

TRAJECTORIES

Newsletter of the ASA Comparative and Historical Sociology Section
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Message from the Chair

Sarah Quinn

Over the last year, members of our section have come together to reflect on where we have been and reimagine where we are going. With section Chair Nitsan Chorev at the helm, our townhalls and business meeting have been spaces where we confronted elitism and racism in our section, and where we collectively named the kinds of changes—normative and organizational, official and informal, immediate and long-term—that would help us build a more welcoming and diverse community. This effort has required hard conversations and painstaking reviews. It has also called up acts of tremendous creativity, connection, and collaboration.

As Chair at this unique moment in our section's history, I see my role as primarily involving the facilitation of the work that is already underway by our council and section members. I, therefore, am taking the space afforded by this Chair's message to highlight the various efforts currently underway in the section. To be sure, many of these endeavors have been discussed or announced throughout the year. Nevertheless, there is value in pausing to consider these all together. Understanding the inner mechanics of the section is always useful, but now, more than ever, this

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This issue's Trajectories logo shows loess-smoothed trends in percent of state budgets allocated to "social programs" in (from top to bottom at $x = 0$) France, New Zealand, the UK, US, and Korea, ca. 1990 - 2020. Source: OECD.

section must be transparent about how we run our business so that our members know exactly what we are doing and why, and where to direct their questions, ideas, and concerns.

The presentation of our work is not simply an act of disclosure. It is also an invitation. My hope is that if you would like to contribute to one of these efforts, you will reach out to me or one of our committee chairs to discuss the possibilities. We have rolled up our sleeves and are getting down to work. If you see a place for yourself in this work, come join us.

Ad Hoc Communications Committee. Community, accountability, belonging – all of these things depend on respectful two-way communication between section members and leadership. With this in mind, the council formed the Communications committee to address the various concerns and opportunities that had been identified. The committee included representatives from the section Council; representatives from the Membership Committee, *Trajectories*, the Webpage/Blog; and section members who volunteered their time at the Business Meeting. At our first meeting, we decided to divide up the tasks into three main subcommittees, which are listed below.

Platforms subcommittee. Chaired by Maryam Alemzadeh, this committee also includes Berfu Aygenç, Shani Davis, Simeon Newman, Peter Ore, Bahar Tabakoğlu, and Nicholas Wilson. It is tasked with matters relating to the section's three existing platforms: this newsletter, ASA Connect, and the Webpage/Blog. This committee is considering how our platforms can better support the effort to build a more diverse and inclusive section, for instance by building collaborations with existing groups like the Middle East Sociology Network. The team is also looking to build closer collaborations between the three platforms, for instance by cross-posting features in the Blog and *Trajectories*. Finally, this team is considering new forms of outreach from the section. This effort has already resulted in a new Twitter account: @comp_hx_soc.

Events subcommittee. This committee is tasked with looking at the various events we are doing in the section (including the mini-conferences, reception, and townhall meetings), with the intention of making them more inclusive and welcoming. This group is also invited to consider new events that we may want to organize, for instance, additional professionalization or mentoring workshops. Members of this committee are Berfu Aygenç (Chair), Yen-Yu Lin, A.K.M Skarpelis, Vasfiye Toprak, Bahar Tabakoğlu.

Publications Subcommittee. The specific challenges of publishing historical and comparative work are an ongoing pressing concern to our members, especially for anyone who does not study the United States. The publications subcommittee was formed to address this in multiple ways. The team will review and possibly update the existing report on the possibility of creating a journal for comparative historical sociology. It seeks to develop and distribute reviewer guidelines to extant journals. And it is exploring new ways to help journal editors place manuscripts in the hands of reviewers with the appropriate expertise. With A.K.M Skarpelis as Chair, this committee includes Maryam Alemzadeh, Shani Davis, and Peter Ore.

Ad Hoc Policy Review Committee. At the close of last year, the council decided to form this ad hoc committee to review our by-laws and business practices, and to specifically consider whether there are changes to each that would serve to counteract anti-Blackness and elitism in our section. Chaired by Johnathan Wyrzten, this committee includes Robert Braun, Marco Garrido, Kristina Lee, and Alexandre White. This group is currently reviewing our bylaws and processes, and will provide an update on their work at the townhall meeting on March 24th.

Standing Committee on Anti-Blackness and Racism in Comparative Historical Sociology. This committee was originally formed under the Section Chairship of Tony Chen, who has generously continued on as the committee chair. Its members include Hana Brown, Marisela Martinez-Cola, Michael Kennedy, Jordanna Matlon, and AunRika Tucker-Shabazz. This committee is focused on two efforts at the moment. First, it is drafting an official charge for the committee. Second, it is developing model syllabi for comparative and historical courses.

Paper Routes Podcast. Jointly sponsored by CHAT and our section, this podcast will feature interviews with comparative and historical sociologists about how specific works of scholarship came to be published. The team describes this as “a podcast for academic sociologists, featuring interviews with pioneers in the field of comparative history on the behind-the-scenes struggles of publishing. We talk to historical social scientists from across the world, working in a variety of industries about what it means to succeed as a sociologist.” The podcast is the brainchild of section member AunRika Tucker-Shabazz, and

its team has expanded to include Rishi Awatramani, Aisha Lehmann, Nadia Smieciniska, and Nicholas Wilson.

The Council. The organizational core of our section, this is the group of elected officials who are leading up our various subcommittees. Its current members include Maryam Alemzadeh, Robert Braun, Karida Brown, Marco Garrido, A.K.M Skarpelis, and Alexandre White. Our student members are Kristina Lee and Yueran Zhang. The council also includes our Treasurer, Didem Türkoğlu; our outgoing Chair, Nitsan Chorev; and our incoming Chair Jonathan Wyrzten.

Membership. Colin Beck and Nikhil Deb are our membership team. This year they are paying special attention to how we might recruit sociologists who do comparative and historical work but are not currently section members.

Nominations Committee. Nitsan Chorev (Chair), Johnnie Lotesta, and Hanisah Abdullah Sani have already completed their task of recruiting a new slate of nominees for our next election.

The Website and Blog. Our website is currently run by Shani Davis, Şahan Savaş Karataşlı, and Perdana Roswaldy. Among other things, it features updates from our members, a collection of syllabi, and an archive of *Trajectories* issues. The website also hosts the **Critical Historical Sociology Blog**, currently edited by Şahan Savaş Karataşlı and Simeon Newman.

ASA's Panels and Events. Our ASA programming team this year consists of Jack Jin Gary Lee, who is organizing our roundtable sessions, and Atef Said and Eric Schoon, who are organizing our two open sessions. In addition to this, Alexandre White is organizing an open session, sponsored jointly with the political sociology section, on "The State and Racial Capitalism," and Elisabeth Anderson has organized an invited session titled "New Directions in Social Policy History." The ASA is where we have our annual mentoring event, which this year is being organized by Joseph Weinger, Andrea Zhu, and Natasha Bluth. There is also a mini-conference in the works, which we will hear more about at the upcoming townhall.

Awards. Any list of section business would be incomplete without an acknowledgement of how many of our section members have generously given of their time to honor the outstanding scholarship completed in our field. This year's Ibn Khaldun Distinguished Career Award Committee members are Ho-fung Hung (chair), Mounira Charrad, and Kim Voss. The Barrington Moore Book Award Committee is Joachim J. Savelsberg (chair), Fatma Müge Göçek, and Mishal Kahn. The Charles Tilly Article Award Committee consists of Rebecca Emigh (chair), Laura Nelson and Yang Zhang. The Theda Skocpol Dissertation Award Committee includes Nicholas Wilson (chair), Wan-Zi Lu and Christy Thornton. Finally, the Reinhard Bendix Student Paper Award Committee consists of Fabien Accominotti (chair), Andrew Buck and Jen Triplett.

Trajectories. Last but not least is the team that runs this newsletter, *Trajectories*. Our longstanding newsletter is in the hands of a terrific new group: Berfu Aygenç, Peter Ore, and Bahar Tabakoğlu. In addition to putting this newsletter together, they are taking the extra step of working on the platforms subcommittee to think about how this newsletter can better collaborate with our website and serve our community. With that goal in mind, this issue features a reprint of a recent post from our CHS blog. Michael Levien's piece, "Barrington Moore in Delhi? The Political Economy of the Indian Farmers' Protest," revisits core assumptions of Moore's theories in view of farmers' protests and postcolonial capitalism in India. That article is printed alongside a new contribution from Christina Hughes. In "Bad Refugees: Manufacturing Statelessness at the Margins of Global Northern Citizenship," Hughes reflects on how historical analysis can complicate and contextualize ethnographic findings. Together, both features speak to the empirical, methodological, and theoretical richness of comparative and historical sociology. A special thanks is in order for this team, not just for this issue, but for the work they are doing to reimagine the role that *Trajectories* and the role it can play in the life of our section.

