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Special Issue:
Race, Police Violence, and Justice

Sociological Promise in an Age of Crises

Aldon Morris, Leon Forrest Professor of Sociology and African American Studies, Northwestern University, and ASA President-elect

Second Sight Amidst Crises

Black people possess critical second sights—abilities to critically analyze structures and situations— when evaluating America. One hundred sixty-eight years ago, as Blacks labored in chains building the American empire, Frederick Douglass was asked by the Rochester, NY Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society to deliver a speech commemorating the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Douglass, an escaped slave and towering abolitionist, was agitated by even being asked to celebrate the 4th of July while his people remained trapped in bondage. In the speech, Douglass spoke from his core personal experience, “This Fourth of July is yours, not mine, You may rejoice, I must mourn.” Then his oratory shifted to the collective when he put his white audience on the racial hot spot:



Aldon Morris

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim....There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.

Douglass demonstrated that from the beginning Black and white Americans lived in separate worlds. The 1968 Kerner Commission, 116

years later, reached a similar conclusion: “Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal.” However, Douglass’ America did not move to separate societies in the 1960s; separate societies emerged during slavery and never transcended this split caused by the original sin of slavery.

W. E. B. Du Bois was acutely aware of the chasm between the Black and white world. He argued that Black life existed behind a white imposed veil that locked Black people into a state of structural inequality and truncated self-consciousness. Because of their belief in racial superiority, whites never bothered to look behind the veil and see Blacks as human beings. Rather, they treated Blacks with contempt, pity, and distorted their very being. Because of their place behind the veil, Du Bois grasped that Blacks viewed America through a different lens. Their lens revealed that white Americans lived a deceptive lie of white supremacy while preaching democracy but practicing oppression, especially racism. Although Blacks repeatedly tried to inform whites of this deadly hypocrisy, their arrogance, coupled with white privilege, prevented them from listening to their “lesser” humans. The black experience generated a rich authentic knowledge regarding the nature of America. Because of these painful accumulated experiences behind the veil, Black people, according to Du Bois, gained a gifted second sight in this American world. Yet, even today, it seems the barriers preventing whites from benefitting from Black second sight are too steep to overcome. But will that remain forever true?

Americans are currently locked inside a triple prison: Corona

pandemic, an economic crisis, and civil unrest. Perhaps now white Americans are more likely to listen to second sights from African Americans because it is evident that, as Martin Luther King, Jr. insisted, “We are tied together in the single garment of destiny, caught in an inescapable network of mutuality. And whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly.” King warned, “We must learn to live together as brothers *or* perish together as fools.” Because of these triple threats, I believe a unique historical moment has emerged. Will we waste this newly opened window or embrace it creatively, thus enabling a vital transformation?

Corona Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic has shattered life across the globe. This is especially true for America because it is the epicenter of the virus with high rates of infection, sickness, and death. Americans have always considered themselves the most advanced, powerful, and civilized country in the world. I have always been struck by how often this claim is uttered without rebuttal. Now the country is embarrassed by its awful and unsophisticated response to the deadly virus. Often “lesser developed” countries have developed more effective strategies for addressing the virus and minimizing its devastating effects. This outcome ought to humble America’s sense of its exceptional greatness. Considering the virus, we should juxtapose our human values to how we value material possessions. This is especially true of powerful rich Americans who clutch their mansions, yachts, private planes and dividends at the expense of most Americans, especially the poor and

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racial minorities.

The pandemic has exposed deep racial health disparities. For decades, sociologists, epidemiologists and health experts have documented the health crises confronting African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans and the poor. Nevertheless, most whites have paid scant attention to these disparities, although COVID-19 may change these attitudes. As the pandemic surged, Black and brown bodies continued to expire in large numbers, making the conclusion inescapable that decades of racism in health care accounts for the staggering disproportionate numbers of Black and brown fatalities.

I have participated in numerous conversations with white scholars and whites generally about racial health disparities leading to fewer years of life, high infant mortality, hypertension, obesity, and diabetes for people of color. But now those conversations are different. After the initial shock of massive Black and brown deaths, whites are beginning to express righteous indignation about racism determining access to quality health care. I challenge them: "You are going to release your outrage as soon as COVID-19 is vanquished and you return to business as usual." They exclaim "No, not this time. This is not right; we will do better." Are they developing second sight into this serious form of inequality and will they try and eradicate it? I think this is possible despite warning by sociologists of the gulf between what people say and what they do.

The Failing Economy

The pandemic has wrecked the economy. Millions of jobs have been lost and numerous businesses are closing permanently. People with jobs find it difficult to work because school closings make it necessary for them to provide daycare and schooling. For the first time, many whites are forced to join long food lines to put food on the table. Many whites never thought they would experience unemployment and the lack of dignity it engenders. They

knew many Black people were unemployed, but they thought it was Black's own fault because they lacked a strong work ethic. For whites, Black unemployment was a personal Black failure rather than a structural problem.

Because of the pandemic, unemployed whites are in the same jobless boat as Blacks. They don't like it. Individuals as disparately positioned as the sociologist William Julius Wilson and the presumptive Democratic presidential nominee, Joe Biden, have argued that jobs are about much more than money. For Wilson, jobs provide people with hope and a sense of importance. For Biden, "a job is about a lot more than a paycheck. It's about dignity." Unemployed whites are experiencing this loss of dignity which they considered a God-given entitlement. They know their unemployment is a structural problem that leaves them personally humiliated. The question is whether they extend this structural analysis to unemployed Blacks or continue to see them as lazy welfare cheats. Worse, some whites may blame Blacks for their unemployment woes, viewing them as less qualified affirmative action hires. Perhaps whites will choose the wisest route by gaining second sight into the job market and empathize with other races similarly displaced.

Police Brutality and Civil Unrest

African Americans have always experienced brutal policing. During slavery, practically all whites served as overseers to keep slaves subjugated. Blacks were policed and lynched during the Jim Crow period to ensure compliance with the peonage system of sharecropping. As Blacks migrated to cities, they confronted heavy policing to ensure racially segregated neighborhoods were maintained and Blacks stayed in "their place" within the racist industrial system. By the 1960s, the relationship between Black city dwellers and the police constituted tinderboxes poised to explode into urban rebellions. The Kerner Report, which studied the causes of hundreds of race riots in northern cities, concluded that "Prior" incidents, which increased tensions and ulti-



mately led to violence, were police actions in almost half the cases; police actions were 'final' incidents before the outbreak of violence in 12 of the 24 surveyed disorders."

Generally, whites have overlooked police brutality in Black communities, viewing it as necessary and fair to control Black crime. Black people, utilizing their lived experiences and second sight, pleaded with police, courts, and governing elites to address police brutality. In return, police continued to beat, murder, and imprison Black people which led to the present era of mass incarceration. Repeated scenes of Black mothers, fathers, and families painfully funeralizing their unarmed children murdered by the police and white vigilantes played out like reruns of old movies. Protests often followed this injustice, usually with courts issuing not guilty verdicts. Meanwhile, the white community continued business as usual believing justice was served.

Then a catastrophe occurred. George Floyd was choked to death by a white policeman who kept his knee on Floyd's neck until life escaped his body while two other policemen aided in the slaughter. The murder captured on video showed a handcuffed Floyd begging for his life and calling for his dead mother as he sensed their reunion in eternity.

The historic second sense of Blacks informs that the criminal justice system is fundamentally racist despite white dissenting views that justice is blind. With no place to turn, Blacks organize social movements to address racism

and police brutality. Slave revolts, bus boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and urban rebellions constitute pillars of this historic freedom struggle. The social movement is a grassroots effort of the oppressed to overthrow domination. Its power derives from the ability of masses to disrupt society so it cannot function as usual. In his 1963 "[Letter from a Birmingham Jail](#)," Martin Luther King, Jr. succinctly summarized what he hoped the Birmingham campaign needed to accomplish to force durable structural change: "*The purpose of our direct-action program is to create a situation so crisis packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation.*" As I wrote in my book, [The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement](#), contrary to the sanitized, rose-colored glasses version of history, change was not generated through non-disruptive marches of people singing "We Shall Overcome." Rather, Jim Crow collapsed because the Civil Rights Movement disrupted the roots of southern society. As soon as the business leaders and political elite realized that the demonstrations were indeed chronic, they negotiated with movement leaders, agreeing to dismantle racial segregation in commerce and public services.

The Black Lives Matter Movement (BLM) has made a good start towards creating and sustaining "crisis-packed" situations across the United States. Floyd's murder triggered mass demonstrations in every state and scores of other countries that have been disrupting "business as usual" in virtually every

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George Floyd's Murder is the Twenty-first Century Emmett Till Moment: How Sociological Research Informs Police Reform

Rashawn Ray, Professor of Sociology and Executive Director of the Lab for Applied Social Science Research, University of Maryland; Co-editor of *Contexts*; and David M. Rubenstein Fellow, The Brookings Institution

George Floyd's murder is the twenty-first century Emmett Till moment. As former Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin



Rashawn Ray

pressed his knee into the back of Floyd's neck, Floyd said "I can't breathe" 16 times and yelled out for his "momma" who died roughly two years before his killing. As people viewed Floyd's public execution, three other police officers stood guard and protected Chauvin as he enacted violence on Floyd's body for eight minutes and 46 seconds.

Floyd's death has entered us into a new racial awakening. Over 70% of White people now realize that racism is real. For some, Floyd's death is a modern-day lynching that harkens back to public lynchings of the past. Whites would gather to watch the hanging of a Black person like it was a picnic. They would even bring their kids and dress in their Sunday's best. For others, Floyd's death relives collective memories of their own trauma with police violence. For those of us with Black children or who care for Black children, it reveals the sobering reality that one day our babies will instantaneously go from "cute to criminal" in the eyes and minds of so many, and their parents' PhDs, or their own degrees, cannot help them outclass racism.

Statistically, Floyd's death highlights some troubling patterns—Black people are 3.5 times more likely than Whites to be killed by

police when they are not attacking or do not have a weapon. A Black person in the United States is killed every 40 hours by law enforcement and one in every 1,000 Black people can expect to die from police violence. The deaths of Breonna Taylor, Tamir Rice, Korryn Gaines, Natasha McKenna, Walter Scott, Michelle Cusseaux, Philando Castille, Eric Garner, Michael Brown, and Freddie Gray exemplify and personalize these statistics.

The interaction between Floyd and the four police officers revealed another troubling pattern — the inability for law enforcement to hold their own accountable. Two of the officers, Thomas Lane and J. Alexander Kueng, were on some of their first shifts as officers, while the other officer, Thomas Thao, had six misconduct complaints on his record. Lane repeatedly asked Chauvin if they should turn Floyd on his side to improve his comfort

and ability to breathe. But this was after Lane pulled a gun on the unarmed Floyd while Floyd sat in his car. The Minneapolis Chief of Police, Medaria Arradondo, took swift action and fired the officers and they were all charged with crimes (including murder for Chauvin). Chief Arradondo is noteworthy because in 2007 he, along with four Black officers, sued his own department for racial discrimination in pay, promotion, and discipline. The city of Minneapolis settled the lawsuit for \$740,000, and in 2012 Arradondo was promoted to lead Internal Affairs. Some of Chauvin's and Thao's misconduct complaints came while Arradondo was leading Internal Affairs.

For the past decade, I worked with colleagues, particularly in the Lab for Applied Social Science Research (LASSR) at the University of Maryland where I serve as

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realm of life. Whether BLM creates meaningful and lasting change depends on the degree to which it disrupts regimes of racial inequalities and can sustain that disruption until the captains of white supremacy are ready to negotiate. This outcome is likely precisely because new forces have joined the movement.

The current movement has attracted masses of whites and people from all walks of life who have joined the protests, augmenting the strength of the movement. Many whites could ignore no longer the police brutality because the blatant murder of Floyd captured on video could not be misread as anything other than murder. This realization converged with Blacks' second sight that illuminate the reality of their experiences with a criminal *injustice* system. Moreover, for whites, movement participation produces second sight for it exposes them to the vast racial inequalities

entrenched in the police and the society. The movement is awakening many whites, enabling them to see America through a new lens and to struggle to change it.

The main question is whether the Black Lives Matter movement can transform systemic racism in America. New voices and ideas fostered by the movement are penetrating the media and disrupting the engrained loyalty to many of the cultural practices and symbols endorsing and enforcing racism. So far, these disruptions have yielded symbolic changes, including changing flags, replacing monuments, renaming buildings and streets, amending music lyrics, and altering our vocabulary of discourse. These changes are hard won and important, but the eradication of these white supremacy symbols does not ameliorate the material hardship of systemic racism. These changes do not cost billions of dollars. The structural changes that can reduce or eradicate systemic racism are altogether different from cultural

changes. They require the re-allocation of basic resources to equalize income and wealth, employment and under employment, and under-employment, educational opportunities, incarceration rates, and access to quality health care.

To dismantle white supremacy structural changes are required. They are very expensive to implement, and they have a zero-sum logic that involves transferring money currently earmarked for police weaponry to underfunded schools in Black communities; slashing the military budget to finance low-income housing; and taxing obscene levels of executive pay and bloated corporate profits to make the minimum wage a living wage. To achieve these structural changes, widespread and sustained social disruptions must continue until the powerful people and institutions whose funds are needed for equalization are ready to negotiate. BLM has a difficult task ahead, but it must be inspired by the fact that other seemingly unshakable racist

regimes—slavery and Jim Crow—came tumbling down under the weight of massive disruptions.

Conclusions

As sociologists, we are challenged by this era of COVID-19, an economy on the brink of recession and mass racial unrest. What is needed is a vast infusion of second sight into the body social that can guide us from the edge of disaster. This is where sociology is key for it is a brand of second sight commonly known as the sociological imagination. It provides critical understandings of the relationships among biography, history, and social structure, enabling its possessors to critically evaluate structures and social situations. When times are bad in the world, they can be good for sociology if sociologists boldly embrace the challenge to produce and disseminate a sociological imagination that engenders social transformations enabling us to live together productively rather than perish as fools.

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Executive Director, to assemble some of the most innovative and cutting-edge data on policing. We have collected over thousands of virtual reality experimental data points on police officer interactions with civilians from multiple police departments across the country; 30 million tweets on Black Lives Matter; interview data about body-worn cameras from hundreds of officers and civilians; mental health data from officers; civilian payout data on police misconduct; and lists of police reform legislation around the country. These data hold some of the most in-depth findings on the social psychological underpinnings and cultural and structural organizational components of policing that lead to over-policing, racial profiling, and policing killings. They also expose what Alysa Sewell, Associate Professor at Emory University, calls “the collateral consequences and illness spillovers of policing.”

My research on policing, published in Ethnic and Racial Studies, Social Science Research, Sociological Forum, Journal of Urban Health, and American Review of Public Health, lends itself to a series of policy solutions to restructure and re-envision policing.

Circumventing Qualified Immunity

Qualified immunity, which is the legislation that alleviates law enforcement from civil liability, must be abolished in its current

form. Under the current system, Chauvin may still receive his pension and Floyd’s family’s own tax money will be used to pay Floyd’s family for his murder and dehumanization if there is a payout in a civil lawsuit. Civilian payouts for police misconduct must be restructured. Currently, civilian payouts are paid through general funds and not police department budgets. Chicago has spent over \$650 million in civilian payouts for police misconduct over the past two decades. Given what we know about the impact of education equity and work infrastructure on reducing crime, imagine the dent this funding could have if reinvested in communities like the South Side of Chicago.

Given this, I recommend shifting civilian payouts away from taxpayer money to police department insurance policies. This is similar to the approach taken in healthcare when surgery goes wrong in the operating room. Comparable to the civil liability hospitals have, police departments should have accountability rather than being absolved from financial culpability. This shift takes a market-driven approach to give police chiefs and elected officials the ability to justify the termination of cops like Chauvin.

Defund Police

Policing funding encompasses over one-third of many cities’ and municipalities’ budgets. There needs to be a “calls for service and clearance rate analysis” conducted to determine whether resources allocated match output. In most areas, the analysis will show a low

rate of return. Over 90% of calls for service have nothing to do with violent crime. Furthermore, the clearance rate for violent crime is abysmal. About 40% of homicides, 66% of rapes, and roughly 70% of robberies and aggravated assaults go unsolved. When coupled with racial disparities in policing, this is unacceptable. Police officers have a series of responsibilities that can be reallocated to other social services, particularly mental health and addiction calls.

Civilians on Police Trial Boards

During meetings, interviews, and ethnographic observations with police officers, I realized that they serve as judge and jury of other officers. In most large police departments, there is a trial board composed of high-ranking officers. They make decisions on misconduct. In this model, most Civilian Review Boards are symbolic and carry little weight in holding officers accountable for misconduct. My research shows that Black and Latino officers are more likely to be sanctioned relative to White officers. If civilians are on the trial board, transparency, trust, and equality will strengthen.

Bad Apple Enforcement List and Good Apple Protections

As I have written about extensively at The Brookings Institution, bad apples come from rotten trees in policing. In line with the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act that was passed by the House of Representatives on what would have been Tamir Rice’s 18th birthday, officers who are terminated due to misconduct or who resign while under investigation need to be placed on a national database. This list would have potentially saved 12-year-old Tamir Rice who was killed by Timothy Loehmann in Cleveland. Loehmann left his previous department after being deemed unfit mentally to be an officer. We also need Good Apple Protections for officers who expose discrimination.

Re-envisioning Community Policing and Officer Health

Community policing is not simply about shooting a basketball or throwing a football with some kids

in the street. Rather, community policing is about officers experiencing local communities by living in the neighborhoods they serve, sending their children to the local schools, attending places of worship, exercising at local parks and gyms, and having authentic conversations with neighbors.

In addition to reallocating funding, there may need to be funding shifts within the police budget for mandatory housing subsidies and mental health services for officers. Housing subsidies will formalize community policing, cut down on commute times, and decrease work hours. Many of the officers who I have studied work 60 to 120 hours a week. Existing research shows the detrimental impact that a lack of sleep has on decision making. A lack of objective decision making exacerbates racial bias, which leads to racial profiling and disparities in police killings.

Police officers also have poor mental health. About 80% of officers suffer from chronic stress and 16% report being suicidal and/or having substance abuse problems. Troublingly, 90% of these officers never seek mental health services. I recommend mandatory psychological counseling for officers every quarter. Rather than only seeing a psychologist after a use of force incident, mandating counseling will normalize and remove the stigma attached to mental health services.

Upgrade De-escalation Training

Police officers receive nearly 50 hours of firearm training but less than 10 hours of de-escalation training. To address this issue, LASSR developed an innovative virtual reality decision-making program for law enforcement. LASSR’s virtual reality platform tests how the setting, demographics of the virtual reality actors, and demographics of the participants impact decisions. The virtual reality scenarios focus on key social interactions that police officers encounter daily: traffic stops, suspicious persons, domestic house calls, and store incidents.

The virtual reality characters vary by race and gender but use



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Police, Culture, and Inequality

Michael Sierra-Arévalo, Assistant Professor of Sociology, The University of Texas at Austin



Michael Sierra-Arévalo

For many, the past summer of protests and police violence seems unprecedented. But even though the scale of these protests marks them as the largest in U.S. history, the police culture that animates the racism, police brutality, and inequality that spawned them is anything but new.

Police culture is the thread that connects and perpetuates these persistent social problems. After the “long hot summer” of 1967, the Kerner Commission’s report on the causes of urban riots across the country highlighted the widespread “philosophy” of aggressive patrol tactics linked to “excessive and unjustified use of force.”

In 1991, the [Christopher Commission](#) determined that the LAPD fostered a culture that emphasized “the use of force to control a situation and a disdain

for a more patient, less aggressive approach.” It also noted a “siege mentality” among officers that encouraged “confrontational attitudes of hostility and disrespect.”

Most recently, President Obama’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing received testimony that police culture expects that officers “never back down from a confrontation,” a symptom of what some have termed a “warrior” culture. The Task Force also made clear that culture is a persistent barrier to police reform, citing the old adage, “Organizational culture eats policy for lunch.”

The problem of police culture beats steadily through our long history of police violence and the damage it does to the fabric of social life. But as with culture in other institutions and organizations, it did not arise by chance. Instead, the contours of modern police culture are perpetuated through particular arrangements of police socialization and practice that center on danger and death—what I term “perilous policing.” As my ethnographic research across three urban police departments between 2014 and 2019 shows, these arrangements are anything but accidental.

Perilous Pedagogy

The primary lesson of the police academy is survival. The world, academy recruits are taught, is a dangerous, deadly place. In order to return to their families, they must constantly be on guard for violence. To ensure “officer safety,” recruits learn to understand every interaction with the public as a potential catastrophe, and that they must be ready and willing to use force in order to keep themselves and fellow officers alive.

Graphic training videos are one way that academy instructors impart these life-or-death stakes to their recruits. Today, the Internet and social media platforms provide an ocean of videos showing interactions with the public that have “gone bad.” Besides YouTube, police-centric [Facebook](#) pages and websites like [PoliceOne](#), [Officer](#), and [Law Enforcement Today](#) are replete with news content and videos that academy instructors can draw on to teach recruits the life-or-death stakes of police work.

One video [[WARNING: GRAPHIC](#)], in particular, was remembered by multiple officers and is shown in academy classes across the country. The dashcam

video of the 1998 murder of Deputy Kyle Dinkheller is still shown nearly 30 years later, in departments that are thousands of miles away from the lonely road in rural Georgia where Dinkheller was shot and killed during a routine traffic stop.

While on patrol in Elmont, Officer Michaelson explained to me that this video and others like it show that any seemingly routine interaction can snap to lethal violence, and that everyone is a potential assailant. Training videos, he explained, are designed to teach recruits to “not let your guard down...to show us how bad things can go, and how quickly things can happen. Not to underestimate people just because they look a certain way or are a certain age.”

Recruits also learn the perils of their chosen profession through real-world training exercises. Officer Diggler, an academy instructor in the southwestern city of Sunshine, told me about one exercise that is part of a broader curriculum designed to teach recruits that, “Everybody wants to murder you.”

