Black trans women so that they do not have to live in fear for their lives?

Addressing these issues in a way that fully and comprehensively addresses the challenges Black women face will take much more than representation. It will require intentional, direct policies that explicitly seek to resolve the ongoing legacies of centuries of systemic gendered racism.

Heldman

From Page 3

tional sexism/racism (“angry Black woman” trope; “Jezebel” trope).

One positive aspect of Harris’ candidacy is that while Ferraro and Palin were included as novelties—a political gamble—to energize underdog tickets, Harris was added to a ticket that was ahead in the polls. Both Ferraro and Palin were a drag on their respective tickets (see Baumgartner 2006 and Mitchell 2009). It is too soon to know whether Harris will buoy the ticket. But if the Biden-Harris ticket wins the White House, Harris will be “one heartbeat” away from the presidency.

Historic Barriers to the Presidency

The 2020 Democratic presidential primary field was the most diverse in U.S. history, boasting four men of color, the first openly gay candidate, and six women, including two women of color. This abundance of traditionally marginalized identities in the primary was historic—an upheaval of 240 years of virtually all white, male candidates for the presidency. But the mere presence of a slate of presidential candidates that looks more like the American electorate is not sufficient to open an office that is a fundamentally limited democratic space. It was no surprise that the two frontrunners throughout the primary were white men (Biden and Bernie Sanders), and the field eventually narrowed to one white man.

The U.S. President holds singular importance as the symbolic leader of the “free world,” and as such, perceptions of who can legitimately occupy the Oval Office is a measure of who counts as a “true American.” (Smith 1999). When it comes to race, Obama was hampered by conceptions of the presidency as an inherently “white” office, both as a candidate and as president. During the 2008 campaign, he was “othered” through popular right-wing conspiracies questioning his birthplace and legal citizenship status and fabricated stories about refusing to wear a flag pin or hold

his hand over his heart during the national anthem. Today, a quarter of Americans still believe that President Obama was indeed born in another country, and about one in five say he is a Muslim, despite his Christian faith. Obama’s margins in 2008 and 2012 were significantly deflated due to racism (see Michael S. Lewis-Beck et al. 2010 and Tien et al., 2012). The election of Donald Trump, the titular leader of the Birther Movement, was a reaction to eight years of our first Black president, and racial bias was an even bigger factor in vote choice in the 2016 election than in 2012 or 2008.

The absence of women in the Oval Office is not for lack of effort.

To date,

more than one hundred women have mounted campaigns and 18 women have made serious bids for the presidency (defined as a

party nomination, press coverage as a national competitor, a prominent national profile, or presence on multiple primary ballots), starting with Victoria Woodhull in 1972. Every woman who has made a serious bid for the presidency has run into the same barriers—more negative news coverage; media coverage that frames them as less serious contenders (e.g., dropping their professional titles); greater questioning of their validity; gender stereotypes (e.g., ambition shaming, focus on appearance); vitriolic sexism in media; and double standards in coverage when it comes to leadership abilities and scandals (Heldman, Conroy, and Ackerman, 2018). The presidency “wields enormous material and symbolic power—including the power, in a sense, to personify not only ‘America,’ but American manhood” (Katz, 2016: 3).

Hillary Clinton, the only woman to be nominated by a major party for the presidency, faced a tsunami of sexism in 2016. Her opponents claimed she lacked the strength and

stamina to be president, that she didn’t “look presidential,” suggested she smile more, and labeled her a “nasty woman,” “unlikeable,” and “angry.” Press coverage focused more on Trump’s policy positions than Clinton’s, and less on his controversies than Clinton’s. At the Republican National Convention, Trump supporters were selling items with sexist statements such as “Hillary sucks but not like Monica,” “Trump that Bitch,” and “2 fat thighs, 2 small breasts, 1 left wing,” etc. Schaffner et al. (2018) find that racism and sexism were significant voter drivers for Trump. Voters who were angry at recent societal advances in gender equality voted overwhelmingly for Trump

(Valentino et al. 2018).

Sexism also played a role in the 2020 Democratic primary. At the start of the race, one-in-ten Americans

said the women candidates were less suited for politics because of their gender (Carnevale et al., 2019), and voters with high levels of hostile sexism in both parties were far less likely to support female candidates (Luks and Schaffner, 2019). Approximately 40% of low-sexism Democrats supported at least one female candidate, while only 20% of high-sexist Democrats did. Harris’ support was 15% amongst low-sexism Democrats but only 5% amongst high-sexism Democrats.

Prior to the 2020 race, three Black women made serious bids for the presidency: Shirley Chisholm (1972); Lenora Fulani (1988); and Carol Moseley Braun (2004). Jessica Johnson Carew (2016) finds that Black women who run for the office are not very competitive because they are not seen as legitimate and therefore cannot raise the required capital. My previous work confirms intersectional bias against Black women who run for the presidency. Media coverage of Chisholm’s bid often described her as the

“angry Black woman” stereotype, possessing “scathing anger” and having a fierce “temper,” and as “fiery.” Similarly, media coverage of Fulani, who garnered more votes than any female presidential candidate to date when she ran in 1992, was framed in the headlines as “shouting down” Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown during the New York primary.

At the start of the 2020 primary, Harris was considered a formidable opponent who could go toe-to-toe with Trump. In the first three months of her campaign, she had raised \$12 million and garnered the third most media coverage (behind Biden and Sanders). By the end of the summer, support for the leading white candidates had grown while Harris’ had fallen off and she was struggling in the polls. During the June 2019 debate, Harris was criticized for having the audacity to challenge Biden on his anti-bussing stance, and instead of seeing a bump in the polls for nailing the frontrunner, she faced a “likeability” backlash. Women who seek power are seen as “unlikeable” by millions of Americans— with 53% of Republicans and 26% of Democrats agreeing that female presidential candidates “just aren’t that likable” (Siena College Research Institute 2019). Her short-lived candidacy can, in part, be attributed to a different set of standards applied to women candidates of color.

Conclusion

If Harris is elected vice president, she will have a profound effect on legitimizing women of color as political leaders and inspiring brown and Black girls to run for office. Harris’ nomination already has significant meaning to the millions of Black immigrants in the U.S., and South Asian Indians around the world are celebrating her nomination. The barriers to the presidency have always been high for women, and especially women of color. But Biden’s back door route through the vice presidency may well be the way for a woman to finally serve as president of our democratic republic after two centuries of exclusion.

“If Harris is elected vice president, she will have a profound effect on legitimizing women of color as political leaders and inspiring brown and Black girls to run for office.”

Politics and Inequality in Washington

James R. Jones, Assistant Professor of African American Studies and Sociology, Rutgers University - Newark

As we look to the upcoming election and the opportunity to elect candidates who can best address social inequality, which is of central concern to our discipline, it is important to acknowledge that a new president, or a new Congress, alone cannot enact these changes. In order to combat systemic racism and structural inequality, we must understand the complex and intersecting processes that produce and maintain social inequality in Washington and that, consequently, shape the policies that develop from there and govern our social world. To this end, we must understand the people who work on Capitol Hill.



James R. Jones

Working in Washington

Keisha and Deidre, both Black women, worked on Capitol Hill. Keisha was a legislative assistant for a White Republican Senator and Deidre was the legislative counsel for a White Democratic Representative. Despite their differences in political affiliation, Keisha and Deidre had a lot in common. They were both attorneys who secured their first full-time jobs on the Hill through congressional internships. In college, Keisha interned for the Senator and then returned to work for him after she graduated from law school. On the other hand, Deidre became a congressional intern after she obtained her law degree. Even with an elite credential, she believed becoming a post-graduate intern was the only way she could develop the social contacts necessary to advance through insular hiring practices on Capitol Hill.

They were both employed in policy positions that allowed them to directly guide the legislative agendas of their elected bosses. Keisha said, "I, as an African American female, have an issue with any piece

of legislation that has discriminatory practices in it, on it, around it, on its face." She was outspoken and successfully persuaded her Republican senator not to sign onto immigration legislation that would have fast-tracked the admission of White immigrants over non-White immigrants into the United States. Deidre specialized in tax policy. However, as the only Black staffer in her office, she thought she needed to do more than just provide sound tax advice. "He has a high Hispanic population, and even a part of our new district has a decent African-American constituency. So, my goal has been and still is to try to shape his priorities, to reflect all of his constituency, especially those that ... don't have as much of a voice as some of the other constituencies in our district."

Even though Keisha and Deidre worked on different sides of the Capitol, for different political parties, they both believed it was important for Congress to have a workplace that is representative of the nation it governed because it influenced almost all dimensions of lawmaking. However, few Black staffers occupy top positions in the House and Senate and, overall, the congressional workplace is majority White. The lack of racial diversity among the people who work in Congress has a direct impact on creation of federal law, and more consequentially, who ascends to ranks of the power elite.

On Capitol Hill, it is often said that today's interns are tomorrow's members of Congress. This adage is partially true. One prominent example of this pathway is Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi who interned for Maryland Senator Daniel Brewster with Majority Leader Steny Hoyer. Today, approximately one fifth of current members of Congress have either worked as an intern or a congressional staffer before they were elected. What is most alarming is that most congressional interns are White, creating an unequal and unrepresentative pipeline to elected office.

In a recent study, I found that Whites make up 52% of under-

graduates nationally, 73% of House members, and approximately 68% of interns. By contrast, in the same season, Latinos are severely underrepresented; they make up 20% of undergraduates nationally, but only 9% of members in the House and 5% of interns. I found that the offices of White members were three times more likely to have White interns and White intern coordinators than offices of non-White members, regardless of political party. In the House offices of White Democrats, approximately 78% of interns were White compared to 85% in the offices of White Republicans.

The Race-Class Link

The racial composition of congressional interns is influenced by economic inequality. Lawmakers do not offer a living wage salary to their interns. To this end, it is students mostly from affluent backgrounds who are likely to have the resources to work and live for little to no pay. Interning is expensive: interns need to have professional attire, money for living expenses like transportation and food, not to mention pay for rent in the Capital, which ranks among the top 10 most expensive cities for U.S. renters.

Economic inequality not only affects interns, but staffers and members of congress who come from working-class backgrounds. For example, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who was the youngest woman ever elected to Congress, disclosed after her historic election that she could not afford to move to Washington before January. Ocasio-Cortez worked as a New York City bartender before she defeated a 10-term incumbent. A working-class occupation like hers would not allow a candidate to save enough money to live unemployed for a few months while they campaigned or, once elected, to secure a new apartment in DC where the average rent is over \$2,000. She tweeted about meeting Hill staffers who worked as part-time bartenders because their congressional salaries did not equal a living wage. In any

session of Congress, no more than 2% of lawmakers have come from the working class, even though 52% of Americans are working class. Ocasio-Cortez and the legislative staffers she met demonstrate how public service in the U.S. often requires unpaid labor. We view these sacrifices as beneficial and even necessary obligations for our democracy, but these commitments maintain and reproduce social inequality along class, gender, and racial lines.

Prior to 2019, most congressional internships were unpaid. Stipends for interns were either non-existent, idiosyncratic, or externally supported. A movement led by *Pay Our Interns* argued that Congress should pay their interns and increase access for working-class youth from across the country. They successfully secured over \$30 million in dedicated funding for congressional offices to pay their interns. Yet, even still, members of Congress continue to recruit students for unpaid internships. Internships are more than just educational experiences that teach students about the legislative process; they are also often a prerequisite to paid employment. Senior congressional staffers recruit job candidates with previous Hill experience and who are already socialized to the inner workings of Congress.

Representative Ayanna Pressley, who was elected as the first Black woman to represent Massachusetts, demonstrates the career progression interns can have going from unpaid laborers to paid staffers and then ultimately becoming elected officials. Pressley began her political career as an intern to Senator Edward Kennedy before becoming a senior aide to Senator John Kerry. Congressional employment honed her political acumen and provided a strong platform for her to successfully run for the Boston City Council, the position she held prior to her congressional election. Pressley's career is awe-inspiring and demonstrative of how working in the Capitol grooms individuals to

Continued on Page 6

Racial Capitalism and the 2020 Election: On the Presentism and Methodological Individualism of American Sociology

Cedric de Leon, Professor of Sociology
and Director of the Labor Center,
University of Massachusetts-Amherst

As a historical sociologist, one faces many choices. Among these is whether to stretch the analysis to speak to the present political moment. If, like me, you simply cannot help yourself, then there are in my experience certain unspoken rules. One must be speculative and only gingerly suggest that something in the past may be related to the current situation. In a book, such speculation should live in a paragraph in the introduction and/or perhaps in a parting rhetorical flourish in the conclusion. Add a substantive chapter or two on the



Cedric de Leon

21st century, and someone will no doubt pop up to say that while so-and-so has done a fine job on the historical case, they are on much shakier ground when speaking to the present. The message is polite but firm: “Dear Historical Sociologists, stay in your lane.”

The problem with this point of view, of course, is that the past and present are not so easily separable. Reflecting on the contemporary resurgence of white nationalism in the United States, the writer Edward Ball observed that the legacy of white supremacy is like an underground river beneath our feet that occasionally erupts in a geyser. He is right.

In this essay, I make three arguments. The first is that American sociology is presentist and methodologically individualistic in orientation, not least on voting behavior. This is due to the dominance of

voter studies, which originated in the 1940s, and which today continue to collect individual-level survey data and snapshot the salient social cleavages in the mass electorate. The second argument is that such studies do not capture the underground river of white supremacy beneath our feet. American politics has from its inception entailed the articulation and re-articulation of racial capitalism—that peculiar combination of genocide, slavery, and exploitation that has made the United States the richest country on Earth. My third argument is that the 2020 election takes place amidst the crisis of racial capitalism’s most recent articulation—postracial neoliberalism. As such, the election is a choice between two institutional paths out of crisis and one noninstitutional path: (1) the Caesarism of President Donald J. Trump; (2) the reconsolidation of

postracial neoliberalism represented by Joseph R. Biden, Jr.; and (3) the path of direct action and mass mobilization represented by the Movement for Black Lives and the #RedForEd strike wave.

The Presentism and Methodological Individualism of American Sociology

American sociologists were founders of modern polling. The credit for that distinction goes to Paul Lazarsfeld and the Columbia sociology department. Lazarsfeld was originally interested in the determinants of consumer choice but, having failed to secure sufficient funding for that project, he turned instead to explaining why an individual votes for one candidate over another. In his breakout study of the 1940 U.S. presidential election,

Continued on Page 7

Jones

From Page 5

take over the reins of power.

Congressional staff are the invisible force in lawmaking—they construct, implement, and realize the political agendas of elected officials. They develop issue expertise, acquire institutional knowledge, and build social relationships each year they work on Capitol Hill. As they gain seniority, they can use their experience to obtain more influential and higher paid political positions in Washington and beyond. In this way, Congress acts as an important credentialing institution for political professionals. Former congressional staffers leave Capitol Hill for work in the White House and federal agencies, corporations and lobbying firms, and think tanks and advocacy groups. A congressional credential can take former staffers as far away as back to their home states to run for offices or to opportunities just across the street to the Supreme Court, as occurred for Justices Stephen Breyer and Clarence Thomas (both former congressional staffers).

Personnel Is Policy

Personnel decisions related to who to hire and how to manage a political workplace are instructive for understanding how inequality is produced and maintained in the American political system. These decisions represent a window into political leaders’ ideology and informal values about whom they trust and empower. It is also connected to how they construct public policy and structure our social world. The political talent recruited and cultivated by politicians represents the behind-the-scenes actors who propel the day-to-day operations of political institutions and create public policy. Investigating the distribution of jobs within political institutions is another way of examining the distribution of power within American politics. Not only do these jobs represent the opportunity to influence decision making at the highest level of representative government, but more humbly, they constitute policy statements about who gets to participate in government.

Personnel decisions are among one set of racialized and classed

processes that shape lawmaking and legislative operations. Unequal access to the congressional workplace lays the groundwork for a racially and economically stratified legislature that enhances the agency of White staffers to participate in areas of policy making, oversight, and representation and, similarly, constrains the agency of staffers of color to do the same. In this way, Congress is reflective of the way that many **racialized organizations** operate, as Victor Ray illustrates. However, the implications are more far reaching.

I interviewed over 75 congressional staffers about their jobs to understand how racialized hiring practices impact lawmaking. These data revealed that staffers not only support lawmakers’ political enterprises, but also help guide their political and policy agendas. This has important implications for racial representation. Senior staff have considerable influence and power, especially in areas where a lawmaker’s agenda is uncrystallized and malleable. Black staffers I interviewed described how they used their positions to facilitate *inclusive*

polymaking, to advocate for communities of color in their districts who might otherwise be overlooked, and to incorporate anti-racist policy solutions in lawmaking. Just like Keisha and Deidre. In contrast, White staffers, in interviews, provided race-neutral job descriptions and rarely discussed communities of color or systemic racism. The underrepresentation of Black staffers and other staffers of color in top staff positions diminishes inclusive policy making in the same way that we have come to understand why descriptive representation among elected officials is important, and why elections matter.