2022 Section Award Winners

Congratulations to our section award winners!

Ibn-i Khaldun Distinguished Career Award

Evelyn Nakano Glenn

Barrington Moore Book Award

Joachim J. Savelsberg

Honorable mention

Christy Thornton

Charles Tilly Best Article Award

Yang Zhang

Honorable mention

Benjamin Bradlow

Daniel Hirschman

Reinhard Bendix Student Paper Award

Jen Triplett

Honorable mention

Mary Shi

Theda Skocpol Dissertation Award

Wan-Zi Lu (U. of Chicago)

Section Leadership

Trajectories editors asked section leaders to respond to a few questions about themselves as an introduction to the membership. Their responses are given below.

Maryam Alemzadeh

Associate Professor, Oxford School of Global and Area Studies,
University of Oxford



Interests

I study revolutions, state building, militias and militaries, and modern Iran. My approach is to study these phenomena by looking at individual people and actions that create them bit by bit. Currently, I am teaching a course on clerical institutions in contemporary Iran and contributing to graduate seminars on qualitative and historical methods. I am also working on a book manuscript, tentatively titled *Revolution as Praxis: The Rise of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps*. It is based on firsthand research

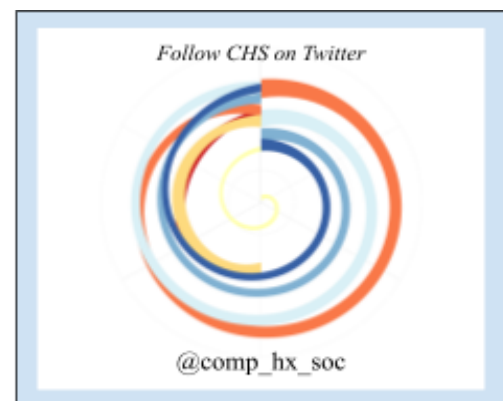
on the Revolutionary Guards' first generation of commanders, volunteers, supporters, and critics, as they struggled to find order in chaos on a day-to-day basis.

Current and future projects

I'd love to teach a comparative course on contemporary militias across the world, and on religious institutions and their role in politics. Both topics are the basis for my future research as well.

Thoughts on ASA-CHS

I envision a CHS section that recognizes its shortcomings in inclusiveness and works constantly to amend them. I believe the ideal of inclusion is not limited to giving voice to and recognizing the amazing work done by academics from marginalized social backgrounds. It also entails embracing groups frequently intersecting with the former: junior scholars, non-Ivy-Leaguers, sociologists holding jobs outside of sociology, and those working on less-recognized parts of the Global South.



Robert Braun

Assistant Professor, UC Berkeley



Interests

I am currently doing a comparative historical analysis of fear. Fear constitutes societal change. When socially agreed upon definitions are in flux, categories change and deviations from the norm appear, fears arise. My second book project studies the evolution of different objects of popular fear in the German lands between 1860 (more than a decade before the establishment of the German Empire in 1871) and 1932 (when the Nazis seized power) through the detailed quantification of bogeymen in children's tales. In a similar vein as Norbert Elias studied etiquette books to investigate norms, networks and centralization during the early modern period, I deploy bogeymen to reveal the interplay between fears and the production of social boundaries during the rise (and fall) of the German nation-state.

Current and future projects

I am playing around with the idea to study the complicated relationship between state-formation, cultural homogenization and hybridization by looking at the spread of Christmas traditions during the age of the nation-state in Western-Europe. As most of us know Christmas combines regionalist, pagan, Christian and nationalist elements. The salience of these different elements varies from place to place. We know very little about why this is the case and how these formations came about. I hope to explore this in more detail.

Thoughts on ASA-CHS

We should not only pay attention to CHS's core but pay equal attention to its borders since this is where creativity often takes place. In many ways, it seems the subfield is uniquely positioned to transform itself from an exclusive Prada bag (to use Prasad's phrase) into an inclusive hybrid that sparks innovation and counters the rising provincialism and centripetal forces shaping American Sociology. This is the case because CHS features porous and transnational borders that touch many if not all of the social science subfields.

More can be done to advance this goal. Despite its international research focus, CHS membership is still overwhelmingly Northern American. The section could perhaps produce more creative marginality by forging connections with other international associations such as the European Sociological Association and International Sociological Association. In times that the American academy, government and society become more inward looking, CHS should move in the opposite direction to maintain and improve its unique status in the field.

Marco Garrido

Associate Professor, University of Chicago



Interests

I got a chance to do fieldwork recently after a long time. I spent time in Manila talking to people about politics and democracy. I'm interested in disenchantment with liberal democracy and what it may augur for Philippine politics.

Current and future projects

I fantasize about writing three more books: the democracy one, then one comprising essays on Manila in the vein of Robert Park's *The City* (which of course was about Chicago), and then finally a book on the lived experience of "modernization" in the vein of Bourdieu's early work on Algeria (a compilation of this work was published recently. I think the volume was titled *Upheaval*).

Bourdieu theorized how the lives of Algerian peasants were changing in the context of social upheaval. What struck me was how his ethnographic work was suffused with a sense of the *longue duree*. You get a sense of people's lives playing out on some great canvas.

Thoughts on ASA-CHS

I love the people in this section, and I admire their willingness to ask hard questions about the section, particularly with regard to its "diversity," and to try and do better. These are the people I'm probably most excited to see at the ASA.

IBN KHALDUN DISTINGUISHED CAREER AWARD

The section presents the Ibn Khaldun Distinguished Career Award every year in order to recognize a lifetime of outstanding contributions to the subfield of comparative-historical sociology. This is one of the most celebrated awards given by the section, and it is presented only to scholars of the utmost distinction.

To nominate someone for the award, please send a letter of nomination to the award committee. Nominations must be received by all members of the committee by **March 31, 2023**.

Check out the CHS blog Awards section for details!

Yueran Zhang

PhD Candidate in Sociology, UC Berkeley



Interests

My research agenda lies at the intersection of political economy, policymaking processes, labor and social movements, and development in the Global South. I am particularly intrigued by questions pertaining to the politics of class, (de)mobilization, democracy, production and social reproduction. I'm currently finishing my dissertation, tentatively entitled "Whither Socialism? Workers' Democracy and the Class Politics of Reform in China's Early Post-Mao Transition."

Current and future projects

An interest I'd like to pursue in my future research and teaching is a re-examination of dominant approaches to political economy in an effort to develop systematic

frameworks for the comparative studies of capitalism(s), socialism(s), and transitions in between.

Thoughts on ASA-CHS

I hope that our section one day becomes a place where diversity and pluralism are embraced not only in the sense that perspectives and intellectual traditions from the margins are respected and engaged with, but also in the sense that the very meaning of the "margins" is constantly updated and expanded. I'd like to contribute to this vision by engaging with a variety of "heterodox" intellectual approaches, and embedding intellectual endeavors in contemporary movements that challenge the status-quo order of myriad oppressions from the margins.



This year's CHS sessions:

- The State and Racial Capitalism (joint with Political Sociology).
Organized by Alexandre White, Johns Hopkins University.
- Two open sessions.
Organized by Atef Said, University of Illinois Chicago, and Eric Schoon, The Ohio State University.
- Section on Comparative-Historical Sociology Roundtables.
Organized by Jack Jin Gury Lee, The New School for Social Research.

Thanks to the organizers and all those who submitted papers!

Kristina Lee

PhD Candidate, Northwestern University



Interests

I'm currently working on my dissertation project, which asks what state responses to antiracist resistance can teach us about the modern state's role in maintaining race as a transnational system of power. Recognizing the 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism as a critical juncture for antiracist frameworks in the young twenty-first century, I examine how Latin America states have responded to the mandate to formally include their Afro-descendant populations. In addition to my dissertation research, I have been working on an ethnographic and interview-based project documenting the role of mutual aid groups in Chicago as a community response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Current and future projects

A throughline in my work is a question about the state and its utility for solving social problems inherent to modernity.