In the training exercise, he explained, recruits undertake a simple traffic stop. The twist is that there

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the same words. We measure how officers’ decisions and the content of their speech vary by civilian demographics. We can also evaluate physiological responses including heart rate, stress as indicated in speech, eye tracking, body movement, and weapon tracking. Participants also complete an attitudinal survey that allows us to examine the impact that attitudes have on decision-making behaviors. We use Implicit Association Tests to measure implicit bias and self-reported responses to measure explicit bias. We present findings and write reports for police departments with recommendations to help officers improve decision

making and reduce bias.

We have presented some of this work at The Brookings Institution, and Long Doan, Assistant Professor at the University of Maryland, is presenting this work at a session on “Racializing Police Violence” for the 2020 ASA Virtual Engagement Event. In one of the first studies to comprehensively examine implicit attitudes, explicit attitudes, and behavior among police officers, we found that officers, regardless of race or gender, hold negative racial biases towards Blacks. These attitudes lead to Whites relative to Blacks receiving more deference and respect in the virtual reality scenarios. Additionally, we found that the setting mattered. Officers were even less deferential to Blacks when an interaction was more ambigu-

ous. Utilizing the intersectionality framework and drawing attention to [#SayHerName](#), we found that police officers treated Black women with less respect and White women with more respect compared to other groups.

In closing, Floyd’s death, and the deaths of those who do not become hashtags, continues to crystallize why I, we, must do more. We must use our research to inform the public and help policymakers use social and behavioral science to make informed decisions. Science and empirical truth are under attack, and for too long sociologists have remained on the Ivory Tower sidelines.

Some of us do not have the luxury to sit in the Ivory Tower and do “pure research.” And, our research

is no less important for being community- and policy-relevant. Rather, I would argue that this research is more significant. Statements about “me-research” are disrespectful to those of us whose research highlights the marginalized lives of people dying due to police violence or [COVID-19](#). Being disconnected from local communities outside of the symbolic and physical barriers of the Ivory Tower that detach universities from the neighborhoods they are located in is a privilege that some of us do not have.

“Public sociology” is impact. It is impact in local communities, [city councils](#), [state capitals](#), and on [Capitol Hill](#). It is time for more sociologists to get off of the Ivory Tower sidelines and use their research to make a difference.

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is a simulation firearm in the vehicle in plain view. “If the trainee doesn’t see the gun,” Diggler explained, “you kill the cop.” He went on, “If he doesn’t see the gun, when he walks back to his car you get out and you fucking murder him.”

Taken together, virtual and real-world training engrain in recruits

that no call for service is safe, and no person is above suspicion. If they hope to stay alive, they must approach every interaction with the understanding that, at any moment, they may encounter lethal violence.

Perilous Practice

Police culture has real-world consequences. On patrol, officers embody police culture in day-to-day behaviors intended to ensure they survive their shift. Following an uneventful traffic stop outside a McDonald’s in West River, a mid-sized city on the west coast, one officer explained that he uses a particular “POI” (position of interrogation) when speaking to anyone on patrol.

This position is akin to a relaxed boxing stance: officers stand with their feet bladed, one slightly in front of the other, and their hands held up near their chest. This stance allows officers to, in a split second, transition from talking or writing notes to blocking, pushing, or punching. Because their feet are staggered, they are better able to keep their balance and, if they draw their firearm, they can easily assume a “Weaver” shooting stance.

Though it reflects an underlying preoccupation with potential violence, how an officer stands is a relatively mundane, low-cost behavior. Other behaviors, however, are far more dire.

While on evening patrol with Officer Erickson in Elmont, he spotted a group of six Latino boys

walking on the sidewalk. At first, he drove past the boys, none of whom looked older than freshmen or sophomores in high school, but then stopped his car in the middle of the street and looked into his rearview mirror. He growled, “Look

“With that, he reversed down the one-way street. Just before stopping alongside the boys and rolling down his window, he unholstered his pistol and placed it in his lap, the barrel of the weapon pointed towards the door and the group of boys.”

at these little shitheads...” I asked him if he knew the boys and he responded, “No, I don’t, actually...I should, though.”

With that, he reversed down the one-way

street. Just before stopping alongside the boys and rolling down his window, he unholstered his pistol and placed it in his lap, the barrel of the weapon pointed towards the door and the group of boys. He asked the boys what they were up to, if they were staying out of trouble, and how they were doing in school. The boys responded with a mumbled chorus of “Yeahs” and one joked sarcastically that he was getting straight As. Before driving away from this legally “consensual” encounter, he told the boys, “Alright, you guys stay out of trouble. Have a good night.”

As he holstered his firearm, Erickson explained to me, unprompted, why he had held it in his lap, pointed toward the boys:

“I always do that when I’m just talking to someone out the window like that. You never know — they would’ve been able to shoot at us in a split second if they wanted. That’s why I keep it down here, relaxed, finger off the trigger. But you have to be ready for that, always have a plan of attack.”

The boys that he stopped, gun barrel pointed at them through his car door, were not killed. They were not verbally abused or beaten. They were not arrested. Nonetheless, Erickson’s behavior, shaped by a policing culture that demands assiduous preoccupation with danger and potential death, forced innocent boys into a situation poised on the edge of violence; a “furtive” movement, a shadow, or an alleged

bulge in a pocket might have tipped the scales toward catastrophe.

The Price of Peril

The culturally informed practices of police officers are implicated in the perpetuation of longstanding racial inequalities in the criminal legal system. Importantly, neither police training or officer behavior need be explicitly racialized to contribute to existing inequalities. Instead, policing is one of many social institutions that is both embedded in and a producer of prevailing understandings of race, place, crime, and threat.

As described by Victor Ray in his theory of racialized organizations, officers are part of organizations that are themselves nested in existing arrangements of race, class, and gender. As a result, the behavior of individual officers is shaped by the wider ecosystem of police culture, training, and policy that arose out of unequal and highly racialized understandings of the role of police (and who should be subject to their power). Even

if we assume that individual officers are not overtly and violently racist, today’s most well-intentioned officers are nonetheless (re)producers of a policing apparatus

that, over time, has been empowered politically and financially to disproportionately surveil and coerce vulnerable, marginalized communities.

The problem of police culture is not one of “bad apples.” Nor is it fundamentally one of “bad barrels” or “trees” i.e. bad departments. Instead, police culture is a problem with the very roots of the policing orchard, the deep, often unseen structures that set the conditions in which policing developed. It is why, even if we assume a preponderance of “good” officers, the policing system and its ossified culture remain plagued by problems as old as policing itself.

For these reasons, racial inequal-

ities in stops, searches, arrests, and force are not evidence of a broken system. To borrow the words of Ta-Nehisi Coates, “This is not our system malfunctioning. It is our system working as intended.” The solution to the problem of police culture, then, is unlikely to be found within policing itself.

Peril and Policy

Despite changes to the structure of policing, the problem of police culture is troublingly consistent. Wholesale reform is no small task. But departments can take concrete steps to, at the very least, not make the problem worse. For example, officers should not be allowed to attend 3rd party training seminars that preach “warrior” policing and amplify the life-or-death mentality already so prevalent in policing. Neither should this type of training be permitted within the context of official police academy curricula.

Another option is to raise the minimum age requirement for policing from 21 to 25. Insurance companies figured

out long ago that young people (especially men, who make up nearly 90% of U.S. officers) are prone to car accidents, in part because they engage in risky

“...the behavior of individual officers is shaped by the wider ecosystem of police culture, training, and policy that arose out of unequal and highly racialized understandings of the role of police (and who should be subject to their power).”

behaviors like speeding and drinking alcohol. Knowing that human brains are not fully formed until age 25 and that younger officers use more severe force options and use force more often, hiring older officers stands to reduce baseline levels of police violence.

But these efforts at harm reduction will not fundamentally change the nature of policing as a coercive institution. This reality is at the core of calls to defund the police, itself an outgrowth of a broader abolitionist framework that reimagines public safety as something bigger than trends in crime statistics. The massive resources dedicated

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Legal Estrangement: A Concept for These Times

Monica C. Bell, Associate Professor of Law and Sociology, Yale University

Julius Williams, 21 years old and just beginning to shed the wide eyes and lanky build of adolescence, tried to distinguish himself from other young Black men in the Baltimore neighborhood where he grew up. “We had different outlooks of the world,” he postulated. “I’ve always been like a peacemaker type of happy person.” Julius is preoccupied with observing animals, studying them, communing with them. “I love animals — I love — I feel like I can relate to animals more than humans . . . I feel like people can learn a lot from animals, the way that they do things, the way how they’re organized, and how they adapt to the world.” For as long as he can remember, Julius has wanted to be a marine biologist or a zoologist. “That was something I always wanted to do.”



Monica C. Bell

Yet now, Julius’ goal of becoming a marine biologist or zoologist seems very remote. Even staying enrolled in community college seems to him a Sisyphean task. During our interview five years ago, shortly after the [Baltimore Uprising](#), he had recently dropped out of the community college he was attending. He got too far behind, and he had struggled to pay for books and housing. Being involved in the criminal legal system exacerbated those challenges.

A few months earlier, Julius had stopped by a former close friend’s house, someone with whom he had been out of touch. While Julius was catching up with his old friend, police burst into the house and searched everyone. “I sat and chilled, and then that’s when the house got raided,” Julius said, with a still-obvious tinge of disbelief.

The police didn’t find anything on Julius, but they confiscated pills that were hidden in his friend’s pockets. Nonetheless, officers handcuffed both of them and brought them in for questioning. Julius believes that on the way to the precinct, hoping to get out of trouble by sharing information, Julius’ friend told police where a gun was located. Later, both Julius and his friend were charged for gun and drug possession. Examining the police report and legal documents,

Julius was astounded at the breadth of charges. “They just gave me a list of a *lot* of things.” Julius did not know that partly because of the

[tumescence of criminal codes](#), prosecutors [routinely pile on](#) numerous overlapping charges from a single incident in order to marshal their strategic power over defendants in the plea bargaining process.

As the raid was underway, and on the way to the police station, Julius shared his story and future

goals with the police officers. He remembers that the officers seemed impressed and supportive at first.

I’m talking to these officers and I’m thinking they will understand where I’m coming from. They like, “Oh, so we see you got a good head on your shoulders.” They asked me what I was in college for. I said I want to be a marine biologist, zoology. They gave me all this bull crap. “Yeah, oh that’s good, yeah.”

Julius didn’t know then that this polite, almost-caring style of communication is [usually just a tactic](#): Even as police officers bust doors, flip drawers, rip pillows, and make arrests, they might idly, pleasantly chitchat to increase suspects’ confusion and cooperation. (This is just one example of the [discursive ele-](#)

[ments](#) of legal estrangement through policing.) The officers still took Julius to jail. Once in, he did not think anyone, including his lawyer, was concerned

about getting him out.

After 21 days of detainment, court records show that Julius finally had an additional hearing. The prosecutor dropped the charges, and Julius was able to go home. But after three weeks away from home, school, and the bookstore where he studied, Julius felt too far behind in his schoolwork to catch up.

I felt like they deprived me of my education. Because of those almost three weeks that I was there, my grades started dropping. You can’t miss. You can’t miss one class—you go back into school, you completely lost.

So, like, I already was struggling with my finances. I already couldn’t pay for books. I would have to sit in the bookstore to be able to do my homework. By me being arrested, my grade point average dropped immediately, and I feel like that—it’s a part of the main reason why I’m not in school now. Because I feel like, if that didn’t happen, maybe I still would be struggling to do school, but because of those weeks that I missed, that killed my GPA.

“That kind of messed up my experience with college,” he mused. “Like, I didn’t even want to go back, because I felt like, any day now, I can be arrested again for who knows what? Just for being at the wrong place at the wrong time. That’s something I can’t even control.”

“The stuff the officers were saying to me, it just — I don’t know, it was just false hope.”

While Julius has faced many other challenges, this encounter with the legal system made him especially forlorn. Even when officers seemed to respect his lifestyle and his ambitions, he felt that the legal system erected barriers anyway. “That’s why I just — I have a very negative — uh — feeling about the government, and police, and things of that nature,” he said.

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“Julius’ experience with the criminal justice system did more than make him feel watched, controlled, and disrespected. It eroded his hope. It made him believe there is no place in America for him.”

Police, Culture & Inequality

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to policing, advocates for defunding the police argue, should be dedicated to communities and community-based organizations that [research](#) shows can reduce violence long assumed to be the sole responsibility of police.

Of course, this massive resource

shift will not occur overnight. And [caution is warranted](#) lest we defund police without effectively bolstering the community infrastructure necessary to meet the needs of our most vulnerable. There are also clear [short- and medium-term changes, such as](#) repealing qualified immunity and bolstering agency-level accountability infrastructure, that should be

implemented to more immediately mitigate the harm of the current policing system.

Reimagining public safety will take courage, from politicians and police chiefs as much as street-level workers and social scientists. Sociologists and others must use their skills to be part of the design, implementation, and measurement of what is hoped will be a new and

more equitable system of policing. As the COVID-19 epidemic continues to rage and [murder spikes](#) in cities across the U.S., we must stand ready to provide the insights necessary to guide policy decisions that, for far too many, are a matter of life and death.

Note: Officer and city names are pseudonyms to prevent identification of individuals and field sites.

Race, Police Violence, and Justice

Legal Estrangement

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Julius still clings to his goal of working with animals, but to get there he thinks he needs to find another country to call home, one where his efforts might be less vulnerable to arbitrary legal action. “At first, my goal was to just get out of Baltimore,” he said. “I want to do more than that. I want to get out of United States, period. I want nothing to do with it.” Julius’ experience with the criminal justice system did more than make him feel watched, controlled, and disrespected. It eroded his hope. It made him believe there is no place in America for him.

This is one example of legal estrangement.

Legal estrangement is a process by which the law and its enforcers signal to marginalized groups that they are not fully part of American society—that

they are not imbued with all the freedoms and entitlements that flow to other Americans, such as dignity, safety, dreams, health, and political voice, to name a few. Even though people who live in Black neighborhoods regularly call police for help, there is no firm sense of entitlement to state protection. Though some Black Americans resist legal expulsion and find hope in collective autonomy, many do not. For youth in particular, legal estrangement can profoundly limit their sense of future possibilities. The concept understands the crisis of division between legal authority, especially the police, and racially marginalized communities as indicative of a long and tortured process of legal exclusion and internal exile. Instead of whether law feels binding or efficacious, legal estrangement is concerned with whether law and legal authorities are solidarity-en-

hancing or solidarity-diminishing—that is, whether they tend to create an environment for group inclusion or group exclusion at social, political, and economic levels. Legal estrangement is thus especially attentive to perceived inequalities of inclusion, or what Michèle Lamont has called “recognition gaps.”

To some extent, legal estrangement recaptures and deepens the original denotation of legal cynicism as articulated by Robert J. Sampson and Dawn Jeglum Bartusch in their groundbreaking 1998 article, “Legal Cynicism and (Subcultural?) Tolerance of Deviance: The Neighborhood Context of Racial Differences.” There, Sampson and

Jeglum Bartusch define legal cynicism as “anomie about law” and legal authority. The definition of legal cynicism has evolved for Sampson in ensuing years; his magnum opus, Great American

City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect (2012), even reimagines the concept as “moral/legal cynicism.” Legal estrangement, by contrast, does not rest on the belief that there is a tight link between legal and moral rules: Law is more defensibly a set of codes that emerge from and enshrine domination, not collective moral agreement. Law is a dynamic force with which people and communities engage; that engagement can reinforce social solidarity or further “estrangle” marginalized groups. The notion of “anomie about law” can bring us not just to the work of Durkheim, but also of Robert Merton, who repurposed anomie into a key aspect of strain theory: Anomie emerges from the increasing ambitiousness of shared goals throughout society, coupled with society’s failure to make the means to achieve those goals widely available. This is one piece

of legal estrangement’s theoretical scaffolding.

Another piece of legal estrangement’s theoretical scaffolding can be found in the work of W.E.B. Du Bois. In a series of studies of Black American life—most centrally the 1904 report, “Some Notes on Negro Crime, Particularly in Georgia,” Du Bois and his Atlanta School collaborators collected survey, interview, and administrative data on crime, arrest, and incarceration. They found, among other things, that white officials and Black men had greatly divergent perspectives on the possibilities of justice in Georgia courts. They reasoned that prevalent punishment practice at the time, such as lynching, “spreads among black folk the firmly fixed idea that few accused Negroes are really guilty.” That report also condemns the relative lack of legal protection for Black people, as well as practices such as convict leasing, that sent a message to Black Americans that the purpose of the system was to make money for the state, not to rehabilitate supposed lawbreakers. Newer research has examined the persistence of these processes of legal exclusion, noting that they are part of broader, intersectional patterns of American racial exclusion.

Legal estrangement examines procedural, direct injustice on the level of individual interaction with legal authorities, vicarious marginalization at the social network level, and structural exclusion at the legal and historical level. All three levels of these processes contribute to group-based social exclusion through law, and sociologists should study them in relation to each other. Too many studies focus on only one of these levels of analysis, often with emphasis on individuals’ direct interactions with legal authorities. Legal estrangement demands attention to structural conditions that produce legal exclusion, such as segregation, racial marginalization, and dispossession. It also demands attention to deeper cultural components, especially collective memories of state violence and social exclusion. Policing is only one part of those dynamics

—but a hyper-salient one given its role as the face of the state, especially in race-class marginalized communities.

The concept of legal estrangement has been useful for studying the possibilities and limits of police reform. For example, Michelle Phelps, Amber Joy Powell, and Christopher Robertson recently found that even if people in marginalized, heavily policed communities have both positive and negative experiences with the police, positive experiences are less salient than negative ones. For this reason, they conclude that “improving community trust through outreach and positive community interactions alone is really difficult.” Yet, legal estrangement is not just a consequence of policing. The concept is portable to other contexts. Asad L. Asad, for example, recently described system embeddedness — “individuals’ perceived legitimacy to institutions that maintain formal records” — as a force that may contribute to legal estrangement among Latinx immigrants to the United States. More work needs to refine and measure the concept, to clarify its relationship to related concepts, to ground it more richly in the literature on collective memory and cultural trauma, and to explore its specific effects.

Yet, it is clear that legal estrangement may be helpful for understanding our current moment. It helps us see why movements would call to defund, dismantle, or abolish police instead of merely reforming them. The multivalent, longstanding, and historically rooted violence against marginalized communities, especially Black communities, has deeper roots than research on police distrust or illegitimacy usually captures or theorizes.

As we know, sociology has at times played a troubling role in the reproduction of racial injustice. Yet, sociology can—when used responsibly—be a source of knowledge that communities, lawmakers, and social movements can draw upon to better understand the content of their grievances and the possible outcomes of their proposals. Our discipline might be ready to step back into the light.

Race, Violence, Justice, and Campus Police

John J. Sloan III, Professor Emeritus of Criminal Justice, University of Alabama-Birmingham

Extensive media coverage has occurred of ongoing nationwide protests over issues like racial profiling and violence perpetrated by municipal police officers against people of color. Less well covered have been protests at Yale, the University of Chicago, Johns Hopkins University, and the University of Minnesota (among others) over *campus* police officers allegedly engaging in the same kind of behavior toward people of color as their municipal counterparts. As punishment, protestors have called for defunding, disarming, or abolishing campus police departments that are found at over 60 percent of all four-year postsecondary institutions in this country enrolling 2,500 or more students (see Table 1).



John J. Sloan III

Having studied, written about, and worked with campus police

agencies for nearly 25 years, improper behavior by “campus cops” is not surprising to me because both campus and municipal police agencies:

- are relatively complex bureaucracies with high levels of specialization;
- are paramilitary organizations relying on a system of ranks and chain of command;
- serve similar functions; and
- have officers who are part of an occupational culture that values the “blue wall of silence” which proscribes them from “turning on their own.”

Why wouldn't agencies adopting the *same* organizational model, processes, and procedures, and whose members possess the *same* occupational culture experience the *same problems*?

To understand why this moment in campus policing arrived, one must first understand the history, structure, and function of these departments. One needs to also understand both the context and complexity of campus policing. Finally, one must understand how



these factors combine to create problems that campus law enforcement agencies need to address.

The Evolution of Campus Police in America

The first recorded instance of police officers patrolling a college campus occurred in 1898 when Yale University hired two off-duty City of New Haven police officers to walk around campus and check for open doors, signs of forced entry or vandalism, and identify spots where fires could develop. Enough schools copied Yale that over the next 50

years, watchmen became a feature of many college and university campuses. These individuals, acting primarily in a custodial capacity, were tasked with protecting university property. During the 1950s, their duties expanded to include more quasi security guard-related endeavors that included enforcing campus rules, reporting crime incidents to local police, and detaining suspects.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the first campus police departments

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Table 1. Campus Law Enforcement Agencies at Four-Year Postsecondary Institutions (2011-2012)*

Locus of Institutional Control and Enrollment	Total Campuses	Schools Operating a Campus Law Enforcement Agency		Officers			Armed Officers Authorized to Use			
				Sworn	Armed	Sworn Officers Per 1,000 Students	Sidearms	Batons	Chemical/Pepper Spray	Conducted Energy Device (e.g., TASER)
				Number	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All Campuses	905	861	95	68	63	2.4	94	93	94	40
Public	501	493	98	92	91	2.2	98	95	95	45
15,000 or more	173	172	99	96	94	1.4	98	97	98	54
10,000-14,999	83	82	99	96	95	1.6	100	94	96	43
5,000-9,999	146	144	99	92	90	2.3	98	93	92	38
2,500-4,999	95	95	96	84	83	4.2	99	93	93	39
Private (Non-Profit)	404	368	91	38	30	2.9	82	86	89	23
15,000 or more	31	31	100	61	55	2.3	94	93	93	13
10,000-14,999	37	32	86	49	43	3.7	89	93	100	27
5,000-9,999	96	89	93	46	35	2.8	81	86	89	23
2,500-4,999	240	216	90	30	22	2.9	77	83	85	25

Source: Reaves, B. A. (2015). *Campus law enforcement 2011-2012*. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics

* Most recent years for which data are available. The data are part of the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) ongoing Survey of Campus Law Enforcement Agencies (SCLEA) which to date has collected three waves of data from 1994-1995, 2004-2005, and 2011-2012. Collection of a fourth wave of data to cover 2019-2020 is scheduled for later this year.