The racial composition of congressional interns, and political professionals more broadly, illustrates how social inequality permeates American political institutions and, more critically, the policies that emanate from them. This persistent inequality in Washington, DC is troubling, in part, because no matter the outcome of elections in November, this unequal social arrangement will not change anytime soon, at least not without a dedicated movement to change it.

de Leon

From Page 6

Lazarsfeld and his team interviewed a sample of voters seven times from the beginning to the end of the campaign. They found, first, that the overwhelming majority of voters did not change their minds from the first interview to the last. Second, they found that their respondents' demographic information had the highest correlation with vote choice. From this, Lazarsfeld and his team constructed an "index of political predisposition" consisting of three variables: socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and rural vs. urban residence, which, they held, accounted for most of the variation in vote choice. Perhaps the most famous sentence from that study, published in 1944 under the title *The People's Choice*, became the calling card of the emerging "sociological approach" to political behavior: "a person thinks, politically, as he is, socially. Social characteristics determine political preference" ([1944] 1948: 27).

My point here is not that these characteristics—class, ethnicity, or rurality—are intrinsically presentist or individualistic, but rather that in the hands of these pioneering survey analysts they became (a) contemporary snapshots in time of (b) individual preferences. Further, these preferences were said to aggregate, scale up, and decisively shape the politics of the nation. Lazarsfeld's sociology told an eminently democratic story in which every person, no matter their background, wields the power of the vote. That presentist, methodologically individualistic, and indeed triumphalist approach continues to influence how polling is done today. One need only turn to one's smartphone to read about how white, Black, and Latinx voters are sizing up the presidential candidates to witness Lazarsfeld's enduring influence.

Nor has this become the sole province of pollsters – professional sociologists continued to employ Lazarsfeldian survey analysis long after the first voter studies. In 1999, Manza and Brooks published *Social Cleavages and Political Change*, which found that the much-her-

alded decline in class voting since the 1970s had been greatly exaggerated. When one updates measures of class to reflect the more complicated class structure of post-industrial America, they wrote, survey data reveals that liberal professionals have left the Republican Party to become the second largest Democratic constituency, unskilled workers have moved to the proverbial center, and self-employed individuals have become more Republican (1999: 5; de Leon 2014: 27).

Sociologists were also important combatants in the "polarization debates" of the 1990s and 2000s, with political scientists generally insisting that the American electorate was becoming more divided and sociologists finding quite the opposite. Drawing on General Social Survey and National Election Studies (NES) data, DiMaggio, Evans, and Bryson (1996) found that on most issues, there was more convergence than divergence among American voters. In a similar vein, Baldassarri and Gelman (2008) use NES data to argue that while American voters tend to be more partisan today than in the past, it is not because they have developed internally consistent belief systems where, for instance, someone who is pro-labor is also anti-racist or pro-immigration.

Racial Capitalism: A Historical and Institutional Alternative

At this stage, one might reasonably ask, "What's so wrong with presentism and methodological individualism?" There is nothing "wrong" *per se* so long as one understands that any poll or voter study captures the political preferences of a sample of people at a given point in time or compares the political preferences of different samples of voters across points in time. They do not and cannot provide direct evidence of the longstanding institutional mechanisms that underpin the singular present or successive "presents" they examine. This is the province of historical sociology. I suggest that the 2020 election represents a moment in the most recent crisis of racial capitalism.

The theory of racial capitalism

consists of three-interrelated claims. First, racism is not an embarrassing vestige of "primitive accumulation" or some bygone mode of production as Marx had argued, but rather part of the very logic of capitalist development and expansion from mercantilism and colonialism to industrial and neoliberal capitalism (Robinson 1983 [2000]: 2). Second, working class formation in Europe was enabled by racial and colonial dynamics. The enslavement and dispossession of workers in the peripheralized regions of the world facilitated industrialization and the social construction of "white" workers as peasants moved from agrarian to factory work (Du Bois [1935] 1992; James [1938] 1989; Robinson [1983] 2000; Williams [1944] 1994). Third, the industrial European working class was not exclusively the historical negation of the bourgeois social order. If anything, their blindness to capitalism's racialized structure meant that they ignored and were threatened by "the persistent and continuously evolving resistance of African peoples" (Robinson [1983] 2000: 4-5, 28).

The system of racial capitalism is vulnerable to crisis due to contradictions both racial and economic. Thus, the U.S. Civil War entailed the struggle between two competing visions for organizing the slave-holding republic. White northern Republicans viewed slavery and white settler colonialism as locked in a deadly zero-sum struggle for survival. They held that slavery could exist in the states where it then existed but could not expand beyond those boundaries lest it monopolize indigenous lands that would otherwise go to poor whites escaping wage dependency in the East. White southern Democrats, by contrast, held that the right to migrate with one's slaves was part of the very promise of white settler colonialism. Partisan struggle over these two visions of racial capitalism eventuated in a crisis of hegemony, in which the white mass electorate withdrew their consent to be ruled under the existing terms of the Union (de Leon 2019).

The hegemonic political project of contemporary American politics is postracial neoliberalism. That

project is animated by two claims: that racial equality was achieved with the Civil Rights Movement and that the surest path to shared prosperity is the free market, unencumbered by state regulation and unions. The two claims were motivated and linked by deindustrialization. To win the votes of whites under conditions of mounting unemployment and inequality, the major parties promised to preserve their privileged access to social benefits. As more white union members lost their old jobs, taking up a greater proportion of welfare benefits and new service jobs, there was a simultaneous push to remove unemployed Black workers from the welfare rolls and labor market. Thus, law and order initiatives from Nixon to Clinton facilitated the mass incarceration of the deproletarianized Black working class (Gilmore 2007; Wacquant 2002).

Though political elites promised to address the deepening contradictions of postracial neoliberalism, they failed spectacularly and instead created the conditions for the Great Recession. The social dislocations of that downturn and the Obama administration's failure to address them led to insurgent movements and factions, from Occupy Wall Street, the Movement for Black Lives, and the Bernie Sanders campaign on the left, to the Tea Party, birthers, and white ethnic nationalists on the right.

Three Paths in 2020

We are, therefore, confronted with three paths out of crisis, two institutional and one noninstitutional. The so-called "Donald Trump Show," a Caesarism akin to that of Benito Mussolini, is the first path. It promises to alleviate the pressure of neoliberalism on white people by accelerating the mass deportation of Black and Brown immigrants, canceling or modifying free trade agreements, and keeping in place a law and order strategy in the nation's Black neighborhoods.

Joe Biden and the mainstream Democratic Party embody the reconsolidation of postracial neoliberalism. Promising to return the country to the "good old days"

Continued on Page 8

White Racial Projects in the 2020 Election and The American Indian Origins Controversy

Enid Logan, Associate Chair of the Department of Sociology and Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota

My first book was about how the meaning of race in the U.S. was transformed in 2006–2008 by debates in the realm of electoral



Enid Logan

politics. The dominant narrative to emerge from the 2008 race was that the election of the first black president was a resounding triumph for the U.S. and a verdict on the essential goodness of the nation. Obama's victory proved that the U.S. had overcome the worst of its racial history and was well on its way to becoming a "post-racial" nation.

Yet within a few years, as Tea Party members gave voice to an angry white nationalism, deportations of undocumented migrants reached an all-time high, and reports of the deaths of black Americans at the hands of the police seemed to scream daily from the headlines, earlier declarations that the U.S. had vanquished the problem of race seemed jarringly out of sync with reality. The presidential campaign of Obama's immediate successor, Donald J. Trump, would again elevate to center stage debates about the presidency, race, and the future of the U.S., but in a wholly different way. A defining element

of the current president's political career is that he has sought, unceasingly, to harness and to amplify the winds of white racial resentment for political gain, linking white identity politics to the greatness and strength of the nation.

In this piece, I analyze the political conflict between President Trump and former democratic presidential candidate Elizabeth Warren over her claims of indigenous ancestry. This controversy, I argue, provides a window into several different dimensions of the contemporary U.S. racial landscape, refracted through the lens of electoral politics. We see a clear example of racial politics in the time of Trump, in which the president confronts his political opposition with a strategic mobilization of whiteness. We also see, more broadly, the mobilization of two competing white racial projects—ones on both the right and the left of the political spectrum—as Trump and Warren seek to harness, bend, and manipulate the meaning of indigeneity in the pursuit of racialized political and personal ends.

The Controversy Itself

The issue of Elizabeth Warren's ancestry first entered the electoral news cycle during her 2012 run for the senate. During the race, Warren's republican opponent **roundly criticized** the Harvard Law professor for claiming to be part Cherokee and for **implying**, in certain contexts, that she was a "minority." As Donald Trump came to political blows with Warren himself, he too zeroed in

on her ancestry claims, repeatedly mocking Warren for stating that she was part Cherokee and referring to her **variously** as "Pocahontas," "the fake Pocahontas," and "the Indian."

Warren's response to Trump's provocations was quite curious. In October 2018, as she prepared to roll out her 2020 presidential campaign, the senator released a video in which she travels back to Oklahoma in search of her Indian roots. In the video, Warren talks to relatives and former neighbors who recall having been told that her mother's people were part Cherokee and that they had faced discrimination. Warren reveals that she has

taken a DNA test and, in the closing of the video, an Ivy-League professor of genetics **says** to the delighted senator, "the facts suggest that you absolutely have a Native American ancestor in your pedigree."

The release of the video and DNA test results by Warren's team backfired profoundly. As Chris Cillizza **wrote** on CNN, "estimates of just how much Native American blood Warren actually possesses range from 1/64th to a whopping 1/1024th." Trump used Warren's move to **mock** her even further,

stating, "I have more Indian blood than she has and I have none!"

Warren was also firmly rebuked by the Cherokee Nation. As Nation Secretary of State Chuck Hoskin Jr. **stated**, "Using a DNA test to lay claim to any connection to the Cherokee Nation or any tribal nation, even vaguely, is inappropriate and wrong... It makes a mockery out of DNA tests and its legitimate uses while also dishonoring legitimate tribal governments and their citizens, whose ancestors are well documented and whose heritage is proven." Liberal pundits were also thoroughly dismayed by Warren's ill-fated attempt to

outmaneuver Trump, suggesting that the fact that she had so **disastrously** played into Trump's hands did not augur well for her bid to replace him.

In response to Warren's

rebuke by the Cherokee Nation, Trump and his surrogates engaged in a kind of gleeful white supremacist pile on. In January 2019, for example, the President **tweeted** that if Warren had released a campaign ad "from Bighorn and Wounded Knee... with her husband dressed in full Indian garb, it would have been a smash!"

Continued on Page 9

de Leon

From Page 7

of the Obama administration, the Democrats, too, offer to safeguard the structural privileges of whites, while reaffirming the juridical rights of people of color to the vote and due process under the law.

The Movement for Black Lives and the #RedForEd strike wave represent the noninstitutional path of mass mobilization. Their notable

independence from the party system reflects what decades of research on political incorporation suggests, namely, that activists who play party politics become "captured constituencies," ignored by their home party and unwanted by the opposition (de Leon 2015, 2019; Eidlin 2018; Frymer 1999; Heaney and Rojas 2015; Michels [1911] 1962; Weber [1922] 1968). Instead of making party endorsements or phone banking for a given candidate, they have used

direct action to demand that the parties defund the police and reverse the decline in public spending.

This brings me to my concluding point. Offering an analysis of the current moment from a racial capitalist lens does not only avoid the presentism and individualism of American sociology. It also clarifies what is to be done. From my position as Director of the UMass Amherst Labor Center, I know I must urge organized labor to pursue

a noninstitutional strategy and build a mass movement that is broad, intersectional, yet ideologically coherent enough to replace post-racial neoliberalism as the common sense of our times. Such a position cannot be arrived at by learning that 57% of white suburban women plan to vote for Joe Biden. Presentism and methodological individualism urge us to become absorbed in the horse race above ground instead of the river beneath our feet.

Logan

From Page 8

Furthermore, additional documents subsequently surfaced, making clear that at various times over the past two decades, Warren has clearly self-identified as “American Indian” or as “a minority”—rather than as white. In late 2019, in an attempt to bring the controversy to an end, Warren declared publicly that she was “not a person of color” nor was she “a citizen of a tribe.” She also apologized privately and publicly to indigenous leaders for “furthering confusion about tribal membership.”

While most commentators have argued that the native origins controversy was problematic for Warren because it exposed her to the criticism that she was an opportunist and a liar, I believe that this issue functioned as a kind of political kryptonite for Warren because of how powerfully it exploited white racial resentments on the right, while exposing the weaknesses, conflict, and anxiety about race that can haunt the political left.

Whiteness and Politics on the Left and Right

Presently, I am writing a long-form analysis of this controversy with sociology PhD student Brianna Watters. In that piece we attend closely to responses to this controversy on the part of American Indian scholars and activists. We also discuss native notions of tribal belonging (which generally cannot be determined via DNA) and explore how indigenous nations have sought to navigate the terrain of sovereignty and identity in their relations with the state. In the remainder of this article, however, I limit myself to a discussion of what the controversy over Warren’s ancestry in the context of electoral politics reveals to us about whiteness.

My first claim is that this controversy clearly illustrates several of the key themes that I am developing in much of my writing on race currently:

- For several decades now, sociologists have identified “racial colorblindness,” the notion that it is best to be “blind” to racial matters and to claim not to “see”

race, as the dominant paradigm for understanding racial matters in the U.S. Yet I argue that the last decade or so offers clear evidence of an ideological shift among American whites away from the paradigm of colorblindness and towards deliberate consciousness(es) of race.

- Second, I argue that this new, more overt racial consciousness is bifurcated in two opposing directions: social justice-oriented anti-racism and resurgent exclusivist white nationalism. Thus, it is important to think about whiteness and white identities as differentiated by political identification (as well as by gender, sexualities, and social class).
- As a corollary to this, I argue, third, that it is possible to identify distinct and competing white racial projects (Omi & Winant 1994) in the political sphere at this time, with different “uses of race” (Logan 2012) for each side.
- And fourth, I argue that the case at hand particularly demonstrates the importance of critically interrogating the dynamics of race and the construction of white identities among white liberals as well as among whites on the right.

On the Trump side, we see here the elaboration of a white identity that is belligerent and mocking. Trump’s clear contempt for the rules of “political correctness” (he referred to Warren as “Pocahontas” even at an event honoring Navajo veterans) is meant as a defense of a whiteness that understands itself to be threatened and under siege. In mocking Warren, Trump taunts both white liberals and the people of color with whom they seek to ally. The constant mentions of Trump’s “extraordinary divisiveness” in the press underscore a perception that Trump is engaged in a race war of whites against whites; he seeks not to unite all whites around race, but rather to unite conservatives around whiteness.

In calling Warren “Pocahontas,” while emphasizing that she is not, in fact, American Indian, Trump signals to his base that she, like other white liberals, is a “phony” and a race traitor. Warren and other liberals are also implicitly identified

in this discourse as “reverse racists” who hate America, hate other white people, and cynically play the “race card” in order score “points” for their side.

As for what this tells us about white liberalism, there are a number of questions to ask. Why, for example, was Warren initially so vocal and insistent that she was part Cherokee? Why did she view this claim as politically useful? And what’s at stake more broadly when whites claim to be part American Indian (V. Deloria 1969; Sturm 2011; Poorman 2019)?

Indigenous ancestry claims among whites have a long history in the United States. Furthermore, as I argue in my research-in-progress, claims to indigeneity have been central to the assertion of U.S.

national identity, white masculinity, and settler colonial ownership of the land. According to sociologist Evelyn Nakano Glenn (2015), whites in the colonial era were known to “appropriat[e]

indigenous symbols, attributes and skills” as a means of establishing a cultural and national identity separate from that of Britain, and to declare implicit dominion over the land comprising the colony. In his 1998 book *Playing Indian*, Dakota scholar Philip J. Deloria points out that members of the Boston Tea Party dressed up as Mohawk warriors as they engaged in an act understood to be a foundational assertion of national independence. Further, historian Gregory Smithers (2015) writes that white southerners in the antebellum era often claimed indigenous roots as part of a defense of slavery and the southern way of life, in opposition to incursion from the federal government and the North.