I look forward to teaching courses on political sociology and race that encourage students to challenge their assumptions about nation, state, power, and their various iterations across time. So much of how I arrived at comparative and historical sociology has to do with my own exposure to historical and theoretical questions in other fields (anthropology, Black Studies, ethnic studies etc.) first. As an educator, I look forward to drawing on these disciplines to expand my own students' purviews of sociology and how we might think differently about the social world.

Thoughts on ASA-CHS

Comparative and historical sociology offers us countless tools for thinking critically about the past, meaningful connections in the present, and how we imagine the future. Still, I know the subfield isn't accessible to everyone and is not always one in which many scholars feel their work has a home. I joined the section council to help make the section more welcoming and navigable for scholars of color and younger sociologists who are prepared to bring different and necessary questions to the table. This is important not just for the section's relevance but for the continued relevance of the discipline.

*On the job market? Submit your profile to Trajectories!
See details below.*



Feature Articles

Bad Refugees: Manufacturing Statelessness at the Margins of Global Northern Citizenship

Christina Hughes

Against a backdrop of cinderblock walls that meander through North Orange County's built environment of strip malls, pillbox-style subdivisions, and sprawling eight-lane highways, I remember Bao and I sitting on two restaurant chairs on the far side of Jimmy's backyard in the spring of 2018. We were waiting for Jimmy to finish taking a mid-afternoon shower so that the two of them could coordinate the day's business. Bao was one of the original members of the Southeast Asian gang to which he and Jimmy both belonged. The gang began as the Orange County offshoot of Los Angeles-based chapters to the region's north that solidified their reputations during the 1990s. Sporting a shaved head, black Dickies workwear pants, and a crisp, white 3-for-\$10 t-shirt, Bao "refuse[d] to wear joggers," Jimmy had playfully jabbed, albeit differentially — "A real OG."

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When I entered the field in the wake of the 2016 election to conduct an ethnographic study of the legalization of recreational cannabis in California, I intended to follow Jimmy, Bao, and their friends, all of whom had been working in the underground market for nearly twenty years.[1] They began as low-level street dealers and then graduated to mid-level growers and interstate distributors. I was interested in how their legal consciousness and everyday practices might shift in response to broader changes in the state's punitive orientation towards the drug. The temporal lag between voters' passage of Prop 64 and the law going into effect allowed me to observe its implementation as it slowly unfurled in their everyday lives.

After nearly three years of observations and interviews in grow houses, restaurants, family homes, shopping malls, gambling dens, court parking lots, and, predominantly, meandering car rides along California's vast interstate highways, I traced several themes in how they constructed

meaning and community from their lives "outside the law." Despite Los Angeles and other municipalities' equity permitting process for dispensary applications and similar initiatives, Bao, Jimmy, and the other members of the gang faced impossible barriers to entry in the legalized cannabis landscape. As a result, they overwhelmingly decided that they would stay in the illicit market, either through diversifying the type of drugs they regularly dealt or branching into other illicit industries like illegal gambling. Because they maintained their legal cynicism towards being incorporated into the formal economy, I approached their disavowal of the state with a critical seriousness, noting how institutional evasion on their part emerged as a rational response to their lifelong experiences with state intrusion, surveillance, and control. Choosing to foster sophisticated mutual aid networks to sustain life largely outside of formal state and market institutions, they framed these practices as ways they could disentangle from a violent system and broker a defiant sense of freedom.

Following these years in the field, this was the story I planned to write. Drawing on the sizable body of urban ethnographic scholarship that focuses on the lives of gang-involved men, this original story could have been easily bound within the parameters of recurrent subdisciplinary debates like the motivations behind the conduct of "criminal behavior," the organizational structure of gangs as social units, the interactional considerations that go into street-level encounters, and the status-laden stakes of successfully performing manhood acts in these settings. However, as I wrestled with my field notes after completing my observations, the story I thought I had woven together became more complicated. The longer I took to write it, the more I heard updates that challenged the parameters of the story that demanded to be told.

One day, Jimmy called to tell me that Bao had passed away, news that I have not been able to fully comprehend. I am not sure if I ever will. Worse still, Bao's passing was not the only one. Two other members I met in the early days of fieldwork also passed away, one from chronic health issues and another from a car accident. Several more, perpetually in and out of state prisons and county jail, found themselves back in custody at some point during my time conducting observations with the group. Some were later subjected to overcrowding and suboptimal care in carceral facilities during the early COVID pandemic. Years before, when I first met him, Bao had already signed his final deportation order, placing him within the regularly surveilled population on the Department of Homeland Security's "non-detained docket" which necessitated regular check-ins with immigration authorities. Despite their claims that they would be fine regardless of what happened because of the reliability of their state evasion practices, the long view of these slowly accumulated years presented another image of racialized boys and men. Despite their best efforts they had ultimately been caught within a legal system that insisted on their inherent criminality and, in turn, justified the overall disposability of their lives.

Confronted with these brutal realities, I asked myself how I could ever render an ethical representation of what had occurred and whether I, despite having been given formal consent to do so, had any right to tell the intimate details of these stories in the first place. As a member of the Vietnamese diasporic community in Orange County to which we all belonged, I found myself having what Randol Contreras has called a "standpoint crisis."^[2] On the one hand, I understood that doing work on my own community would open the project up to pejorative assessments that I was conducting navel-gazing "me-search." On the other hand, I balked at anyone accusing me of being a "cowboy ethnographer," or of writing something that reproduced racist stereotypes of my community for the mere consumption of a privileged and detached audience.

Reflecting on Indigenous and critical ethnic studies scholars Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's challenge to consider "ethnographic refusal" as an analytic practice, I wondered how I could write an ethnographic representation

that did not uphold the implicit standard in qualitative social science research, "where stories of pain and humiliation are considered the most compelling or authentic forms of evidence."^[3] "Analytic practices of refusal," they argue, "provide ways to negotiate how we as social science researchers can learn from experiences of dispossessed peoples—often painful, but also wise, full of desire and dissent—without serving up pain stories on a silver platter for the settler colonial academy, which hungers so ravenously for them." In critically reorienting ethnography to betray the colonial mandates of Other-oriented discovery and spectacle, I turned the project more deliberately towards what Jessica Shannon Cobb and Kimberly Kay Hoang have called a "protagonist-driven ethnography," which prioritizes an ethnographic practice that seeks to deeply understand participants' experiences for the purposes of building social theory responsive to the structural conditions of their lives.^[4]

Returning to the details of the case at hand, this shift necessitated a deeper comprehension of the specificities of Bao and Jimmy's experiences, beyond their gang involvement and their legal meaning-making around licit and illicit markets. Despite having been part of a known LA-based Southeast Asian gang, their clique was specifically based in suburban Orange County – not the city. Furthermore, in contrast to other ethnographic studies that have focused on Black and Latino gangs in urban centers, the gang to which they all belonged was specifically a Southeast Asian gang composed of Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Amerasian refugees and their descendants who resettled in the United States following the nation's proxy war in lands of former French Indochina. Rather than seeing these idiosyncratic details as insignificant to understanding some general case, this shift instead pressed me to ask more questions: What is significant about the racial formation of this gang? What about its suburban locale differentiates it from urban cases? What historical processes can account for the emergence of the varieties of Southeast Asian subjectivities I observed while in the field, especially the comparative racialization of some, including myself, as morally good (i.e. "model minorities") and some, like Bao and Jimmy, as morally bad (i.e. "gang members")? What, put simply, was this actually an extended case of?

Such questions ultimately required a historically oriented approach attentive to macrostructural processes. Accordingly, taking a global view of their experiences as occurring within the throes of the United States' bid for hegemonic power during the long "American Century," I moved to situate my case within anthropologist Liisa H. Malkki's genealogy of "the refugee" as an epistemic problem under historical construction that solidified after World War II, when key techniques used for managing large-scale population displacements became standardized and broadly applied on an international scale.^[5] The redefinition of entire national communities and how they related to each other in the postcolonial wake of WWII—including their obligations to displaced persons—necessitated the emergence of a formal category through which the law could govern global mobility following the 1948 adoption of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.