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Campus Police

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appeared, largely in response to growing levels of campus unrest. As protests became more national in scope, so did the specter of local police (and even National Guard troops) in full riot gear coming on campus to quell them. The presence of state or local police on campus was untenable for many faculty members and most students. Postsecondary administrators realized, however, they had to take appropriate measures to keep order on campus — otherwise outsiders would do it for them. The solution was for colleges and universities to create their own police departments that would keep order but also be part of the larger campus community. With the help of legislators, school administrators were successful in getting enabling legislation passed in multiple states. Thus were born campus police agencies that organizationally resembled municipal police agencies, replete with ranks, written policies and procedures, and operating budgets, whose officers would be uniformed, sworn law enforcement officials, possessing full arrest powers, who would patrol campus, deter crime, respond to calls for assistance, and maintain order.

Beginning in the 1980s and extending into the 1990s professionalization of campus policing took center stage and focused on making campus officers even more like their municipal counterparts, partly in an effort to bring campus officers needed legitimacy. This professionalization began with officers wearing a military-style uniform (complete with badge, name tag, and markings indicating rank and years-in-service) and utility belt which stores the equipment of law enforcers. Campus officers eventually began wearing bullet-proof vests as well.

Professionalizing campus police also focused on enhanced recruitment of, and training for, campus officers. During their infancy, campus police departments typically “fished” officers, especially at command levels, from local police and county sheriff’s departments and/or

hired officers who had retired from other agencies. As departments grew and matured, they not only continued to lure officers from other agencies but they also began to seriously recruit into their ranks current and recently graduated secondary and postsecondary students interested in law enforcement careers. Further, applicants for sworn officer positions would now undergo screening similar to that experienced by applicants for municipal police positions. New hires would also be required to complete the same police academy basic training program required of new hires in other agencies. The end result was not only that campus officers would look like “real” police, they would undergo the same screening and training to prepare them for their work. But what exactly is the work of the campus police?

The Complexity of Campus Policing

Scholars generally agree that the police serve three primary functions in society: crime control, order maintenance, and service. These functions are reflected in an officer’s “scope of duties.” Focusing on the scope of duties of campus police, surveys of campus law enforcement agencies find officers most often engage in the standard model of policing that relies on preventive patrol of campus and rapid response to on-campus calls-for-service. Additionally, officers provide security for events, facilities, and people; are involved with vehicular enforcement; perform public safety functions; and engage in specialized functions including representation on multi-agency task forces, participation in search/rescue actions, or staffing special weapons and tactics (SWAT) teams. Importantly, these duties are often performed in incredibly varied contexts.

The Context of Campus Policing

According to the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, postsecondary institutions in this country can be classified along more than 90 different dimensions. Campus police departments are thus found at large, world-class, research-inten-

sive, publicly controlled, doctoral granting institutions and small, private, special focus colleges. Agencies are found at schools in the heart of large cities and schools in very rural areas. Campus police are used at largely commuter schools and those where most students live on campus. Agencies also police campuses that feature large-scale medical centers drawing people to them from all over the world. Institutional diversity thus creates the context of campus policing. One could thus reasonably expect different “models” of campus policing for these varied contexts. The problem is that very often campus agencies over-rely on the standard model of policing, “tried and true” methods of recruitment, and police academy-based training for new hires. It is from these features of campus law enforcement that problems can arise.

Issues Confronting Campus Police

Organizational theory can explain not only why campus police agencies were created, that mimetic isomorphism — the tendency of organizations to imitate another’s structure because the structure is believed beneficial to achieving organizational goals — was the mechanism used, and municipal police agencies were the model being emulated. Further, as campus agencies became common, pressure developed to professionalize them, a movement that was also occurring in policing more broadly. Campus executives and their law enforcement experts again looked to municipal police for guidance in how to respond.

Because campus agencies have mimicked their municipal counterparts, claims of serious improprieties being perpetrated by campus officers are hardly surprising. But note that I strongly reject the argument that miscreant officers are “bad apples” spoiling the barrel, and that the best solution is to fire and/or prosecute them. Although employment and legal action should be taken when warranted, this will not solve the problem of police mistreating people of color. Rather, blame should be squarely placed on the mimetic isomorphism that continues to push campus police to become ever

more like their municipal police counterparts, despite mounting evidence that many problems confronting these agencies are systemic. Although bad apples certainly exist, the real problem is the barrel and the fact is both municipal and campus police agencies are effectively using the same one.

The first problem with the barrel is that it is selective but not necessarily in good ways. While gains are clearly being made, compared to their share of the population, white males are disproportionately found among the ranks of municipal and campus police officers. In some instances, the lack of diversity among campus police officers is stunning. For example, during 2011-2012 — the most recent years for which agency data are available — among campus agencies with sworn officers, 33 percent of them had no sworn officers of color. About one-half of agencies (48 percent) had between zero and two female sworn officers. While these data are out-of-date, I’m fairly certain there has not been a radical change in the (lack of) diversity of campus police officers the past decade.

The lack of diversity in campus policing is strongly tied to recruiting to the status quo. For over 50 years, the recruitment of people into and screening processes for sworn officer positions have revolved around four areas: physical agility, psychological fitness, medical fitness, and possessing the proper values. While significant advances have occurred in testing and screening procedures in the first three areas, little has changed regarding screening prospects for possessing “proper values” that can then be fine-tuned via police academy, field, and in-service training. The problem is that the skill-sets and values deemed “proper” too strongly relate to the “noble cause” of policing which is to “get the bad guys off the street.” Until recruiting and testing focuses less on “the noble cause” and more on the importance of possessing values and skill-sets relating to cultural diversity, mediation, and conflict management, real change is unlikely. Yet fewer than 40 percent of campus agencies report that they use screening procedures that include testing

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Who's Looting Whom? Criminal Justice as Revenue Racket

Joshua Page, Associate Professor of Sociology and Law, University of Minnesota; and Joe Soss, Cowles Professor for the Study of Public Service, Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota

Right on cue. As protests over the police killing of George Floyd spread from Minneapolis across the world, the scolds arrived with their usual fixation on looting—using it as evidence of the need for repression rather than a symptom of it.



Joshua Page



Joe Soss

Late in the evening of May 28, 2020, President Trump fired off his now infamous tweet announcing “when the looting starts, the shooting starts.” Criminologist Barry Latzer later insisted in *The Wall Street Journal* that looters aren't protesters with legitimate grievances—they're criminals who, in the words of political scientist

Edward Banfield, an intellectual bearer of broken windows policing, are “in it for fun and profit.” That same day, *The Wall Street Journal's* editorial board tut-tutted about poor people destroying their own communities and mocked “intellectuals” who, like Martin Luther King Jr., view rioting and looting as “merely the persuasive language of the unheard.”

We heard similar condemnations in 2014 when, after a grand jury failed to indict officer Darren Wilson for killing Michael Brown, angry protests in Ferguson, MO, spilled into looting incidents. The bitter irony of this public scolding was soon revealed by a U.S. Department of Justice report that showed in fine-grained detail how the city of Ferguson had been operating a predatory system of government. Police there were street-level enforcers for a program that used fines and fees to, in a word, *loot* resources from poor communities of color and deliver them to municipal coffers.

Ferguson's regime of plunder was no anomaly. In our book-in-progress, *Preying on the Poor: Criminal Justice as Revenue Racket*, we show how its operations fit into a broad system of predatory criminal-legal practices that extracts billions of

dollars from race-class subjugated (RCS) communities throughout the United States. We classify such practices—e.g., fines, fees, forfeitures, commercial bail, jail and prison profiteering—as *predatory* because they leverage state authority and social exclusion to strip resources from targeted communities and turn them into corporate and government revenue streams. In doing so, they subsidize the lives of more advantaged Americans as taxpayers, investors, and wage-earners.

The concept of predation helps us understand U.S. extractive criminal-legal operations in relation to the long history of expropriation and dispossession that includes, for example, chattel slavery, the taking of Native lands, and various forms of colonialism. It also helps us locate these practices within a broader complex of predatory operations; payday lenders, subprime mortgage and auto loans, high-interest credit card scams, and other enterprises similarly target RCS communities with business models designed to produce debt and trap people in ceaseless payments.

Criminal-legal predation isn't new. Laws, courts, police, and penal institutions have facilitated projects of

dispossession for centuries. Through most of this history, however, criminal codes and law enforcement have mainly supported *labor* extraction, as in the cases of slave patrols, convict leasing, and prison industries. Although labor predation continues, the scope and character of criminal justice predation has changed such that *financial* extraction has become far more common and lucrative. Especially since the late 1980s, financial takings have become a prominent feature of the criminal-legal field, siphoning billions of dollars from millions of legally entangled persons and their families.

Police stand at the frontlines of this massive operation. In RCS communities across the country, as in Ferguson, the police stop and fine people as they drive, bike, walk, or otherwise go about their normal business. Using asset forfeiture laws, they dispossess people of money and goods based on nothing more than an allegation that something they own has illicit origins. Asset forfeiture, justified as a necessary weapon in the “wars” on drugs and terror, has soared, often funding government agencies' continued predation,

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on cultural diversity or assessing the mediation/conflict management skills of applicants.

Further, while police academy training for new campus officers may be “good for professionalizing campus policing,” I question the usefulness of academy training:

- that can occur at *any one* of nearly 600 different academies run by state police, county police or sheriff's departments, municipal police, and colleges and universities, among others;
- whose scope and cumulative requirements widely vary;
- whose atmosphere may intentionally mimic a military style “boot camp”;
- whose curricula cumulatively

devote less than *five percent* of total contact hours to topics like conflict de-escalation, use of excessive force, community building, problem solving, ethics, and cultural diversity and 44 percent of total contact hours to operations and weapons training; and

- whose completion rates evidence significant differences by trainee race and gender.

Finally, I would be remiss if I failed to mention how the history, recruitment, and training of campus police along with the professionalization movement risks militarization. In 2011-2012, 27 percent of campus police agencies surveyed had officers assigned to a tactical operations (SWAT) team. This means that of the approximately 900 campus police departments operating at that time, about 250 of them

had a unit using specialized military tactics and equipment to address “high-risk” situations — threats of terrorism, crowd control, and hostage taking — that are beyond the capabilities of “ordinary law enforcement.” Radley Balko has been among the most vocal critics of a growing tendency by many different types of police agencies to overutilize SWAT teams to perform routine tasks (e.g., serving search warrants) that ultimately result in unnecessary casualties among citizens and damage to property.

Conclusion

Over the past 50 years, uniformed, armed, sworn police officers with full arrest powers have become part of the fabric of life at many postsecondary institutions. Increasingly, campus police officers and the agencies employing them

reflect their municipal counterparts not only organizationally, but in recruitment practices, training required, and tactics used — including those associated with the military. They also increasingly face criticism similar to that levied against municipal police over excessive force used during arrests, overly aggressive patrol tactics, racial profiling, and militarization. Explanations that “bad apples” are to blame have limited utility. Instead, explanations that holistically consider the history, structure, function, and culture of campus policing offer better insight into problems that need addressing. In this watershed moment in American policing, as potentially radical change comes to policing more broadly, campus police agencies will once again undergo change.

Race, Police Violence, and Justice

Revenue Racket

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mostly through small takings from poor and working-class people.

When police make arrests, they usher people into other extractive institutions, beginning with the courts. As sociologist Alexes Harris shows in *A Pound of Flesh*, defendants are charged a host of fees for “using” court services. Approximately 43 states and the District of Columbia allow courts to charge indigent defendants for their own legal representation, many requiring application fees to access a public defender. Some states charge defendants extra fees to exercise their right to a jury trial. The courts tack on an array of “surcharges,” which typically have little or no direct connection to defendants’ alleged actions, to fund legal and non-legal government operations (e.g., education).

For many defendants, court involvement leads to costly entanglements with the commercial bail industry. In this system, defendants who can’t afford to pay their bail turn to businesses that charge non-refundable premiums (typically 10% of the bail) to get them out. Since the early 1990s, in conjunction with tough-on-crime politics, bail amounts have skyrocketed, pushing defendants’ dependency on bail bonds.

The amount of money that flows from RCS communities to bail companies (and the corporate sureties that underwrite their bonds) is unknown. Unlike government agencies, bail companies may keep their finances secret. A 2016 study by the Maryland Office of the Public Defender, however, suggests the amount is massive. The Office reported that bail companies “extract tens of millions of dollars from Maryland’s poorest zip codes, contributing to the perpetuation of poverty.... The money bail system has a disproportionate impact on racial minorities: over five years, black defendants were charged premiums of at least \$181 million, while defendants of all other races combined were charged \$75 million.”

Incarceration results in exposure to another wide array of revenue-generating schemes. Prison-management

contracts alone represent a \$5 billion industry, with additional revenues for detention in the areas of immigration and asylum seeking.

But it isn’t just private penal facilities that prey on the poor. Today, every state except Hawaii and the District of Columbia allows public prisons (and jails) to defray costs by charging prisoners pay-to-stay fees—room and board, for instance, as well as medical care, clothing, and basic needs such as menstrual pads.

Revenue-starved state authorities further commodify the human bodies they control in carceral facilities by selling extraction rights. Contracts for access allow firms to exploit prisoners, first, as underpaid labor and, second (and more deeply) as a captive market for overpriced goods. Consider prison phone calls. Capitalizing on prisoners’ efforts to maintain connections, the Telecoms earn roughly \$1.6 billion a year on per-minute prison phone calls, a portion of which they give to government partners; in 2013, they doled out about \$460 million in commissions.

Outside prisons, public officials retrofit community supervision as an extractive operation. From 1990 to 2014, for example, the number of states charging people for their own probation and parole supervision rose from 26 to 44. For-profit probation companies now operate in several states, while other businesses make money by furnishing governments with supervision technologies such as electronic monitoring bracelets. As Noah Zatz and colleagues show, some courts mandate community service for criminal-legal debtors, which “functions as a system of unregulated and coercive labor.”

Criminal-legal institutions also play an important role in extractive relations by coercing payments for debts that do not arise from matters of crime and punishment. Police and courts act as backstops and enforcers for debts owed to government (e.g., child support) and private companies—healthcare providers and landlords, along with more distinctly predatory payday lenders, credit card companies, and auto and home-mortgage lenders.

Criminal justice predation reinforces social inequalities as it gener-

ates public and private revenue. In an analysis of asset forfeiture, the Southern Poverty Law Center rightly concludes:

“there has been a massive transfer of wealth and assets from American citizens—and especially the most economically vulnerable—to police, who can largely use the funds however they see fit.” “The burden falls most heavily on communities of color and low-income communities,” the ACLU reports in a study of asset forfeiture in California, and the benefits flow upward in the social order. The same can be said of all the extractive practices that have spread across the criminal-legal field since the late 1980s.

For people of means, predatory practices may be frustrating and, in the extreme, put a crimp in their lifestyle. For people living paycheck-to-paycheck, these practices are not only more common, but more often sources of hardships and crises. Sociologists Katherine Beckett and Alexes Harris explain that even “small” payments of, for example, \$50 a month can consume a significant share of defendants’ monthly income.” A single asset forfeiture, the ACLU argues, can “strip people of money needed for rent, medicine, child care or other expenses, or cars required to get to school or work.”

Criminal-legal debt forces people into increasingly difficult choices, such as forgoing necessities like food, rent, and medical care. They do so because nonpayment has serious repercussions: courts, collections agencies, and bail bond companies tack on additional charges, pushing debtors deeper into the red. And, as the ACLU explains, nonpayment “can damage credit scores and directly compromise access to credit, rental housing, mortgages, automobiles, and employment. They can lead to civil judgments that result



in liens, wage garnishment, and tax rebate interception.” For those on probation and parole, failure to pay can result in losing public benefits. Delinquent debtors risk losing their driver’s license or getting locked up, either of which could result in loss of employment or wages. And in many states, people with outstanding legal debt cannot vote (in Florida, the fight over debt-based disenfranchisement has recently reignited).

The primary targets of criminal-legal predation are, in many respects, the families and friends of justice-involved individuals—particularly women. Mary Katzenstein and Maureen Waller argue that such practices operate as a form of “cash extraction that draws on ties of family dependency within the poorest stratum of American society.” In the cases of commercial bail and prison profiteering, for example, businesses directly target defendants’ and prisoners’ loved ones—most often mothers, grandmothers, and romantic partners—to maximize profits.

Criminal-legal predation is particularly harmful for low-income women of color, especially Black women, as a study by Alabama Applesseed underscores: “While other Alabamians are saving for retirement, paying off mortgages, and helping their children with payments for higher education and other expenses, African-American women with no criminal histories are paying other people’s court debt.”

Criminal-legal debtors frequently suffer psychological and emotional strain. In interviews, many express fatalism and fear, as if they’re haunted by a specter of future disaster. Debtors feel the full weight of the state, threatening to knock

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Eight Bullets, Eight Minutes – What Breonna Taylor and George Floyd Had in Common

Nikki Jones, Professor of African American Studies and faculty affiliate with the Center for the Study of Law and Society, University of California, Berkeley

George Floyd was killed by Minneapolis police on May 25, 2020. His body was buried in Houston, TX, in a plot next to his deceased



Nikki Jones

mother. Thousands of people attended the homegoing celebration that preceded his burial, including the families of Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown, victims of police violence whose names will be forever fixed to the rise of Black Lives Matter. The Black Lives Matter movement was ignited after the 2013 acquittal of George Zimmerman in the killing of Trayvon Martin in Florida, and exploded a year later after the police killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO.

Along the procession route for Floyd's funeral and outside the cemetery, activists chanted the phrase, "Say His Name." The chant and the #SayHisName hashtags that trended on social media following George Floyd's murder borrow from the rise of another contemporary movement against police violence: #SayHerName. Launched by Kimberlé Crenshaw and the African American Policy Forum in 2014, #SayHerName gained ground in the summer of 2015 after Sandra Bland was found dead in a Texas

jail. Bland was incarcerated in the jail after a police officer escalated an already suspect traffic stop by threatening to "light [Bland] up" with a taser and dragging her out of her car on the side of a Texas road.

The #SayHisName hashtag is intended to elevate and perhaps even sanctify the life and memory of George Floyd — calling on us to remember more of him than the last eight minutes of his life captured on video and digitally catapulted across the globe. Yet, as Black feminists have argued, the pronoun change also has the consequence, intended or otherwise, of subjugating and erasing the experiences of Black women with police violence.

The seemingly simple transmutation of the #SayHerName hashtag returns us once again to an unfinished Black feminist project, one that was articulated over 40 years ago in a statement from the Combahee River Collective and has animated my research on Black gender ideologies, policing, and violence: how do we talk about the experiences of Black women and Black men (cis, trans, and gender non-conforming) with police violence without privileging the suffering of Black men and silencing the voices of Black women?

One response to this decades-old question is to talk about these experiences *at the same time* — to make space in calls for justice for multiple, gender-inclusive stories, as #SayHerName encourages us to do. Some activists and protestors have done this, for example, by insisting that the life and death of Breonna

Taylor accompany current protests against police violence and structural racism. Saying the names of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd at the same time resists the tendency to subjugate the experiences of Black women, but, as I argue in my recent book, it is important to do more than say *her* name too. As I've discovered in my own work, which builds on the work of Patricia Hill Collins and other Black feminist scholars, we learn much more from speaking and thinking about these experiences as both distinctly gendered and structurally similar. Doing so allows for a more expansive understanding of the harms done by police violence and what it would mean to build a world that liberates all Black people from the persistent threat of state violence.

No Safe Space

Breonna Taylor's killing is a powerful illustration of Black women's lack of protection from police violence. Her case is also a powerful illustration of the substantial power that Supreme Court precedent provides to the police. Breonna Taylor, a 26-year-old emergency medical technician in Louisville, KY, was killed by police officers in her home. The officers who invaded her home had acquired a no-knock warrant. No-knock warrants allow officers to invade a residence unannounced, often using a battering ram to burst through a person's front door, as they did the night they killed Breonna Taylor. Taylor was shot at least eight times by police after they invaded her apartment.

As Breonna Taylor's boyfriend shared in the aftermath of Taylor's killing, such invasions are terrifying and disorienting. The "surprise attack" nature of the intrusions are intentional, meant to prevent a person from destroying evidence or from readying a retaliatory attack against police — neither of which were happening on the night officers killed Taylor. Taylor had no criminal record and no drugs were found in her home. The spontaneous eruption of force that accompanies no-knock warrants leaves little room for anything but coerced compliance and turns any move on the part of a civilian — a simple question or a startled reaction — into an act of resistance, which only invites more violence from officers.

In cases like the killing of Breonna Taylor, it is the officers, not civilians, who are protected by recent Supreme Court rulings on fourth amendment cases. Since Taylor's killing, it has been reported that the original no-knock contained factual mistakes. Yet, the law often protects officers who make "good faith" mistakes.

In a scathing dissent to a 2016 Supreme Court ruling in *Utah vs. Streiff*, justice Sonia Sotomayor warned of the threat posed to the American public by the court's persistent erosion of fourth amendment protections, especially in light of glaring racial disparities in all phases of the criminal justice system: "[This case] says that your body is subject to invasion while courts excuse the violation of your

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Revenue Racket

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at (or perhaps knock down) their doors, upend their lives, and take them away. The haunting is especially fraught for Black Americans, who have endured racialized state violence for centuries. They know, first-hand, how quickly interactions with the police can turn deadly.