In the contemporary U.S., American Indian ancestry claims may serve to “stabilize” or “shore up” whiteness as an identity, as they facilitate a genetic/familial distancing from

the history of white supremacy. For white liberals, who may understand whiteness as an “empty” or negative identity (Frankenberg 1993; Logan 2011), indigenous ancestry claims may allow for the appropriation of a more “authentic” racial self, or of a “less bad” kind of whiteness (Sturm 2011).

According to sociologist Jessie Daniels, writing in the *Huffington Post*, “there is a lot of overlap between believing you’re a ‘little bit Cherokee’ and white supremacy... white families tell their children about a connection to a mythic Native American past as a way to lay claim to territory and to a sense of belonging. It is a way of asserting: we are the true First Peoples.”

Thus, this practice, embraced by the most liberal of liberal politicians,

“I believe that this issue functioned as a kind of political kryptonite for Warren because of how powerfully it exploited white racial resentments on the right, while exposing the weaknesses, conflict, and anxiety about race that can haunt the political left.”

resonates with the heart of Trumpism. Whatever their intent, such claims engage in a form of indigenous erasure and replacement that is the driving instinct of settler colonialism (Wolfe

2006), and thus are contiguous with other assertions of white racial, national, and territorial dominance.

A last question to consider here is what larger social issues seemed to be at stake for the left. What was all the kerfuffle and handwringing over this issue in the liberal media about? I believe that one of the questions that was implicitly being asked was what are the dimensions of white solidarity and ally-ship with non-whites? How can liberal whites legitimately use race, and how should they not? And of course, what political tactics can be used against Trumpism and which should be avoided? Thus, I argue, the controversy over Elizabeth Warren’s claims of native ancestry reveals in part the discomfort and anxiety about race that often plagues the left and the still-fraught nature of the relationship between white liberals and the question of race in America.

Where the Sleeping Giant Lies? Latinos, Puerto Ricans, and the 2020 Election

Bianca Gonzalez-Sobrino, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Quinnipiac University

As the 2020 election approaches, many unexpected events have occurred—from COVID-19 to uprisings after the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor. After recently publishing an article in *Sociological Forum* on the ways in which racialized media has covered the role of Latinos in the upcoming election, I am now pondering how that role has potentially changed in the face of more recent events. Has the role of race and racism in relation to Latinos changed in this election or has it stayed the same? In this piece, I will summarize the findings in “Searching for the ‘Sleeping Giant’: Racialized News Coverage of Latinos Pre-2020 Elections.” (2020) and give an update on some events that have occurred recently that seem to point at a potential change in the ways in which Latinos are approached as a “voting bloc.”



Bianca Gonzalez-Sobrino

Racialized Media and the 2020 Election

Daily national newspapers provide readers with accounts of the inner workings of political campaigns and the world of politics. In “Searching for the Sleeping Giant,” I examined the ways in which the top U.S. daily newspapers covered the 2016 elections and the road to the election in 2020 in relation to Latinos. While previous research has mostly focused on the ways in which Black candidates have been covered by the media or the effects of racial priming in the media, this study brings insights into the ways in which Latinos have been framed in relation to politics and highlights the pivotal role that race is playing in the upcoming election. The coverage of the role of Latinos in the political process has focused

on the impact of demographic shifts on voting outcomes. In other words, Latinos have been framed as playing an important role in the 2020 elections because of a simple numbers game. But these discussions in U.S. newspapers relied on unnuanced and problematic assumptions about the ethnoracial group.

First, American newspapers assumed that the increased presence of Latinos in the U.S. electorate will have a positive impact for the Democratic party. Second, newspapers focused on the presence of Julian Castro in the democratic primary and made the assumption that this will impact the likelihood of Latinos voting Democrat in the next election. Third, a subset of articles focused on the importance of mobilizing both the Latino and African American votes, thereby implying the use of similar political tactics for both ethnoracial groups.

Further, when discussing Latinos, the majority of articles rely on the assumption that all Latinos have similar social and economic interests, that there are no intra-group tensions and divisions, and that there is an absolute understanding of a shared fate among all people that identify as such. If what the media is portraying is a reflection of the actual actions of campaigns, these data suggest a failure of understanding of diverse Latino communities. What are the goals of propagating these racialized narratives about Latinos in mainstream media? The narratives present in the newspaper articles serve to reinforce the racialized status quo.

Trying to Wake the Sleeping Giant: Changes in the Political Landscape for Latinos

It has been six months since I finished writing “Searching for the Sleeping Giant” and while much has changed, a lot has stayed the same. Now we have an official Democratic ticket for the 2020 election, Joe Biden and Kamala Harris. What was touted as the most diverse slate of candidates in the primary produced a nomination that maintained

the hegemonic understandings of whiteness and politics. We have the historical nomination of Kamala Harris, the first Black female vice-presidential nominee, in what some have called an attempt to court the “African American vote.” As the Biden campaign takes shape, questions about the role of Latinos in his coalition have begun to arise.

The focus, as always, is on Florida, where there is an expectation that there will be high voter turnout in Latino communities, including of the large population of recently migrated Puerto Rican to the Central Florida area. While the media focus on Latinos in Florida has dominated for the last few years, there seemed to be a decrease in that focus in the current campaigns until very recently. The renewed attention to Latinos, and Puerto Ricans in particular, in Florida could be a response to recent polling numbers. Specifically, a series of polls show Biden either deadlocked or trailing Trump among likely voters in Florida. In an NBC/Marist poll, only 46% of likely voters who are Latinos currently support Biden, compared to 62% of Latino voters in Florida who supported Hillary Clinton in the 2016 presidential election. In another poll by Bendixen & Amandi International and the *Miami Herald* that focused on Miami-Dade county, Biden is statistically deadlocked with Trump among Latino voters, consistent with the pattern for the broader Florida electorate. These findings may be surprising for some people, but Trump support among particular groups of Latinos should not be sociologically surprising.

The ways in which the ethnoracial terms Latinos or Hispanics are used in larger American society and politics continue to be centered on unnuanced understandings of the different and sometimes divergent group interests within the pan ethnic category. There is a divide between many Latino national groups surrounding issues related to immigration, the role of government, and social policies.

For example, Cubans in Miami have historically voted Republican and tend to be more conservative in both economic and social issues. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, tend to be more liberal in economic and social issues, with the exception of immigration (which could be related to their particular citizenship status related to the colonial relationship of Puerto Rico with the United States). There is wide variation within the Latino pan ethnic label, as is common with similar group categories like Asian and Black. The monolithic constructions of ethnoracial categories are perpetuated by the media and political campaigns. In these monolithic interactions with communities of color, we see only a surface level engagement with the lived experiences of these communities. This may indicate a lack of desire to truly engage with attempts to uproot structural inequality and oppression.

In the week of September 15, 2020, Joe Biden’s campaign ramped up their attempts to target the “Latino vote.” In what seems like a departure from catch-all Latino platforms, Biden presented a targeted plan for Puerto Rico in Kissimmee, Central Florida, which is home to the largest percentage of Puerto Ricans outside of the island. The reason behind his attempts to court Puerto Rican voters living in the United States is very clear. Puerto Ricans have become the largest Latino group in Florida, a very important swing state. Additionally, Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens by virtue of the Jones Acts of 1917, and they are only allowed to vote in the presidential election if they are U.S. mainland residents (Puerto Ricans on the island cannot vote for president). In an op-ed in the *Orlando Sentinel*, Biden lays out his plan for Puerto Rico. The plan includes a federal working group on Puerto Rico to distribute federal resources, incentives to mainland corporations to invest in the island, and support for whatever the Puerto Rican vot-

Continued on Page 11

Immigration and the 2020 Election

Roger Waldinger, Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for the Study of International Migration, University of California-Los Angeles

From the moment that Donald Trump descended to the lobby of Trump Tower to launch his 2016 presidential campaign with a screed against Mexican immigrants, migration, and mobility control have powered an ever-greater political storm. For America's immigrants, the 2016 presidential election produced a disaster that began on Election Day and has worsened ever since. The Trump administration has found the key to unlocking the immigration stalemate that bedeviled its predecessors, yielding a profound transformation likely to irrevocably change the face of U.S. immigration, regardless of November 2020's election outcome.



Roger Waldinger

While the circumstances that brought Trump to the White House and propelled his drive to close U.S. borders have distinctively American roots, migration has been a polarizing issue throughout the developed world. Migration is good for the migrants, which is why global polls show that millions would migrate if they only had a chance. Those leaving developing for developed countries make their way to wealth-

ier societies where everyday security is taken for granted, the rule of law is observed, elections are generally honest, and prosperity yields public goods and a safety net that help compensate for the material shortcomings of the deprived.

Though migrants' search for the better life has made the past half-century the age of migration, that quest has unfolded in a world of migration control. The developed world has pursued a common set of conflicting goals: accommodating to the desired mobility generated by globalization, while discouraging most potential emigrants from leaving home; bending to business demand for labor, while instituting policies that reserve permanent settlement for the wanted; sorting foreigners in ways that yield a proliferation of legal statuses, from the tolerated but unauthorized to those lucky enough to eventually gain citizenship.

In fostering and constraining migration, states have also sowed the seeds of conflict: while migration exceeds the levels that receiving country nationals are prepared to accept, the newcomers, whether wanted or not, change the societies where they settle. Since migrants gain the capacity to help friends and relatives left behind, migration also stimulates further migration. Meanwhile, intensified efforts at migration control trigger outrage among humanitarians and migrant advocates without quelling discon-

tent among the forces clamoring for still greater restriction. Hence, throughout the developed world, migration fosters political cleavage. Since almost all political actors concede that migration should be controlled, the contest fundamentally favors proponents of a tougher line.

The Politics of Immigration

In the United States, the politics of migration moved from sidelines to center over a half-century. Initially, migration had little political salience as it was concentrated in a narrow band of states and of interest mainly to immediate beneficiaries: employers wanting foreign labor, high- and low-skilled; ethnic groups and human rights activists with an affinity for immigrants and the multiculturalism they produced. Though located at opposing ends of the political spectrum, these strange bedfellows found periodic bipartisan grounds for agreement in policies that produced more expansion than voters wanted. Simultaneously, their inherent differences made for policy inconsistency. The result: long-standing divergence between policy on the books—prohibiting the entrance and employment of unauthorized migrants—and policy in action—which took a hands-off approach to employers' behavior and so accommodated to those very same practices.

As immigrant numbers grew, along with conflicts over the vul-

nerabilities they experienced and the protections and rights that they sought, political entrepreneurs on the right discovered that mobilizing anti-immigrant sentiment could win elections. Immigration also gained growing media attention, which fomented anxiety among white voters. In turn, as conservative Republican populists broke with the business-oriented wing of the party favoring expanded immigration, they found that anti-immigrant appeals changed partisan identities among whites, transforming erstwhile Democrats into Republicans. Trump exploited this, with the result that one month after he entered the race, almost 70% of Republicans thought that his statement about Mexican immigrants being rapists who bring drugs and crime into the country was "basically right." Among whites who had voted for Obama in 2008, that same rhetoric captured the loyalties of those who were out of sync with the Democratic mainstream.

Republican anti-immigrant politics pushed the voters produced by immigration into the Democratic camp, a current including Muslims, Asian Americans, and Latinos whose partisan loyalties had previously been up for grabs. According to a 2019 national survey conducted by the Voter Study Group, people of color comprised over 40% of registered Democrats, as opposed to only 17% among registered Republicans. Along

Continued on Page 12

Gonzalez-Sobrin

From Page 10

ers decide in relation to the political status of the island. While the focus on Puerto Rico exclusively is novel, the actual platform does not provide new contributions to the crisis faced by Puerto Ricans. His plan does not dismantle the Fiscal Control Board, which serves a neo-colonial governing board.

Donald Trump released a plan for Puerto Rico a few days after Joe Biden made his platform available. The president is promising Puerto

Rico nearly \$13 billion in federal disaster funding to repair the electrical grid and the educational infrastructure. This announcement came six weeks before the election and three years overdue. In September 2017, Puerto Rico was struck by a category 5 hurricane. Hurricane Maria killed at least 3,000 people and incapacitating an already broken electric grid. Residents on the island were without electricity for up to a year after the hurricane. In the immediate aftermath of the hurricane, Trump visited the island and made various disrespectful

remarks.

It seems that the approach political campaigns and the media use to understand the interests of Latinos has been changing in the last few months. We are seeing more nuanced framings of Latinos. As the media and politicians engage more with the realities of racial inequality and the lived experiences of communities of color, one is left to wonder to what degree this is an effect of understanding actual inequality or simply responding to politically expedient talking points. We are seeing, for example,

how Puerto Rican issues are being framed as politically safe. This could be because focusing on issues about Puerto Rico distances the campaigns from interacting and engaging with immigration reform and structural and policy changes in the system. As the United States becomes increasingly more diverse, politics will change, and the media will reflect that change. We need to continue interrogating the ways in which race and racism are used for political gain, both from the politicians themselves and also by the media.

Waldinger

From Page 11

with the changing political demography came a similarly aligned set of elected officials, as the new voters pulled the levers for Democrats who were descriptively representative of their electoral base.

The politics of immigration fed into and deepened existing political and cultural cleavages. As both parties advanced towards increasingly divergent stances on immigration, divisions accentuated political polarization. In 2016, by contrasting so starkly on immigration, Clinton and Trump gave the issue greater salience and widened the partisan cleavage. Thus, while Republicans moved right, with business, pro-immigration voices stilled, Democrats moved left. That shift partially reflects the spillover from immigration to immigration politics; equally important is polarization among white voters, making attitudes of white Democrats and Republicans increasingly divergent. As partisan identity and immigration attitudes became intertwined, inter-group differences among Democrats have largely disappeared.

These partisan tensions generated the policy incoherence of the Obama years. In the early 2000s, the strange bedfellow coalition linking right and left had re-emerged around support for “Comprehensive Immigration Reform” or CIR—omnibus legislation to legalize the unauthorized population and restructure the entire immigration system, overhauling permanent and temporary legal migration. First sidelined by post-9/11 security frenzy, CIR rose and fell in the later G.W. Bush years, as the pro-immigration, business expansionist president was too weakened to command Republican votes. Entering office committed to CIR, Obama opted to postpone action until his second term, at which time CIR suffered the same dismal fate.

Meanwhile his administration intensified enforcement both at the U.S.-Mexico border and internally. As compensation, Obama used executive powers to implement DACA, making life better for roughly 800,000 unauthorized

migrants who had entered the United States as children, but without a permanent fix and leaving the great bulk of the unauthorized population unprotected. Yet when Central American families and unaccompanied children appeared at the U.S.-Mexico border, the Obama administration showed the punitive face of the state. Thus, a liberal Democratic government provided subsidies to Mexico and Guatemala to deport Central Americans *en route* to the United States, funded new family detention facilities at an unprecedented scale, and impeded Central Americans from applying for asylum by giving courts such strict deadlines that attorneys frequently lacked the time to collect evidence they needed.

Entering office without serious intra-party disagreement and hence with *carte blanche* to roll back immigration in ways previously thought unimaginable,

Trump hit immigrants with a blitzkrieg, relying on executive powers alone. Since assuming office, **President Trump made more than 20,000 false or misleading claims about immigration, for an average of over 15 statements per day.** Language has not been the only tool in the transformation wrought by Trump and his staff. **Indeed, over 400 new draconian immigration policies have been introduced in the past four years.** The virtually non-stop attacks on all categories of immigrants has exhausted immigration advocates who, despite filing new lawsuits almost every week, have failed to stem the exclusionary tide.

The administration periodically misfired. Right after Trump’s inauguration, his administration banned the entry of all persons from seven Muslim-majority countries, causing chaos at U.S. airports and a torrent of bad publicity. However, multiple legal challenges, initially successful, met defeat when the Supreme Court

affirmed a revised version of the travel ban. Faced with a resurgence of families fleeing violence in Central America in 2018, the administration responded with force, separating children from parents, but the enormous public outcry forced Trump to relent. Yet that failure led to new, even harsher measures, most importantly the Migrant Protection Protocols, which essentially closed the U.S.-Mexico border to asylum applicants.

Trump then instrumentalized the COVID-19 pandemic in pursuit of his anti-immigrant agenda, while utterly failing to stem the disease. Nonetheless, the administration had cleared many roadblocks before COVID-19 hit, dropping the hammer on the most vulnerable targets—*asylum seekers, persons in deportation hearings, refugees waiting for admission—while tightening the squeeze on persons in the legal*

immigration stream. Thus, without a single piece of new legislation, the number of non-citizens residing in the United States and applications for green cards dropped.