From Malkki's view, *displacement* exists in relation to *emplacement* within the presumed naturalness of a national order of things reliant on conditions of attachment to a territorialized polity and people. As such, refugeehood can be understood as merely the displaced condition of statecraft, wherein humanitarian interventions on behalf of refugees enforce normalized intergovernmental reinscriptions of the citizen-nation-state hierarchy.^[6]^[7] That is, the so-called refugee problem is, in the context of a global order of nation-states, an unsolvable one. Just as modern states have formed by legitimating their own authority through warmaking and offering differential protection to their subjects, as Charles Tilly has argued, so too is refugee displacement then a structurally predictable outcome that results from the progression of these processes of state territorialization, border securitization, and permanent war.^[8] Because they derive from the state as the singular entity with a monopoly on legitimated violence within a given territory, wars can be understood not as discrete events in linear historical time but rather as constitutive of a permanent condition of war resulting from a national order of things upheld by the regular practice of state violence.

As Chandan Reddy argues, a crucial contradiction therefore exists at the heart of political modernity. The liberal

nation state claims to provide freedom from violence at the same time that it regularly deploys violence against those it deems unworthy of protection. As a result, that which is rendered illegitimate is processed through a problem-based framework and marked as disposable to the nation state, not as an exception to how the state functions, but as a structural feature of the very basis for its authority.^[9]

The large-scale displacement of over one million South Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, and other refugees produced from the war in Southeast Asia must therefore be understood as a part of the broader American national project, which has relied on settler colonial and imperial techniques of militarized territorialization to grow its overall position within the global order. According to Aihwa Ong, the refugee can therefore be theorized as an ethical figure.^[10] Asylum seekers hoping to secure formal resettlement are systemically disciplined in sites like refugee camps and, later, state welfare offices, to prove their deservingness. In these sites, their admissibility is evaluated by their general utility to and alignment with the state's interests. The emergence of the "Good Refugee" figure fleeing communist oppression in Southeast Asia consequently converged with—and in large part constituted—the Cold War construction of the model minority, artfully deployed to further demonize the supposed failure of poor communities of color living in America's "inner cities" while obscuring the precarity of refugee lives produced from U.S. militarism abroad.^[11] So while criminological directives within sociological research might push us to see Bao and Jimmy as mere social deviants—"Bad Refugees" unable to reconcile or meet society's normative demands—I contend that their experiences must be contextualized within the political-economic structure that produced the conditions for their emergence as morally suspect subjects in the first place.

Reflecting on the countless freeways in Southern California that I traversed by car during my periods of ethnographic observation, the suburban subdivisions and city centers that they bisected and the exits we took to make our way to the mall or county jail suddenly insisted on their renewed salience. As James O'Connor theorized about the American political-economic structure, the post-war development of California as materialized in the form of its

highways, single-family homes, and sites of high consumption like the shopping mall provides a key example of how the US has oriented its social capital expenditures and social expenses of production towards the advancement of monopoly sector capital accumulation and the state's own legitimation and growth.^[12] In this development of what O'Connor termed the "warfare-welfare state," the uneasy post-war arrangement between monopoly sector labor and capital to cooperate (at the expense of competitive sector labor) necessitated militarized foreign economic expansion and placed pressure on the state to subsidize the hidden costs of monopoly sector growth through ever greater military and welfare spending. As Ruth Wilson Gilmore has theorized, when the United States found itself at its lowest point of political legitimacy and these demands on the state budget reached their apex following the end of the Vietnam War, the state solution involved diverting its surplus capacities to the management of a new post-Keynesian state-building project: an "anticrime," prison building strategy could absorb the surpluses that the new globalizing, neoliberal political economy had not absorbed in other ways, i.e., "idled productive capacities including land, labor, and finance capital waiting to be put to use in the newly forming welfare-workfare state."^[13]

Orange County, then, as one of the primary beneficiaries of the state's increased military spending, developed into an affluent oceanside suburban community *due to* its constitutive formation within the warfare-welfare state. As domestic monopoly sector employment and accumulation depended on the maintenance of monopoly capital's access to foreign markets and capitalist domination more generally, employees of firms that successfully won DoD contracts in mid-century Orange County both directly contributed to the development of the military technologies used abroad and directly benefited by collecting state-subsidized high wages that enabled them to purchase their suburban homes and automobiles.^[14] Orange County's *overdevelopment* into a rarified enclave for the middle to upper white-collar class, in other words, existed dialectically in relation to the *underdevelopment* of places like Vietnam, representative at the time of the rebel "Third World" states

that sought to resist Western capitalist domination through mounting decolonial campaigns for national independence.

Looking at the cross-section of time during which I had made my observations in the field, this political-economic approach allowed me to place the experiences of Bao and Jimmy in a wider sociohistorical process, tracing racial capitalism's development in the context of Orange County from (1) the period of Spanish colonization (2) through its WWII-era of oil-driven industrialization (3) to its expansion as a "Cold War suburb" (4) to its current form as a postindustrial, increasingly globalized, IT and service economy.^[15] Unable to legitimize themselves as productive citizen-subjects in the eyes of the neoliberalizing political-economic order, Bao and Jimmy found themselves made surplus, unsustainably squeezed between shrinking real wages and a rapidly evaporating social safety net. Thus, I argue that their everyday experiences as "gang members" must therefore be situated—beyond pathologized accounts of individual deviance—within the state's broader post-Keynesian strategy of expanding its investments into carceral economies following the Vietnam War.

In considering the "Bad Refugee" as an unethical figure, this project hence elucidates how perceived moral failure under neoliberal welfarist standards became categorically produced and disposed of by the state. Tracing the rise of the Bad Refugee in mainstream discourse, I frame the immediate post-Vietnam-War period as a consequential moment in negotiating the limits to multiculturalism's inclusions of an increasing number of racial Others arriving in the country during a moment of deindustrialization and ongoing Cold War tensions. Produced from an imperial war fought abroad that led to their displacement and subjected to racialized criminalization from a domestic war purportedly fought against "drugs" and "crime" in their new home, the intersection of these "foreign" and "domestic" wars in shaping Bao and Jimmy's experiences as "Bad Refugees" operates to blur commonly-held distinctions between foreign and domestic instances of state action, working to unsettle how we conceptualize ourselves within global-historical time and how we understand the imperial "margins" of state activity.

As their lives in the US became increasingly overcoded and overpoliced in a rapidly expanding administrative dragnet, Bao and Jimmy found themselves targeted by techniques of state surveillance like the use of computer gang databases initially developed by DoD contractors to track enemy combatants in Southeast Asia, illustrating what Julian Go has called the “imperial feedback loop.” More broadly, their experience shows how imperial violence became increasingly rationalized and hidden in the form of bureaucratic violence while remaining enduringly consequential. Later, as prominent “Good Refugees” went on to support the militarized US state by authoring the USA PATRIOT Act (as in the case of Viet D. Dinh) or working as Acting Director of ICE under former President Donald Trump (as in the case of Tony Pham), the profound repercussions of the imperial boomerang’s ricochet have only made themselves more evident as America has turned its gaze to threats across the globe.^{[16],[17]}

In taking seriously Yen Le Espiritu’s call for a critical refugee studies where “the refugee [is] not [conceptualized] as an object of investigation but rather as a paradigm ‘whose function [is] to establish and make intelligible a wider set of problems,’” I consequently view my theoretical and political engagement with the “Bad Refugee” as a subversive mode of *unsettling*: unsettling the normalization of ongoing settler state territorialization; unsettling bounded accounts of warfare; unsettling demarcations between nation states and empires; unsettling the national order of things; unsettling belonging; unsettling the asymmetric legitimation of violence; and, crucially, unsettling innocence itself.^[18] With that, I hope I have done the small task of giving these ethnographic stories a fair shake, of writing something that is desperately trying to not be extractive, and, hopefully, of building towards a theory that sees deep cracks in a vastly violent structure that, with pressure, might be ready to break.

^[1] Pseudonyms are used here to anonymize the identities of the ethnographic participants.

^[2] Contreras, Randol. *The Stickup Kids: Race, Drugs, Violence, and the American Dream*. University of California Press, 2013.

^[3] Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. “Unbecoming Claims: Pedagogies of Refusal in Qualitative Research.” *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, no. 6 (2014): 811-818.

^[4] Cobb, Jessica Shannon, and Kimberly Kay Hoang. “Protagonist–Driven Urban Ethnography.” *City & Community* 14, no. 4 (2015): 348-351.

