

PEWSNews

Newsletter of the ASA Section on Political Economy of the World-System

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LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

Jennifer Bickham Mendez
William & Mary



As I write these words, spring has arrived in my corner of the world, bringing with it hope that better days are on their way. Better days would, indeed, be welcome, as we contemplate recent world events—a relentless global pandemic and ongoing police brutality, both of which disproportionately impact poor communities of color, as well as repeated violent acts waged against people of Asian descent

Inside this issue

Letter from the Chair	1-3
On Human Rights, Globalization, and Reparations	
<i>Thoughts on World-Systems Research & Praxis in this Political Moment</i> by Jackie Smith	4-9
<i>Coloniality, Reparations, & Transformative Justice</i> by Marilyn Grell-Brisk	10-14
Member Spotlights and News	
Member Announcements	15-17
New Articles	17-19
New Books	19-22
PEWS Sessions at ASA	22-23
JWSR Update by Andrej Grubačić	24-25

are continuing reminders of the violence and inequities that prevail in the current crisis of the world capitalist system. It is, indeed, fitting that this year's annual ASA meetings will be organized around the theme of Emancipatory Sociology and the Du Boisian Challenge. And while the state of the world does, in fact, look grim, contemplating the ways in which sociologists who study political economy and engage world historical approaches are uniquely positioned to meet the challenge raised by Du Bois, presents us with some reasons to be hopeful during these troubling times.

For Du Bois sociology was meant to be a catalyst for social change, and he dedicated his life's work to undoing the color line as well as remaking the racial and colonial capitalist system. And in this regard a world historical perspective was central to his scholarly endeavors. In this same spirit, as contributors to a recent symposium in JWSR argue, a world historical approach is crucial for the work of reparations, as it enables bearing witness to the brutalities of the past and allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the complex legacies of the global slave trade and the dispossession and genocide of indigenous people. Such an approach can inform contemporary movements and policy initiatives aimed at reconstructing society in useful ways by shedding light on the long-standing historical legacies of the violence, repression and stark inequalities that characterize the current moment, but also by giving us tools to imagine a new social order.

"A world historical approach... can inform contemporary movements and policy initiatives aimed at reconstructing society in useful ways..."

On that hopeful note, I am pleased to update you, the membership, about the continuing work and engagement taking place in your section. PEWS committees are busy reviewing the numerous, excellent nominations for the various awards that will be presented at the PEWS Business meeting at ASA. We hope you can attend this virtual meeting on Sat. August 7th where we will bestow the Immanuel Wallerstein Memorial Book Award, the Distinguished Article Award, the Terence K. Hopkins Student Paper Award, and the recently inaugurated award for Advancing Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion. In this latter vein the committee on DEI has been hard at work developing a set of best practices to guide committees' decision-making. They will also be proposing a name change for the committee to better reflect PEWS' specific history. Stay tuned for more on that front and many thanks to committee members Samantha Fox, Kristin Plys, and Alessandro Morosin.

As ASA approaches, be sure to check out the PEWS-sponsored sections, including a Roundtable Session expertly organized by PEWS-er Lu Zhang. **Sessions will all take place on Sat. August 7th.**

Please also watch for the upcoming 2021 ASA elections, which will open on Tuesday, April 27, and close on Friday, May 28, at 5 p.m. Eastern. This is an opportunity for you to elect new officers and council representatives. Don't forget to vote and make your voice heard. And many thanks to our slate of PEWS-ers who were willing throw their hats into the ring.

Last week the section held its first virtual event for PEWS members and colleagues. Around twenty of us "gathered" on Zoom, and it was great to see everyone's faces and to connect around shared activist and research interests. Stay tuned for a couple more virtual events in the coming months.

At our gathering Irene Pang, the chair of the Teaching and Mentoring Committee, announced the roll-out of this year's Mentorship program. Especially during COVID-19, this program is important way for early-career colleagues and graduate students to connect with more established scholars/educators. Keep a look-out for the call to participate, which should appear in your inbox in the coming days. A huge shout-out to Irene Pang and committee members, Albert Fu and Samantha Agarwal, for their dedication and attention to detail as they prepare to unveil this year's program.

And lastly, I want to thank the expert editors of PEWS-NEWS--Marilyn Grell-Brisk and Zeinab Shuker--for their efforts in producing our newsletter. I am sure you will agree that they have done a top-notch job in keeping the tradition of PEWS NEWS alive. We hope you enjoy this latest issue, and we look forward to upcoming opportunities to gather (virtually) to share ideas about the section's ongoing endeavors.