As recent protests evidence, predatory criminal justice practices also

fuel anger at government, especially the police that govern RCS communities. Many Black, Indigenous, and people of color feel that the police view them not as equal citizens deserving of safety and justice, but as subjects to control and groups to strip-mine for dollars. We hear this sentiment from Valerie Castile, mother of Philando Castile, a young Black Minnesotan killed by police in 2016. In the 14 years before his death, the police had stopped Castile

at least 46 times, leaving him with thousands of dollars in fines and fees. Speaking at a recent remembrance, Ms. Castile said:

...And I told my son once before he had got murdered, "These people ain't even looking at you like a man, they looking at you as revenue... Because every time they stop you, they are going to give you a ticket, they are going to tow

your car, so that ain't nothing but money."

The anger Castile expresses is made all the worse when people who benefit from systematic, state-sanctioned plunder ignore or discount the harm it causes — and instead decry far smaller and more episodic forms of looting without bothering to ask why people in RCS communities are so enraged and desperate in the first place.

Eight Bullets

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rights. It implies that you are not a citizen of a democracy but the subject of a carceral state, just waiting to be cataloged.” That cataloging, as we’ve seen in Breonna Taylor’s case, can be performed by a judge issuing a warrant, an officer executing a warrant, or a coroner cataloging the lethal consequence of a warrant.

The killing of Breonna Taylor cautions against calls for police reform and instead directs our attention to what legal scholar Paul Butler has described as the “superpowers” the Supreme Court has granted to police officers: the powers to detain, arrest, incarcerate, and kill. These superpowers have been reinforced by the highest law in the land even as the devastating racial disparities of mass incarceration have been made *more* evident by activists, scholars, and policymakers, which leads Butler to conclude, as others have as well, that police reform will always ultimately fail because much of what the police do is constitutional. This does not mean that the Louisville city council vote to ban no-knock warrants is meaningless. There are approximately 20,000 no-knock warrants executed per year in the United States. These bans can potentially save some lives. Yet, Taylor’s killing reminds us that it is not one type of police action that is responsible for the threat to Black people’s lives — the threat is much more substantial and comprehensive than such one-off reforms suggest.

“Please don’t shoot me, Mr. Officer”

The killing of George Floyd also tells us something about unchecked police power and the limits of reform. As has been widely reported, prior to George Floyd’s killing, Minneapolis had been the site of intensive police reform efforts. Yet, these reforms were not enough to save George Floyd’s life. George Floyd’s murder, and the perceived failure of reforms, ignited protest against racism and police violence, yet the kindling had been assembled years prior to Floyd’s

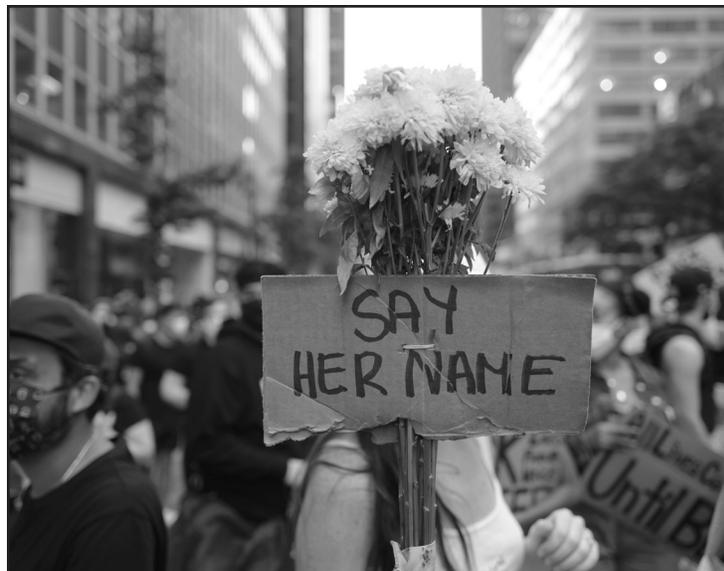
death.

Reporting in the wake of Floyd’s murder revealed that officers use force against Black residents in Minneapolis at 7 times the rate of white residents. Officers routinely rely on aggression, violence, and exploitation in their dealings with residents of the Third District, where George Floyd died with Derrick Chauvin’s knee on his neck. The *Minneapolis Star Tribune* documented multiple abuses from court records and police reports: “One officer kicked a handcuffed suspect in the face, leaving his jaw in pieces. Officers beat and pistol-whipped a suspect in a parking lot on suspicion of low-level drug charges. Others harassed residents of a south Minneapolis housing project as they headed to work and allowed prostitution suspects to touch their genitals for several minutes before arresting them in vice stings.”

A comment from Abigail Cerra, a commissioner for Minneapolis’ Police Conduct Oversight Commission and former public defender, reveals that the most extreme forms of bodily invasion that Sotomayor warned against in her dissent were routine in Minneapolis: “Clients were constantly getting anal searches. Not at the hospital. At the Third Precinct.” The commissioner’s disclosure, along with the circumstances of Breonna Taylor’s and George Floyd’s deaths, makes clear that the threat of bodily invasion is not restricted by binary gender categories. This *shared vulnerability* to bodily invasion turns Black people across the gender spectrum into criminally catalogued bodies that can be accessed, penetrated, and controlled at will and without recourse.

Body camera footage reveals that George Floyd could not escape this vulnerability, either. As was reported in the *New York Times*: “Throughout the video, [Floyd] never appeared to present a physical threat to the officers, and even after he was handcuffed and searched for weapons, the officers seemed to be more concerned with controlling his body than saving his life, the footage showed.”

A court-released transcript of



the fatal encounter also reveals the futility of Floyd’s efforts to save himself. Long before his appeal to his deceased mother for help, Floyd’s actions revealed a man who is familiar with the regular routine of policing, as well as haunted by previous encounters with police violence, both direct and vicarious.

Floyd’s first words to officers after they approach his car are deferential and apologetic: “Hey, man. I’m sorry.” He repeats his apology after being directed by the officer to remain in the car, “I’m sorry, I’m sorry!” And quickly tries to disabuse the officer of the presumption that he is a wrongdoer: “I didn’t do nothing.” These types of pleas, especially when uttered by Black men, often have the opposite reactions on officers. Just under two minutes into the encounter, Floyd tries to contextualize his actions for the officers. “I got shot,” he says, before apologizing once again. “Last time I got shot, it was the same thing,” he explains, after the officer has directed him to put his hands on the top of his head. Floyd would go on to ask the officer to “please don’t shoot me” five times over the next minute-and-a-half (according to the time stamps on the transcript). In the end, Floyd was not able to escape the tragic fate that he saw clearly during the earliest moments of his encounter with Minneapolis police.

A Shared Struggle

We should honor those who have been killed by the police by

saying their names. We should also honor their lives by allowing each killing to teach us something more about the depth of the problem at hand and the world that needs to be built.

Asleep in her bedroom at night, Breonna Taylor had no time to plead with officers for her life. On a Minneapolis street in the daylight hours, George Floyd pled for his life until his final breath. As Black feminist scholars and Black, queer women leading protests against police violence remind us, Breonna Taylor’s story matters as much as George Floyd’s. We should #SayHerName. It is important to highlight what is distinctly gendered about police violence, as well as those experiences that are shared. Talking and thinking about the police killings of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd at the same time reveals how *expansive* the power of policing is and what little protection from police violence exists for Black people.

Breonna Taylor and George Floyd shared a vulnerability to bodily invasion at the hands—and knee—of the police. Breonna Taylor was killed by eight bullets. George Floyd had the breath choked out of him over eight minutes. Acknowledging their shared vulnerability to state violence allows Black people across the gender spectrum to organize as allies, not subordinates, and to build up a world that is truly liberating for us all.

The Love Note That Launched a Movement

Carly Jennings, Doctoral Student and Research Assistant, Texas A&M University

We don't deserve to be killed with impunity. We need to love ourselves and fight for a world where Black lives matter. Black people, I love you. I love us. We matter. Our lives matter. — Alicia Garza, in her "Love Letter to Black Folks" (2013)

How can there be a counter-frame to a prima facie observation that Black lives matter? Why do people read "Black lives matter" as



Carly Jennings

"Black deaths matter"? This article focuses on data-dense Twitter discourse for analyzing this particular conversation about Black lives' merit in America.

She Said What She Said

Garza's love letter to Black people flowed from her aching response to the verdict in a criminal case. A Florida jury had decided not to hold George Zimmerman responsible for his shooting and killing of 17-year old Trayvon Martin who was only armed with iced tea, candy, and a little swagger. Perhaps as alarming as the verdict was the nihilism Garza heard in response. Many of her peers had predicted such a response to this perversion of life's natural course for the Black teenager. Alicia Garza's friend, Patrisse Cullors, immediately "co-signed" the love letter's simple thesis by tagging her posts on Twitter with #BlackLivesMatter (#BLM). Black Twitter, a densely populated culture-based network within Twitter, quickly embraced Alicia's reminder: "we deserve to live."

Connections between collective grief and #BLM's messages of consolation are clear. In addition to adopting #BLM as a hashtag, online supporters amplified the message by disclosing their personal experiences surviving violent policing. According to [Pew Research Center](#), from the day of the Zimmerman

verdict in July 2013 until the end of that year, about 30 reminders per day that Black people's lives matter were posted – 5,106 times in total. The following summer, consolation was again needed. On August 9, 2014, Ferguson, MO police officer Darren Wilson ended Michael Brown's life. Pew Research reports that in the sudden aftermath, 58,747 #BLM tweets *per day* were posted. Between 2013 and 2016, Black Twitter and allies found it necessary to tweet their mantra 11.8 million times, repeating Garza's thesis: Black people deserve to live, #BLM.

Black Lives Literally Matter

This year, on June 25, Black Twitter commemorated Tamir Rice's birthday. He should have become an 18-year old instead of forever being a child who was executed at the playground by an unfit police officer. Space-camp kid Trayvon Martin — his life mattered. He did not deserve to be stalked and killed by a self-deputized gun owner. Recently elected Congresswoman Lucy McBath's life matters, and so did the life of her son Jordan. Jordan's life ended while he was still a teen. Some adult shot him at a convenience store because the guy thought Jordan's friend's music was too loud. Jordan's musical taste did matter, though. The guy who shot him hates rap music. Twenty-six-year-old Breonna Taylor's life mattered — the part she lived and the future life she deserved to have. One night after Breonna and her partner Kenneth had fallen asleep, police with a "no-knock" warrant knocked down the door with a battering ram. Kenneth grabbed his weapon — his 2nd amendment right — but was assailed by a barrage of police bullets, eight of which tore into Breonna's body. For the last five minutes of her life, Breonna gasped and bled before succumbing to those injuries. People who say "Black lives matter" should be taken literally and seriously. It is unkind to discomfort people in mourning.

The notion that Black people deserve to live did not suddenly occur to Alicia Garza one night in 2013. That simple tenet has needed

repeating for hundreds of American years. Harriet Tubman's serial fugitivity lived by that uncomplicated tenet. Ida B. Wells, the 19th century Black investigative reporter who exposed social intricacies of vigilantism and lynching, said so in her exhaustive survey of extra-judicial killings, many planned with cooperation from off-duty police officials. In current-day Chicago, Nicole Van Cleve has exposed the brutal "quality" of life meted out by Cook County's judicial system. Black parents racially socialize their children on how to stay alive during police encounters, instead of enjoying the privilege of expecting police officers

to protect their Black lives.

Say What?

Tangentially, and in retort to #BLM's organic and robust online presence, a subgroup of general Twitter users began tweeting "#AllLivesMatter (#ALM)." More than 1.5 million times between 2013 and 2016, some people actually contested, in writing, in public, the notion that "Black lives matter." #ALM posters evinced clear patterns: the number of #ALM posts rose and fell in concert with, as counter to, #BLM declarations, which themselves were countering

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Love Note

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illegitimate police usage of violence. The #ALM proclaimers do not engage in significant or sustained self-determined collective action — they are content with interrupting potentially lifesaving calls and responses. The timing of #ALM’s deployment suggests it is more than flippant correction of a slogan they dislike. When used, #ALM amounts to an attempted undoing of something many people are not comfortable seeing: Black folk engaged in a conversation FUBU (for us by us).

In the harrowing context of extrajudicial killings of Black people, #BLM became a public soothing, a life-affirming counter-frame to premature death, as well as a memorialization of lives lost. But the word “life” in the middle of this slogan is often misread by #BLM rebutters as “death.” Why? I suggest this begins with mental and racial frames white people connect to Black people. More often than not, those frames are incomplete. For example, in the mid-20th century, Emmitt Till was one of a few African Americans whose name was recognized by millions of white people. But most white folk did not actually see Emmitt’s face in life; they met only his corpse on September 6, 1955, after a gang of adult men kidnapped, lynched, and disfigured him. Emmitt’s courageous mother, Mamie, aware of intense media attention surrounding her son’s murder, opted for an open-casket funeral, thereby displaying the teratology of white American racism. Therefore, when Emmitt was referenced in the ensuing decades of racial reckoning, the white American imaginary could not compose a living Emmitt. A

living Emmitt was available only to those who knew him while he had life — Black people, for the most part. For others, he was and remains framed as death.

How does one come to counter-frame a counter-frame of death? By operating from several mistaken presumptions. One such presumption is that the #BLM slogan needed

correction — that “All Lives Matter” is a better watchword than “Black Lives Matter.” By presuming an emphasis on “Black” was a deficit, rather than an intentional call. Black is considered beautiful by many, not something to

be avoided. #ALM advocates are again mistaken when they presume there is a place for them in a movement of which they are explicitly not a part. Especially if they cannot even bring themselves to say “Black.” Another #ALM error stems from mistaking a self-reflexive, prognostic and solution-oriented framing by Black activists for a diagnostic frame that would attribute blame to white people, and thereby center white people. The words “Black Lives Matter” contain motivational resources, Afro-centered epistemology, and a prophetic tone so familiar to those who speak “Black.” The phrase does not contain the stuff of which diagnostic frames are composed: deficit, blame, deceit, injury, and complaints thereof. Although the #BLM movement has evolved to interrogate systemic racism, their foundational words do not assign blame. Yet, since the hashtag’s inception and amplification, there has been pushback working to diffuse the slogan’s impact and subsequent blame. This matter of life and death misread should not be mistaken for what sociologists call a “framing contest.” Falsely equating one “side” with the other erroneously suggests parity between two sides. There are not bona

fide movement activists on “both sides.” The #ALM proclaimers do not engage in organized, collective praxis or organized mobilization; they just heckle.

Why is that short slogan about Black lives so troubling to naysayers? Is it because something is elevated to importance? I don’t think so — America’s merit trope is beloved. Is the word “lives” the problem? Certainly not. That would mean naysayers “don’t care if someone dies,” — an apt definition of hatred I learned from a young child. “Black.” Could that be what triggers attempts to de-center Blackness in this outcry over systemic existential threats? Say it ain’t so. Surely serious people would not think it necessary to correct Black people who are talking to other Black people about Black people. That would be akin to one’s neighbor stopping by to announce they dislike your book club’s choice of literature. Your neighbor doesn’t know Spanish, so “shouldn’t the book choices be something all people would like?” The perplexing part: your neighbor is not a member of the book club. So, what fuels their presumption of authority? With saintly courtesy, some members of the book club might respond, “¿De que habla? Nos encanta la poesía de Excilia Saldana,” though others might just close the door, leaving the interloper outside. Similarly, the Black Lives Matter movement does not need to change its words — because only *those* words can make the salient point the movement exists to make.

This is a “A” and “B” Conversation, So “C” Your Way Out

What undergirds the disempowering boundary breaches the #BLM movement experiences? Whereas I have sometimes named hubris as the primary spiritual malady causing people to overstep racial discursive bounds, sociologist Glenn Bracey might suggest more dynamic root causes such as presuming Black people are desirous of becoming more recognizable by others (i.e., assimilation) and further, that Black people’s success is facilitated by being recognizable to others. Whatever the depth of analysis, many analytical paths taken by

African American theorizers lead to confrontation with dominant white framing. I see the audacity of trying to rename a movement as another way of presuming there is consensus on the desirability of Black assimilation to white norms.

Typically, a call-and-response ritual is a unifying, or at least socially regulating, mechanism. It is not unusual for Black people to encourage each other’s words with yet more words. When a sermon (a call) sets out upon a crescendo, listeners respond, “Preach!” If I register a valid complaint to a sympathetic ear, in return I will hear, “I know THAT’s right!” But if I re-hash an oft-repeated complaint I might get a lukewarm “I *heard* that...” Adhesive-strength unanimity might inspire a response difficult for non-Black people to decipher: “Who YOU telling?” Someone being unreasonable or shocking is likely to hear “Oh no you didn’t” — even though they clearly just did. A child’s misbehavior can be reined in by a vague, yet prophetic, “mHm. Keep on!” Someone untrustworthy “ain’t shit,” which sounds like a good thing to accuse someone of not being — but trust me, it isn’t.

Similarly, as a large, dynamic, conversational community, Black Twitter is a pitch-perfect venue for Black messaging and issues framing. Its denizens provide calls, responses, and reality checks on matters “for us, by us.” It is therefore unsurprising that Black Twitter has become an online space where coded conversations flow freely. With home culture frames as points of reference, Black folk on Twitter join together to laugh, celebrate, grieve, wickedly understate, gleefully overstate, jab, signify, watch the BET awards, and applaud each other. More than other factors I have considered while theorizing the bifurcated response to those three plain words, “Black Lives Matter,” it is Twitter’s demonstrated capacity to sustain and encourage Black people’s rhetorical cultures that indicates how insular the #BLM hashtag was, and was intended to be, at its inception. Alicia Garza said as much: She wrote a love letter to Black folk, not a hypothesis to be subjected to “peer” review.

The Demography of Police-Involved Homicides

Michael Esposito, Postdoctoral Fellow, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan; Frank Edwards, Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice, Rutgers University; and Hedwig Lee, Professor of Sociology, Washington University in St. Louis

The recent murders of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd by law enforcement have ignited one of the largest social movements in U.S. history. Citizens across the country have taken to the streets to demonstrate against excessive, yet seemingly routine, police use of force — and, more broadly, against racism that is deeply embedded in our social, economic, and cultural systems.

With widespread demonstrations introducing the notion of racial injustice in policing to new audiences, it is perhaps worthwhile to recapitulate the demographics of all too common fatal police-civilian interactions. As W.E.B. Du Bois — the founding father of social demography — demonstrated through his seminal research, simply describing inequalities via careful demographic methods can be a powerful tool for informing effective social change. In this spirit, we thought that it might be helpful, for the current moment, to share demographic estimates from our work that outline the scope of fatal police-violence in the United States.

Risk of Being Killed by Law Enforcement by Gender, Race, and Age

In a study published late last year, we used data provided by Fatal Encounters to estimate how one's risk of being killed by U.S. law enforcement varies by age, gender,

and race/ethnicity. Our analysis finds that about 52 per 100,000 males and 3 of every 100,000 females will be killed by police. For comparison, the lifetime risk of an individual — male or female — being killed in a firearm-related homicide is about 350 per 100,000 population (which includes police-involved shootings). We find that police are responsible for approximately 8 percent of all homicides with adult male victims every year.

Our analysis also demonstrates sizable racial disparities in the risk of being killed by police. According to our estimates, approximately 1 of every 1,000 Black men/boys can be expected to be killed by law enforcement. (Note that 1 in 1,000 is also the mortality rate of measles which, according to Rhea Boyd, pediatrician and Director of Equity and Justice for The California Children's Trust, is "... a risk deemed so deadly, it has near constant public health surveillance and prevention.") For American Indian and Alaska Native men/boys, lifetime risk of being killed by police is about 1 in 2,000 and for White men and boys, this risk is approximately 1 in 2,500. Despite rates among women being nearly 20 times lower than rates among men, racial disparities in chances of being killed by police are still quite pronounced among females: we estimate that Black and American Indian/Alaskan Native women and girls are about 1.5 times more likely to be killed by law enforcement than their White female counterparts.

We also find that risk of being killed by law enforcement fluctuates across the life course. Young men and women, particularly between the ages of 20 and 29, have the highest rates of police-involved killings among all age groups. For young men, police violence ranks as the sixth leading cause of death, after accidents, suicides, other homicides, heart disease, and cancer. Risk of being killed by law enforcement is particularly pronounced among young men of color, with police being responsible for 1.6% of all deaths to Black men between the ages of 20 and 24.

Geographic Variation in Risk

Our analyses show that rates of

fatal civilian-police interactions in the United States are not equally distributed across the United States. In an analysis of adult males, we find that where an individual resides is tied to their chances of being killed by law enforcement (2018).

Perhaps most interestingly, we find that race-specific rates of being killed by police vary among clusters of U.S. states. Indeed, among adult Black males, overall risk of being killed by law enforcement is highest in Pacific (e.g., Washington, California) and West North Central (e.g., Minnesota, Missouri) states — where more than 3 per 100,000 men are estimated to be killed by law enforcement each year. Among Latino adult males, risk is by far the greatest in Mountain states (e.g., Arizona, New Mexico), where police are estimated to kill around 1.9 per 100,000 Latino adults each year. White adult male risk appears relatively more stable across regions, but is somewhat elevated in Mountain states and individual states like Oklahoma.

Racial disparities in risk are also quite heterogeneous across the U.S. landscape. Black-White disparities appear most exaggerated in Middle Atlantic (e.g., New York, New Jersey); East North Central (e.g., Michigan, Indiana); and West North Central states — where adult Black males are estimated to be up to 8 times more likely to be killed by law enforcement than their White male peers. Disparities in risk between adult Latino and White males remain fairly consistent across the entire country.

While less pronounced than state-based variation, we also find differences in risk across metropolitan types. Individuals living in large, central metropolitan areas are generally at the highest risk of being killed by police, at about 1 death due to police per 100,000 population each year. However, we find that about two-thirds of all police-involved killings occur in suburbs (e.g., places like Ferguson, MO), smaller cities and rural counties. Indeed, we find that in rural areas, law enforcement officers are responsible for more than 10 percent of all homicides with adult male victims.