^[5] Malkki, Liisa H. “Refugees and Exile: From “Refugee Studies” to the “National Order of Things.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24, no. 1 (1995): 495-523.

^[6] Soguk, Nevzat. *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft*. Vol. 11. U of Minnesota Press, 1999.

^[7] Haddad, Emma. *The Refugee in International Society: Between Sovereigns*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

^[8] Tilly, Charles. “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime.” In *Collective Violence, Contentious Politics, and Social Change*, pp. 121-139. Routledge, 2017.

^[9] Reddy, Chandan. *Freedom with Violence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.

^[10] Ong, Aihwa. *Buddha is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, and the New America*. University of California Press, 2003.

^[11] Tang, Eric. *Unsettled: Cambodian Refugees in the New York City Hyperghetto*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2015.

^[12] O'Connor, James. *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*. Routledge, 1973.

^[13] Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. University of California Press, 2007.

^[14] Leslie, Stuart W. “Cold War Suburbs: Thinking about the Unthinkable in Style.” *Southern California Quarterly* 102, no. 1 (2020): 24-56.

^[15] Kling, Rob, Spencer C. Olin, and Mark Poster. *Postsuburban California: The Transformation Of Orange County Since World War II*. University of California Press, 1995.

^[16] Smith, Ben. “The Lawyer Behind the Throne at Fox.” *The New York Times*, April 4, 2021.

^[17] Jordan, Miriam. “After a Pandemic Pause, ICE Resumes Deportation Arrests.” *The New York Times*, September 14, 2020.

^[18] Le Espiritu, Yen. *Body Counts: The Vietnam War and Militarized Refugees*. University of California Press, 201

Barrington Moore in Delhi? The Political Economy of the Indian Farmers' Protest

Michael Levien

From the summer of 2020 to the fall of 2021, farmers in North India staged one of the largest agrarian protests in the country's history. The direct impulse for these protests was three farm laws introduced by President Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government which proposed to further liberalize Indian agriculture by privatizing agricultural marketing and encouraging contract farming. Perceiving this to be a direct assault on their livelihoods, above all by dismantling the public procurement system that guarantees Minimum Support Prices (MSP) and thus leaving farmers at the mercy of large corporations eager to enter the agricultural sector, farmers' unions in the breadbasket state of Punjab began to mobilize. When the laws were passed without parliamentary debate in September 2020, tens of thousands of farmers embarked on a tractor march to Delhi, blocking highways and train tracks and picking up support along the way. Harassed and beaten by police, they established highway encampments on the borders of Delhi where they were soon joined by farmers from other states.

Demanding repeal of the farm laws, the farmers sustained their protest for over a year despite harsh conditions that included the worst wave of the Covid-19 pandemic. The encampments, complete with systems of food provision derived from the Sikh tradition, became sites of [vibrant political and cultural expression](#). Although originating in Punjab and deeply shaped by the state's relatively prosperous Jat farmers, the protest quickly attracted solidarity from farmer organizations in the neighboring states of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan as well as a national-level farmers' alliance. In a stark departure from the past, in which farmers' movement demands were seen to contradict the interests of Dalits (who in rural India constitute the bulk of agricultural laborers), these protests received significant support from Dalit organizations and unions. Ten labor unions launched a day-long general strike in their support. The farmers' protest even received international attention, including strong solidarity from the Punjabi diaspora rallying at Indian embassies abroad and even supportive tweets from Rihanna and Greta Thunberg. Perhaps most surprising is that

they prevailed: the Modi government ultimately relented and repealed the farm laws in November 2021.

Many outside observers found it surprising that farmers in cotton tunics driving tractors could be playing such a significant political role in a 21st-century BRIC country widely lauded for its rapid growth and modern information technology (IT) sector. For comparative historical sociologists, this paradox may bring to mind Barrington Moore's argument about India in *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. For Moore, India was an anomalous case in which the introduction of democracy preceded the commercialization of agriculture and industrialization (thus violating his "yes peasants, no democracy" theoretical conclusion). Moore feared that, in the absence of a class with the ruthlessness to impose agricultural modernization from above and extract the surplus for industrialization, India would be doomed to economic stagnation (and that caste and regional parochialism furnished dim prospects for the alternative, communist path to modernity). While less clear about the implications for Indian democracy, Moore argued that the country's enduring economic backwardness was "the price of peaceful change."

Moore's India chapter—with its reliance on British colonial sources, underplaying of colonial underdevelopment and emphasis on agrarian stasis, ignorance and docility—has few admirers among South Asianists today. Nevertheless, his basic point was subsequently developed in various ways by India scholars from [Ashutosh Varshney](#) to [Susan and Lloyd Rudolph](#): the coexistence of electoral democracy and a sizeable peasantry has given rural India considerable influence in national politics, which has been wielded to obstruct forms of capitalist development that threaten its existence. Varshney and the Rudolphs made these observations in trying to make sense of the massive farmers' protests of the 1980s, orchestrated by many of the same organizations, in the same regions, and with the same tactics as those today. At that time, the main goal of the "new farmers' movements" was to obtain cheap inputs and remunerative prices for their crops—in other words, to prevent the perceived squeezing of agriculture for urban

industrialization (so-called “urban bias”). Behind the mobilizations of 2020-2021 was the perceived threat to the public procurement system—previously the target of farmer ire for its relatively low prices—which is now seen as one of the last protections against predation by corporations intent on penetrating agricultural marketing and production.

Despite Narendra Modi’s ability to divide the rural electorate through religion over the past eight years, the protests showed that farmers could still mobilize around economic demands with significant success in 21st-century India. Indeed, beyond the defeat of the farm bills, the other instance of Modi walking back a major policy proposal also came from rural India: in 2014, fierce protests forced him to walk back changes to [India’s land acquisition laws](#), which were intended to make it easier for the state to dispossess farmers for private industrial and commercial investment. Thus, the two major political defeats for the present authoritarian BJP government were delivered by rural India in opposition to the commercialization of agriculture and agricultural land. It would seem that even the most ruthless government in India’s independent history cannot overcome the enduring “peasant problem” that Moore described.

But if the political muscle of rural India remains strong, are the consequences for economic development—not to mention democracy—as dire as Moore predicted? This is where Moore’s thesis requires a major revision. In the radically changed circumstances of 21st-century capitalism and an authoritarian Hindu nationalist regime, the protesting farmers are more agents of, rather than obstacles to, development and democracy.

Rethinking the Role of the Countryside in Development

Moore’s assumptions about the role of the countryside in development, though derived largely from the history of the West, were shared by many postcolonial leaders and planners in the 20th century. But the era of national development projects is over and, under conditions of neoliberal globalization, [agricultural surpluses are largely irrelevant](#) for financing industrialization. While it is possibly true that the under-taxation of Indian agriculture—along with many other factors, including a weak developmental state and low prioritization of health and education—helped to slow

industrialization in the Nehruvian period, today industrial investment in India comes from domestic and global capitalists who raise their capital from globalized financial markets. Rather than extracting agricultural surpluses to develop a modern industrial sector, India’s farm bills would have accomplished something very different: they would have pried open the agricultural sector to multinational capital—perhaps especially the large Indian corporate houses run by the Adanis and Ambanis (who were often singled out by the protesters). This may have provided a fix for capital, given India’s dwindling growth and over-indebtedness in the real estate and infrastructure sectors, but there is no obvious mechanism by which this would jumpstart India’s sluggish industrial sector, which has stagnated despite obscene tax breaks in Special Economic Zones, Special Manufacturing Zones, and a variety of other subsidies and tax shelters. The Indian state relinquished its role in capital allocation in the early 1990s, and the Modi government finally abolished the already enfeebled Planning Commission in 2014. The government’s argument for the farm bills is that, like anything which contributes to the profits of capitalists, they would maximize growth—not that they would jumpstart industrialization.