Restriction was so effectively implemented because it stood on a pre-existing structure of global migration control. Any administration enjoys ample discretion for delimiting options available to non-citizens, without ever asking for Congress’ permission; Trump exploited those opportunities to the max. In a system described as “remote control,” Washington simply sent a signal to consulates and their behavior changed, whether via enhanced vetting or limiting the period for which temporary visas are valid. Most vulnerable were the undocumented—roughly half of all non-citizens; broadening the population at risk of deportation and cracking down on sanctuary cities did much to raise anxiety. Increasing the number of forms required to renew a visa, insisting on a face-to-face interview in lieu

of submission of documents, or placing applicants for naturalization under greater scrutiny, the administration also used its available tools to go after persons with an authorized presence. And since every status change comes with a fee, the administration has scheduled substantial across-the-board increases -- with the added result of discouraging naturalization.

A Better Future?

Zero immigration is beyond Trump’s powers, but a second Trump administration would likely keep arrivals highly constrained. Biden has promised to undo Trump’s draconian changes. Not only is the task monumental, given the administration’s 400-plus reforms, but history warrants skepticism as recent past administrations, Democratic and Republican alike, recurrently turned “tough” on immigration. Thanks to the greater divisiveness fostered by Trump, which has radicalized the Republican electorate, achieving consensus on immigration reform that satisfies the increasingly divergent right and left will likely prove elusive.

However, the environment would be different: As rank-and-file views have moved left, Democratic voices once advocating a hard line on enforcement have grown silent. Advocacy groups organizing to challenge Trump-era reforms have seen increased support from concerned citizens. The Democrats’ electoral base, which has shifted strongly in favor of rights expansion, may no longer be willing to condone punitive policies that previous administrations accepted.

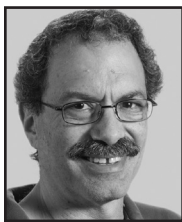
Biden would face one immediate practical hurdle: how to clean up the mess caused first by Obama and now Trump in trying to close the door to Central American asylum seekers. Immigration courts face a backlog of more than a million asylum applicants. Biden’s proposed solution—hiring more asylum officers to adjudicate all pending claims—may do the trick, relieving the overwhelmed dockets of immigration judges who are effectively forced to decide on death penalty cases in a traffic-court setting.

“Thanks to the greater divisiveness fostered by Trump, which has radicalized the Republican electorate, achieving consensus on immigration reform that satisfies the increasingly divergent right and left will likely prove elusive.”

Continued on Page 13

Why Voters Don't Get the Policies They Want

Richard Lachmann, Professor of Sociology, University at Albany - SUNY



Richard Lachmann

Republicans in Congress and President Trump have pursued policies opposed by most voters. Polls show that majorities want higher taxes on the rich, a \$15 minimum wage, to maintain Obamacare and since 2016 favor Medicare for all, and are willing to sacrifice some economic growth to combat climate change. Republicans remain less enthusiastic than Democrats and independents on those issues and favor less aggressive policies. Support for tax cuts has been declining since Reagan made that his central campaign promise in 1980. A majority of Americans think they got no benefit from the 2017 tax cuts. That is not strictly true, even though the top 0.1% gets 10% of the cuts, and the top quintile two-thirds. Nevertheless, in August 2020, in the midst of an economic collapse and as the Senate adjourned for a month's vacation without taking up legislation to continue supplemental unemployment insurance payments or provide aid to state and local governments or to schools, President Trump proposed further cuts in taxes on capital gains.

Democratic politicians are somewhat closer to the major-

ity's sentiments; however, we need to remember that the last time Democrats controlled the presidency and Congress, in 2009-10, they failed to close tax loopholes favoring the rich. President Obama proposed very modest legislation that would have recovered a bit more than 1% of the tax revenues lost to foreign tax shelters. Congress rejected that plan. Only one low-level banker was prosecuted for the rampant fraud that brought on the 2008 financial crisis. That outcome flowed directly from Attorney General Eric Holder's repeated assertion, "that the size of some of these institutions becomes so large that it does become difficult for us to prosecute them when we are hit with indications that if we do prosecute—if we do bring a criminal charge—it will have a negative impact on the national economy, perhaps even the world economy." While bankers went free and got to keep most of the money they looted, and their banks benefitted from trillions of dollars of direct and indirect subsidies, homeowners received little financial or regulatory help in saving themselves from foreclosure.

I expand on this in my book, *First Class Passengers on a Sinking Ship* (Verso, 2020). As we approach election day, the crucial question is why one party offers the almost exact opposite of what most voters want, while the other

promises complex approaches like Obamacare that leave the public dissatisfied and uncertain of what such programs actually offer. If we can understand why voter preferences are often not reflected in policy outcomes, we can identify the most effective strategies voters and activists can use to affect policy.

I want to highlight three factors that let Republicans, and Democrats to a lesser extent, adopt policies that voters don't want.

First, most voters lack information about what government does. Even before Trump took office, biased and shallow media made it impossible for voters to know how well government programs are working.

In *American Amnesia*, Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson illustrate this point: "Asked how the actual cost of the [Affordable Care Act] compares with estimates prior to enactment, roughly 40% admitted they had no idea. Another 40% thought costs were higher than predicted. Only 8% knew that costs were substantially lower than anticipated." Similarly, voters think budget deficits increased under Obama when in fact they decreased. Voters greatly overes-

timate the portion of the federal budget spent on foreign aid (in various surveys their average guess is 10 to 27%, when actually it is under 1%). Americans also underestimate the fraction of the budget that goes to the military and overestimate what is spent on the poor. Voters' preferences, when surveyed, are for lower military and higher social spending as shares of the budget than was reflected in the budget under Obama. Republican budgets push

the reality even further from public desires, but the lack of reporting on the actual situation makes it difficult for voters to make coherent

demands on their elected officials or to translate their policy preferences into decisions on whom they should support in presidential and Congressional elections.

Second, candidates need money to run for office. They seem to believe one can never spend too much. Their campaign managers earn a living, and in some cases get quite rich, from the commissions they earn on candidates' campaign advertisements. That means that even if parties and candidates

“If we can understand why voter preferences are often not reflected in policy outcomes, we can identify the most effective strategies voters and activists can use to affect policy.”

Continued on Page 14

Waldinger

From Page 12

Reversing Trump's most egregious acts, such as the attack on DACA, would be a major step forward. A Biden administration would then have to navigate the shoals on which the Obama administration foundered. With a new administration, the left would likely clamor for rights expansion and may be less willing than were advocates a decade ago to accept a

delayed legalization of the undocumented. Business expansionists will want to ramp up migration of high-skilled workers and expand the temporary circulation of low-skilled migrants, a policy always problematic for the left. To date, finding a way to marry right and left wings of the pro-immigration coalition has only led to disaster. As compared to CIR, beginning with such smaller bites as providing permanent residence to DACA recipients and their parents would have greater public

support. Yet, this reform, leaving millions of persons in unauthorized status and vulnerable to deportation, may lack political legs.

Of course, eliminating COVID-19 will be the first priority; as long as the pandemic rages, global experience shows, borders will be slow to fully re-open. Hence, the years lost to political stalemate will likely continue, yielding a significant hit to reform possibilities since an administration's political capital diminishes with time. While even a

modest rollback of Trump's policies will bring much relief to immigrants who have borne the brunt of his attacks, the fundamental dilemma will persist long after November. Migration is good for migrants. But their preferred countries of destination are only willing to accept a small fraction of those ready to leave their homes. Hence, migrants and their advocates can expect continuing tragedy and heartbreak—regardless of who occupies the White House in January.

Lachmann

From Page 13

are able to raise large amounts through small contributions from ideologically motivated supporters, most politicians (excepting committed leftists with mass bases like Bernie Sanders or Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez) still will turn to the rich who are rarely shy about stating what they want in return for cash: often tax cuts above all as well as weakening or abolishing regulations that cost corporations or limit their abilities to exploit workers and customers. There is **ample evidence from polls** that the priorities of the rich are diametrically opposed to those of majorities of voters. Contributions from corporations and the rich often are funneled through lobbyists who, unlike ordinary voters, have the time and expertise to monitor the progress of legislation and regulations and often propose the actual language of bills, amendments and administrative decisions tailored to their corporate clients' desires for tax breaks, regulatory preferences, or appropriations.

All this matters, and this is the third crucial factor. The U.S., in comparison to Europe, has relied much more on regulation than on taxation to create social goods. From health and safety to anti-discrimination to environmental to financial regulation, Congress generally passes broad and vaguely worded laws and leaves the writing and enforcement of detailed regulations to executive agencies. That creates enormous openings for elites to get what they want in the obscure realms of legislative language, detailed regulation, and court decisions. Candidates can present themselves as champions of hope and change and then when most voters are not looking act to preserve or extend governmental

practices that accomplish the opposite of what they seemed to promise and what voters actually want.

These three factors, if they are not challenged and overcome, auger poorly for significant reform irrespective of who wins the presidency and the Senate in the upcoming election. Politicians, even if they are not purely careerist, recognize that they need to remain in office to advance their goals. Their resulting and rational bias toward policies and actions that serve those capable of making large campaign contributions will be overcome only if voters are made aware of the favors their elected officials grant and the identity of the capitalists who trade money for favors. Making such information widely available would impose costs on both the givers and receivers of campaign contributions. The limited reforms Obama was able to enact, despite the most severe recession since the 1930s

“Trump’s election and presidency has fostered a level of protest and mass mobilization that matches and perhaps exceeds that of the 1960s. What will matter is how these current social movements direct their energies.”

and ample evidence of massive fraud by financiers, should make us careful not to assume that the current economic crisis, pandemic-related death

toll, and social disruption will necessarily produce significant legislation or social investment.

Trump’s election and presidency has fostered a **level of protest and mass mobilization** that matches and perhaps exceeds that of the 1960s. What will matter is how these current social movements direct their energies. Will they engage in efforts to educate the public about the actual workings of government, and even more essentially on who exercises influence and how they do so? Black Lives Matters’ focus on the size of police budgets is an example of activists informing the broader public about how tax money actually is spent and how government

agencies operate. Similar efforts to publicize the extent of military spending could provide the basis for pressure to cut the Pentagon budget, just as Vietnam-era protests led, under Nixon, to a **one-third cut** in Defense Department spending in constant dollars as well as the end of conscription.

Americans still depend on journalists to learn what their government is doing. The more than **50% decline** in the number of newspaper reporters since 2008 severely undercuts what is still a key source that activists and voters, as well as television and radio reporters and bloggers, depend on for information about government at all levels.

More Americans still get their news from television than from any other medium. TV news was degraded when **public service requirements**, which forced stations to devote several hours each day to news and educational programming, and which had to be of sufficient depth to meet that regulatory obligation, were eliminated during the Reagan administration. Reagan also abolished the **Fairness Doctrine**, which as the name suggests required stations to give equal time to both political parties and to advocates of opposing views.

These deregulatory measures allowed local stations to abandon serious reporting about local and state politics and about the actions of members of Congress who, because they are elected locally, were reported on mainly by local television and newspaper reporters. This opened space for greater levels of corruption in government and for state legislators and members of Congress to take votes that favored corporate interests over the needs of ordinary constituents because those politicians could be confident that their malfeasance would not draw attention from the few remaining local reporters.

The end of the Equal Time provision allowed the emergence of ideologically biased networks, most notably Fox and Sinclair, and of radio shock jocks like Rush Limbaugh and his many imitators. Together they propagate

an increasingly vulgar political discourse. The din of abusive and extreme rhetoric makes politics appear distasteful if not upsetting for a growing fraction of Americans, **discouraging** them from participation.

There is much attention to, and grandiose expectations focused on, various internet-based news media. It remains to be seen if activists can create a new infrastructure that can replace the work of dismissed and degraded journalists and can parallel and challenge the lobbyists who monitor and pressure elected and appointed government officials. However, that work of creation is essential if citizens are to become informed voters and if activists are to be effective in focusing their efforts. Nevertheless, it is a mistake to give up on old media. One element in revivifying democracy will have to be a return to pre-Reagan rules that compelled TV and radio stations to support actual journalism and that prevented the emergence of (and in the future would break apart) networks that deliver ideological fabulism.

In sum, a major reason American voters don’t get the policies they want is that they have little information and understanding of how their government operates. Further, they have little information and understanding of who has real influence and what those elites gain with their sway. Winning elections and changing public opinion are necessary but they aren’t sufficient to change policies. Social movement activists will continue to fall short in changing governmental priorities and policies unless and until they figure out how to create and sustain mechanisms that can make the broad public aware of policy choices at the moment when those decisions are about to be made. Otherwise the three factors that let government officials enact policies unwanted by the majority of voters will continue to exercise their causal force, the gap between public desires and policy outcomes will remain wide, and voter apathy and cynicism will deepen.

Introducing 2021 ASA President Aldon Morris

Mary Pattillo, Northwestern University,
and Michael Schwartz, Stony Brook
University

He Comes with a Reputation

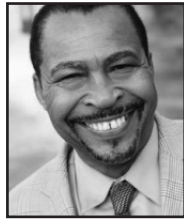
Everything you need to know about Aldon Morris and the foundations of what will be his presidency of the American Sociological Association can be found in the 2017 short documentary *Aldon Morris: The Scholar Affirmed*. Full disclosure that both of us are in the documentary. One of Mary's favorite parts of the film shows Aldon and his family around the dinner table with Michael, who was Aldon's mentor at Stony Brook University. Aldon asks Michael what his first impressions were when he arrived at Stony Brook. "You came with a reputation," Michael replies. It was 1974, and the admissions committee had informed Michael that an honors student from Bradley University, a "Black militant," was entering the program, and would most likely want to work with Michael. "And the question then became," as Michael narrates in the film, "so what are we gonna do, you know. Because we're activists and therefore we oughtta be doing something." The ASA membership should know that Aldon comes with a reputation for both brilliance in action and brilliance and action.

Brilliance in Action

Action and activism is what Aldon studies. Aldon is a scholar and student of social movements, politics, organizations, and race and racism. His first book, *The Origins of the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (Free Press, 1984), won multiple prizes, including ASA's Distinguished Scholarly Book Award in 1986, and the prestigious Gustavus Myers Award given to a book that "extend[s] our understanding of the root causes of bigotry and the range of options we as humans have in constructing alternative ways to share power."

In *Origins*, Aldon challenged central assumptions in social movement theory, including collective behavior

theory and Weber's charisma theory, and instead focused analytic attention on the pre-existing resources and networks that African Americans formed in grassroots southern institutions and communities. In the early 1980s, sociologists were locked into the thrall of Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma*, which argued that Black people were too oppressed to engineer their own liberation, and that they would have to wait for white people to resolve



Aldon Morris

the 'American Dilemma.' New social movement theorists—despite the success of the Civil Rights movement in dismantling Jim Crow—had not yet questioned this orthodoxy until Aldon demolished it in *Origins*. Fellow Stony Brook graduate J. Craig Jenkins, now Professor Emeritus at Ohio State University, wrote in his *Contemporary Sociology* review of *Origins* that "the most outstanding quality of this book is the wealth of new historical information that Morris has unearthed," attesting to the fact that the book was not only theoretically innovative but also empirically extraordinary. Representing the new generation of Stony Brook University sociologists, Professor Crystal Fleming has written that *Origins* disproved "disempowering clichés" about African Americans and centered attention on "the indigenous cultural resources, institutions, and organizational structures that facilitated the emergence and establishment of the civil rights movement."

Aldon co-edited *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, with Carol Mueller (Yale University Press, 1992), which was later translated into Chinese, co-edited *Oppositional Consciousness: The Subjective Roots of Social Protest*, with Jane Mansbridge (University of Chicago Press, 2001), and published scores of journal articles, book chapters, and review essays. David Cunningham, Professor at Washington University in St. Louis, remembered the impact of *Frontiers* on his generation of graduate students: "I well know how this work—more than any other—was soaked up, frequently referenced, and hotly debated by a rising generation

of social movement researchers ... Many of those chapters... remain strikingly relevant to cutting-edge work on the current frontier of scholarship... [have] presaged more recent developments, and—as much as any other work—helped set the course for the field's advance." For all of these contributions, Aldon received the 2018 John D. McCarthy Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Scholarship of Social Movements and Collective Behavior.

When Aldon writes a book, it is always a masterpiece. His 2015 masterwork, *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology* (University of California Press), won five best book prizes from three different professional associations—including the 2018 R.R. Hawkins Award of the Association of American Publishers as the "most distinguished scholarly" volume published in the United States—and from two sections of the ASA (Racial and Ethnic Minorities and History of Sociology). It is a must-read for all sociologists. Lawrence Bobo, Professor at Harvard University, wrote that the book offers a "fundamental re-organization of our thinking about the basic canon and history of sociological theory making." This tour-de-force intellectual contribution contributed to Aldon being *this year's* winner of the Association's highest honor, the W.E.B. Du Bois Career of Distinguished Scholarship Award. This selection acknowledges Aldon's lifetime of activism as well as scholarship, since it was Aldon who led the charge to change the name of that very award to honor Du Bois.