Moving Forward

According to Fatal Encounters data, U.S. law enforcement kills more than 1,000 people per year or more than 3 people each day. When these figures are situated alongside rates from advanced industrialized democracies, it becomes clear that the U.S. is unique in the violence enacted by its law enforcement institutions. In other countries, such as England or Germany, police kill fewer individuals over the course of a few years than U.S. police do over the course of a few days. In addition, our work highlights how racial/ethnic disparities in risk are quite severe — and how police are a principal source of early mortality among young males, especially young African American men. Altogether, the current demography of police-involved homicides suggests that the U.S. has an unignorable issue in how it performs policing.

We and other sociologists (e.g., Sewell and Jefferson 2016; Sewell, Jefferson, and Lee 2016; and Vitale 2017) suggest that police-involved deaths, and other forms of violent interactions with law enforcement, are not solely the result of the inadequacies in criminal justice policy. Instead, the United States' high rate of police-involved homicides is rooted in our health, education, and economic structures. Ensuring that communities are safe from excessive, fatal police use of force will thus require upstream interventions, including educational and economic investments; improved housing infrastructure; robust social services and improved access to health care. Directly addressing policing is only the tip of the iceberg.

More personally, following civically engaged scholars who study inequality (Hunter 2018; Itzigsohn and Brown 2020; Morris 2017), we believe that it is critically important to share our research with the public and highlight the inequities that plague our society. We cannot look away, but must act. In the words of the late U.S. congressman John Lewis,

When you see something that is not right, not fair, not just, you have to speak up. You have to say something; you have to do something.

We hope that we are doing our part.



Michael Esposito



Frank Edwards



Hedwig Lee

2020 ASA Election Results

ASA is pleased to announce the results of the 2020 ASA election. Thank you to all the candidates who generously volunteered their service, and congratulations to our new leaders.



Cecilia Menjivar

President-Elect

One-year term as President-Elect, one-year term as President, and one-year term as Past President

Cecilia Menjivar, University of California-Los Angeles

Vice President-Elect

One-year term as Vice President-Elect, one-year term as Vice President, and one-year term as Past Vice President

Nina Bandelj, University of California-Irvine



Nina Bandelj

Council Members-at-Large

Three-year terms

Jessica Calarco, Indiana University

Gilda Ochoa, Pomona College

Daisy Reyes, University of Connecticut

Van Tran, The Graduate Center, City University of New York

Committee on Committees

Two-year terms

Waverly Duck, University of Pittsburgh

Jenny Irons, William T. Grant Foundation

Neda Maghbouleh, University of Toronto

Alyasah "Ali" Sewell, Emory University

Committee on Nominations

Two-year terms

Cynthia Feliciano, Washington University in St. Louis

Nilda Flores-Gonzalez, Arizona State University

Fatma Müge Göçek, University of Michigan

Elaine Hernandez, Indiana University

Allison Pugh, University of Virginia

Committee on Publications

Three-year terms

Marlese Durr, Wright State University

Gary Alan Fine, Northwestern University

Saher Selod, Simmons University

Governing Documents

Revised ASA Bylaws and restated Articles of Incorporation were approved.

ASA 2020 Award Winners

We are pleased to introduce you to the distinguished winners of ASA's 2020 awards. The winners will be honored in person next year in Chicago with the 2021 winners. Each of the pieces below was submitted by the relevant award selection committee chair, and we thank the committees for their good work.

Cox-Johnson-Frazier Award

Vilna Bashi Treitler, University of California-Santa Barbara

In the tradition of Oliver Cox, Charles Johnson, and E. Franklin Frazier, this award amplifies and honors the scholarly work and activism of those who have devoted their research agendas to advancing the interests of disadvantaged populations, here in the United States and on the global stage. As the award stipulates, recipients should have a record of outstanding work such as, but not limited to, social justice issues, human rights, or committed to analyzing activism among groups who have endured a long history of racial discrimination.

Bashi Treitler received her PhD from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1997. It was in Wisconsin, as a graduate student, that she began the work that would become her dissertation

and, ultimately, her signature book, *Survival of the Knitted* (Stanford University Press, 2007). Based on analysis of interview data and multi-site ethnographic observation in the West Indies, New York, and London, Bashi Treitler develops a new theory to explain the migration patterns of West Indian blacks. Prior to her work, scholars believed that migrants with plans to reach the United States would first seek to acquire the requisite social capital to facilitate their move. *Survival of the Knitted* challenges this dominant narrative, showing in meticulous detail that West Indians who never intended to migrate are encouraged to do so by migrant relatives already living abroad. These migrants mobilize their friends and relatives to move to the U.S. too, relying on these extended networks as a mechanism to challenge structural racism in America, helping new migrants to leverage opportunities established migrants have carved out for them.

Scholars in her field note that *Survival of the Knitted* established Bashi Treitler as a "scholar of international distinction," focusing as it did on the experiences of West Indians who left their predominately black country of origin for a new homeland in two of the world's largest, most

diverse cities. Bashi Treitler's second book, *The Ethnic Project* (Stanford University Press, 2013), continues in this vein, revealing the challenges groups face as they attempt to manage simultaneously racial and ethnic identities in the United States. Tracing the histories of immigrant and indigenous groups — Irish, Chinese, Italians, Jews, Native Americans, Mexicans, Afro-Caribbeans, and African Americans — Bashi Treitler shows that these groups adopt a strategy employed by white ethnic immigrants generations before them: they attempt to draw distinctions between their group and native-born blacks under the realization that to get ahead in America means discriminating against the group located at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. She shows that this pattern is one way, amongst many, in which the racial order in the U.S. is upheld.

In addition to her scholarship, Bashi Treitler has worked to chip away at social inequality globally in her professional activities. Since 2015, she has served as Vice-Chair of the United Nations (UN) Committee for the Elimination of Racism, Afrophobia, and Colorism, and is also a Board member and UN Representative for the Drammeh Institute, an NGO committed to

archiving and producing film footage to educate the world on issues of central importance to the African Diaspora. Bashi Treitler also served in 2015 as Chair of the Nominations and Election Committee for the United Nations NGO Committee for Human Rights, served for nine years as a member of the Board of the International Sociology Association's Research Committee on Racism, Nationalism, and Ethnic Relations, and is an active member of the Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean's working group, Afrodescendants of the Americas, based at the University of South Florida. She was also a founding member of ASA's section, Global and Transnational Sociology, serving as Program Committee Member from 2009-2013.

Citing her innovative scholarship, activism, and extensive professional service, scholars working in her field identify Bashi Treitler as "one of the most accomplished, influential, and internationally recognized scholars working in immigration and transnational studies in the United States today," making her an ideal recipient for the prestigious Cox-Johnson-Frazier Award.

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Dissertation Award

Christina Cross, University of Michigan, for “*The Color, Class, and Context of Family Structure and Its Association with Children’s Educational Performance*”

Christina Cross is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow (2019-2022) and Assistant Professor (beginning 2022) of Sociology at Harvard University.

In her dissertation, “The Color, Class, and Context of Family Structure and Its Association with Children’s Educational Performance.” Christina Cross speaks directly to core sociological concerns with inequality and to heated debates in studies of family, education, and poverty. In a groundbreaking, carefully executed analysis, Cross challenges the policy impulses of sociological research that situate nuclear families as the primary intervention mechanisms in eliminating ethnoracial disparities in children’s educational achievement. Christina Cross offers a simple, persuasive, and nuanced repositioning of Black families in public policy solutions, turning a fascinating eye on extended kin networks that include a wide array of kin, not just grandparents. The writing quality is stellar, and the mastery of complex datasets is impressive.

Contrary to popular and academic perceptions, Cross finds that it is not unusual for children to experience being raised in an extended family household and that Black youth are more likely to transition into such households before reaching adulthood than youth of other ethnoracial statuses. Parental education and other social class factors explain such transitions into extended kin networks, irrespective of ethnoracial status. Most importantly, the socioeconomic precedents of extended kin households are less harmful to the educational outcomes of Black children than those of white children and of Afro-descended native-born adolescents than their West Indian counterparts. These relationships hold across a wide array of educational outcomes, including high school completion, grades, grade-level repetition, and suspensions.

The evidence Cross marshals for

this realignment of sociology’s contribution to public policy is novel, seamless, and compelling. Her empirical contributions, methods, and writing are simply outstanding. Her approach is undeterred in its systematicity and precision. Beautifully written and wonderfully focused, this study offers up truly novel and exciting findings. Taken together, this dissertation uses sophisticated methods to advance sociological theories about race and family life. Christina Cross’s intervention calls for a refashioning of sociological theories that have had a tremendous influence on how society views Black families and how society should formulate public policies to support Black families.

Distinguished Career Award for the Practice of Sociology

Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, Princeton University

Dr. Patricia Fernandez-Kelly is Professor of Sociology and Research Associate at the Office of Population Research, and Director of the Center for Migration and Development at Princeton University.

As one of her nominees describes, “... through her work at the Center for Migration and Development she brings together voices in sociology, community action, and the arts about the moral plights and social dilemmas of immigrants to academic and community audiences; this powerful combination of sociological insights, social action, and the arts reflects a lifetime of Dr. Fernandez-Kelly’s public projects and initiatives that have served as models of public sociology.”

Fernandez-Kelly earned a PhD in 1981 from Rutgers University with an original investigation into the outsourcing of skilled handwork by globalizing corporations to women in low-wage factory towns. Her book on Mexico’s maquiladora program, *For We are Sold, I and My People: Women and Industry in Mexico’s Frontier* (SUNY Press, 1984), in which she interviewed 510 workers in 14 different plants, in addition to working in one of the factories, has become a “hallmark of ethnographic expertise.” From this work she received a grant from the National Endowment

for the Humanities to work with a film producer to create *The Global Assembly Line*, a documentary that won an Emmy award in 1987, thus bringing sociological analysis to a global audience. Fernandez-Kelly has received grants from the Ford Foundation, Revson Foundation, and Tinker Foundation for her research into the exploitation of women by globalizing companies.

Fernandez-Kelly held a research professor position at Johns Hopkins University Department of Sociology from 1987-1997 and received federal funding for an ethnographic study in African American neighborhoods in Baltimore. Grounded in nearly a decade of ethnographic data collection, her book, *The Hero’s Fight: African Americans in West Baltimore and the Shadow of the State* (2016) received a C. Wright Mills Finalist Award from the Society for the Study of Social Problems.

Fernandez-Kelly subsequently became the Acting Director of the Program in Latino Studies at Princeton, focusing on national security and deportation. She co-edited, with Paul DiMaggio, *Art in the Lives of Immigrant Communities in the United States* (Rutgers University Press, 2010). She worked on a Robert Wood Johnson Foundation grant documenting barriers to health care, and from this created a program for Latino prisoners in a state prison, starting a journal, *Inside Out*, in which prisoners wrote their stories and poems.

Dr. Fernandez-Kelly helped found The Latin American Legal Defense and Education Fund where she still chairs the Board of Trustees. She has helped organize a range of legal services for immigrants and their families facing deportation. With Alejandro Portes, she is co-editor of *The State and the Grassroots: Immigrant Transnational Organizations in Four Continents* (Berghahn Books, 2016). She is currently working on a book titled *Hialeah Dreams: The Making of the Cuban-American Working Class in South Florida*. She is a prolific scholar with over 12 books and well over 50 book chapters and journal articles.

As one recommender sums up, “her many accomplishments and national stature in the field are

well established ... for those of us working in gender and global and transnational connections, her work is widely recognized as foundational to work that has developed in the last two decades. She has organized many panels and edited volumes, and has spread her generosity among colleagues, students, and a broader community of the disenfranchised. I think she is in a class of her own and deserves the highest recognition.”

Distinguished Contributions to Teaching Award, co-winner

Brian Powell, Indiana University-Bloomington

Brian Powell is the James H. Rudy Professor of Sociology at Indiana University-Bloomington. Professor Powell is an exemplary community-oriented scholar-teacher and a tireless supporter of students and the discipline. Dr. Powell is highly deserving of this special recognition for his contributions to teaching beyond his home department, his personal record of outstanding teaching evidenced by his many awards, his scholarship on teaching and learning, and his contributions to the enhancement of teaching at the local, regional, and national levels.

He has received countless awards for his teaching and mentoring excellence, winning virtually every internal departmental and university teaching and teaching-related award offered at Indiana University, including the Sociology Department’s Sutherland Award; Certificates of Distinction awarded by Blue, Golden Key, and Mortar Board; the Indiana University President’s Teaching Recognition Award; the Sociology Department’s Mentoring Award; and the North Central Sociological Association’s Schnabel Teaching Award.

As one of the co-creators of Indiana University’s Preparing Future Faculty Program, Professor Powell has played a critical role in conceptualizing and building the program. The innovative program has helped develop generations of teacher-scholars who prioritize teaching and mentoring and who have gone on to win a raft of teaching-related awards and publish their own scholarship on pedagogy and in the research areas of education,

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family, and inequality. As one letter writer put it, “Far from just mentoring individuals, Brian is in fact mentoring a family of scholars -- some of whom happen to be ‘family scholars.’”

Powell’s nominator, Bernice Pescosolido, wrote, “Brian’s teaching superpower is really his mentoring.” Another letter writer describes his experience of reaching out to Professor Powell’s mentees as part of building the nomination packet: “What struck me the most was how much their responses illustrate the fact that Brian’s mentoring is completely selfless. This man has no ego. He does have a strong sense of self, a strong sense of professionalism and of professional ethos — but no ego. Instead the collective responses show that his mentoring approach, while deeply grounded in an effort to help individual mentees find their own way, pursues the collective goal of advancing our discipline.”

One former graduate student who served as a TA for Professor Powell reflected, “Dr. Powell made every class nothing short of magical. The students came to class and did amazing amounts of work because he so inspired them and ignited their interest in sociology and gender. His enthusiasm, breadth of knowledge, ease of rapport, and openness to his students was something I watched in awe as a graduate student. It is fair to say that his teaching is always in the back of my mind as I prepare and deliver my own lectures.... I think I owe my own success in part to the strong start and example I received from Dr. Powell.”

Finally, a nomination letter co-signed by 67 former and current students sums up why the Distinguished Contributions to Teaching Award Committee enthusiastically selected Powell for this award: “Professor Powell has had an outsized influence on the development of teacher-scholars in our field. While many senior scholars have trained scores of graduate students who have gone on to conduct sociological research, Professor Powell is unique in his emphasis on teaching and mentorship. His careful attention to classroom pedagogy and curricula, supportive relationships with

students at all levels, and research on teaching (and universities, more broadly) has created generations of scholars who genuinely care about teaching and see it as an essential part of our careers as sociologists.”

Distinguished Contributions to Teaching Award, co-winner

Michael Schwartz, Stony Brook University

Michael Schwartz is a Distinguished Teaching Professor of Sociology, Emeritus, at Stony Brook University. Professor Schwartz is a consummate sociologist and scholar-teacher who has acted as an unwavering supporter of students, colleagues, and the discipline during his five-decade career. Dr. Schwartz is highly deserving of this special recognition for his breadth of contributions to teaching in the United States and globally. His dedication and work to influence and shape several generations of PhD students at Stony Brook and beyond is an outstanding model for the discipline. As one letter writer attests, “Whether as colleague, as chair, and basically in every context I have come to know him – I cannot think of anyone for whom the notion of ‘generosity of spirit’ would be more appropriate. And we are fortunate that his unabated enthusiasm continues to enrich us, in the department, the discipline and the American Sociological Association at large.”

His nominators focused on Schwartz’s three innovations that have had deep global impacts, informing and diffusing new teaching techniques and ideas: 1) new teaching approaches to methods and statistics; 2) creating innovative assessments; and 3) curricular innovations.

First, Professor Schwartz developed one of the first graduate methods classes on computers. Shortly after arriving at Stony Brook in 1970, he introduced a computer analysis course for advanced students that trained them in writing Fortran programs and utilizing early statistical packages on mainframes. His nominators describe the import of this contribution: “Michael taught the first generation of students who used computers to analyze large sparse matrices; something that diffused from Stony Brook to other universities. His paper on network

analysis was published in *Sociological Methodology* and was written to allow faculty to teach their students network analysis by providing mathematical models and proofs to use before any package programs for network analysis had been developed.”

Second, Schwartz pioneered the design and implementation of a “track paper” system, which served as an alternative to traditional comprehensive examinations. The “track paper” system continues to provide students with an opportunity for professionalization and to develop publishable research early in their graduate careers. Students learned to “do sociology” in a ways that required an “applied, authentic and meaningful use of information instead of reproducing facts,” and the system gave students space to take intellectual risks, experiment with topics, and build academic confidence. His nominators write, “The innovation gave an opportunity and safe environment, especially for several minority and working-class students mentored by Michael, to begin analyzing the role of subaltern groups in redressing inequality, as the letters testify. His depth of mentoring, particularly of under-represented groups, is also central to what makes Michael truly exceptional as a teacher. He has ‘a very natural way of making you feel as though you belong,’ former student Alex Trillo says, which ‘for many students, can be a major part of the battle.’”

Third, with Judith Tanur and Stephen Cole, Professor Schwartz designed a teaching practicum that included supervised teaching, still used at Stony Brook. As the current chair of the Sociology Department at Stony Brook, Daniel Levy states, “As far as I know, his (mandatory) class for our doctoral students was the first one of this kind in the country.”

Ninety-five students and colleagues endorsed Professor Schwartz’s nomination. The primary letter demonstrates why the award committee enthusiastically chose to honor Schwartz: “Michael has dedicated his life to sociology and his students, teaching us to use our sociological imagination, think critically, and apply sociology where it really matters: in changing the world.”

Distinguished Scholarly Book Award, co-winner

Trans Kids: Being Gendered in the Twenty-First Century by Tey Meadow, Columbia University

Tey Meadow’s *Trans Kids: Being Gendered in the Twenty-First Century* (University of California Press, 2018) is a beautifully written ethnographic analysis of one of the most pressing social issues in society today, how gender categorization and gender nonconformity is being navigated within families. Understanding the context and challenges individuals and their families experience as youths change their assigned gender category creates new possibilities for thinking about gender as an accomplishment with more fluidity than hitherto recognized or legitimized. Unlike ethnographic research that focuses on a particular geographic location or particular social site, Meadow travels across different sites to produce an “ethnography of a category” that interrogates how gender categories are produced, challenged, and reframed.

Over the course of four years, Meadow hung out with families and trans kids in different settings, such as conferences for families, children, and day care providers in five different cities; professional conferences for mental health professionals working with gender nonconforming and transgender youth; hotels; medical clinics; schools; and gatherings of families at work or play. Meadow conducted 80 in-depth interviews with 62 parents of 50 gender nonconforming and transgender youth.

Theoretically innovative, Meadow builds on, but also challenges, West & Zimmerman’s classic model of “doing gender” through interaction. Meadow demonstrates that gender does not dissolve but changes, with a variety of new categories developing among gender nonconforming children. How Meadow captures each youth’s enactment of challenging a gender binary to explore what is right for them offers new insight on gender and gender nonconforming processes in everyday life. The vibrant description of a kid wearing hot pink jeans with “deliberately coiffed brown hair,” artful makeup,

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and dramatic vocal inflections while demonstrating dance moves clued in Meadow to the complexity of displaying identity with aspects of being “gay” and simultaneously “deeply and essentially feminine” (p. 1-2). This portrait is but one example of gender nonconforming and transgender kids doing a range of identities across different social landscapes. Meadow notes that maleness is more brittle and policed than femaleness; intervention with transgirls comes earlier than for transboys. Many youth simply switch to the other side of the gender binary but express more fluid identities. Atypical gender evolves into a new form or forms of gender.

What also sets Meadow’s work apart from other accounts of transgender and gender nonconforming subjects is the analysis of children and the complex processes whereby their parents (largely cis-gender along with a number of gay parents and parents of color) became activists in supporting their children’s desire for legitimacy of their identity or identities. The parents (mostly mothers), after an “epiphany day,” facilitate their kids’ gender transitions or gender nonconformity. Meadow talked and walked with parents in workshops and in clinics as they discussed how they were growing to learn to call their children new names, allow them to wear whatever clothing they choose, and demand that the state alter the gender designation on their children’s passports and birth certificates. Meadow develops a complex matrix of gender identities and sexual orientations within the context of harassment by communities (including violence) and parental desire to protect their children. The importance of storytelling about trauma as part of the process of defining new categories and making social change is a major contribution. Meadow argues that: “social change is produced not merely by social actions or organizations but by bundles of emergent stories” (p. 214). How parents become activists for trans kids is a narrative that captures our attention. This book brings home the need to reconsider gender categories many, if not most of us, in the U.S. naturalize.

Distinguished Scholarly Book Award, co-winner

Pathways of Desire, The Sexual Migration of Mexican Gay Men by Héctor Carrillo, Northwestern University

Héctor Carrillo’s, *Pathways of Desire: The Sexual Migration of Mexican Men* (The University of Chicago Press, 2017) offers new insight on migration processes that challenge researchers to consider the role of sexuality in transnational relocations of significant number of migrants, namely gay and bisexual men. Until recently, the field of migration and immigration focused on economic and political motivations for migrants to relocate, with few researchers investigating reasons to migrate among gay, bisexual, and transgender subjects. Carrillo’s ethnographic work is important not only for giving us a window into migrant communities that we know relatively little about, but it is also timely given the rising asylum claims based on sexual oppression and violence.