If squeezing the countryside to promote industrialization—what Henry Bernstein calls the [“agrarian question of capital”](#)—is no longer relevant, what remains is the very real question of how rural people are able to make a living in this new economic reality. After 30 years of economic liberalization, it is abundantly clear that the present trajectory of Indian capitalism fails in this regard, as it simultaneously assaults small farmers while providing meager exit options from agriculture. Although economic liberalization increased India’s growth rate—which increased moderately in the 1990s, rapidly in the 2000s, and more slowly since then—this growth has been concentrated in non-labor intensive sectors like IT and back office services, combined with a great deal of financial speculation and resource extraction, but very little industrial manufacturing. What manufacturing does exist is far more capital intensive than that which ultimately absorbed Europe’s dispossessed peasants two centuries ago: a privately-owned steel mill today produces more steel with 1/10 of the workforce required by

the public sector steel mills of even the Nehruvian era. And those jobs no longer have the wages, benefits or protections the public sector workforce once did. The far larger absorber of [“footloose labor”](#) is the construction industry, which uses

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networks of brokers to manage a highly casualized, underemployed, and precarious work force. Economist Dani Rodrik calls this reality [“premature deindustrialization,”](#) a peaking of industrial employment at a relatively low level of GDP per capita, which characterizes most of the Global South outside of East Asia. Marx simply called it the “general law of accumulation.”

If the pull from urban industry is weak, the push from agriculture remains strong, albeit uneven. Indian agriculture has been undermined by almost complete government neglect combined with the pressures of trade liberalization, price volatility and high levels of debt. Although the

commercialization of agriculture continues, the result is socially and geographically uneven: pockets of accumulation by dominant-caste landholders simultaneous to larger swathes of extreme agrarian indebtedness and distress indicated by the endemic problem of farmer suicides. In the relatively prosperous Punjab region where the protests originated, even larger farmers have experienced the dwindling returns of the Green Revolution, the progressive degradation of soils and mining of the water table, and the relentless generational march of land subdivision in the absence of primogeniture. For most farmers in most regions, agriculture no longer suffices to sustain most households, leading to forms of off-farm income diversification that vary largely according to the pre-existing agrarian inequalities left intact by India’s modest post-Independence land reforms. For the semiproletarian majority, this often takes the form of combining casual wage labor with very small-scale agricultural production, petty informal business and reliance on social welfare programs like the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. But even larger farmers must diversify, often investing in the education of their children with the highly uncertain prospect of landing government jobs, more often resulting in lower- paid private sector jobs in retail (if not unemployment). One result of these changes is that the livelihoods of small agricultural producers are no longer exclusively rural: for many, social reproduction involves combining sources of livelihood that cross the rural-urban divide.

A central tragedy of India’s postcolonial capitalism is thus that it dispossesses or impoverishes very large populations that depend on agriculture that it can’t possibly absorb into urban industrial labor. The result is the expansion of a “relative surplus population,” best understood not as a class but as a heterogeneous group borne of the disjuncture between the supply of fully- or partially-proletarianized populations and the demand for their labor power. This dynamic exerts a downward pressure on the livelihoods of diversifying petty commodity producers, semiproletarians, and the completely landless. With a rural population of 900 million people—the most in India’s history—this is a momentous problem that is only deepening with the progress of liberalization.

It is in this radically changed context that we must see the protests against Modi's attempted agricultural reforms. This was not the resistance of an intact peasantry against the encroachments of capitalism; it was, [as Jens Lerche argues](#), the resistance of a heterogeneous group of diversified and semiproletarianized agrarian producers who had been squeezed from both the rural and urban sides of the economy. As the sociologist [Satendra Kumar](#) observes, the assault on agriculture represented by the farm laws coincided with a pandemic that eviscerated the off-farm urban jobs of rural young men. Thus a key difference between the recent farmers' protests and those of the 1980s is that they are no longer just about agriculture. Rather, to understand them we must place them amidst the totality of India's post-liberalization political economy, and specifically the way exclusionary growth—driven by financialization, real estate speculation, and knowledge-intensive services—has provided few life boats for the sinking (torpedoed?) ship of agriculture.

The Politics of Social Reproduction

India's farmers' protests thus cannot be interpreted as obstructing a path of industrial development resembling that of advanced capitalist democracies. The protests should be seen instead as a vigorous defense of crucial sources of social reproduction against assault from corporate capital. In addition to protecting agricultural livelihoods, the protests also called for preserving the Public Distribution System (PDS), which distributes subsidized grain obtained through the public markets (mandis) that would be threatened by the farm laws. PDS is a crucial source of food for the rural and urban poor who have not been sustained by India's particularly exclusionary path of postcolonial capitalism. If "development" is something broader than maximizing growth at all costs, then the farmers' protests were surely not obstructing it.

If the protests are more accurately seen as a distributive struggle between corporate capital and the bulk of rural India, there were nevertheless sharp class and caste contradictions among the protesters. Although there was much celebration of the contingent alliance forged between farmers' unions (such as the Bharatiya Kisan Union, or BKU) representing landed dominant caste farmers, on the one hand,

and Dalit organizations and unions, on the other, much romanticization and hope proved misplaced. Protests were from the start organized by landed Jats who exploit and oppress landless Dalit laborers on their farms (including through debt bondage), resist land reform and higher wages and often oppose implementation of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS)—a crucial source of livelihood for the rural poor that has driven up wages nationally. BKU's "farmer-worker unity" was therefore somewhat cynical.

Jats also have an ongoing history of engaging in anti-Dalit violence. Their khap panchayats—notoriously patriarchal and conservative caste tribunals that condemn inter-caste marriages—played [a significant role](#) in organizing the protests in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. Left-oriented farmer organizations, most notably BKU Ugrahan (an above-ground Maoist front), deserve much of the credit for pushing the larger and more conservative farmers' unions—like the BKU—to take a more progressive position on caste and other issues. But much of the Dalit support came from leaders of formal organizations and there were even reports of Jat farmers coercing their laborers to attend. After the protests there were further Dalit atrocities in the region. Simmering tensions between farmers and Dalit laborers boiled over this past harvest season with Jat farmers "boycotting"—locking out and socially ostracizing—Dalit laborers demanding higher wages. The protests thus in no way represent the eclipse of class-caste contradictions in the countryside.

Some scholars argue that increasing off-farm income diversification and urbanization among both Jat farmers and Dalit laborers have softened class-caste contradictions in the countryside, thus making the tentative alliance possible. More persuasive is [Jens Lerche's argument](#) that, unlike the demands of the 1980s protests, the farmers' demands this time were demonstrably in the interest of all agrarian classes given the stakes for the Public Distribution System. Protecting this system was above all in the interest of the landless and land-poor; indeed, agricultural laborer and other unions had to push the larger farmers' organizations, which were more focused on the proposed changes to agricultural marketing, to emphasize this issue. While the protest movement was

therefore beset with contradictions, the broad populist alliance represented by the farmers' protests had a real basis in the broad threat to social reproduction posed by the farm laws. Conversely, none of India's farming and laboring classes stood to gain. This is one of the two major reasons why the broad Indian left—historically critical of the “kulak” politics of the farmers' movement—got fully behind these protests.

Farmers and the Future of Indian Democracy

Another reason for the broad alliance and the left's overwhelmingly-positive assessment of this round of farmer protest centers on the question of democracy. After a nine-decade struggle in the trenches of civil society, India's Hindu nationalist movement achieved its strongest ever grip on state power with the 2014 election of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and especially his landslide re-election in 2019, which left his party with an absolute majority in Parliament. Modi has spent the last eight years in a merciless quest to transform India's secular democracy into a Hindu nation. To achieve this goal—which now seems clearly primary rather than secondary to his muscular promotion of corporate capitalism—he has mobilized all branches of state power, combined with vigilante justice groups in civil society, to attack enemies of the nation (Muslims, Dalits, and leftists), undermine democratic institutions (like the judiciary and election commission), saffronize education, muzzle the media, and jail enemies.

In this context, where challenging this brutal and fascistic regime is an absolute precondition for any progressive politics, any source of opposition to the regime must be welcomed. In recent years, Dalits have resisted cow protection vigilantes, students have stood up against assaults on higher education, and Muslims have mobilized against the regime's attempt to strip them of their citizenship. But protests from farmers in North India are particularly

significant because of their enduring political weight and because the Modi regime appeared to enjoy overwhelming support among this very group in the last two elections. Whether the farmers' protest signals growing disaffection with the regime and will ultimately contribute to a broader political opposition remains to be seen. But if such opposition is to coalesce, it is fairly clear that India's farmers will need to be a central part of it.