In *The Scholar Denied*, Aldon shows that "Du Bois's sociology of race was developed two decades before that of [Robert] Park and the Chicago School" (p. 129), yet "Park and the Chicago School locked Du Bois out of the intellectual fraternity of sociology by systematically ignoring his scholarship" (p. 141). *The Scholar Denied* is a meticulously researched and passionately argued study of organizations and professions, the history of science, social networks, the evaluation of ideas and merit, and, of course, of race

and racism. Morris rests his case on both the empirical and theoretical contributions Du Bois made to the field when few universities had sociology departments. *The Scholar Denied* shows that the purposeful, longstanding, and (even now) ongoing marginalization of Du Bois delayed for decades the incorporation of a structural understanding of racial inequality into mainstream sociology. Du Bois—who from the beginning had a sophisticated understanding of structure—was light years ahead in showing the ways that racism shaped the labor market, politics, the economy, families, urban life, and international relations.

As a University of Chicago PhD and a true believer in The Chicago School's mystique, Mary experienced her first encounter with *The Scholar Denied* as a personal affront. Now, after absorbing the illuminating evidence and analysis, she is a convert to the Du Boisian School. As a cynical senior scholar, Michael first encountered *The Scholar Denied* as a dreary history of ancient and irrelevant ideas. Now, after discovering new worlds of exciting theory, he reads sociological history with relish, searching for other previously buried sociological gems written by Du Bois or his intellectual progeny. *The Scholar Denied* makes both of us proud to be sociologists; reminds us to recommit to the vision that Du Bois and the Atlanta School of Sociology had for the discipline; and compels us to insure that future generations of scholars will be able to access and apply this richest vein of sociological wisdom. As Aldon wrote in the book: "A rare phenomenon occurred at the dawn of the twentieth century: the leaders of an oppressed people one generation removed from slavery embraced an intellectual discipline as a weapon of liberation" (p. 59). That is our intellectual ancestry. What will be our legacy?

Brilliance and Action

Here is where Aldon's reputation for action comes in. Aldon's roots are in struggle. He was drawn to activism because of his own experiences with racial and class oppression, in the South, in Chicago, and working

Continued on Page 16

Morris

From Page 15

right out of high school for Spiegel and International Harvester. His worldview and scholarship were forged in the crucibles of the activism and confrontations of the multiple movements of the 1960s and beyond, especially the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. Like many of the young people leading today's Black Lives Matter Movement, he is determined to fight tragedy with effective activism. Aldon is of the Emmett Till generation and BLM protesters are of the George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Trayvon Martin generation. But the imaginative theorizing about and courageous demands for liberation are the same.

Aldon arrived in academia with the dual commitments that would become his life's work. Michael knew him first as a "Black militant honors student," a label that Aldon fulfilled in all respects. In addition to producing brilliant seminar papers that challenged and stretched the intellectual boundaries of the pre-Civil Rights sociology practiced at Stony Brook, Aldon set about organizing students (and at least one faculty member) to introduce the Du Boisian perspective into the research and teaching in the department. Qualitative and historical methods became part of the methods curriculum, race relations became an integral part of graduate education, the targeted recruitment of

students of color began, and the first two Black faculty were hired. Aldon left Stony Brook for Michigan with a doctoral dissertation that would become *Origins of the Modern Civil Rights Movement* and a portfolio of activist achievements that prepared him to work for similar reforms as a new faculty member at the University of Michigan.

Aldon is currently the Leon Forrest Professor of Sociology and African American Studies at Northwestern University. As his colleague for over 20 years, Mary has known him firsthand as a mentor as well as an activist for diversity and equity. When Aldon became chair of the Sociology Department in 1992, he confronted an unacceptable dearth of faculty and graduate students of color. To tackle the "pipeline" problem, Aldon started with graduate student recruitment, orchestrating a long series of difficult faculty meetings to convince our colleagues that the goal of diversity was important, and that some prospective students of color might bring a different academic profile to the admissions process than White students. Aldon put equal energy into faculty diversity. When Aldon began his work, there were few faculty of color in the department. We are not overstating the case when we say that he has been the architect of what is today an exceptionally diverse department. This is (just one part of) Aldon's legacy.

His other legacy is the next generation of students that he has inspired. In a scene in the documentary, Northwestern graduate student Niamba Baskerville remarked that one of the "key takeaways in [*The Scholar Denied*] for me is this idea of liberation capital, which is sort of an advancement of Bourdieu's idea of different types of capital." And student Joshua Basseches said, "It taught me a lot about power both in academia and in broader society." Karida Brown, Assistant Professor at University of California-Los Angeles, wrote: "I would not be a faculty member with an appointment in a sociology department had it not been for him. Like many young scholars of color in the discipline, I was riddled with an amorphous sense of insecurity about how my research, by a Black woman about Black people, would be received in the discipline. In the words of Du Bois, my 'double consciousness' was working on me. In one fortuitous exchange, Aldon Morris changed the course of my career."

2021 ASA Annual Meeting

The theme for the 2021 conference is "Emancipatory Sociology: Rising to the Du Boisian Challenge." It will take place at a conjunctive moment in history when sociologists are called upon to focus their minds on the project of emancipation. As Pam Oliver, Professor Emerita at the University of Wisconsin, wrote about Aldon's sociological paradigm:

"The vision of sociology charted by Morris...recognizes the importance of political and organizational sociology and the creation of states and institutions and policies that create structures of domination. It is a sociology that recognizes the importance of studying the social movements that challenge structures of domination...It is a sociology capable of critically analyzing sociology itself." The 2021 conference invites us to build this emancipatory sociology. It promises to reflect the biography of its presider, a person who practices sociological rigor and translates it into action. Fittingly, the conference will be held in Chicago where Aldon has lived and worked on a range of freedom struggles for most of his adult life. It is also a sweet turn that Du Bois will be recognized in the city whose sociologists dismissed him for so long.

The most touching part of the film about Aldon comes at the end, when his mother reads from "For My People," a poem by Margaret Walker. It is an ode to Aldon's southern and northern roots, and shows his grounding in history, his love for Black people, his appreciation of beautiful things, and his reverence for struggle. Walker's poem epitomizes the path that Aldon has charted as a scholar committed to action in the service of positive transformation: "Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born... [L]et a people loving freedom come to growth."

ASA Financial Update

Nancy López, Secretary-Treasurer and Chair of the Finance Committee

In mid-August 2020 the ASA Council reviewed the completed 2019 audited financials and a summary was presented at the member business meeting. I am happy to report that we finished 2019 with a balanced budget for the third year in a row. The auditors' opinion states that the financial statements were presented fairly and in conformity with the requirements of generally accepted accounting principles. The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic is making 2020 more challenging in some consequential (though not existential) ways. We are keeping a close eye on the bottom line and we are working diligently to manage the impact. We have also included socially responsible funds in our investment portfolio as we invest in our future. The audit can be accessed from the Governance page at ASA's website (www.asanet.org/audit-financial-records).

**Call for Nominations:
ASA Awards**

Members are invited to submit nominations for ASA awards. Learn about each award and corresponding nomination procedures by clicking below. The deadline for nominations is **January 1, 2021**.

- [Cox-Johnson-Frazier Award](#)
- [Dissertation Award](#)
- [Distinguished Career Award for the Practice of Sociology](#)
- [Distinguished Contributions to Teaching Award](#)
- [Distinguished Scholarly Book Award](#)
- [Jessie Bernard Award](#)
- [Public Understanding of Sociology Award](#)
- [W.E.B. Du Bois Career of Distinguished Scholarship Award](#)

Introducing the New Editors of *Social Psychology Quarterly*

Jane Sell, Texas A&M University

I am excited to introduce Drs. Jody Clay-Warner, Dawn T. Robinson, and Justine Tinkler as the new editors of *Social Psychology Quarterly*. I have known all three of these scholars since they were graduate students. All three have been active in the Social Psychology section of the American Sociological Association. As graduate students and throughout their careers, they have absolutely shone by the questions they asked, the answers they proffered, and the enthusiasm they radiated. Some of the most intellectually intriguing and challenging conversations I've been part of throughout the years have been with these three.

We are fortunate to have all three editors of the journal at the University of Georgia, where the department has a well-deserved reputation for nurturing different strands of social psychology. They will become the 26th editorial team. As Dawn Robinson has noted, *Social Psychology Quarterly* led the field in the establishment of editorial teams rather than individuals, which is so appropriate given the subject

matter of social psychology. It is especially fortuitous because these three editors represent different perspectives and engage in many different methods within the field.

In 1979, the well-known social psychologist Dorwin Cartwright wrote an important and reflective article "Contemporary Social Psychology in Historical Perspective," which was published in *Social Psychology Quarterly*. The article discussed how different historical contexts (such as World War II) spurred growth in social psychology and also focused scholarly attention on some topics and

excluded others. On the whole, this article reflected his optimism about the field, but he also worried. The basis for his apprehension was "the susceptibility to fads and fashion, the obsession with technique, the reliance on a single method of research..." It is absolutely clear to me that these three editors understand and fight against what Cartwright termed these "symptoms of immaturity."

I highlight each of the editors below.

Jody Clay-Warner received her PhD from Emory University. She advanced from an assistant to a full professor at the



Jody Clay-Warner

University of Georgia and, along the way, garnered a series of honors that reflected her many contributions. She is currently the Meigs Distinguished Professor of Sociology. She has received many teaching and mentoring awards including, most recently, an award from the Southern Sociological

Association in 2019 for her distinguished contributions to teaching. She was the Georgia Sociologist of the Year for 2017.

She is and has been an important contributor in times of service: she has served as the director of graduate studies and she was the department head of the department. Giving all this attention to teaching and service has not slowed down her research.

Broadly speaking, Jody's research focuses on injustice and peoples' responses to injustice. This focus allows her to deftly reach across many areas including procedural justice, victims' responses to injustice (and crime),

and legal issues related to sexual violence. She has published many manuscripts in *Social Psychology Quarterly* that reach across her fields. Her research on violence appears in a variety of journals including *Violence and Victims*, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *Violence Against Women*, and *Criminal Justice and Behavior*.

Her research on violence has been sponsored by the U.S. Department of State through several (extremely large) grants and she has been awarded multiple grants from the National Science Foundation.

Dawn T. Robinson received her PhD from Cornell University. She was a faculty member at Louisiana State



Dawn T. Robinson

University and the University of Iowa before coming to the University of Georgia. She is currently Professor of Sociology and Fellow in the Owens Institute of Behavioral Research at University of Georgia. At Georgia, she founded and now co-directs the Laboratory for the Study of Social Interaction and the Computational Social Science Work Group. In 2009, she was selected as a Kavli Frontiers of Science Fellow by the National Academy of Sciences.

Her research centers on emotion, especially on how identity is affected by context and interactions. In particular, she has been active in theoretical and methodological advancements within the area of Affect Control Theory. As an example, along with her colleagues, she has been involved in the painstaking process of developing new cultural "dictionaries" that enable whole groups of cross-cultural studies. Dawn has always been interested in, and a proponent of, exploring different methodologies and analysis techniques. In particular, she has worked on developing a variety of measurement tools for assessing emotions. These include physiological measures as well as attitudinal and behavioral measures.

She has published in a wide array of outlets including the *American Sociological Review*, *Social Forces*, *Annual Review of Sociology*, *Advances in Group Processes*, and *Social Science Research*. Her 2008 book with Jody Clay-Warner, *Social Structure and Emotion*, garnered the 2010 Book Award from ASA's Emotions section.

In support of her research, Dawn has received grants from National Science Foundation, the Army Research Office, and the Office of Naval Research.

Justine Tinkler received her PhD from Stanford University and was a faculty member at Louisiana State University



Justine Tinkler

before coming to Georgia. She is currently Associate Professor and Graduate Program Coordinator of Sociology at the University of Georgia. Her research focuses on the micro and macro forces that contribute to inequality on the basis of gender, race and ethnicity. In pursuit of this focus, she has also examined how policies either do or do not contribute to advancing rights. She has employed experiments, surveys, participant observation and interviews in her studies.

Her influential articles have appeared in the *American Sociological Review*, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *Social Science Research* and *Law and Social Inquiry*. She was recently honored with the Katharine Jocher-Belle Boone Beard Award by the Honors Committee of the Southern Sociological Society. The award recognizes distinguished scholarly contributions to the understanding of gender and society

Justine's work on sexual harassment and Title IX issues has catapulted her into different media and both scholarly and popular press. These outlets include the New York Times, Washington Post, the Chronicle of Higher Education, and the BBC.

“As graduate students and throughout their careers, they have absolutely shone by the questions they asked, the answers they proffered, and the enthusiasm they radiated.”

New Approach to Dues for 2021: When We Pull Together, We All Win

As we grapple with the COVID-19 pandemic, the ensuing economic crisis, and social upheaval in our nation, ASA's mission to serve sociologists in their work, advance sociology as a science and profession, and promote the contributions and use of sociology to society could not be more urgent.

We are launching the 2021 ASA membership year under truly unprecedented conditions. Many sociologists and their families are struggling, students are unsure of future job prospects, and institutions and departments are facing tremendous challenges that in some cases threaten their very existence. At the same time, ASA is struggling under the pressure generated by pandemic-related reduced membership and meeting cancellation.

How do we balance the significant financial needs of some sociologists while sustaining the Association? The 2021 Pick Your Own Sponsorship membership initiative is designed to do just that. It is based on the recognition that the pandemic has not affected all sociologists equally and that the sociological community as a whole is both strong and supportive.

Pick Your Own Sponsorship holds dues steady at the 2020 level and then provides members with the choice of a) paying those dues, b) taking

a sponsorship, or c) providing a sponsorship. Taking a sponsorship means opting to reduce one's dues payment for 2021 by 10%, 20%, or 30%.

Giving a sponsorship means adding 10%, 20%, or 30% to one's dues payment to support colleagues who are presently in more precarious situations.

The ASA Council unanimously supported the introduction of Pick Your Own Sponsorship. President Aldon Morris explains:

Pick Your Own Sponsorship is a carefully considered initiative designed to promote the

interests of all ASA members. It is also an effort to keep the Association strong as we navigate through the current crisis. Sociologists understand how important generosity and solidarity are to achieving collective interests. These qualities are even more important in the context of a terrible pandemic that has negatively impacted so many people, often in disproportionate ways. Because each member of the ASA is important, we strive to address the unique challenges and opportunities of all our members. It is in this spirit that ASA is unveiling its Pick Your Own Sponsorship option to maintain the strength of our organization and to promote the discipline

of sociology and all its members.

Zulema Valdez, who voted on this initiative as a member of Council, says, "In this time of great economic uncertainty, the issue of membership cost is especially salient. I strongly support our Pick Your Own Sponsorship initiative, which provides tangible financial relief to our members who need it." President-elect Cecilia Menjivar sums up the concept of Pick Your Own Sponsorship in this way, "ASA is made up of members and we need to respond and acknowledge each other's concerns."

Please renew your membership in ASA for 2021 and help renew our sociological community. Take a sponsorship if you need one, give a sponsorship if you can. In the words of Aldon Morris, "When we pull together, we all win."

“How do we balance the significant financial needs of some sociologists while sustaining the Association? The 2021 Pick Your Own Sponsorship membership initiative is designed to do just that.”

You Make the Difference When You Renew Your Membership for 2021...

ASA serves you in your work by providing numerous benefits, including:

- Online access to 10 ASA journals; 4 additional journals available based on section membership.
- Free registration for ASA's professional development webinars.
- Unlimited downloads from TRAILS, ASA's peer-reviewed library of teaching resources.
- Free access to the ASA Job Bank.

ASA advances sociology as a science and profession by:

- Building and maintaining the ASA Minority Fellowship Program.
- Launching the new ASA Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant Program.
- Defending sociologists and their academic freedom.

ASA promotes the contributions and use of sociology to society through actions such as:

- Connecting experts in sociology with journalists covering today's most urgent social issues.
- Sharing sociological content with a public audience through initiatives like the Sociological Insights video series.
- Advocating for the integrity of federal statistics, including the Census.

Thank You to Everyone Who Made ASA's 2020 Virtual Engagement Event a Success

Christine Williams, Immediate Past President

In April, the ASA Council cancelled the 115th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association. They had no choice. It was the right and the only thing to do in the face of the coronavirus pandemic.