Understanding how gay and bisexual men navigate their homeland’s sexual climate, and why many choose to leave the communities they were born in or those they felt “at home” in, are essential features of migration and immigration processes that Carrillo explores. Carrillo and his research team, conducted semi-structured interviews with 150 gay and/or bisexual men, including 80 men born and raised in Mexico, 36 U.S.-born Latinos, and 34 non-Latinos who had sexual relationships with Latinos, most of whom agreed to be re-interviewed one year later for a total of 265 interviews. In the interviews with Mexican men, Carrillo contextualizes their migration experiences by exploring men’s situations in Mexico, their relations with significant others, and their motivations to migrate to the United States. These interviews, alongside participant observation in several sites where gay and bisexual men congregate, provide an engaging and enlightening narrative that problematizes our understanding of the sexual climate for gay and bisexual men in both countries. Carrillo discusses the challenges many of the men faced to

incorporate into urban gay communities in U.S. cities and their sexual and romantic relationships with U.S.-born Latinos and non-Latinos in the United States. He skillfully weaves together stories of sex, sexuality, and romance on both sides of the Mexican border. Carrillo offers us a complex theoretical interpretation of the issues, institutions, and aspirations affecting Mexican gay men and significant others in their lives. The framework of desire that reverberates throughout this impressive study also gives us insight into ways in which the intricacies of cross-cultural sexual and romantic relations may affect the sexual health and HIV risk of transnational immigrant populations.

Carrillo shows that sexual globalization is a bidirectional, albeit uneven, process of exchange between countries in the global north and the global south. Carrillo’s work seeks to “destabilize assumptions about the directionality of sexual globalization” (p. 267), particularly the assumption that the Global North vis-à-vis the Global South is more sexually enlightened for gay and bisexual men. While many of his interviewees articulate this narrative, Carrillo argues this assumption offers at best a partial and limited understanding, given the dynamic character of sexuality in countries such as Mexico, which are becoming more accepting of sexual diversity. Encouraging scholars to delve more deeply into the assumptions regarding motivations for migration and the context for immigration and incorporation are major contributions in this research. In sum, *Pathways of Desire* is essential reading for scholars, practitioners, and activists in a wide range of fields, including sociologists of immigration/migration, queer studies, public health, and public policy as well as Mexican migration studies. It is an exceptional interdisciplinary study.

Jessie Bernard Award

Jennifer Glass, University of Texas at Austin

The Jessie Bernard Award is given in recognition of cumulative scholarly work inclusive of research, teaching, mentoring, and service that has enlarged the horizons of sociology to encompass fully the role of women in

society. Dr. Jennifer Glass, Centennial Commission Professor of Liberal Arts at University of Texas at Austin, has achieved distinction in the field by producing a compelling body of scholarship that tests common assumptions about the structural disadvantages of mothers in the workforce and informs policymaking through methodologically rigorous research. Just as importantly, she embodies the full spirit of the award by acting as a strong advocate on behalf of women, feminist scholarship, and gender-inclusive policies through her transformative institutional leadership and mentorship in the profession.

Based on a long and impressive record of scholarship, grants, and awards, Glass has significantly advanced the current state of the field by revamping our conventional understanding of gender, work and religion. Glass is widely recognized for her research on the role of work-family reconciliation policies in the labor market as well as whether and how mothering responsibilities explain working women’s stagnant wage growth and concentration in low-wage jobs and their underrepresentation in the STEM fields. Her work reaffirms the role of inhospitable work environments and employer perceptions on the work trajectories of mothers and pushes both scholars and policymakers to reassess the role of gender inequality in shaping work experiences and labor market outcomes.

The high quality and broad impact of her work is evidenced by her regular publication in top-tier journals in family, gender, and sociology and substantial support for gender and family research from top funding agencies, such as the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation, and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Glass has also inserted these issues into the public forum through her various op-ed pieces and media appearances on prominent media outlets on topics such as contraceptive mandates, telecommuting among working parents, and the impact of conservative views on sex and marriage on divorce rates. Her near decade of service to the Council

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on Contemporary Families as Executive Director, Board Member, and Treasurer has been instrumental in helping the nonprofit organization push academic research on gender, families, relationships, and sexuality to the forefront of public discourse.

Through prominent leadership positions both at her university and throughout the profession, Glass has also demonstrated her unwavering commitment to anti-discrimination and gender-inclusive policies and institutional reform that has helped pave the way for future generations of gender scholars. According to her colleagues, she has worked zealously to strengthen parental leave policies and promote a gender equitable campus environment through a multitude of service activities during her time at the University of Notre Dame, the University of Iowa, and her current employment at University of Texas at Austin. One of her nominators highlights how, among her many accomplishments, she played a critical role in reviving and building the new Gender, Women's and Sexuality Studies Department while Chair during her final years at the University of Iowa. Finally, her record and letters of support clearly highlight the many students and junior scholars who have benefited from her generosity, pragmatic wisdom, and inspirational support through informal and formal mentorship and numerous research collaborations.

The members of the Jessie Bernard Award committee are proud to join a large circle of esteemed feminist scholars and past recipients in supporting Jennifer Glass as recipient of this year's distinguished award.

Public Understanding of Sociology Award

Tressie McMillan Cottom, Virginia Commonwealth University

Dr. Tressie McMillan Cottom recently joined the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill as Associate Professor in the School of Information and Library Science and Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Information, Technology and Public Life. Before that she was an Associate Professor of Sociology at

Virginia Commonwealth University. Cottom completely embodies the essence of this award and was selected for her impressive and inspiring commitment to furthering the role of sociology in the public's understanding, and creatively using sociology for the public good.

Cottom, who earned her PhD from Emory University, is a digital sociologist, author, speaker, columnist, and a social media force. She is a prolific writer, including co-editing two volumes on technological change, inequality, and institutions, and authoring *Lower Ed: The Troubling Rise of For-Profit Colleges in the New Economy* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), and *THICK: And Other Essays* (The New Press, 2019).

Importantly, she is on the cutting edge of many of the leading areas in public life. This includes co-founding the nation's first program in Digital Sociology at Virginia Commonwealth, helping to prepare a new generation of sociology students with highly developed skill sets for engaging in public sociology.

Her voice and thoughts have influence nationally and internationally on issues in the digital world, race/class/gender inequality, higher education, and the media. She and her work have been featured on *The Daily Show with Trevor Noah*, *The New York Times Book Review*, NPR, *Inside Higher Ed*, *Slate*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Afrikana Film Festival, Congressional Veterans Committee, The New Black Fest, and the State of California Department of Finance to name a few.

But her engagement in public sociology goes further. In the book *The New Education: How to Revolutionize the University to Prepare Students for a World in Flux* by Cathy Davidson (2017), six pages are devoted to our award winner. Among other items, the author notes that Cottom is among the nation's most followed sociologists (over 35,000 Twitter followers), is one of the most persuasive activists on what is often called #BlackTwitter, and that she "is fearless in the face of white supremacist trolls and hackers who frequently assail her with racist and misogynistic insults. She maintains her professionalism and systematically critiques or exposes

them, one by one" (p. 126).

As one committee member wrote, "while all the candidates are very impressive, she stands apart from the others because of the scale and scope of her platforms for public engagement. For example, who else among us has been on *The Daily Show* not once but multiple times discussing various aspects of our research?"

Another committee member stated that "Dr. Cottom clearly weighs in on important conversations that are current today, including the rise of for-profit colleges. She engages in various public conversations by writing and speaking to a number of non-sociologist audiences. Looking at her CV and letters provides ample support for her voluminous engagement within the tradition of public sociology."

And still another committee member noted that "the quantity and quality of Dr. Cottom's engagement with the general public is extraordinary. Moreover, she's truly raising the profile of sociology. She's on the trajectory of some of the best-known academics in America. And I can't imagine a better representative. If one measure of success in this arena is visibility, then she is at the top."

Clearly, Tressie McMillan Cottom is a public sociologist of the highest order and a most fitting winner of the ASA 2020 Public Understanding of Sociology Award.

W.E.B. Du Bois Career of Distinguished Scholarship Award

Aldon Morris, Northwestern University

The W.E.B. Du Bois Career of Distinguished Scholarship Award recognizes scholars who have exhibited outstanding commitment to the profession of sociology and whose scholarship has been of groundbreaking significance contributing in important ways to the advancement of the discipline. Aldon Morris, Leon Forrest Professor of Sociology and African American Studies at Northwestern University, the recipient of this award, is President-elect of the ASA and past President of the Association of Black Sociologists. He is eminently qualified for the Du Bois award.

Morris' vast scholarly work has not only challenged prevailing modes

of thinking in a variety of subfields inside and outside of our discipline, it has helped reorient scholarship in sociology itself. His innovative work in the study of social movements, for example, created a paradigm shift in discussions and understandings of collective behavior and social movements. His insightful analysis of the emergence, endurance, and success of the U.S. Civil rights movement, specifically, remains a lasting contribution. Morris' more recent work on W.E.B. Du Bois provides, as one colleague stated, a "fundamental reorganization of our thinking about the basic canon and history of sociological theory making." Apart from this impressive scholarship, Morris has distinguished himself with his role in institution-building and mentoring.

Professor Morris' illustrious career began at the State University of New York-Stony Brook, where he received his PhD in sociology in 1980. Morris then joined the Sociology Department as an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor in 1980. His unique scholarly contributions began almost immediately with the publication of his now influential 1981 ASR article, "Black Southern Student Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization." This work, published in our discipline's flagship journal, provided a perceptive account of the "local movement centers" that fueled protest that, on its surface, appeared spontaneous and unorganized. Morris further developed this and related ideas in his first major book, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (Free Press, 1984). Morris argued that previous social science treatments had "for too long ... portrayed the masses as a flock of sheep reacting blindly to uncontrollable forces." He instead offered an "indigenous" perspective that emphasized the role of social connections, cultural beliefs and leadership that preexisting institutions like Black churches provided. As he put it, "internal organization was the critical factor that enabled the movement to gain momentum and endure" (1984: xii). *Origins* won numerous awards, including the American Sociological Association's

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Award Winners

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Distinguished Scholarly Book Award (1986), our discipline's highest award for scholarly books.

Other important edited volumes followed, including *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, co-edited with Carol Mueller (Yale University Press, 1992) and *Oppositional Consciousness: The Subjective Roots of Social Protest*, edited with Jane Mansbridge (University of Chicago Press, 2001). And, by all indications, Professor Morris' most recent book, *The Scholar Denied: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology* (University of California Press, 2015), stands to accomplish even more.

This is not a mere biography but, as one colleague described it, "an epic, monumental study that represents a sea change for the discipline of sociology." It suggests a "fundamental reappraisal of the very founding of American sociology," another colleague said. Morris argues in this book that Du Bois played a critical role in the development of modern sociology, indeed was a central figure in the founding of U.S. sociology. The book has already rightfully received a variety of awards, including the Oliver Cromwell Cox Book Award from the ASA Section on Race and Ethnic Minorities, the Distinguished Scholarly Publication Award from the ASA History Section, the Eduardo

Bonilla-Silva Outstanding Book Award from the Society for the Study of Social Problems, the Betty and Alfred McClung Lee Book Award from the Association for Humanist Sociology, the R. R. Hawkins Award from the American Association of Publishers, and the Prose Award for Excellence in Social Sciences.

We sociologists are proud to note his additional achievements, which include the ASA Cox-Johnson-Frazier Award (2009); the Lifetime Achievement Award from the ASA History of Sociology section; the Joseph Sandy Himes Award for Lifetime Scholarship; the A. Wade Smith Award for Teaching, Mentoring and Service from the

Association of Black Sociologists; the John D. McCarthy Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Scholarship of Social Movements and Collective Behavior; the Award for Outstanding Leadership in Social Activism, Community Organizing, and Scholarly Teaching from the New York City Council; the William Julius Wilson Award for Sociological Practice; and the Lester F. Ward Award for Sociological Practice. It is in these lights that ASA President-elect Aldon Morris, the Leon Forrest Professor of Sociology and African American Studies at Northwestern University, is the 2020 recipient of the ASA W.E.B. Du Bois Career of Distinguished Scholarship Award.

Congratulations to the New Minority Fellows: Announcing MFP Cohort 47

ASA's Minority Fellowship Program (MFP) has a long and distinguished history. Founded in 1974, the program has supported over 400 scholars from diverse backgrounds who have significantly enriched our discipline. We are pleased to introduce five scholars who comprise the newest MFP cohort, Cohort 47. These talented PhD candidates were chosen from a highly competitive pool of applicants by the MFP Advisory Board

The MFP program provides a stipend, mentoring, and a cohort opportunity to predoctoral minority students. The new Fellows will attend a two-part virtual orientation during the ASA's Virtual Engagement Event as well as a series of additional professional development and networking activities throughout the fall term.

ASA is committed to strong support for the Minority Fellowship Program and is grateful to the many organizations, groups, and individuals who have supported, and continue to support, these fellowships. In recognition of these organizations' substantial and historic contributions to the MFP program, the 2020 Fellows are each formally associated with either Alpha Kappa Delta (AKD), the Association of Black Sociologists (ABS), the Midwest Sociological Society (MSS), or Sociologists for Women and Society (SWS). For a list of the many other supporters of the program see the [ASA website](#), and please visit www.asanet.org/donate if you would like to contribute.

Shannon Malone Gonzalez (Sociologists for Women in Society MFP)

Graduate Institution: University of Texas at Austin

Shannon Malone Gonzalez is from Jackson, MS, where she graduated from Tougaloo College with her bachelor's degree in English. She subsequently received her master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in Nonprofit and NGO Leadership. Prior to becoming a PhD candidate at the University of Texas at Austin, Gonzalez spent several years working on issues around health, reproductive justice, and violence against women and girls of color in Mississippi. She has also worked in philanthropy to support local community organi-



Shannon Malone Gonzalez

zations and promote foster youth involvement in state policies. Her interests are black feminist criminology and social policy. Her research incorporates an intersectional analysis into the study of police surveillance, criminalization, and violence. Gonzalez's dissertation, "In Her Place: Black Women Redefining and Resisting Police Violence," uses mixed-methods to interrogate the social conditions that shape and marginalize black women and girls' lived experiences with police across cultural and institutional contexts. She is especially interested in understanding how police officers leverage institutional power to inflict gender-based and sexual violence against black women across social class. Gonzalez's research is published in *Gender & Society* and forthcoming in *Social Problems*. Her work is supported by the National Science Foundation, Ford Foundation, and Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy, and she is a W.K. Kellogg Community Leadership Fellow. Gonzalez enjoys

long talks with her elders and long hikes in the rural South with family and friends.

Sofia Locklear (Sociologists for Women in Society MFP)

Graduate Institution: University of New Mexico

Sofia Locklear is a member of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina and a part of the vibrant urban Native community in Seattle, WA. She earned her BA in sociology from Seattle University, her MA in sociology from the University of New Mexico, and is currently a PhD Candidate at the University of New Mexico. Her dissertation explores the social construction of white identity among individuals in the Pacific Northwest who work with American Indian and Alaska Native issues and peoples through semi-structured, in-depth interviews. This project links white individual understandings of racial formation to the larger institutional systems that uphold and perpetu-

ate oppressive ideologies for American Indian and Alaska Native people. Locklear's broader research areas include the sociology of Indigenous Peoples; sociology of race and ethnicity; and the sociology of health, focusing on the intersections of colonialism and Native health outcomes. Locklear is an instructor at Seattle University and also works for a tribal epidemiology center assisting urban Indigenous communities across the country to showcase their knowledge and resilience. In her down time, Locklear provides care to her plants, tries to read for fun (but, somehow, it always ends up being something sociological), travels, and spends time with friends and relatives.



Sofia Locklear

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Iddo Tavory Is the New Editor of *Sociological Theory*

Ann Swidler, University of California-Berkeley

The old stereotype of sociological theory is a highly specialized field: stuffy, arcane, and involuted. But Iddo Tavory shares the vision of sociological theory as an enterprise central to sociology: lively, open and ambitious. By temperament, biography, and intellectual gifts, Iddo is



Iddo Tavory

the ideal person to lead *Sociological Theory* in this new era. Tavory, currently Associate Professor at New York University, formerly at the New School, describes his aspirations for *Sociological Theory* as bringing work from “outside the core countries of sociological production in Europe and North America, thus expanding the community of inquiry.” And his objective is “for conceptual work that applies to a wide variety of sub-fields by providing people in different sociological communities a shared intellectual infrastructure,” emphasizing “theoretical work that

makes a difference for how empirical sociology would be practiced.”

Iddo Tavory is an international scholar to the core: From Israel, with his BA and MA from Tel Aviv University, and his PhD from UCLA, he has done research in Malawi (where I first met him), Los Angeles, Israel, New York, and collaborative work in Finland. He is multi-lingual, reading sociology in English, Hebrew, French, and Spanish. More important, especially for an editor, Iddo resonates to others’ ideas, which spark his own engaging creativity. This vibrant,

responsive appreciation of new ideas and the endless creativity of his own theoretical imagination has also led Iddo to a remarkable career for a young scholar.

He is absurdly energetic; a genuinely original thinker brimming with ideas; theoretically playful but also deeply serious. Tavory’s own theoretical agenda, while enormously varied, develops a new approach to analyzing the interconnections among situations. Tavory analyzes the inter-situational structure of social life, as situations are linked

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MFP

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Uriel Serrano (Alpha Kappa Delta MFP)

Graduate

Institution: University of California-Santa Cruz



Uriel Serrano

Uriel Serrano is a first-generation student from South Central Los Angeles and a PhD candidate in Sociology and Critical Race and Ethnic Studies at the University of California-Santa Cruz (UCSC). He earned his BA and MA in sociology from California State University-Los Angeles. Serrano’s areas of specialization are gender and masculinity, children and youth, social movements and youth activism, sociology of education, and Du Boisian sociology. His dissertation, “Coming of Age in South Central: Gender Ideologies, Youth Activism, and the Carceral State,” examines how gender ideologies, gender socialization, activism, youth groups, and the history of South Central intersect and mediate Black and Latino young men’s contemporary experiences. Drawing on ethnographic methodologies, surveys, and document analysis, this project responds to theories of masculinity that do not adequately reflect the material and social real-

ities of Black and Latino boys and young men. Guided by community engaged methods, Uriel positions Black and Latino young men as situated knowers and knowledge producers to link and advance critical theories of masculinity, intersectionality, and social movements. His work is published in *Race, Ethnicity and Education* and *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal*, and forthcoming in *Sociological Perspectives*. Serrano has also contributed to several community-engaged research projects, published reports through University of Southern California’s Program for Environmental and Regional Equity, and co-led program evaluations for UCSC’s Student Success Equity Research Center and The California Endowment. When not working, he is cuddling his pitbull mix, drinking coffee, or spending time with loved ones.

Caty Taborda (Midwest Sociological Society MFP)

Graduate Institution: University of Minnesota - Twin Cities

Caty Taborda, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology at University of Minnesota, earned her BA from Hamilton College and her MA in Sociology and Women’s and Gender Studies from Brandeis University. Her research interests include sociology of health and illness, medical markets, the body, and morality. Taborda’s dissertation

uses the plasma pharmaceutical industry as a case study to analyze how medical markets shape, and are shaped by, cultural and moral



Caty Taborda

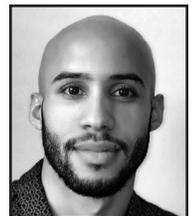
beliefs about the body. She draws on interviews and fieldwork to analyze how people come to understand the social, economic, and moral worth of their bodies, and to show how such constructions of worth help to maintain broader social inequalities. In addition to her dissertation, Taborda is currently working on two collaborative national research projects, one analyzing how people make sense of medical enhancements, and another on religious narratives about alternative medicine. Through her previous work at a large nonprofit health care system, Taborda examined the boundary-making processes of innovative healthcare workers and, in a co-authored manuscript in the *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, she shows how these same workers navigate the emotional exhaustion of professional care work. Her research has been supported by the Ford Foundation and various fellowships from the University of Minnesota.

Edlin Veras (Association of Black Sociologists MFP)

Graduate Institution: University of

South Florida

Edlin Veras is a first-generation college student and instructor at the University of South Florida. He earned



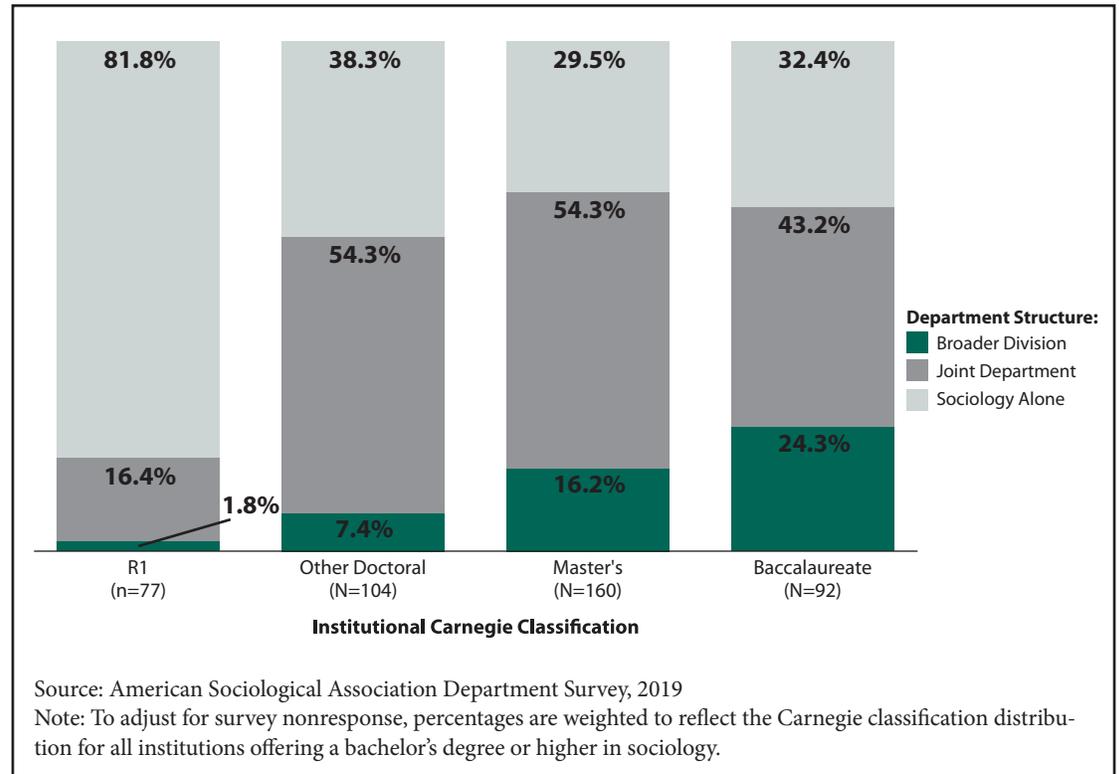
Edlin Veras

his BS degree in Criminal Justice and Sociology at Clayton State University, before matriculating to Georgia State University to complete his MA in African American Studies. Stemming from his own experiences with relocating from the Northeast to the Deep South, his research is diasporic, exploring issues of colorism, racialization, and identity among African descendants in the U.S. and Latin America. His ethnographic dissertation project examines the disparate treatment of Haitians and Haitian descendants living in shanty towns in the Dominican Republic and their experiences with colorism, racism, and xenophobia. Veras’ work has been published in *The Journal of Public and Professional Criminology and Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*. Beyond research, Veras is committed to public sociology and accessibility through his collaborative efforts with OwnYourIam.org, an organization centered on educating and spreading awareness about colorism and texturism. In his spare time, he likes to travel, run, and Play Mas (a masquerade band in Trinidad Carnival).