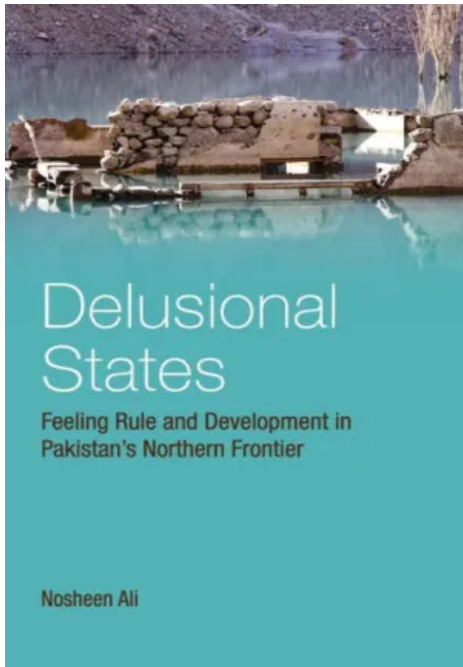
Conclusion

India today faces two major challenges: how to transform a highly-skewed neoliberal pattern of growth and how to save democracy from the march of Hindu fascism. The farmers' protests were not unequivocally progressive or free of contradictions, but they ultimately contributed positively to both. They put a break on corporate predation and upward redistribution amidst a broad crisis of social reproduction; and they delivered the most significant blow so far to the hegemony of the Hindu nationalists. Moore's pessimistic conclusion that all paths to modernity and democracy rest on peasant destruction is an inadequate guide to the dilemmas of postcolonial capitalism in India. But his broader conclusion remains true: India's future may well be decided in the countryside.

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New Research

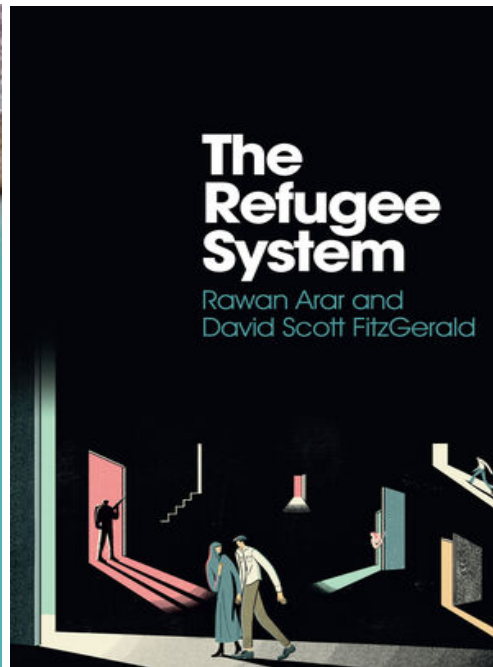


Delusional States: Feeling Rule and Development in Pakistan's Northern Frontier

Nosheen Ali

Delusional States is the first in-depth study of state-making and social change in Gilgit-Baltistan, a Shia-majority region of Sunni-dominated Pakistan and a contested border area that forms part of disputed Kashmir. For over seven decades, the territorial conflict over Kashmir has locked India and Pakistan in brutal wars and hate-centred nationalisms. The book illuminates how within this story of hate lie other stories - of love and betrayal, loyalty and suspicion, beauty and terror - that help us grasp how the Kashmir conflict is affectively structured and experienced on the ground. Placing these emotions at the centre of its analysis, the book rethinks the state-citizen relation in deeply felt and intimate terms, offering a multi-layered ethnographic understanding of power and subjection in contemporary Pakistan.

Congratulations to Nosheen Ali for winning the American Institute for Pakistan Studies 2022 Book Award

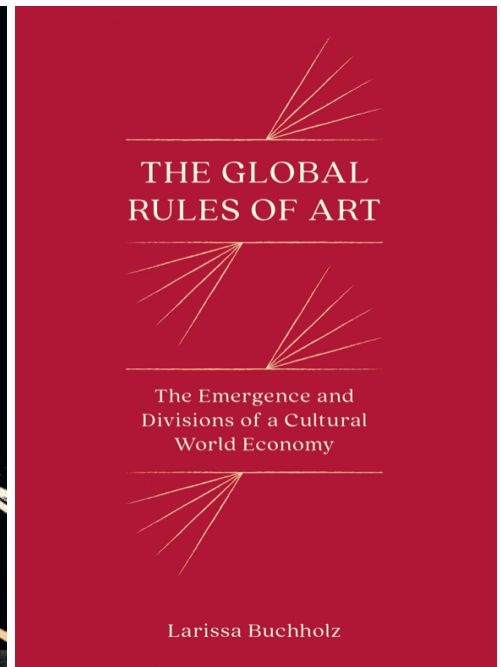


The Refugee System: A Sociological Approach

Rawan Arar and David Scott FitzGerald

Some people facing violence and persecution flee. Others stay. How do households in danger decide who should go, where to relocate, and whether to keep moving? What are the conditions in countries of origin, transit, and reception that shape people's options?

This incisive book tells the story of how one Syrian family, spread across several countries, tried to survive the civil war and live in dignity. This story forms a backdrop to explore and explain the refugee system. Departing from studies that create siloes of knowledge about just one setting or "solution" to displacement, the book's sociological approach describes a global system that shapes refugee movements. Changes in one part of the system reverberate elsewhere. Feedback mechanisms change processes across time and place. Earlier migrations shape later movements. Immobility



on one path redirects migration along others. Past policies, laws, population movements, and regional responses all contribute to shape states' responses in the present. As Arar and FitzGerald illustrate, all these processes are forged by deep inequalities of economic, political, military, and ideological power.

Presenting a sharp analysis of refugee structures worldwide, this book offers invaluable insights for students and scholars of international migration and refugee studies across the social sciences, as well as policy makers and those involved in refugee and asylum work.

The Global Rules of Art: The Emergence and Divisions of a Cultural World Economy

Larissa Buchholtz

A trailblazing study of the historical emergence of a global cultural field and how – after centuries of exclusion and discrimination – artists from formerly colonized or “peripheral” locations have been able to break through old barriers and gain worldwide recognition.

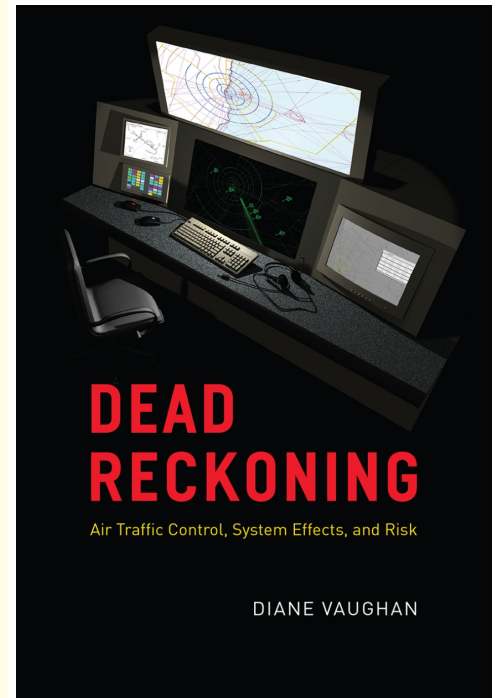
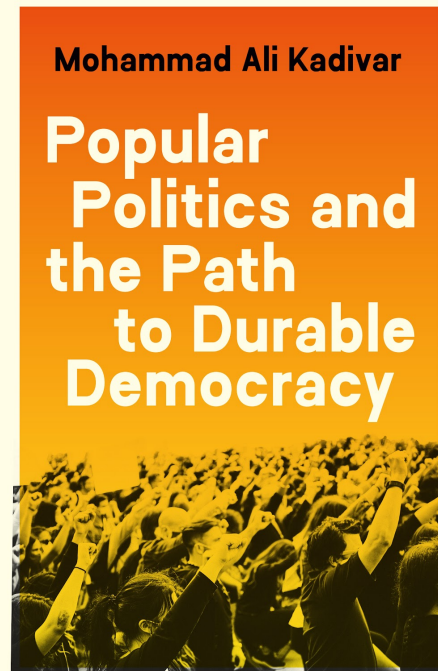
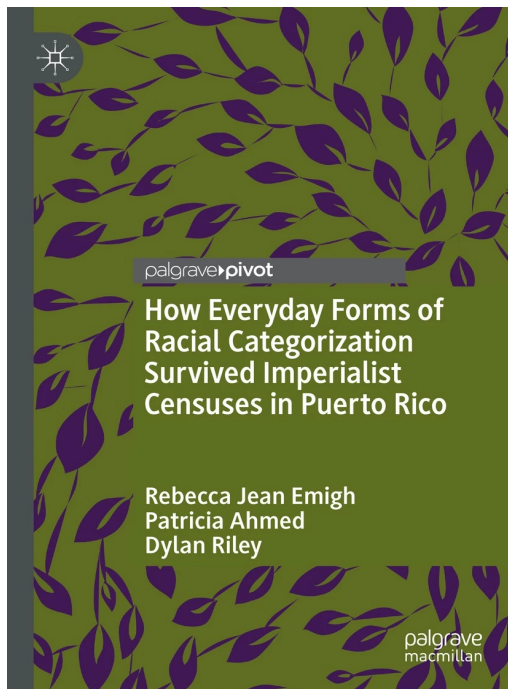
Prior to the 1980s, the postwar canon of so-called “international” contemporary art consisted almost entirely of artists from North America and Western Europe, while cultural producers from other parts of the world often found themselves on the margins. By expanding and revising fields theory to a global level, *The Global Rules of Art* examines how and why this discriminatory situation has evolved and diversified in recent decades. Drawing from abundant sources—including data on the arts infrastructures of over a hundred countries; institutional histories and discourses; fieldwork on four continents; and numerous interviews—the book charts the complex historical transformations that led to the rise of a world-spanning field whose logics have become increasingly redefined in global terms. Blending illuminating case studies