In solidarity and community,

Jennifer Bickham Mendez

PEWS Chair, 2020-21
Professor of Sociology
William & Mary

On Human Rights, Globalization, & Reparations

Two short essays by PEWS members, Jackie Smith and Marilyn Grell-Brisk.

Thoughts on World-Systems Research & Praxis in this Political Moment by Jackie Smith (*University of Pittsburgh*)

At this moment of systemic crisis, world-systems analysts should be working to help expand popular understandings of the serious dangers and possibilities we now face. By helping people grapple with the rapid changes that are imminent, if not now underway, we can help reduce the political polarization and violence that is the alternative to collective struggle for a more just and equitable world-system. Creating spaces for such a world to be envisioned and realized is, I believe, the most urgent task to which we can devote our attention.

In this essay, I outline some ideas for how scholars and activists can build on existing movements and opportunities. I welcome PEWS members to join me in considering what we can contribute to today's urgent work for transformative change.

I'll start by arguing that what Chris Chase-Dunn, Paul Almeida and colleagues have called the "world revolutions of 20xx," like earlier world revolutions of 1848 and 1968, are essentially all movements for human rights. Whether opposing slavery or war or

advancing democracy, these movements are all saying, in varied ways, that people and ecosystems need to come before profits, and that the relationships between state authority and people must be transformed. Although often submerged in our historical narratives, these are also struggles against patriarchy and anthropocentrism.

"...people and ecosystems need to come before profits, and the relationships between state authority and people must be transformed."

The state system and Cold War pre-empted the advance of a more complex critique of capitalism's intersecting hierarchies, but today there are opportunities to illuminate these more fully in a broader debate. This was a point stressed in Immanuel Wallerstein's last essay in JWSR, ["Social Movements Yesterday and Today"](#) (2014). The modern world-system's institutional order of the inter-state system imposed a hierarchy on rights, reinforcing distinctions of species, nation, gender, race, and class in social relations. Cold War politics fueled divisions among movements by emphasizing a false dualism between economic, social and cultural rights and civil and political ones and by channeling decolonizing struggles into projects of (capitalist) state building.

“...demands for inclusion and equity would become more central to the functioning of the system and as fundamental to the system as its core-periphery divisions.”

World-systems analyses of today’s global justice movement and anti-austerity movements reveal possibilities in emergent movement discourses and practices for transcending the divisions that have long plagued movements advancing alternatives to capitalism (see, e.g., Moghadam, 2020; Chase-Dunn and Almeida, 2020; Smith et al. 2018; Carroll 2016). I argue that a unifying framework in contemporary movement discourses is human rights, and that the international institutionalization of human rights within the United Nations system both reflects the advances of this world revolutionary trend and creates opportunities for its further development.

From capitalist globalization to human rights globalization

In a 2009 essay, Leslie Sklair put forward the notion of “human rights globalization,” which he saw as a strategy for confronting the transnational capitalist class and its culture-ideology of consumerism, along with the system-maintaining distinction between civil and political rights on the one hand, and economic and social rights on the other

(Sklair 2009). Sklair’s work informed my own thinking about today’s transnational movements, which can fruitfully be understood as advancing, in multiple languages, a “culture-ideology of human rights” (Sklair 2002; 2009; Smith 2008). In essence, then, human rights movements confront the contradictions of the modern world-system’s geoculture, which celebrates values such as equality and freedom while practicing the opposite (Wallerstein 1991). Indeed, an essential feature of the modern world-system for Wallerstein is its simultaneous “profession of universalism and practice of anti-universalism.” Wallerstein argued that struggles against anti-universalism —i.e., demands for inclusion and equity— would become “*more central to the functioning of the system*” and “*as fundamental to the system*” as its core-periphery divisions (2004: 41, emphasis added).

Chase-Dunn and Almeida’s analysis of the long history of world revolution as well as my own work on transnational organizing suggests that human rights constitute the vast majority of all movement struggles. The growing body of evidence on more recent transnational movements reflects a profound upsurge in trans-state organizing after the Cold War, and much of this is due to changes in the overall political discourse and framing of politics in this period. We might think of this as a reworking of the geoculture to account for this fundamental change in the geopolitics of the world-system. Scholarship on human rights movements have referred to this recent period as reflecting a “new rights advocacy” (Nelson and Dorsey 2008), but

from a world-historical perspective these movements are not so much “new” as a recognition in places in the core of the world-system of the long-standing rights claims being put forward in the world’s peripheries—including those within core states. This tendency is revolutionary because it challenges the distinction Sklair pointed out between economic rights and civil/political rights.