Research Snapshot: Sociology Department Structure Varies by Institution Type

This research snapshot draws from our ongoing analysis of the ASA survey of sociology departments, most recently conducted in the fall of 2019. One question we had was where sociology is located in the institution and whether this location varied by institution type. In what types of universities was it more likely that sociology share a departmental home with another discipline or major, for example?

We found that most sociology departments at research (R1) institutions are stand-alone departments (82%), while joint sociology departments are more common at other types of institutions. Joint departments are most commonly shared with anthropology (25% of joint departments) or criminology (17%) (data not shown). Sociology programs located within broader divisions or units with multiple disciplines (such as a Social Science division) are most likely to be found at Baccalaureate institutions.



Sociological Theory

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temporally, spatially, and in terms of the identities they evoke. Combining a pragmatist-inspired attention to interaction and experience with a focus on the rhythms and expectations of social life, his work (empirical, theoretical, and methodological) pushes sociologists to think about the ways in which situations are related to each other, evoked, and anticipated. This line of his work is evident in his second book, *Summoned*, a finely observed ethnography of ultra-Orthodox Jewish life in a Los Angeles neighborhood. *Summoned* shows how the temporal rhythms of Orthodox life, the physical environment ultra-Orthodox Jews traverse, and the identities their world continually invokes “summon” them into a particularly intense form of social engagement. His first book, *Abductive Analysis* (with Stefan Timmermans) develops a sophisticated pragmatist approach to developing theory from

qualitative data.

Tavory also published a slew of influential articles, many sole-authored, but a dozen with collaborators from varied sociological traditions: myself, Nina Eliasoph, Gary Alan Fine, Robin Wagner Pacifici, Terry McDonnell, Eeva Luhtakallio, and several others. He is co-author of *Measuring Culture*, just published, with John Mohr, Chris Bail, Maggie Frye, Jenn Lena, Omar Lizardo, Terry McDonnell, Ann Mische, and Fred Wherry. He is currently finishing two books—one on pro bono work and its overlapping notions of virtue in New York’s advertising world, the other a companion to his first book with Stefan Timmermans—while working on a third book, based on over a year of ethnographic research in one of New York’s most prestigious advertising agencies.

Tavory has demonstrated his commitment to sociological theory, both in his own work and as an active member of the Theory Section of

ASA, for which he currently serves as Treasurer. He has presented at and co-organized the Junior Theorists Symposium, and, in 2017, he received the Lewis A. Coser Award for Theoretical Agenda Setting. He has published regularly in both *Sociological Theory* and *Theory and Society*, has reviewed for a wide array of journals, and currently serves on the editorial boards of several journals, both in the United States and in Europe.

I have known Iddo since he arrived in Malawi the summer after his first year at UCLA. He is unfailingly interesting to talk to, warm and funny, and a veritable fountain of ideas. He has a remarkable array of interests, and I remember his enthusiastically reporting that Dickens, out of copyright, was free on Kindle, so he was reading *David Copperfield*. I can also testify that he is one of the kindest people I know, appreciative of others and eager to learn from them, generous with his ideas, his friendship, and his warmth. Iddo is both intellectu-

ally intense and hilariously funny. While working on our “Condom Semiotics” paper, we realized we needed to learn more about a popular Malawian brand of scented condoms, so we bought a box and passed them around for examination by a group of eight or ten Malawian and U.S.-based researchers who had been chatting as we checked questionnaires. Inspired on the spot to write a brief parody about our “methods,” Iddo described in pitch-perfect, pretentious sociologese our “inter-sniffer reliability,” among other matters.

With his deep engagement in ideas and his vision of sociological theory as at the core of social inquiry, across disciplinary and national boundaries, Iddo Tavory will bring energy and ambition to the journal, prodding authors to tighten arguments and to speak to important questions, to be bold rather than hesitant, and to make theory matter. *Sociological Theory* could not have found a better editor.

New ASA Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline Grantees

The Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline (FAD) is a small grants program funded by the Sociology Program of the National Science Foundation (NSF). Applications are reviewed by an advisory panel composed of ASA Council members-at-large. Since 1987, the competitive FAD program has funded nearly 400 research projects and conferences. Proposals are accepted biannually — June and December. All PhD sociologists are eligible to apply. Individuals who are early in their careers, at community colleges, or based at institutions without extensive support for research are especially encouraged to submit a proposal. Innovative proposals that have the potential to advance the discipline of sociology can receive funding of up to \$8,000. For more information, see www.asanet.org/funding/fad.cfm. ASA is pleased to announce five awards from the December 2019 round of proposals to the FAD program.

Carla D. Goar, Kent State University, for *Revisiting Race: White Adoptive Parents' Narratives on Children and Race* (\$6,720)

This project examines the ways that white, adoptive parents of children of color describe their evolving awareness and lived experiences of race. These parents occupy an unusual place in the racial landscape since, as the primary caretakers of children of color, they are required to address race and racism in ways that few other white individuals find necessary. This is addressed through in-depth interviews with parents who, a decade ago, attended culture camps in the hopes of deepening the connection between their children's birth and adopted cultures. The initial study (2007-2010) produced 47 interviews with 56 parents, and results suggest that parents move deftly between colorblind and race-conscious discourse and both resist and acquiesce to stigmatized ideas attached to their child's race. In the years that have passed since the initial data collection, significant developments have impacted the racial culture of the United States (e.g., the rise of Black Lives Matter,

current immigration policy, the increase of white nationalism) and kept race relations squarely in the public debate. Using a qualitative longitudinal approach that allows for the gathering of data from the same respondents at different points in time, this study examines the ways that race has impacted the experiences, practices, and choices of adoptive parents. Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which parents' understanding of race has evolved over time.

Ellen Lamont, Appalachian State University, for *Remaking Relationships: Appalachian Families in Flux* (\$7,600)

This project explores how working-class heterosexual women and men navigate gender in their intimate relationships in Appalachia, a place where conservative cultural beliefs often clash with new economic conditions that destabilize conventional expectations for gender complementarity. In this context, religiosity, social conservatism, and men's backlash reactions to economic upheaval can be impediments to gender equality. But in this region working-class women's job prospects are often significantly better than those of working-class men, especially in communities that rely on manufacturing and mining jobs. In many working-class relationships, it is the woman who has the higher earnings and more stable job. Drawing on in-depth interviews with working-class men and women in a conservative, mostly rural region in Appalachia, this research investigates changing economic conditions as a potential catalyst for greater gender equality in intimate relationships. This project will provide insight into processes of social change in conservative communities and add to our knowledge of the connections between employment, gender, and family in working-class communities that are struggling to adapt to changing conditions in order to thrive.

Richard Lofton, Jr., Johns Hopkins University, and **Gwendolyn Purifoye**, North Park University, for *Targeted as Troubled: Putting Black*

Bodies at Risk in the Public Sphere (\$7,940)

Public spaces can pose particular risks (psychosocial and physical) for Blacks as they navigate a public terrain through the veil of racial projects of exclusion. With this project, Lofton and Purifoye address the complexities of associated harms at the intersection of place and race in the context of leisure (parks), mobility (transit), and work. For many, public parks serve as places of respite, while transportation hubs are often designed to include areas of relaxation and consumption; however, Blacks, as consumers, visitors, and workers, are often denied respite, safety, and spatial freedom in these same spaces. Focusing on downtown public parks, streets, and transportation hubs in Washington, DC, the project seeks to answer two main questions: 1) How are Blacks, as visitors, workers, and consumers, vulnerable to risk and/or unequally exposed to harms? 2) What forces restrict and/or disrupt unfettered respite for Blacks? This project seeks to address Black men and women's experiences with social risks, such as aggression, avoidance, and hyper-surveillance, and how they, as passengers, transit personnel, workers, tourists, and pedestrians, are denied protection or respite from racism, racial projects of exclusion, and psychosocial harms.

Sharon Oselin, University of California-Riverside, and **Katie Hail-Jares**, Griffith University, for *Different Strolls, Different Worlds? Gentrification and its Impact on the Outdoor Sex Trade* (\$7,768)

A robust body of research reveals that gentrification produces mixed effects for longtime residents and legal small businesses. However, there is minimal examination of the ways in which gentrification impacts illicit outdoor marketplaces and the people who operate within them. To address this gap, this study compares how outdoor sex workers assess changing working conditions across "strolls" as a result of urban redevelopment within Washington, DC. Preliminary findings from interviews with sex workers indicate

that they perceive that gentrification reconfigures their work conditions in both beneficial and detrimental ways. It affects social support and safety, police presence, competition, and ultimately their stroll selection. This study extends prior research in two ways: 1) by determining the role community stakeholders play in the relationship between gentrification and the outdoor sex trade and, 2) by assessing how and in what ways recent political and socio-cultural shifts in this region have reshaped outdoor sex markets. This research not only highlights sex workers' agency but it will simultaneously shed light on how they arrive at strategic decisions that have implications for their emotional, physical, and financial well-being.

Amy L. Stone, Trinity University, for *LGBTQ Youth and Family Support: A Longitudinal Study* (\$8,000)

Family support is key to understanding the economic condition, mental health, and physical health of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) youth and adults, but most studies of family support and LGBTQ youth focus on parents and ignore the roles of siblings, grandparents, and other relatives. This project is a pilot longitudinal study of the dynamics of family support and hostility for a racially diverse group of LGBTQ youth in urban and rural South Texas. The research team will conduct in-depth interviews with 30 LGBTQ youth age 16 to 24 years old, at least 10 of whom would be recruited from rural South Texas counties. In addition, participants will be given a monthly survey about family support and hostility for the 10 months after the initial interview. This pilot study is innovative in two ways: one, it measures fluctuations in family support and hostility for LGBTQ youth over the course of the year, accounting for intensified times like the holidays; two, this study uses an expansive definition of family that includes siblings, fictive kin, and extended family members like aunts and grandparents who may be emotionally significant for youth.

Biographical Monuments: Committee on ASA Presidential Biographies Organizes Revision of Online Profiles

Stefan Bargheer, University of California-Los Angeles

When the nomination committee of the newly formed American Sociological Society (ASS) announced the first president of the society, Lester F. Ward, it came with more than the usual amount of admiration for an outstanding colleague. “All sociologists,” the speaker declared, “are under a heavy debt of gratitude to him, and their indebtedness to Ward is at least as great as to August Comte and Herbert Spencer” (AJS Vol. 11, No. 4, Jan 1906: 569). In accordance with Ward’s sociology, the debates leading up to the event had pictured the development of the discipline as part of a process of social evolution, following a trajectory of gradual social differentiation. The differentiation of sociology from the family of the social sciences to which the creation of the ASS stood witness was thus not merely an important step along this trajectory, but, to the eyes of contemporaries, came close to a proof of concept.

Not much has remained of this initial framing of the formation of the ASS, later renamed the American Sociological Association. What has stayed with us, however, is the tribute paid to the achievements of the former presidents of the association. The biographies of Ward and by now more than 100 subsequent presidents figure prominently in the accounts of the history of American sociology and they are on display on the website of the ASA. Yet glancing over these biographies more than a century after the formation of the association, one cannot fail to notice how much the discipline has transformed.

Not only the leading theories, methods, and empirical topics of sociology have changed over time, but also the political circumstances under which sociologists produced their work. Among the previous generations of ASA presidents are those who used their scholarship to promote human and civil rights and to defend democracy against fascism and communism, and later, against anti-communism, i.e. McCarthyism

and the red scare. Yet there were also those who took a stand in favor of—not in opposition to—racial segregation, immigration restriction, prohibition of mixed marriages, and eugenic sterilization laws. While the former set of engagements rarely fails to be mentioned, the latter is frequently, albeit not always, overlooked.

The constitution of the ASA and the rules and procedures for electing presidents have likewise changed over time, and so has the status of the association within American sociology and its relation to sociologists in other countries. Given these transformations, it would be farfetched to argue that the biographies of the presidents of the ASA provide a window into the history of American sociology at large. What they nevertheless provide a window into is the way the discipline remembers its past. Compared to the ASA centennial publication *Sociology in America: A History* (Edited by Craig Calhoun, 2007), the presidential biographies on the ASA website reflect the breadth and sophistication of the available scholarship on the history of the discipline only incompletely.

To some extent, no doubt, this is due to the fact that they were produced for very different purposes. As they stand, the biographies fall into at least four segments. One segment, beginning with Ward in 1906-1907 and running through the 1923 presidency, is a series of biographies written by Michael Murphy, a former ASA staff member and inaugurator of the project. In a second segment, spanning the time from 1924 to 1952, entries vary substantially in length and rely heavily on Howard Odum’s *American Sociology* (1951) and a number of additional sources that range from biographical information taken from archive catalogues to obituaries. A third version of the biographies begins in 1953 and offers a uniformly very brief treatment of each president, with many being only one or two sentences long. The fourth and current form consists of portraits written by contemporary colleagues—usually as election profiles for *Footnotes*—

and begins with the biography of the president serving in 2000.

Beginning in summer 2019, the Section on the History of Sociology formed a Committee on the ASA Presidential Biographies (CAPB), whose aim it is to bring the online presentation up to date and to close gaps in the historical record. The revision of the biographies aims for a unified style with an eye toward readability by the public. The revised biographies are not intended to be exhaustive, but to provide a

first impression for a lay audience interested in sociology and a starting point for scholars who do research on the history of the discipline.

At a moment when people in this country and elsewhere in the world are reckoning with their monuments, it is more than timely for the ASA to take a closer look at the biographies of its presidents. One does not have to believe in evolutionary progress, as Ward did, to recognize that there is currently some room for improvement.

Open Call: ASA Online Presidential Biographies

The Committee on ASA Presidential Biographies (CAPB) seeks contributions for a revision of the biographies of the Association’s more than one hundred former presidents, available on its website: www.asanet.org/about-asa/asa-story/asa-history/past-asa-officers/presidents.

The Online Presidential Biographies are one of the tools that the Association uses to remember the history of the discipline and to present it to the public. In order to close gaps in the existing record and to bring the biographies up to date with recent scholarship, the Committee seeks single- or co-authored biographies that meet scholarly standards, while written in a publicly accessible style. Contributions shall not exceed 900 words, plus a select bibliography of original and secondary sources.

The revision of the biographies will be carried out in several waves. For the current inaugural wave, proposals are solicited for biographies of the presidents serving from 1906 to 1938. Prospective authors are asked to submit a short letter of interest and a CV by November

9, 2020. If available, although not absolutely necessary, previous publications dealing with the president in question or the relevant time period should be highlighted. Applicants will be informed about the decision by January 22, 2021.

All contributing authors will be provided with publication guidelines in order to ensure consistency in style. The completed biographies are due nine months after the receipt of the acceptance letter and are subject to a final editorial review by the committee prior to publication on the ASA website. All biographies will list the name of the author(s).

For further questions and to submit proposals, please contact the chair of the Committee, Stefan Bargheer: bargheer@soc.ucla.edu.

Committee on ASA Presidential Biographies (CAPB):

Stefan Bargheer (chair)
Kevin Anderson
Kerby Goff
Bradley Nash, Jr.
David Swartz
Joyce E. Williams

ASA's Professional Development Videos Provide Members with Deep Dives into Careers in Practice Settings, Article Publishing, and Media Relations

If you have not yet visited the Video and Webinars page on the ASA website, we urge you to do so. Visit www.asanet.org, log in, and go to "Video and Webinars" under Careers. Here you will find three video series focused on important professional development topics sociologists have told us they want to understand better. These are highly substantive pieces with experts who provide knowledge and advice.

Careers in Practice Settings for Sociologists

This nine-part video series features sociologists who work in government, industry, and non-profit organizations. It provides

information about how to search for jobs in practice settings, apply for these jobs, navigate the hiring process, and understand workplace culture in practice settings. Practical issues are addressed, such as how to convert a CV into a resume, how to prepare for a job interview, and how to negotiate a compensation package. Advice is offered on how to decide whether this is a path for you. The series also includes personal narratives from the featured sociologists describing their professional experiences and career trajectories.

Academic Publishing

Claire Renzetti, Professor of Sociology at the University of

Kentucky and former chair of the ASA Committee on Publications, leads this ten-part series. She will explain how to prepare your manuscript, choose a journal, deal with revise and resubmits and rejections, and turn your dissertation into a book, among several other topics.

Working with the Media

Many of us want to engage with the media, but don't know where to start. In this five-part video series, designed specifically for sociologists, ASA's former communications director describes the rules of engagement with media as well as the basics of understanding

your audience and planning your message.

Other Resources in the ASA Video and Webinar Archive

The new and expanding ASA Video and Webinars page also houses recordings of ASA's robust webinar series. Visit the page to learn about strategies for being a more productive and creative writer and scholar with Tanya Golash-Boza; non-faculty career opportunities in higher education with Brandy Simula; teaching modules for integrating climate change into sociology courses with Andrew Szasz; and more. This repository is continually updated, so check back regularly.

ASA Sections Generously Provide Support to the Minority Fellowship Program

The vast majority of ASA sections, listed below, donated some or all of their 2020 section funds that otherwise would have been used for in-person Annual Meeting activities to the Minority Fellowship Program fund. Founded in 1974, the ASA Minority Fellowship Program has supported over 400 scholars from diverse backgrounds who have significantly enriched our discipline. The continued importance of this program is evident, and this infusion of support contributes to its ongoing vitality. We are grateful for your generosity.

- | | |
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| Aging and the Life Course | Organizations, Occupations, and Work |
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| Labor and Labor Movements | Sociology of Sex and Gender |
| Mathematical Sociology | Sociology of Sexualities |
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| Medical Sociology | Theory |
| Methodology | |

ASA Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant Program (ASA DDRIG)

Deadline: November 1. Application link available: September 1

The American Sociological Association has received a grant from the National Science Foundation to manage the Sociology Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant Program for the next four years. The ASA DDRIG program will support theoretically grounded empirical investigations to advance understanding of fundamental social processes. Up to 25 awards of a maximum of \$16,000 will be given each year. Grant funds can be used for costs directly associated with conducting research, such as dataset acquisition, statistical or methodological training, equipment, payments to research subjects or research assistants, data transcription, and costs associated with conducting archival research or field work. Living expenses, including dependent care, are also allowed, as are travel expenses to attend professional meetings, including the ASA Annual Meeting. For more information, visit www.asanet.org/careers/grants-and-fellowships/asa-doctoral-dissertation-research-improvement-grant.

ASA footnotes

Editor: Nancy Kidd

Managing Editor: Johanna Olexy Associate Editor: Margaret Vitullo

Article submissions are limited to 1,000 words and must have journalistic value (e.g., timeliness, significant impact, general interest) rather than be research oriented or scholarly in nature. Submissions will be reviewed for possible publication. Obituaries are limited to 600–900 words and Announcements, 200 words.

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.

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Thank You to ASA's Generous Member Donors

ASA acknowledges the generous support of the following individuals, whose financial contributions (July 1, 2019 through June 30, 2020) to the association have strengthened our discipline.

Some of these donations provide unrestricted support to ASA, and others will be used specifically for the American Sociological Fund, the Carla B. Howery Teaching Enhancement Fund, the Community Action Research Initiative, or the Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline. In addition, this list includes both five-year leadership pledges and one-time donations for the Campaign for Inclusion. This Campaign supports our longstanding Minority Fellowship Program and our Annual Meeting Travel Fund.

If you are interested in making a contribution to support ASA in its mission to serve sociologists in their work, advance sociology as a science and profession, and promote the contributions and use of sociology to society, visit www.asanet.org/donate.

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ASA News

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Announcements

Calls for Papers

Gender, Work & Organization is seeking manuscripts for a special issue on gender and employment during COVID-19. The contributions to this special issue aim to give a clear overview of women's current labor market position, with attention to short- and long-term changes brought about by global experiences with the COVID-19 pandemic. The special issue also aims to contribute specifically to theory advancement by relating findings from the COVID-19 pandemic to existing theoretical knowledge about gendered labor markets, gendered workplaces, and/or the gendered distribution of paid work, care tasks, household tasks, and leisure. The deadline for abstracts is October 1 and the deadline for manuscript submissions is March 21, 2021. For more information, visit onlinelibrary.wiley.com/pb-assets/assets/14680432/GWO_SI_CfP_Gender%20and%20employment-1595590141157.pdf.

Genealogy is now accepting submissions for a special issue on the theme, "What's Your 'Street Race'? Cartographies and Ontologies of 'Race' and the Future of Knowledge Production on Inequality, Resistance and Social Justice." We place "race" in quotation marks to underscore "race" as a social construction that has no innate biological or genetic essential characteristics, but it is best understood as a social construction and a relationship of power at the individual, institutional and structural levels. This issue invites essays from scholars from multiple disciplines to engage in ongoing, critical and self-implicating, reflexivity about the meaning of race and how "race" is conceptualized in their own work and within their discipline, workplace, institutions and structural arrangements at the local, national and global levels. Deadline Extended to October 15, 2020. For more

information, visit www.mdpi.com/journal/genealogy/special_issues/race.