with large-scale analyses, *The Global Rules of Art* moreover demonstrates how conditions of the worldwide recognition of cultural agents from the “Global South” diverge in globalizing subfields that are oriented by a logic of commercial exchange or symbolic prestige. The study thereby develops a unique global comparative methodology that goes beyond countries as the main unit of comparison and systematically links macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis. While the book’s empirical subject is the visual arts, its broader theoretical underpinnings make important contributions for the advancement of a multi-level global fields approach to examine processes of globalization and their effects on various types of inequalities and diversities.

“...A stunning achievement that sets a new standard for sociological analysis.”— Philip Gorski, Yale University

“...*The Global Rules of Art* is a stunning scholarly achievement.”— Fiona Greenland, Virginia University

“Impressive and important. *The Global Rules of Art* is exquisitely written and theoretically and empirically exceptional.”— Clayton Childress, University of Toronto



How Everyday Forms of Classification Survived Imperialist Censuses in Puerto Rico

Rebecca Jean Emigh, Patricia Ahmed, and Dylan Riley

This book examines the history of racial classifications in Puerto Rico censuses, starting with the Spanish censuses and continuing through the US ones. Because Puerto Rican censuses were collected regularly over hundreds of years, they are fascinating “test cases” to see what census categories might have been available and effective in shaping everyday ones. Published twentieth-century censuses have been well studied, but this book also examines unpublished documents in previous centuries to understand the historical precursors of contemporary ones. State-centered theories hypothesize that censuses, especially colonial ones, have powerful transformative effects. In contrast, this book shows that such transformations are affected by the power and interests of social actors, not the strength of the state. Thus, despite hundreds of years of exposure to the official dichotomous and trichotomous census categories, these categories never replaced the continuous everyday ones because the census categories rarely coincided with Puerto Rican’s interests.

Popular Politics and the Path to Durable Democracy

Mohammed Ali Kadivar

When protests swept through the Middle East at the height of the Arab Spring, the world appeared to be on the verge of a wave of democratization. Yet with the failure of many of these uprisings, it has become clearer than ever that the path to democracy is strewn with obstacles. Mohammad Ali Kadivar examines the conditions leading to the success or failure of democratization, shedding vital new light on how prodemocracy mobilization affects the fate of new democracies.

Drawing on a wealth of new evidence, Kadivar shows how the longest episodes of prodemocracy protest give rise to the most durable new democracies. He analyzes more than one hundred democratic transitions in eighty countries between 1950 and 2010, showing how more robust democracies emerge from lengthier periods of unarmed mobilization. Kadivar then analyzes five case studies—South Africa, Poland, Pakistan, Egypt, and Tunisia—to investigate the

underlying mechanisms. He finds that organization building during the years of struggle develops the leadership needed for lasting democratization and strengthens civil society after dictatorship.

Popular Politics and the Path to Durable Democracy challenges the prevailing wisdom in American foreign policy that democratization can be achieved through military or coercive interventions, revealing how lasting change arises from sustained, nonviolent grassroots mobilization.

Dead Reckoning: Air Traffic Control, System Effects, and Risk

Diane Vaughan

Vaughan unveils the complicated and high-pressure world of air traffic controllers as they navigate technology and political and public climates, and shows how they keep the skies so safe.

When two airplanes were flown into the World Trade Center towers on September 11, 2001, Americans watched in uncomprehending shock as first responders struggled to react to the situation on the ground. Congruently, another remarkable and heroic feat was taking place in the air: more than six hundred and fifty air traffic control facilities across the country coordinated their efforts to ground four thousand flights in just two hours—an achievement all the more impressive considering the unprecedented nature of the task.

In *Dead Reckoning*, Diane Vaughan explores the complex work of air traffic controllers, work that is built upon a close relationship between human organizational systems and technology and is remarkably safe given the high level of risk. Vaughan observed the distinct skill sets of air traffic controllers and the ways their workplaces changed to adapt to technological developments and public and political pressures. She chronicles the ways these forces affected their

jobs, from their relationships with one another and the layouts of their workspace to their understanding of their job and its place in society. The result is a nuanced and engaging look at an essential role that demands great coordination, collaboration, and focus—a role that technology will likely never be able to replace. Even as the book conveys warnings about complex systems and the liabilities of technological and organizational innovation, it shows the kinds of problem-solving solutions that evolved over time and the importance of people.

Congratulations to Diane Vaughan for winning the 2023 Gardner-Lasser Aerospace History Literature Prize by the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics.

Recent Journal Articles

Charrad, Mounira M., Amina Zarrugh and Hyun Jeong Ha. 2021. “[The Arab Spring Protests.](#)” *Contexts: Sociology for the Public*, 20 (1): 58-61.

Charrad, Mounira M. Amina Zarrugh & Hyun Jeong Ha. 2021. “[The Reclamation Master Frame: A Visual Study of the Arab Uprisings.](#)” 2021. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts & Change*. 44: 11-35. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S0163-786X20210000044004>.

Dylan Riley, Patricia Ahmed, and Rebecca Jean Emigh. 2021. “Getting Real: Heuristics in the Sociology of Information Gathering.” *Theory and Society* 50(2): 315–356.

Congratulations to Riley, Ahmed, and Emigh for co-winning the Outstanding Marxist Sociology Article Award, Marxist Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association, 2022.

Call for Contributions

Trajectories needs your contributions! If you have ideas for a short essay, dialogue, or other feature, contact the editors at trajectories01 [at] gmail [dot] com. We are particularly interested in submissions considering “CHS past, present, and future,” new research, and profiles of students on the job market.

Please email the editors ASAP to share your ideas and/or indicate your intention to contribute.

CHS Feature Articles

Trajectories invites article submissions on the broad subject of the “history of comparative-historical sociology (CHS)” We are especially interested in work that considers the implications of this history for the present and future of the subfield. Questions on this topic that we think may initiate a fruitful debate among section members includes (but is not limited to):

- How can we draw the contours of the field of CHS?
- What periodizations and classifications can be made?
- What external and internal currents can be identified as determining factors and catalysts of the history of the field?
- What types of comparisons can we make between the “past” and “present” situation of CHS, with regards to its research topics, methodological tools, theoretical debates, empirical questions and geographical foci?
- How can we make a prospective diagnosis about the “future” of the field?

Deadline: July 1, 2023

Word count maximum: 1500 - 2000 words

New Research

If you would like your publications and/or forthcoming research included in the newsletter, please send the following information to the editors:

- Name, current affiliation and title.
- Title of publication/current research.
- An abstract of publication/current research (no more than 500 words).
- For books, please include a picture of the book cover.
- For articles, please include the full citation.

Deadline: July 15, 2023

Word count: 350 - 500 words

PhDs on the Job Market

Trajectories invites recent PhDs and PhD Candidates on the job market to share a brief academic profile to help them gain visibility. If you would like your profile to be included in the next issue of the *Trajectories*, please send the following information to the editors:

- Name and current affiliation
- An abstract of dissertation (no more than 300 words)
- Fields of study
- Names of committee members

Deadline: July 15, 2023