Another revolutionary aspect of today’s human rights struggles is that they challenge the globalizing practices of capitalism. These are the processes of colonization and extraction, increasing the distance between sites of production and sites of accumulation/consumption. Such distances (both physical and ideological) enable capitalists to externalize costs and extract profits, preventing the system’s contradictions from destabilizing it. Today, observers of human rights advocacy see a trend of localization of global human rights advocacy, both in the emergence of movements such as the right to the city movement and municipalism as well as discourses in the United Nations and other international agencies of the need to include local governments in global policy processes (see, e.g., Barber 2013; UN High Commissioner for Human Rights 2019; Tsutsui and Smith 2018).

The rise of movements in the 2000s demanding rights in particular local contexts presents a fundamental challenge to capitalism’s privileging of large scale/global. These movements are about centering people over profits and focusing on people’s basic

needs and the physical places upon which they depend. That is why they’re so powerful: they connect with people’s immediate needs related to survival and belonging. They also help engage people’s “political and legal imaginations” as they require actions that bring folks together across the divisions capitalism imposes and encourage conversations about what sort of communities people want and need.

“These movements... centering people over profits and focusing on people’s basic needs and the physical places upon which they depend... [are] powerful”

Particular struggles such as affordable housing open the door to conversations about intersecting rights and about placemaking (vs. capitalism’s displacement). The slogan used by human rights city advocates borrows from Frederick Douglass to demonstrate the transformative vision offered by those working to globalize human rights “from below”: “Human rights don’t trickle down...they rise up!”

There are some other interesting developments emerging from human rights movements’ engagement with the UN system, and I argue that these can be seen as an effort to articulate outside the inter-state framework a “new international economic

order” that explicitly centers life and people, in contrast to the G77-led NIEO of the 1970s. Together these may be key to transforming states and their central role in maintaining the modern world-system.

“Today’s systemic crisis calls for new applications of world-systems analysis and praxis. I... propose that human rights offers a transformative framework that has energized a large and growing network of supporters around the world”

These human rights tendencies involve the articulation of transversal identities that transcend states and fundamentally contest the hierarchies and geoculture of the modern world-system. They include: (1) the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples, which has helped inspire and shape strategic efforts to launch a (2) Permanent Forum on People of African Descent; and the (3) Declaration on the Rights of Peasants, promoted by Via Campesina with the strategic intention of generating a similar Permanent Forum for peasants in the UN system ([Smith and Schroering 2018](#)).

In addition to offering transversal identities that enable people to organize outside of capitalism’s hierarchies of species/nation/gender/race/ and class, human rights movements have helped build an

institutional foundation for transformative change. Although it has received relatively little attention from many scholars, the human rights “architecture” available to today’s movements provides opportunities for expanding popular support and gaining political leverage over powerful adversaries. Human rights advocates have both expanded the network of human rights treaties and related legal foundations while strengthening global capacities for monitoring treaty compliance and fostering accountability.

For instance, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights was established in 1993, realizing a goal long advanced by human rights movements. Since then, it has worked to streamline UN human rights work and to remedy contradictions between different agencies, while providing opportunities for human rights advocates to contribute various skills and support to work that effectively globalizes human rights governance. OHCHR staff and special procedures, moreover, provide mechanisms for identifying gaps in enforcement and mobilizing technical, legal, and political pressure for change. And significantly, the establishment in 2006 of the [Universal Periodic Review](#) process—which provides for a routinized, comprehensive review of the human rights record of every UN member state—has expanded opportunities for advocates to participate in global processes (see [Smith and Cooper 2020](#)).

In conclusion, today's systemic crisis calls for new applications of world-systems analysis and praxis. I draw from my own research and political praxis to propose that human rights offers a transformative framework that has both energized a large and growing network of supporters around the world and that has helped realize institutional arrangements that can help further what we might think of as a *political project of human rights globalization*. I welcome PEWS colleagues to further conversations and activism around these ideas and others that consider how our scholarship can inform and further work to realize a new and better world-system.

Notes

1. The vision of human rights to which I refer is not the one often presumed in much Western, academic discourse—that is a formal, legalistic, and even imperialist version of human rights. Rather, the vision emerging from struggles around the world is a “people-centered human rights” (Baraka, n.d.) that centers people and their struggles and is led by movements from peripheries (see also Rajagopal 2006; Santos 2007).
2. This was identified in the Final Declaration of the 2001 World Conference Against Racism, and it has gained momentum with the recent surge of Black Lives Matter activism, which [has focused world attention on racial discrimination in policing](#). Movements are hoping to use the Sept. 2021 UN General Assembly high level meeting to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Durban Declaration to advance this and related goals to transform structural racism at the world level.