The Annual Meeting was last cancelled in 1945, when a different horseman of the apocalypse prevented the gathering of American sociologists. But unlike then, ASA 2020 was able to meet virtually. That we managed to put together an online event in fewer than four months is truly amazing.

By the last day of the Virtual Engagement Event, 5,250 people had registered, a number that is comparable to attendance in recent years. Without the distractions of San Francisco, many of us attended various sessions, over 600 of them. Sessions were popular even on the last day of the event—unprecedented in my experience. I hope that participants found intellectual

engagement and inspiration at these sessions. I certainly did. Video of the plenary sessions have been posted to the ASA Annual Meeting Video Archive web page. Additional presidential sessions will be added as they become available.

None of this happened automatically, of course. Just like the platform economy, which relies on unseen and often unappreciated labor, this virtual event was made possible by the dedicated efforts of many people.

Nancy Kidd and Michelle Randall, and the staff at ASA, worked overtime to manage the virtual event while looking out for the best interests of the Association. It has been a pleasure working with them over the past two years. Members of ASA Council have been a source of wisdom, support, and hope to me during these challenging times. I am especially grateful for the wise feminist counsel of Vice President Joya Misra, who convinced me that we should move ahead with a virtual event. And I want to thank everyone who sent



me encouraging emails over the past few months, which sustained me and buoyed me through these difficult times.

The tireless Program Committee did their job twice, first organizing a spectacular program, and then reorganizing it as a virtual event. I was told at the beginning of my term that programming the conference would be the best part of being President, and that was no lie, thanks to this wonderful group of scholars and educators: Joya

Misra (Vice President, University of Massachusetts-Amherst), David Takeuchi (Past Secretary, Boston College), Nancy Lopez (Secretary, University of New Mexico), Hae Yeon Choo (University of Toronto-Mississauga), Joshua Gamson (University of San Francisco), Adia Harvey Wingfield (Washington University in St. Louis), Allison Pugh (University of Virginia), Vinnie Roscigno (Ohio State University), Katherine

Continued on Page 20

Congratulations to the 2020 Howery Teaching Enhancement Fund Award Winners

The Carla B. Howery Teaching Enhancement Fund (TEF) supports a small grants program of the American Sociological Association for projects that advance the scholarship of teaching and learning within the discipline of sociology. The ASA congratulates the 2020 TEF grant recipients:

Matthew Archibald and **Omar Nagi**, College of Mount Saint Vincent, for *Advancing Quantitative Reasoning among First-Generation and Racial/Ethnic Minority Sociology Students*.

Archibald and Nagi are faculty members at the College of Mount Saint Vincent, a minority-serving institution in the Bronx, NY. They noticed that sociology and public policy students often struggle with statistics courses, a problem with

a variety of causes and one that can narrow career options. The proposed project aims to “reposition students to succeed in STEM or STEM-adjacent areas” through an experimental design. Students in the experimental group participate in a five-part supplementary tutorial before the statistics class starts, allowing them to become familiar with some of the main concepts and paying them for the time they devote to the tutorial. By collecting data on numerical literacy at baseline, post-tutorial, and throughout the class, the project will allow the researchers to document whether and how much the tutorial intervention matters for students’ learning. Since the students will all be in class together, the project further advances the potential for

learning by offering the students in the experimental group the chance to act as peer tutors for the other students, a situation that could lead to better outcomes for all students.

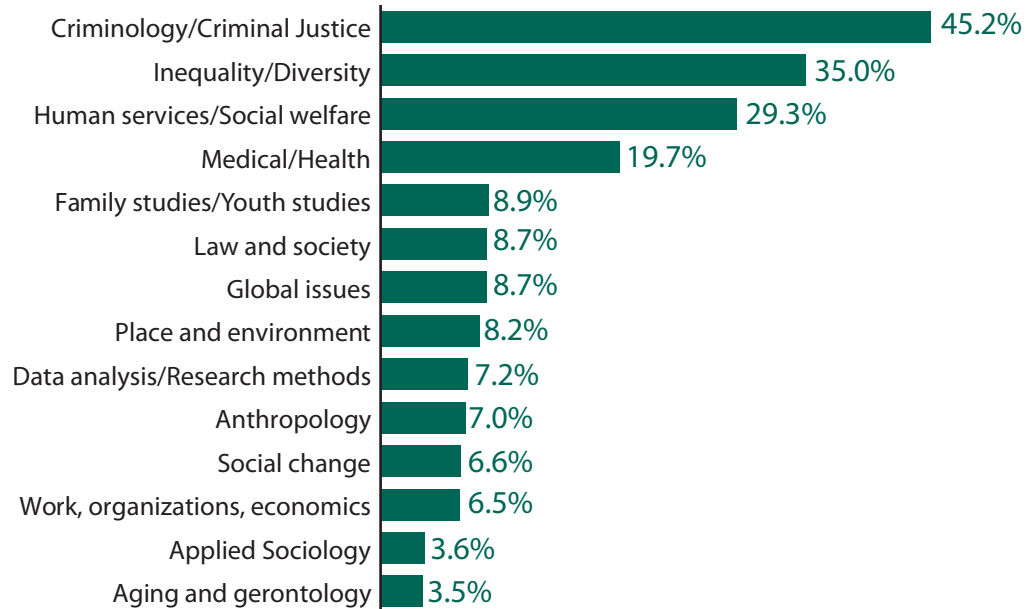
Pamela Ray Koch, **Debra Swanson**, and **Aaron Franzen**, Hope College, for *All Students (should be able to) Write and Research*

Koch, Swanson, and Franzen are based at Hope College in Michigan, where some students benefit greatly from participating in undergraduate research activities or collaborating on research with faculty. Their proposal tells us that, although “students from low-income backgrounds... do not have the ability to perform unfunded or low-funded research projects,” for example, during the summers, they can benefit by acquiring research

skills in collaborative and individual projects in their required classes. Thus, the project attempts to make opportunities more equitable by incorporating instruction in writing and research throughout the sociology major’s core courses and to explicitly link research skills to characteristics that we know employers desire. If students understand how the research and writing skills they acquire in sociology courses translate to advantages on the job market, they will be more motivated to learn these skills and include them on their resumes. The grant funds will be used to help students disseminate their research publicly. Data on students’ self-assessed skills will be collected at various points throughout the project to measure impact.

Research Snapshot: Which Concentrations Are Offered in Sociology Departments?

This summer's news has been dominated by discussions of policing and public health. Which experts are best situated to discuss whether funds should be moved from police departments to social services, or how best to address the spread of disease through social contact? We found that sociology departments frequently have concentrations within their degree programs that prepare students to answer exactly these questions. This research snapshot draws from data collected last fall as part of the ASA survey of sociology departments. Of the 438 responding sociology departments, 30% offer a concentration as a part of their sociology curriculum. A concentration in criminology or criminal justice is offered by almost half of these departments, and over a third offer concentrations in inequality and diversity, including race/ethnicity and gender. Medical sociology, a growing area within the discipline, is a concentration offered by nearly 20% of responding departments. About 11% of the departments offer more unique concentrations such as sociology of recreation, education, social psychology, media, and disasters.



Source: ASA Survey of Sociology Departments, 2019

2020 Virtual

From Page 19

Rowell (Sinclair Community College), Kristen Schilt (University of Chicago), Don Tomaskovic-Devey (University of Massachusetts-Amherst

My local planning chairperson, Katrina Kimport, working with Kimberly Richman and Josh Gamson, put together a fabulous line-up of sessions and events to spotlight the sociological significance of the San Francisco Bay Area. I am extremely grateful for their efforts and disappointed that we could not enjoy the results together.

Finally, I want to thank the ASA members who generously and graciously worked to make this online event possible. I am grateful to the section officers, session organizers, presenters, discussants, moderators, and attendees who came together to make ASA 2020 an unforgettable experience.

ASA 2020 will go down in the

record books as our first virtual conference. I am disappointed that we did not get to meet in San Francisco, but I am also hopeful for the future of our Association. In the midst of this tragic year, we found ways to connect with and support each other. We had a relatively accessible and green conference. Thanks to ASA 2020, we will be better prepared for the next horseman who threatens our gathering.

2021 ASA Annual Meeting

The 116th ASA Annual Meeting is scheduled to take place in Chicago, IL, on August 7-10. Aldon D. Morris, 2021 ASA President, and the 2021 Program Committee are in the process of developing a wide-ranging program with the theme "Emancipatory Sociology: Rising to the Du Boisian Challenge." For more information about the 2021 Annual Meeting, visit www.asanet.org/annual-meeting-2021. Online submissions will open November 9, 2020.

Call for Applications: ASA Minority Fellowship Program

Deadline: January 31

Through its Minority Fellowship Program (MFP), the American Sociological Association supports the development and training of sociologists of color in any sub-area or specialty in the discipline. Over 46 years, the MFP has supported more than 500 Fellows in pursuit of a doctoral degree in sociology. In addition to providing financial support, MFP works with its Fellows and their faculty mentors to help prepare the Fellow for a research career. Also, MFP plans workshops and paper sessions at the ASA Annual Meeting, offers travel support to scientific conferences, and fosters the development of formal and informal networks for Fellows. Applications are reviewed and evaluated by the ASA Minority Fellowship Program Advisory Panel. Awards are announced by April 30. The annual stipend for each award (August 1- July 31) is \$18,000. In addition, arrangements for the payments of tuition are made with universities or departments. Contact: (202) 247-9860; diversity@asanet.org. For more information, visit www.asanet.org/minority-fellowship-program.



Minority Fellowship Program

Call for Applications: *Sociology of Education* Editorship

The official term for the new editor (or co-editors) will commence in January 2022 (the editorial transition will begin in summer 2021) and is for a minimum of three years (through December 2024), with a possible extension of up to an additional two years.

Sociology of Education provides a forum for studies in the sociology of education and human social development. It publishes research that examines how social institutions and individuals' experiences within these institutions affect educational processes and social development. Such research may span various levels of analysis, ranging from the individual to the structure of relations among social and educational institutions. In an increasingly complex society, important educational issues arise throughout the life cycle. The journal presents a balance of papers examining all stages and all types of education at the individual, institutional, and organizational levels. *SOE* invites contributions from all methodologies. The journal is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October.

Qualifications

Candidates must be members of the ASA and hold a tenured position or equivalent in an academic or non-academic setting. Applications from members of underrepresented groups are encouraged, and proposals for both sole editorships and co-editorships are equally welcomed.

In accordance with ASA's mission to publish high-quality scholarship, the following criteria are considered in selecting editors:

- (1) An established record of scholarship;
- (2) Evidence of understanding the mission of the journal and its operation, indicated by experience with the journal/series across any of a wide variety of activities (e.g., publication, reviewing, editorial board experience);
- (3) Assessment of the present state of the journal, its strengths and challenges, and a vision for the journals' future;
- (4) Openness to the different methods, theories, and approaches to sociology; and

- (5) A record of responsible service to scholarly publishing and evidence of organizational skill and intellectual leadership.

Editors generally engage in some aspect of the journal 5-7 hours each week on average.

Selection Process

Applications will be reviewed by the ASA Publications Committee in January 2021. Prospective editors may be contacted to clarify issues raised in the deliberations. A list of potential editors will be forwarded to ASA Council for review in March 2021. Council appoints the editors.

Institutional Support

It is important for candidates to consider and address the feasibility of serving as editor in light of the resources ASA can provide, and other resources likely to be available to the candidate. The ASA does not typically pay for office space, teaching release, or tuition, but does provide financial support for office resources as necessary. This support may include funds for editorial assistance, office supplies, postage,

and telephone beyond what will be provided by the editor's home institution. *Alternative models of funding may be possible as long as the impact on the overall cost for ASA support is minimal* (e.g., institutional support for the managing editor or editorial assistant position could allow for use of the ASA budgeted funds for course release or tuition).

The support offered by different institutions varies widely, and candidates are encouraged to contact Karen Gray Edwards, ASA Director of Publications, by email (edwards@asanet.org) as necessary to determine the level and type of ASA support that is available. Letters of support from deans or other appropriate institutional officials are recommended but not required. Detailed financial arrangements are not developed until after ASA Council appoints the editor.

Additional information and examples of successful past proposals are available on the ASA website (www.asanet.org/asa-editorships).

Application packets should be emailed by December 1, 2020, to publications@asanet.org.

Call for Nominations: ASA Student Forum Advisory Board

The Student Forum Advisory Board (SFAB) is the governing arm for the ASA Student Forum, which provides resources for graduate and undergraduate sociology students, helps develop networks among student members, and facilitates student participation in ASA by encouraging professional development and service. SFAB members are elected by the ASA student membership.

SFAB seeks nominations for graduate and undergraduate student members. The term of commitment is September 1, 2021 through August 31, 2023 for graduate student members, and through August 31, 2022 for the undergraduate student member. Nominees must be ASA student members at the time of nomination and, if elected, retain membership while serving. Elected SFAB members are required to attend the ASA Annual Meetings during their term. While attendance at the 2022 Annual Meeting is not required, it is encouraged. Self-nominations for SFAB are welcome.

If you are interested in applying, please send (1) a curriculum vitae and (2) a statement of no more than 150 words indicating why you want to serve on SFAB, including a brief biographical sketch. This statement will be included in the information given to voters.

SFAB nominations should be sent to studentforum@asanet.org. Nomination deadline: January 4, 2021. For more information, visit www.asanet.org/sfab-nominations.

Nominations Sought for 2021 Section Awards

Each year, the ASA's 52 sections celebrate the achievements of sociologists in their areas of academic interest. Awards are given for books, dissertations, articles, and student and career achievements. Consider nominating your colleagues and students. For more information about individual section awards, visit www.asanet.org/section-awards.

ASA Professional Development Video Series

Worried about the academic job market and thinking of alternatives? Check out our video series "Careers for Sociologists in Practice Settings" with practical tips such as how to change your CV into a resumé and how to negotiate a compensation package. Phone getting blown up by reporters wanting your expert opinion on a current event? Our video series "Working with the Media" has you covered. Learn how to translate your work for a general audience, make your sound bites count, and avoid being misquoted. On the evergreen topic of publishing articles and books, consult our "Academic Publishing" video series. As an ASA member, log in on the [Videos and Webinars](#) page to get full access.

Call for Applications: TRAILS Area Editors

ASA is seeking Area Editors for TRAILS, ASA's peer-reviewed digital teaching resources library. TRAILS Area Editors are part of a network of passionate educators dedicated to supporting excellence in teaching and learning in sociology.

We are accepting applications for the following subject areas:

- Criminology/Criminal Justice
- Deviant Behavior and Social

Disorganization

- Demography
- Sociology of Religion

Responsibilities of Area Editors include reviewing materials submitted to the relevant subject area and making publication recommendations to the TRAILS Editor, mentoring authors through the publication process, promoting the digital library, and working

to expand the range, quantity, and quality of teaching resources in TRAILS.

Newly appointed Area Editors will begin a three-year (renewable) term starting January 1, 2021. Applicants should be members of the ASA, have a PhD in sociology, and demonstrate commitment to teaching and learning in the



discipline. A publication record in TRAILS is viewed favorably.

Applications are currently being accepted and will be reviewed until the positions are filled. To apply, send a letter describing your interest and qualifications for the position and a CV to trails@asanet.org with the subject line "Area Editor Application."

Call for Applications: Classes for the TRAILS Teaching Seminar Program

Does your department offer a seminar that provides training on best teaching practices for graduate students? ASA is seeking applications for the ASA TRAILS Teaching Seminar program. This program is designed to integrate the ASA's Teaching Resources and Innovations Library for Sociology (TRAILS) into graduate teaching training seminars. This program will help you enhance the learning process for graduate students and advance the scholarship of teaching and learning in sociology. Applications are now being accepted for Spring 2021.

Students in participating seminars will receive free access to TRAILS for six months, irrespective of ASA membership. As part of the course, they will develop materials that

they will then submit to TRAILS, giving them firsthand experience with the peer review process. Prior to submitting, they will get to speak with members of the TRAILS editorial team and learn about what makes a good TRAILS publication, how to submit, and what peer review involves. Once submitted, their materials will be fast-tracked through the review process.

Requirements for any participating course:

- The course is a graduate level teaching seminar.
- The course plan/syllabus includes a structured plan for students to familiarize themselves with resources in at least one subject

area or one pedagogical approach.

- Students in the course prepare at least one teaching resource for possible submission to TRAILS.
- Course instructors review a first draft of student teaching materials and provide feedback for revision prior to students' submitting their materials to TRAILS.
- Professor participates in on-ramp conversation with TRAILS editor Gregory Kordsmeier.