Meetings

October 5-9, 2020. Association for Applied and Clinical Sociology (AACS) Virtual Conference. Theme: "Making Sociology Actionable: Translation, Implementation, and Intervention Design for Social Change." AACS is dedicated to advancing sociological application and practice both within and beyond academia. We invite (virtual) participation in our annual meeting, which is open to all social and behavioral scientists and business, industry, non-profit, and government professionals. We offer professional development workshops, panels, paper sessions, and student. For more information, visit www.aacs-net.net/2020-annual-conference.

March 18-21, 2021. Pacific Sociological Association 92nd Annual Conference. San Diego, CA. President: Sharon K. Davis, University of La Verne. Theme: The New Normal and the Redefinition of Deviance. For more information see www.pacificsoc.org.

Competition

Claremont Prize for the Study of Religion. The Institute for Religion, Culture, and Public Life at Columbia University is seeking submissions to its second annual Claremont Prize for the Study of Religion. The prize is dedicated to the publication of first books by early career scholars working in any discipline of the humanities or social sciences. Submissions can be on any aspect of the study of religion, including the study of secularism. Prize winners will be invited to participate in an IRCPL workshop and the books will appear in IRCPL's series, "Religion, Culture, and Public Life," published by Columbia University Press. Contact: Marianna Pecoraro at mp3699@columbia.edu. Deadline: September 14,

2020. For more information, visit www.ircl.columbia.edu/claremont-prize.

Funding

The William T. Grant Institutional Challenge Grant encourages research institutions to build sustained research-practice partnerships with public agencies or nonprofit organizations in order to reduce inequality in youth outcomes. To do so, research institutions will need to shift their policies and practices to value collaborative research. They will also need to build the capacity of researchers to produce relevant work and the capacity of agency and nonprofit partners to use research. The \$650,000, three-year grant will be awarded to an eligible research institution, including university-based research institutes, a school or center, research firm, or think tanks. Applications are welcome from partnerships in youth-serving areas such as education, justice, child welfare, mental health, immigration, and workforce development. Deadline: Full proposals are due on September 10. For more information, visit www.wtgrantfoundation.org/grants/institutional-challenge-grant.

In the News

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Duke University, and **Patricia Hill Collins**, University of Maryland, were mentioned for their books in a May 29 *Buzzfeed News* article, "An Essential Reading Guide for Fighting Racism."

Siobhan Brooks, California State University-Fullerton, wrote an article on black faculty and housing discrimination that was published in *Inside Higher Ed* on July 16, 2020.

Steve Buechler, Minnesota State University, Mankato, was interviewed about his memoir *How Steve became Ralph: A Cancer/Stem Cell Odyssey (with Jokes)* on local CBS affiliate

WCCO television in Minneapolis, MN, on January 10, 2020.

Tressie McMillan Cottom, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, **Cynthia Miller-Idriss**, American University, and **Monica Bell**, Yale University, were interviewed in a June 4 *Politico* article, "It Really Is Different This Time."

Kathleen J. Fitzgerald, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, was quoted in two articles, "The Pandemic Has Sent Child Hunger to Record Levels" in *The Nation* on June 2, 2020, and "5 Reasons Why Experts Say We Should be Wary of the 'Outside Agitator' Narrative" in CNN on June 4, 2020.

Tyrone Forman, University of Illinois-Chicago, wrote an op-ed that appeared in the June 10 *Chicago Sun Times*, "When the Lions Have Cameras, We Finally Get to See How Our Society Devalues Black Lives."

Charles Gallagher, La Salle University, was interviewed in multiple media venues on institutional racism, police brutality, ethnic and racial identity and the protests. "Will Philly's New Police Reforms Work? Experts Say the Evidence Is 'Mixed'" Institutionalized Racism — Invisible Systems of Oppression" — KYW Newsradio on June 14; "Protesters Come Together in Show of Diversity, Unity in Response to Death of George Floyd" — Fox29 on June 8; 14 "Philly Council Members Call for Reforms, Say No to Police Budget Increase" — NBC10 on June 8; "Professor Charles Gallagher on U.S. Civil Unrest" — Ireland's Newstalk with Gavan Reilly on June 7; "Thousands Arrested in National Protests in Aftermath of George Floyd's Death" — Fox29 on June 1; "Where Do We Go From Here? That's What We Need to Ask in Wake of George Floyd Protests" — *Philadelphia Inquirer* on May 31; "Irish Americans Must Respond to Ethnic Question in 2020 U.S. Census" — *Irish Central* on April 26; "African-Americans Dying from COVID-19 at a Higher Rate" — Fox29 on April 8;

Announcements

“What’s Slowing the U.S. COVID-19 Fight? A Coronavirus Wedding and a Pop-Up Pantry” — KYW Newsradio on March 29; “Census Will Ask White People More About Their Ethnicities” — NPR on March 14; “Called ‘a Sneak,’ Kenney Open About Spending in New Budget” — NBC 10 on March 5.

Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, Colby College, wrote an article for *Religion News Service*, published May 27, “Kneeling to Venerate Hate: The Meaning of a Police Killing in Minnesota.”

Shannon Malone Gonzalez, University of Texas-Austin, wrote an opinion piece that appeared in the June 4 *Ms. Magazine*, “Unanswered Questions from Black Women Protestors Against Police Violence.”

Gloria Gonzalez-Lopez, University of Texas-Austin, published an op-ed in *Ms. Magazine* on February 12, “Un Violador En Tu Camino: The Song That Made Transnational Feminism Go Viral.”

Elyakim Kislev, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, was featured in a February 15 CNN article about the benefits of being single that focused on his new book *Happy Singlehood: The Rising Acceptance and Celebration of Solo Living*.

L’Heureux Lewis-McCoy, New York University, was quoted in a June 19 *Bloomberg City Lab* article, “In Suburbs and Small Towns, Racial Justice Takes Center Stage.”

Douglas McAdam, Stanford University, and **Dana Fisher**, University of Maryland, were quoted in a June 12 *New York Times* article, “One Big Difference About George Floyd Protests: Many White Faces.”

Philip V. McHarris, Yale University, wrote an op-ed that appeared in *The New York Times* on May 30 on the need to defund police and invest in alternatives in order to end cycles of police violence following the murder of George Floyd and recent wave of protests.

Philip McHarris, Yale University, **Michael Sierra-Arevalo**, University of Texas-Austin, and **Monica Bell**, Yale University, were quoted on *Fivethirtyeight* on June 22, “Is Police Reform A Fundamentally Flawed Idea?”

Marya T. Mtshali, Harvard University, wrote an article, “How Medical Bias Against Black People Is Shaping COVID-19 Treatment and Care,” that appeared in *Vox* on June 2, 2020.

Aldon Morris, Northwestern University, wrote an opinion article that appeared in *Scientific American* on August 3, “We’ll Never Fix Systemic Racism by Being Polite.”

Daniel J. Myers, American University, wrote an article that appeared in *The Atlantic* on June 17, “Getting Tough on Protests Is Counterproductive.”

Chinyere Osuji, Rutgers University, wrote an article, “High rates of corona-

virus among African Americans don’t tell the whole story,” that appeared in the April 29 *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Michael Pollard, RAND Corporation, was interviewed by *Monocle* for their podcast (December 11, 2019), as well as by *OZY* (December 10, 2019), about his research on American news consumption and perceptions of reliability.

Jack Nusan Porter, The Davis Center, Harvard University, was interviewed by several radio and online media on the February 11 New Hampshire Primary election day — WRKO and WNTN of the Boston area. Porter talked about the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, corruption in Ukraine, and Russian interference in Ukrainian affairs.

Rashawn Ray, University of Maryland, was profiled in a June 22 *Washington Post* article, “Police critic says officers need more money and less stress, along with greater accountability.”

Victor Ray, University of Iowa, and **Alan A. Aja**, Brooklyn College, wrote an op-ed that appeared in the June 18 *Washington Post*, “Racism isn’t about ignorance. Some highly educated people have upheld systemic inequality.”

Alvaro Santana-Acuña, Whitman College, was interviewed by BBC News on May 30 about his forthcoming book *Ascent to Glory*. Santana-Acuña wrote the op-ed “The Pandemic of Solitude,” published in the *New York Times en español* on June 24, 2020, about the global surge of interest in literary works describing pandemics.

David R. Segal, University of Maryland, was interviewed by NBC News on June 8 regarding the unprecedented criticism of Donald Trump by four of the seven living former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, including former Secretary of State Colin Powell, after the murder of George Floyd. Segal was interviewed for an article in the *San Antonio Express-Journal* on reactions around Fort Hood, TX, to a proposal to remove the names of Confederate generals from US Army posts.

Patrick Sharkey and **Keeanga-Yamahatta Taylor**, both at Princeton University, with journalist Yaryna Serkez, wrote an op-ed that appeared in the June 12 *Washington Post*, “Why do we need the police?” They also wrote a June 19 *New York Times* article, “The Gaps Between White and Black America, in Charts.”

Michael Sierra-Arévalo, University of Texas-Austin, was quoted in a June 16 *GQ Magazine* article, “How Violent Police Culture Perpetuates Itself.”

Gregory D. Squires, George Washington University, wrote an op-ed, “Trump’s attempt to weaken fair housing rules is beyond tone deaf,” that appeared in *American Banker* on July 20, 2020. He was interviewed by Julianne Malveaux about HUD fair housing policy on *Works in Progress* on WPFW

89.3 on July 20, 2020. With **John Hans Gilderbloom**, University of Louisville, and **Wesley Meares**, Augusta University, Squires wrote “Pollution, Place, and the Unnecessary Tragedy of Premature Death: Lessons for Covid-19?” that appeared in *Shelterforce* and *Planetizen* on July 21, 2020. Squires wrote an op-ed with Gilderbloom for *CityLab* on April 22, 2020, “The Health Emergency That’s Coming to West Louisville.”

Stacy Torres, University of California-San Francisco, wrote a commentary that appeared on June 17 in *CalMatters* about the stark ethnic, racial, and class inequalities and growing health disparities between two neighboring zip codes in Alameda and Oakland, CA, laid bare during the pandemic and protests.

Stacy J. Williams, University of California-San Diego, wrote an article that appeared in the February 18 *Washington Post* about the gender politics of cooking within the primaries. The article draws on her dissertation and the research about feminism and cooking.

Cristobal Young, Cornell University, was quoted in a February 19 *Fast Company* article about his research on how patient satisfaction is driven by hotel amenities, not medical quality.

Awards

Penny Edgell, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, has been named a recipient of the 2019-20 Award for Outstanding Contributions to Graduate and Professional Education from the University of Minnesota.

Fred E. Markowitz, Northern Illinois University, has been awarded a Fulbright U.S. Core Scholar grant for fall 2020 to the University of Helsinki Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy. The project is titled “Does Psychiatric Treatment Capacity Influence Rates of Crime in Finland?”

Stephen J. Morewitz, Forensic Social Sciences Association and San Jose State University, won a San Jose State University Annual Authors and Artists Award for publishing his 13th book, *Clinical and Psychological Perspectives on Foul Play* (Springer Nature, 2019). The book is the first title on the forensic social sciences of foul play.

Laurel Richardson was awarded a Best Book 2020 honorable mention by the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry for her book, *Lone Twin: A True Story of Loss and Found*.

Mario Small, Harvard University, and **Bruce Western**, Columbia University, will be inducted as a Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science on October 8, 2020. The Academy’s Fellows are university-based scholars who have changed our understanding of human behavior and the world in which we live.

Robert Wolensky, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, recently received

The Mother Jones Award issued annually by the Pennsylvania Labor History Society for his scholarship on labor history and the sociology of work.

New Books

Jake Alimahomed-Wilson, California State University-Long Beach, and **Ellen Reese**, University of California-Riverside, Eds., *The Cost of Free Shipping: Amazon in the Global Economy* (Pluto Press, 2020).

Margaret L. Andersen, University of Delaware. *Getting Smart about Race: An American Conversation* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2020).

Nitsan Chorev, Brown University, *Give and Take: Developmental Foreign Aid and the Pharmaceutical Industry in East Africa* (Princeton University Press, 2019).

James Joseph Dean, Sonoma State University, and **Nancy L. Fischer**, Augsburg University, *The Routledge International Handbook of Heterosexualities Studies* (Routledge, 2020).

Kathleen J. Fitzgerald, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, *Recognizing Race and Ethnicity: Power, Privilege, and Inequality*, 3rd edition (Routledge, 2020).

Kathleen J. Fitzgerald, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, and **Kandice L. Grossman**, University of Missouri, *Sociology of Sexualities*, 2nd edition (SAGE Publications, 2020).

Michael Hechter, Arizona State University, *Rational Choice Sociology: Essays on Theory, Collective Action and Social Order* (Edward Elgar Publishers, 2019).

Tania M. Jenkins, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, *Doctors’ Orders: The Making of Status Hierarchies in an Elite Profession* (Columbia University Press, 2020).

Elyakim Kislev, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, *Happy Singlehood: The Rising Acceptance and Celebration of Solo Living* (University of California Press, 2019).

Jerome Krase, Brooklyn College, and **Judith N. DeSena**, St. Johns University, Eds., *Gentrification around the World, Volume 1: Gentrifiers and the Displaced* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2020).

Michel S. Laguerre, University of California-Berkeley, *Global City-Twinning in the Digital Age* (University of Michigan Press, 2019).

Yingyi Ma, Syracuse University, *Ambitious and Anxious: How Chinese College Students Succeed and Struggle in American Higher Education* (Columbia University Press, 2020).

Chinyere Osuji, Rutgers University, *Boundaries of Love: Interracial Marriage and the Meaning of Race* (NYU Press, 2019).

Alvaro Santana-Acuña, Whitman College, *Ascent to Glory: How One*

Announcements

Hundred Years of Solitude *Was Written and Became a Global Classic* (Columbia University Press, 2020).

Rita Stephan, U.S. Department of State, and **Mounira M. Charrad**, University of Texas-Austin, Eds., *Women Rising: In and Beyond the Arab Spring* (New York University Press, 2020).

Robert Wolensky, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, *Sewn in Coal Country: An Oral History of the Ladies' Garment Industry in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania, 1945-1995* (Penn State University Press, 2020).

Transitions

Milagros "Milly" Pena, who is currently Dean of the College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences at the University of California-Riverside, has been named president of Purchase College, SUNY.

Martyn Pickersgill has been promoted to full professor at the University of Edinburgh, where he holds a newly established Personal Chair in the Sociology of Science and Medicine. He will also act as Associate Director of the Wellcome Trust-supported Centre for Biomedicine, Self and Society.

Ruth E. Zambrana, has been awarded the title of Distinguished University Professor at the University of Maryland at College Park, in acknowledgement of her research in the field of racial, ethnic, and gender health disparities, and influence as a leading voice for minority and underrepresented groups. This title is the highest academic honor the University of Maryland bestows on members of the faculty.

People

Charles Gallagher, La Salle University, was part of a panel discussion at The Museum of the American Revolution (February 8) on race and the media and gave a talk on race and gentrification in Jersey City at the Journal Square Community Association.

Deaths

Richard J. Gelles, a leading scholar of domestic violence and the child-welfare system, died June 26 at his home in Philadelphia. He was 73. The cause was brain cancer. A prolific and high-profile sociologist, Gelles wrote more than two-dozen books, testified before Congress, gave evidence as an expert witness and taught at the University of Pennsylvania's School of Social Policy and Practice, which he led for more than a decade as dean.

James A. Geschwender, 86, passed away in Raleigh, NC on January 15, 2020. During his distinguished academic career he served on the faculty at Florida State University, Wayne State University, University of Western Ontario, Visiting Professor at University of Hawaii, and was a Full Professor at SUNY-Binghamton, where he served as

Director of Graduate Studies, and Chairperson of the Sociology Department for approximately 20 of the years he was at SUNY, from 1972 to 1999.

Obituaries

Harold G. Grasmick 1947-2020

Harold G. Grasmick, Professor Emeritus of the Department of Sociology at the University of Oklahoma (OU) and one of criminology's great minds, left our world on April 4, 2020. Harold and his co-authors, Charles Tittle, Bob Bursik and Bruce Arneklev (Grasmick et al. 1993), developed a 24-item attitudinal scale based upon their interpretation of Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) conceptual definition of self-control. This measure, known as the Grasmick Scale, continues to be used widely in tests of Gottfredson and Hirschi's theory. This publication cemented Harold's national reputation as a scholar and renowned criminologist. Harold mentored and published research with many students. Over the course of his career, Harold published a book, 54 research articles, and has been cited over 13,500 times. At the University of Oklahoma, Harold was recognized for his achievements with several awards, including the David Ross Boyd Professorship, a Presidential Professorship, and the Kinney-Sugg Award for Outstanding Professor.

Harold served as Chair of the OU Sociology Department from 1982 to 1988, which was a challenging time institutionally as OU was transforming to a national-level university with an emphasis on research. At that time, there were two units, Sociology A and Sociology 1, and new faculty lines were offered in only the research unit. Harold was hired to teach and lead in research, and as part of this he developed the Oklahoma City Survey, which provided research and statistical training for students. His focus on the creation of knowledge through research also positioned the department to be approved by the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education to grant doctoral degrees. This new teaching style on the graduate level, which focused on learning through research, allowed students to become active participants in the profession through their research, conference presentations, and publications.

Harold's research was about illegal behavior and norm violations in general, particularly guilt, shame, and embarrassment, and their parallels to legal or formal sanctions. Much of his work in the 1990s focused on neighborhoods, social control, and crime, including his book co-authored with Robert J. Bursik, *Neighborhoods and Crime: The Dimensions of Effective Community Control*. Inspired by the Oklahoma context, Harold noticed that religion was influential to society, and he began to focus his research on

how religion shaped people's attitudes towards punishment. He published several articles in this area.

Harold was a supportive colleague and dear friend. One colleague remarked, "His presence was huge and unforgettable. He was everything you could ever want in a professor. He was brilliant, accomplished, funny, and just a little bit naughty." Harold deeply cared for his students, and he was a friend of the OU Department of Sociology. Upon his retirement, he helped establish a fund to support graduate students in mentored research during the summer. As he described it, it was a way to keep our students busy with research and away from working in the bars next to campus. Through the Grasmick Summer Fellowships, Harold's devotion to students and passion for the creation of research continue.

Harold is remembered as a loving grandfather, father, and son and will be missed by many. He is survived by his son Jacob, daughter-in-law Kate, and grandson Atlas, of Denver, CO.

Loretta Bass, University of Oklahoma, and Trina Hope, University of Oklahoma

Kenneth L. Wilson 1949-2020

Kenneth L. Wilson died from cancer on Tuesday, June 16, 2020. Born in 1949, in Burlington, Iowa, Ken studied social psychology at the University of Iowa. He received his PhD from the University of Texas-Austin, concentrating on social inequality, where he began the pioneering work in ethnic enclave theory that would define the first part of his career.

His early career witnessed success that would be the envy of most academics. He published repeatedly in the top journals and was cited thousands of times. He progressed in rank and secured tenure at University of South Carolina, and moved to Florida Atlantic, before being recruited to University of Alabama-Birmingham (UAB) as the department head. Under his leadership, UAB established a nationally recognized concentration in medical sociology, including a doctoral program. Ken's love of epistemology, social psychology, and his skepticism of Western science had roots in his undergraduate studies and motivated numerous interdisciplinary collaborations. But it was the second half of Ken's career that defined him as an incomparable scholar, mentor, and human being.

Those who followed his early work on social inequalities might have thought Ken died sometime in the early 1990s. Such a suspicion would not have been entirely unfounded: He had moved on to a higher plane. Fed up with the disciplinary forces that dull the intellectual pursuit of new ideas—and without a shred of ego compelling him to stay in the rat race of citations, impact factors, positions, and awards—Ken shelved his portfolio entirely. He spent the

last decades of his career completely dedicated to studying what it means to be human. He started by writing a comprehensive treatment of philosophies of self in Western Civilization, a work totaled somewhere between 300 and 600 pages. A friend and colleague implored him to publish it, but he simply shrugged off the prospect saying, "Nah... I was just clearing my head." From there, Ken worked tirelessly on epistemological problems involving questions about the nature of inquiry and the phenomenon of creativity.

Ken inculcated these ideas into every aspect of his career and personal life, living seamlessly across the two. He was married to Denise Fournet for 28 years, and they raised two daughters, Kristin and Michelle, working these ideas about creativity and the Self into their family life and relationships. Ken transformed his classroom into a platform for students to creatively engage, not just the problematics of sociology, but of their own lives. He unfolded for them new ways of seeing society and Self, new methodologies for reimagining social institutions, and a radical sense of possibility desperately lacking in our field.

Nothing I write could do justice to Ken as a friend, colleague, and mentor. He modeled an intellectual rigor and honesty that I have never seen. Once, we were studying a philosophical work and got stuck debating a particular concept. Ken said to me, "I don't think we can understand this if we don't pause and read Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* very carefully." He followed the idea with absolute fidelity; he was utterly impractical in the most needed and beautiful ways.

He published a few things in his later years, strictly out of a kindness to us graduate students; I once even talked him into an ASA presentation. But Ken's real work had moved beyond discipline. Even as his body grew weaker in his final days, he continued to talk with great insight about big Ideas. His latest achievements and his own biographical account are captured at purposingtutorials.myportfolio.com/.

I would say that I am going to miss Ken dearly, but he would have corrected this sentiment. He believed that when we engage the conceptual world with rigor and honesty, our Selves and our Ideas continue to participate in this world forever. He saw this not as mystical or religious, but as bound to the nature of Ideas and the creative human impulses within them. Undeterred from his work even by death, some of Ken's last words to me were about our future collaborations: "You'll have a thought and it will have a quality that is very unlike your usual thoughts, different even than the new thoughts you have within yourself...and that will be me."

Jason Adam Wasserman, Oakland University William Beaumont School of Medicine