Preferred elements for participating courses:

- The course plan/syllabus for the graduate seminar is well designed and reflects best practices in scholarly teaching.

• Students in the courses are given an opportunity to test the effectiveness of the teaching activities they develop.

• The courses selected to participate in the ASA TRAILS Teaching Seminar reflect the broad range of graduate institutions and include a diverse student body.

Send applications to trails@asanet.org by December 1, 2020. Please include a cover letter that addresses requirements and preferred elements for participating courses, plus a course plan/syllabus (draft acceptable) and related assignments as needed. We anticipate accepting 4 to 5 courses in the Spring 2021 semester.

Announcements

Calls for Papers

Contemporary Perspectives in Family Research, an annual series that focuses upon cutting-edge topics in family research around the globe, is seeking manuscript submissions for a special volume. The volume will focus on the theme of "Police, Courts, and Incarceration: The Justice System and the Family." We are seeking articles that cover a wide array of topics including: how policing, arrest, jail and court processes impact family members and their support networks; how prolonged incarceration impacts children and parenting processes and

family coping; how intimate relationships are impacted during and after incarceration including marriage and divorce and partner violence; and, whether system involvement leads to unintended consequences among family members. This volume of CPFR will be coedited by Sheila Royo Maxwell of Michigan State University and Sampson Lee Blair of The State University of New York (Buffalo). The deadline for initial submissions is March 15, 2021. Any questions may be directed to the editors at maxwel22@msu.edu and siblair@buffalo.edu.

Nineteenth Century Studies Association (NCSA) 42nd Annual Virtual Conference

March 11-13, 2021. NCSA welcomes proposals for papers, panels, roundtables, and special sessions that explore our theme of "Discovery" in the long nineteenth century (1789-1914). Scholars are invited to interrogate the trope of "discovery" by questioning the term's ideological and colonial implications. Papers might also consider indigenous perspectives that challenge ideas of western "discovery" and settler colonialism, new voices that theorize and critique nineteenth-cen-

tury "discoveries," intellectual exchange between cultures, and other methods of unmasking narratives of exploration and "discovery." Proposal Deadline: October 31, 2020. For more information, visit ncsaweb.net/current-conference-2021-cfp.

Meetings

October 26-27, 2020. Penn State's 28th Annual Symposium on Family Issues. Theme: "Causes and Consequences of Parent-Child Separations: Pathways to Resilience." The virtual symposium is free. Registration is required. For more information, visit pop.psu.edu/

Announcements

events/28th-annual-national-symposium-family-issues.

November 16–20, 2020. 11th Annual International Conference on Stigma. Theme: “Faces of Stigma.” Virtually hosted by Howard University. For more information, visit www.whocanyoutell.org/2020-conference.

Funding

Franklin Research Grants. This American Philosophical Society program of small grants to scholars is intended to support the cost of research leading to publication in all areas of knowledge. The Franklin program is particularly designed to help meet the cost of travel to libraries and archives for research purposes; the purchase of microfilm, photocopies or equivalent research materials; the costs associated with fieldwork; or laboratory research expenses. Applicants are expected to have a doctorate, but the Society is especially interested in supporting the work of young scholars who have recently received the doctorate. Award: \$1,000 to \$6,000. Deadline: December 1. For more information, visit www.amphilsoc.org/grants/franklin-research-grants.

In the News

Kelly H. Chong, University of Kansas, was quoted in an August 11 CNN article, “The ‘Fox Eye’ Beauty Trend Continues to Spread Online. But Critics Insist It’s Racist.”

Caitlyn Collins, Washington University in St. Louis, was the author of the editorial, “Productivity in a Pandemic” in *Science* magazine, August 7, 2020.

Julian Go, University of Chicago, had his research on the imperial origins of U.S. militarized policing cited in a July 20, 2020 *The New Yorker* article, “The Invention of the Police.” Go also discussed his research in his appearance in the History Channel’s documentary “A Call for Change: Police Brutality in the United States.”

Marya T. Mtshali, Harvard University, was quoted in the following articles: “Why Asian And Black Americans Continue to Experience COVID-19-Related Discrimination—And What You Can Do About it,” *MarketWatch* (July 17); “Medical Bias: From Pain Pills to COVID-19, Racial Discrimination in Health Care Festers,” *USA Today* (June 24); “White Privilege Is Real: Look At the Coronavirus Impact on Black America,” *Business Insider* (June 5); “Experts Call for White House to Craft a Plan for Equal Access to COVID-19 Vaccine,” *National Journal* (June 11); “The Coronavirus Files: The Health Divide, The Hunger Crisis & Reopening the Courts,” USC Annenberg Center for Healthcare Journalism (June).

Diane M. Rodgers, Northern Illinois University, was interviewed by WGN News Chicago on June 26, 2020 and Fox 32 Chicago on June 27, 2020,

concerning the participation of children in the Black Lives Matter movement. She addressed children’s ability to understand injustice and to express their views through protest based on evidence from her book *Children in Social Movements: Rethinking Agency, Mobilization and Rights*.

David R. Segal, University of Maryland, was quoted in an article in the *San Antonio Express-News* on September 29 on the army’s response to sexual assaults, including murder, at Fort Hood, TX.

Gregory D. Squires, George Washington University, wrote a letter to the editor that appeared in the August 24 *Wall Street Journal* which was in response to Trump’s and Carson’s op ed about protecting the suburbs. Squires and **James Austin**, JFA Institute, wrote “Just How Many Cops Are ‘Bad Apples?’” that appeared in *The Crime Report* on August 11.

Stacy Torres, University of California-San Francisco, wrote an op-ed published in the September 15 *USA Today*, which quoted **Rashawn Ray**, University of Maryland. Torres wrote an op-ed, “In California, the future is now. It’s grim,” that appeared in the August 30 *San Francisco Chronicle* on mental health consequences of the pandemic.

Awards

Edward L. Fink, Temple University, has been named Fellow of Sigma Xi, the Scientific Research Honor Society, making him a member of the inaugural group of fellows.

Edward L. Fink, Temple University, and **Sungeun Chung**, Sungkyunkwan University, Republic of Korea, have received the 2020 Randall Harrison Outstanding Article Award from the International Communication Association’s Information Systems Division.

Laura Limonic, State University of New York-Old Westbury, was awarded Best Book 2020 by the Latin American Jewish Studies Association for her book, *Kugel and Frijoles: Latino Jews in the United States* (Wayne University Press, 2019).

Stephen J. Morewitz, San Jose State University and Forensic Social Sciences Association, is a winner of the San Jose State University 2019 Annual Author and Artist Award for producing the *Holocaust, immigration, and human rights* documentary, *Nobody Wants Us*.

Danielle Taana Smith, Syracuse University, published an op-ed that appeared in *Syracuse.com* on July 29, 2020. “Claiming Black on Black violence blames the victim.”

New Books

Filipe Carreira da Silva, University of Lisbon/Selwyn College, Cambridge, and **Mónica Brito Vieira**, University

of York, *The Politics of the Book. A Study on the Materiality of Ideas* (Penn State University Press, 2020).

William C. Cockerham, University of Alabama at Birmingham and College of William & Mary, *Sociological Theories of Health and Illness* (Routledge, 2021).

Jenny L. Davis, The Australian National University, *How Artifacts Afford: The Power and Politics of Everyday Things* (MIT Press, 2020).

Jill A. Fisher, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, *Adverse Events: Race, Inequality, and the Testing of New Pharmaceuticals* (New York University Press, 2020).

Michael G. Flaherty, Eckerd College, **Lotte Meinert**, and **Anne Line Dalsgård**, Aarhus University (eds.), *Time Work: Studies of Temporal Agency* (Berghahn Books, 2020).

Gerald Hage, University of Maryland, *Knowledge Evolution and Societal Transformations: Action Theory to Solve Adaptive Problems* (Anthem Press, 2020).

Jacob Lederman, University of Michigan-Flint, *Chasing World-Class Urbanism: Global Policy versus Everyday Survival in Buenos Aires* (University of Minnesota Press, 2020).

John W. Mohr, University of California-Santa Barbara, **Christopher A. Bail**, Duke University, **Margaret Frye**, Uni-

versity of Michigan, **Jennifer C. Lena**, Columbia University, **Omar Lizardo**, University of California-Los Angeles, **Terence E. McDonnell**, University of Notre Dame, **Ann Mische**, University of Notre Dame, **Iddo Tavory**, New York University, and **Frederick F. Wherry**, Princeton University, *Measuring Culture* (Columbia University Press, 2020).

Diane M. Rodgers, Northern Illinois University, *Children in Social Movements: Rethinking Agency, Mobilization and Rights* (Routledge, 2020).

Blake R. Silver, George Mason University, *The Cost of Inclusion: How Student Conformity Leads to Inequality on College Campuses* (University of Chicago Press, 2020).

Transitions

Julian Go, formerly of Boston University, is now Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago.

People

Rita Stephan, North Carolina State University and **Mounira M. Charrad**, University of Texas at Austin, virtually discussed their edited volume, *Women Rising: In and Beyond the Arab Spring* (New York University Press, 2020), at the World Bank, at the Middle East and North Africa Chief Economist

EMANCIPATORY SOCIOLOGY: RISING TO THE DU BOISIAN CHALLENGE

ASA 116th ASA Annual Meeting
August 7-10, 2021 • Chicago, IL

Announcements

Seminar Series, on June 11, 2020. They also made a virtual presentation on the book at the Wilson Center, Washington DC, as part of its *Ground Truth Briefings* on June 30, 2020.

Deaths

Thomas J. Fararo, one of the pioneers of mathematical sociology, died August 20, 2020. Professor Fararo spent his academic career at the University of Pittsburgh.

James S. Jackson, who changed the way scholars examined Black life in the United States, leading to new insights on health, social support systems and more when he founded the Program for Research on Black Americans at the University of Michigan in 1976, died on September 1 at his home. He was 76.

Charles Bosk at the University of Pennsylvania's School of Arts and Sciences, and Professor of Anesthesiology and Critical Care at the Perelman School of Medicine, passed away on August 30, 2020. Chuck worked at University of Pennsylvania for over 40 years and was a highly valued and longstanding member of the Penn Community.

Obituaries

Mark Frezzo
1968-2020

Mark Frezzo passed on May 11, 2020. Mark was a scholar and a terrific collaborator, a teacher, a good citizen, and a good friend. Here we want to share thoughts from Mark's colleagues, who have vivid memories of their time with Mark and his contributions to sociology and human rights.

Mark was a dedicated human rights scholar committed to ensuring sociology remain engaged with the world (Sylvanna Falcon). There is no greater pleasure in editing and publishing

than working with an author who believes so deeply, passionately, and enthusiastically in what they are writing about. That was certainly the case with Mark who really cared about the students he wanted his book to serve and the issues that he wanted to help shed light on. And all with great, great affability (Jonathan Skerrett, Polity). Mark Frezzo was a valued colleague, trusted advisor, and outstanding scholar. Highly invested in the pursuit of rigorous scholarship, Mark valued kindness, respect, and integrity (Megan Greiving, Tej P. S. Sood, Anthem Press). Mark Frezzo was my collaborator (on Sociology and Human Rights: A Bill of Rights for the Twenty-First Century), and he was an especially wonderful one, by which I mean thoughtful, gracious, and helpful. It was a pleasure to exchange ideas with him as we charted our way through the book (Judith Blau).

Mark was an exceptional teacher. He was gifted at nurturing minds, making complex content accessible to every student. Mark taught us the importance of defining and defying injustice and structural imbalance and helped us develop our thoughts, often from ideas into actions benefiting a greater cause (Inbal Mazar). Mark promoted my path which gave me the sociological foundation to pursue my life's purpose. He encouraged my voice of truth empowering my sense of justice. The knowledge he shared of peace, justice and direct action I use every day in my professional and personal life (Vicki Rosenthal). I will never forget how he opened my eyes to systemic inequalities that most people never question... warning me that once I see it that I could never "unsee" it. He told me that being a sociologist was about exposing these inequalities and working tirelessly towards their eradication—this is still one of my only consolations

when I see how much work we have left to do (Gina Marie Longo). I would say that I never stopped learning from Mark. His boundless kindness and generosity continue to make me want to be a better person (Rusty Shekha). Frezzo has had a tremendous impact on my life. He always approached every conversation with patience, respect and unconditional positive regard (Nadja Johnson).

Mark was a "good citizen" whose contributions were often subtle but powerful. Mark made significant contributions to the ASA Human Rights Section, a group he helped found, and the ISA Thematic Group on Global Justice Rights. Human rights were not merely a scholarly interest but a deep commitment that informed not only his teaching and activism but his social relationships with students, colleagues, friends, and family (Manisha Desai). Mark made tremendous offerings to his colleagues by creating warm spaces for dialogue and intellectual exchange (LaDawn Haglund). His clear-sighted ideas and insights, and his passion for his work as a public sociologist, will be sorely missed (Susan Pearce). I deeply respected Mark's knowledge of human rights and sociological theory, as well as his calm, reasoned approach to problem-solving (Bruce K. Friesen). I also want to recognize his indelible legacy through the lives he touched in quiet ways: the beleaguered faculty who had his unstinting support, the junior colleague for whom he found time to applaud their efforts, and the ways in which he sought to balance his work life with time to just hang out with people (Bandana Purkayastha). Mark was a good friend. He had unlimited capacity to spread his love of knowledge and justice to people around him (Ho-fung Hung).

What was curious to me about Mark is that he was the kind of person who helped people for no plain reason. Mark's true north was being a good person. May he be with God (Louis E. Esparza). Mark was honestly committed to being the change he wanted the world to be. He was my man in the mirror. The person I looked to judge my focus, direction, and purpose. His voice rang clear as he spoke truth into the void (Rodney Coates). I treasure my memories of the unscheduled time I spent with Mark (during a Law and Society conference). Since his passing, I have met many others who have been similarly fortunate to share his spontaneity and attentive connection. On our behalf, I toast a friend and scholar of the human spirit who gave his life to charting a sustainable future for humanity, to cultivating the soil of co-present relations – the everyday groundwork – that conditions our future's possibilities, and, whether he knew it or not, to teaching us that one individual, at least one like Mark, can

improve the human condition of many (John Dale).

Mark was kind, compassionate, and highly intelligent, with a wonderful sense of humor. He could often be seen with a bemused glint in his eye, to be followed by a wry and very funny comment or insight. The beauty of his humor was its underlying intellect and caring, never mean-spirited, never vulgar. Just spot-on, cut-through-the-bullshit funny. It was a distinct pleasure for me to work with such a mensch (Davita Glasberg). Mark Frezzo was a very friendly peer, whose engagement in the class discussion (on world historical changes) made the academic journey a pleasant experience (Huei-Ying Kuo). Mark was much beloved by students who gravitated towards his passion towards his subject matter, his generosity with his time, and the caring and encouragement he offered. He was equally valued by his colleagues in the department for his breadth of scholarly knowledge, commitment to building the department, and for his generosity, kindness, and passion. Mark was a wonderful friend (Ann Branaman). The year that Mark and I shared in Paris (1991-1992), we attended philosopher Jacques Derrida's weekly seminar at the Catholic Institute. What a sight the young American punks—one big with spiky hair and one small with a motorcycle jacket—must have been (Ethel Rackin).

The three of us have enjoyed working on many collaborative projects with Mark over the years (indeed we cannot recall when we were not working with Mark!). Over time we came to know many of these different truths of Mark. It has been our great pleasure to come to know Mark's wisdom, creativity, humor, humility, and generosity. Mark volunteered to attend 7:30 a.m. ASA meetings, wrote the challenging parts of a paper that had the rest of us stuck, and bravely waded into bureaucratic depths to steward the Section of Human Rights. He also shared his experiences and leadership skills to support the future of our field and subfields. Mark's strengths as a teacher, scholar, collaborator, colleague, good citizen, and good friend are far beyond what we can convey here. We are all the poorer for his untimely passing.

Brian Gran, Case Western Reserve University, Keri Iyall Smith, Suffolk University, and David Brunsmma, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Jack P. Gibbs
1927-2020

Jack P. Gibbs, described by a sociologist in 2015 as a "Giant of his time," left us on August 20, 2020. Jack was born in Brownwood, TX on August 26, 1927. He graduated from Texas Christian University (TCU) in 1950 with a BA in psychology and a minor in sociology, and in 1952 with an MA in sociology



Editor: Nancy Kidd
Managing Editor: Johanna Olexy
Associate Editor: Margaret Vitullo

All *Footnotes* communications can be directed to: American Sociological Association, 1430 K Street NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20005; (202) 383-9005; email footnotes@asanet.org. Obituaries are limited to 600–900 words and Announcements, 200 words.

Copyright © 2020, American Sociological Association. Any opinions expressed in the articles in this publication are those of the authors and not the American Sociological Association.

Announcements

and a minor in psychology. At TCU he studied under and was influenced by Austin Porterfield, with whom he published his first article in 1953, and in later years co-published with Porterfield several more articles and book chapters. In 1953, Jack entered the University of Oregon doctoral program in sociology. He graduated with his PhD in 1957 under Walter T. Martin, with whom he published two books and 20 articles and chapters, the first in 1954, the last in 1990.

Jack was a magnificent human being—tough, kind, opinionated, who loved hearing and telling good jokes. He had the good fortune to be married to a strong and loving wife, Sylvia, who predeceased him a couple of years ago. Also, Jack took great pride and delight in the wisdom and caring nature of his daughter, Laura.

The intellectual energy and interests of Jack Gibbs were boundless. He loved a good argument and marshaling data, lacing his comments and conclusions with good-natured jabs at his antagonists, quoting the likes of Samuel Johnson, who reportedly said, “He is not only dull himself; he is the cause of dullness in others.”

Jack’s publications were mountainous. Wikipedia reports more than 170 journal articles and a shelf full of books, including *Urban Research Methods* (1961), *Status Integration and Suicide: A Sociological Study* (1964, with W.T. Martin), *Suicide* (1968), *Sociological Theory Construction* (1972), *Crime, Punishment and Deterrence* (1975), *Norms, Deviance and Social Control* (1981), *Control: Sociology’s Central Notion* (1989), *A Theory About Control* (1994), *Colossal Control Failures: From Julius Caesar to 9/11* (2008), and *Science and Sociology: Predictive Power Is the Name of the Game* (2017, with S. Ekland-Olson). Jack once promised his friends in the preface of a later book that they could relax, content in the knowledge that this would be his last book. Three volumes later he finally stopped writing.

Jack’s publications were widely respected in fields ranging from suicide, to urban structure and change, to sociological theory construction, to crime, to social control, to human ecology and demography. Reflecting deep and broad respect, his research garnered a Guggenheim Fellowship, election as a fellow of the American Society of Criminology, election as a member of the Sociological Research Association, recipient of the Edwin Sutherland Award from the American Society of Criminology, and election as a Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, among many other honors.

Jack co-founded in the early 1960s, along with his colleagues Leonard Broom and Harley Browning, the Population Research Center at The University of Texas at Austin, which

has become one of the leading centers for demographic research in the world. When these accomplishments were brought up with a pat on his back, he shrugged them off with a good-natured gleam in his eye.

Jack’s first faculty position was at the University of California-Berkeley (1957-59). Jack always told the story that it was in late 1958 at Berkeley that he received a telephone call from Leonard Broom, who had just been hired as the Chair of the Department of Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin. Broom’s mandate from the UT administrators was to build the Department of Sociology and to help make the University of Texas a “university of the first class,” a phrase from the founding charter of the university. As Jack told the story, Broom asked him if he would move to Texas. Jack ended up in 1959 as Broom’s first hire. Jack joined a relatively small sociology faculty at UT of seven members, including Walter Firey and Gideon Sjoberg.

In 1965 Jack left Austin and moved to Washington State University. But after two years in Pullman, he returned to the University of Texas at Austin, and remained there from 1967 to 1973. Jack then moved to the University of Arizona and was there until 1978. Then he moved to Vanderbilt University, remaining there until 1993, when he retired as a Centennial Professor.

Jack’s two main tenures were at the University of Texas at Austin and at Vanderbilt University. In his two tours at UT-Austin, Jack became a research star in the still relatively new field of sociology that was then rapidly growing as Baby Boomers began flooding into college in record numbers. An extraordinarily productive researcher at Texas, his empirical work reflected Durkheimian and human ecological bents, culminating in the publication of two research-based books and some 20 research articles in the top sociology journals, along with numerous other publications. Ten of these pieces were published in the *American Sociological Review*, another five in the *American Journal of Sociology*, four in *Social Forces*, and one in *Demography*.

In 1978 Jack took a position at Vanderbilt, which turned out to be the longest continuous tenure of his academic year. He was in Nashville for 15 years. At Vanderbilt a lot of Jack’s research attention was directed to the writing of his series of monographs on social control. He also served as Chair of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology for several years. When the two programs split in 1989, Jack helped recruit his former colleague and chair from Arizona, Gary Jensen, to chair the new department.

Jack was a major asset in building the new sociology department at Vanderbilt. He was committed to sustaining a department culture that balanced

graduate and undergraduate teaching. Vanderbilt was an unusual department at that time with full professors required to teach first year undergraduates as well as specialty upper division classes and graduate classes. Jack fully supported that emphasis and routinely taught Sociology 101.

Jack’s teaching accomplishments and commitments were remarkable. He received outstanding reviews wherever he taught. We can particularly vouch for his superb undergraduate and graduate teaching and teaching evaluations at Texas, Arizona, and Vanderbilt. His department chair at Vanderbilt remembers one day visiting Jack’s wife Sylvia when she was in the hospital recuperating from surgery. Jack was in the waiting room grading his papers with colored ink pens. Each color denoted a grading code. He could have turned his grading over to teaching assistants, but he was committed to providing detailed evaluations. His colored grading pens and pencils were well known by all his students at Texas, Arizona, and Vanderbilt.

Jack passed from this life just six days short of his 93rd birthday. In his later years, he had become disillusioned with his chosen profession and, as he saw it, its abandonment of science in favor of something approaching situational journalism, while including subfields as distinct as ethnography and demography. Never one to simply ramble on about disagreements over important matters, academic or political, at age 88 he began writing with Sheldon Ekland-Olson what would be his final book, *Science and Sociology: Predictive Power is the Name of the Game*, published in 2017.

Jack was a truly remarkable man. He will be greatly missed.

Sheldon Ekland-Olson, University of Texas at Austin; Dudley Poston, Texas A&M University; Gary Jensen, Vanderbilt University; Robert Cushing, University of Texas at Austin; Frank Bean, University of California-Irvine

Murray Milner, Jr.

Murray Milner, Jr., Professor Emeritus at the University of Virginia (UVA), died on November 23, 2019. He was 84 years old.

Murray was a distinguished scholar, who illuminated the impact of status within stratification systems. His many contributions reflected a deep love for the scholarly life.

Murray was raised in Texas. As a youth, he actively participated in the 4-H club and was quietly but extremely proud that his Jersey Red Duroc sow won first place in the Dallas County Fair and that he was 4-H Texas State Grass Identification Champion.

Murray received a BSc from Texas

A&M (1957) and a MDiv from Union Theological Seminary (1960). After receiving his divinity degree, Murray directed Church World Service’s relief program in what is now Bangladesh. He then turned to sociology: a MA from the University of Texas (1965) and a PhD from Columbia (1970). His initial academic appointment was at New York University in 1969; he moved to UVA in 1972 where he stayed until his retirement in 2003, although he continued an active scholarly life until his last days.

Murray was a prolific author with wide-ranging interests. Early publications included *Police on Campus: the Mass Police Action at Columbia University 1968* (1969), *The Effects of Educational Opportunity on Inequality and Conflict* (1972), and *Unequal Care: A Case Study of Interorganizational Relations in Health Care* (1980).

Murray’s most celebrated work, *Status and Sacredness: A General Theory of Status Relations and an Analysis of Indian Culture* (1994) received the ASA 1996 Distinguished Publication Award. Many years in the making, it was a labor of love, inspired by several trips to India where he had fellowships and visiting professorships. The book was heralded as a masterpiece, a work that reoriented the study of the caste system.

In 2004 Murray published *Freaks, Geeks, and Cool Kids: American Teenagers, Schools, and the Culture of Consumption*. Even if the title suggests a major shift in intellectual interests, there was, by design, strong continuity: Murray applied the theoretical principles developed in *Status and Sacredness* to account for American adolescent behavior, especially related to school cliques. Murray provided new insight into these vastly different settings because he had identified general principles underlying all status systems.

These two books underscore Murray’s gifts as a sociologist. He was an unusually imaginative theorist, always well-grounded in empirical research.

As much as Murray’s UVA colleagues appreciated his scholarship, they may have valued his contributions to departmental life more. In departmental deliberations he always provided a calming, reasonable voice and a tactful presence dedicated to the common good. His goodwill and desire to be inclusive were always evident. Colleagues and students frequently sought his advice because he offered a sympathetic ear and carefully considered suggestions. Murray effectively served as department chair from 1988-1993, leading efforts to sharpen the intellectual profile of the department and realign its curriculum.

Murray retired from UVA at 68 so that he could work full time on his scholarship without the interrup-

Announcements

tions of faculty meetings, committee assignments, and the obligations of grading student papers (always done very thoroughly with generous spirit). During this “retirement” Murray was Senior Fellow at the nearby Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture and was impressively productive. On Murray’s passing, James Hunter, Director of the Institute wrote, “Murray is a lasting presence whose important scholarship, gentle spirit, and warm collegiality are irreplaceable.”

During these retirement years, Murray produced an updated version of *Freaks, Geeks, and Cool Kids* (2015) to account for changes in student culture and the larger culture, especially the impact of social media, and an ambitious theoretical work, *Elites: A General Model* (2015) which proposed a model of the common patterns of cooperation and conflict between different types of elites and between elites and masses.

In his last project, *Understanding the Sacred: Sociological Theology for Contemporary People* (2019) he married his early interest in Christian theology and his sociological insight. Written to be accessible to a general audience, it was an effort to make doctrinal concerns such as sin and salvation more understandable by using sociological concepts to explain and restate them.

In his non-academic life, Murray was actively involved in the movement to prevent nuclear war as co-chair of the local Interfaith Peace Coalition. He was an executive producer of a nationally broadcast PBS documentary about living under the threat of nuclear war, *Living Double Lives*. He was also active in his Presbyterian church as Deacon and Elder.

Murray was a man of great character and impressive achievement, a model of a life well lived.

Murray is survived by his beloved wife of 62 years, Sylvia Milner, also from Brownwood, TX, and two daughters, Helene and Catherine Milner, and two grandchildren.

Paul W. Kingston, University of Virginia

Joan Willard Moore 1929-2020

Joan Willard Moore, Distinguished Professor Emerita of the Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, passed away on August 5, 2020.

Joan earned her BPhil, MA, and PhD from the University of Chicago. Prior to joining UWM, Joan taught at the University of Chicago, as well as several universities throughout southern California. She joined the UWM Sociology Department in 1975 and was very important in shaping the department in its early days and beyond. Joan was also one of the main architects of the Urban Social Institutions interdisciplin-

ary doctoral program that became the current PhD and master’s programs in Urban Studies at UWM. She was recognized as a Distinguished Professor of Sociology in 1994 and retired from UWM in 1995.

Joan Moore’s significance in sociology begins in the 1960s with her landmark study of Mexican Americans. Her study, *The Mexican American Study Project*, led to the publication of one of the seminal works on Mexican Americans, *The Mexican American People: the Nation’s Second Largest Minority* (with Leo Grebler and colleagues, 1970) as well as to a series of books, monographs, and articles that spanned several decades, including *Urban Ethnicity in the United States* (with L. Maldonado, 1985), and *In the Barrios: Latinos and the Underclass Debate* with R. Pinderhughes, 1995). Moore, along with Dr. Julian Samora, was an early founder of what is known today as the subfield Latino/a Sociology.

One of Moore’s main contributions is contextualizing the study of gangs in their communities. *Homeboys: Gangs, Drugs, and Prison in the Barrios of Los Angeles*, published in 1978, is a sociological classic, winning the Sidney Spivack award. A sequel to this book, *Going Down to the Barrio: Homeboys and Homegirls in Change* (2010), followed the lives of the men and women of the gang *Klikas* as adults. It is rare in that it analyzes ethnicity and gender in the context of specific communities.

The innovations introduced in these works included the topics studied, theoretical frameworks tested, and research methodology employed. Since the 1970s, Professor Moore’s groundbreaking research on gangs and drug activities in urban areas has substantially shaped scholarship on these pervasive social problems in the fields of sociology, criminal justice, anthropology, law and urban policy. The Chicano Pinto Research Project and subsequent follow-up studies in different urban areas served as models for the sociological analysis of these issues, specifically the use of collaborative and community participatory research methods.

John M. Hagedorn, who recently retired as a professor at the University of Illinois-Chicago, shared what he learned from Moore:

The main influence Joan had on my work was her collaborative methodology. She taught me research needs to be honest about problems in communities, even those “hidden secrets.” However, unless care is taken, research can easily be misused by authorities and manipulated to stigmatize and oppress the marginalized. Joan taught me to first involve gang members themselves in the research process—my research staff, like Joan’s Pinto Project, were all gang members. Second, to fashion my research as a tool for empowering poor commu-

nities. Research itself, I learned from Joan, is neither good or bad, nor is it neutral. We can choose to use it to mainly benefit ourselves or to contribute to the liberation of the truly disadvantaged. Joan’s moral stance has always guided my choices.

Particularly noteworthy was Joan’s commitment to the professional development of minority scholars, whether they were her students or colleagues. Joan Moore served as a mentor to more than two dozen Latino and African American graduate students (including this writer) -- most of whom subsequently went on to assume academic positions or positions of leadership in public agencies at the local, state, and federal levels.

In 1993, when the UCLA’s historic Powell Library was being retrofitted, workers discovered the original 1965/66 survey questionnaires Joan and her colleagues used to write *The Mexican American People*. Edward Telles and Vilma Ortiz used these surveys and located 684 of the 1,200 original respondents as well as 758 of their children. The efforts of Telles and Ortiz resulted in the award-winning *Generations of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation and Race* (2008).

Joan is survived by her son Alan and grandson Taylor.

William Vélez, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Edna Viruell-Fuentes 1964-2020

Our dear friend and colleague Professor Edna Viruell-Fuentes passed away on Sunday, August 23, 2020, in Urbana, IL. We in the Department of Latina/Latino Studies are very much in grief. Edna was an all-around wonderful person, a great colleague, and a brilliant scholar.

Edna was born in Mexico City, Mexico, on December 28, 1964. She was one of four children. She is survived by her husband, Sunil Nepali; three brothers (Edgar, Eloy, and Ernesto Viruell) and their families; and her mother, Maria Amparo Viruell.

Edna received a BA in mathematics and psychology from Berea College in 1989. She then went on to receive a master’s in public health from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1991. Edna worked in the field of health care policy for a number of years before returning to school to work on a PhD in health behavior and health education at the University of Michigan. She received her PhD in 2005. After graduation, Edna was a Yerby Fellow and W.K. Kellogg Scholar in Health Disparities for two years at the Harvard School of Public Health. In the fall of 2007, she joined the University of Illinois and the Department of Latina/Latino Studies. She started out as an assistant professor and was subsequently

promoted to associate professor with tenure.

Edna was a stellar researcher who had developed a national and international reputation as a leading scholar of race, health, and Latina/o immigration. This reputation was due to a superb body of theoretical, quantitative, and ethnographic work she produced that challenged how scholars thought about immigration and racial inequalities in health. Specifically, she eloquently argued that researchers needed to move away from individual-level explanations of health disparities and focus instead on the structural factors that shape immigrant health. Indeed, she called attention to how, in order to fully understand immigrant health patterns, one had to analyze how othering, racialization processes, discrimination, residential segregation, and immigration policies affected health.

Most recently, Edna had been working on a project that focused on the relation between health and transnationalism. This project made a case for the importance of looking not only at the health experience of migrants at the point of destination but also at how the context in the sending community affects the health of both migrants and the families left behind. Specifically, she was working on an ethnographic study of the ways in which return migration (whether voluntary or due to deportation) to a migrant-sending community in central Mexico impacted the health and well-being of returned migrants, their families, and communities. This research is not only highly innovative but timely given the growing number of deportations to Mexico (and other countries in Latin America) over the last decade.

Edna was also an exemplary teacher and mentor. She taught courses ranging from large survey classes, such as Intro to Latina/o Studies, to specialized undergraduate and graduate seminars in her fields of research, such as Immigration, Health, and Society. Because of her deep commitment to teaching, she earned a regular spot on the campus’ List of Instructors Ranked as Excellent. Edna spent a significant amount of time advising and supervising students outside of the classroom, including McNair Scholars, James Scholars, LLS senior thesis writers, and undergraduate and graduate students in other units. Her pedagogical commitment and expertise in immigration and health were integral to our department’s curricular successes and strong instructional reputation.

Our deepest condolences go out to Edna’s husband Sunil and her family. Her absence will leave a deep void in our department. We already miss her greatly.

Jonathan Xavier Inda, University of Illinois