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Image from [CARICOM website](#)

Reparations, Coloniality, and Transformative Justice: CARICOM’s 10-Point Reparations Plan by Marilyn Grell-Brisk
(*University of California, Riverside*)

A March 24, 2021 [headline](#) called attention to the Council of Europe’s appeal, seemingly from a moral standpoint, to Portugal to confront its colonial past. With increasing racial violence and pervasive anti-Blackness around the globe, it seemed strange that Portugal was being “called out” as it were, as a former colonial power but not France, England or Spain. Still, the call to accept responsibility for past wrongs by former colonial powers is an interesting one considering how deeply implicated these countries are in the continued oppression and subjection of former colonial subjects within the modern capitalist world-system. Through his concept of coloniality of power, [Anibal Quijano](#) explains how this continued oppression operates –a racialized set of hierarchies inherited from the time of direct and indirect colonial rule continue to define

current political, socio-cultural and economic relationships between colonizers and the formerly colonized peoples.

An understanding of world power configuration from the lens of coloniality means that conversations around “responsibility for crimes committed during the colonial period,” must be broached not only from a moral point of view but also, from a structural one. And as such, we must be motivated by the principles of transformative justice, which according to Sam Gready and Simon Robins’ human rights brief, [From Transitional to Transformative Justice: A new agenda for practice](#), seeks transformative change “that emphasizes local agency and resources, the prioritization of process rather than pre-conceived outcomes, and the challenging of unequal and intersecting power relationships and structures of exclusion at both local and global levels.”

"An understanding of world power configuration from the lens of coloniality means that conversations around responsibility for crimes committed during the colonial period must be broached from both a moral and structural point of view."

In response to Portuguese celebration of their glorious colonial past, increasing racist rhetoric in its political discourse, and increasing complaints of racial discrimination in Portugal, the Council of Europe called for the country to examine its historical narratives and publicly recognize the wrongs that it had inflicted on the formerly colonized. Public recognition by the state for the harm of slavery and its legacies is one of the many formulations of reparations that have emerged in the discourse. In his May 2014 article in *The Atlantic*, titled [The Case for Reparations](#), Ta-Nehisi Coates writes that reparations involve "a full acceptance of our collective biography and its consequences... [a recognition] that American prosperity was ill-gotten and selective in its distribution. ...a national reckoning that would lead to spiritual renewal. ...a revolution of the American consciousness, a reconciling of our self-image as the great democratizer with the facts of history."

For many, however, this does not go far enough. It is only a beginning and does not get at the structural roots of the continued non-advancement of the formerly colonized or enslaved people and indigenous populations, because as Clyde Ross explained to Coates, "the reason black people are so far behind now is not because of now, ... it's because of then." The legacies of the violence against Black, Indigenous and other non-white people, manifests today in insidious ways that include the inability to pursue a life unencumbered by poverty, inequality, and subjection.

How can we approach reparations then, in a manner that incorporates a moral obligation to remedy the ills of genocide, enslavement, colonization, and their attendant negative impacts on the lives of descendants, as well as the principles of transformative justice? A potential example is presented in the Caribbean's call for reparations. In 2013, the heads of states of CARICOM convened a commission to prepare what they called a [reparatory justice case](#) for the region's "indigenous and African descendant communities who are the victims of Crimes Against Humanity in the forms of genocide, slavery, slave trading and racial apartheid."

The Commission asserted that European governments were fully responsible for the enslavement and trading of Africans and for the genocide of indigenous communities in the Caribbean; that these governments compensated the perpetrators of the enslavement of Africans but refused to

provide compensation to the formerly enslaved; that in the post-emancipation period, these governments instituted policies that promoted the continued suffering and discrimination of the formerly enslaved and indigenous populations; and that these governments refused to fully acknowledge those crimes against humanity. The Commission argued that the *Statements of Regrets* issued by European governments are offensive in that they imply that victims and descendants of slavery and genocide are not worthy of an apology.

In the Commission's 10-Point Reparation Plan, it called for called for 1) a full formal apology rather than statements of regrets; 2) repatriation for anyone who would want to be repatriated to Africa; 3) an indigenous peoples development program for the region's 30,000 descendants of pre-Columbian people who were survivors of genocide; 4) investment in Caribbean cultural institutions such as museums and research centers; 5) participation in the alleviation of the public health crises facing people in the Caribbean; 6) allocate funding for illiteracy eradication; 7) build African knowledge programs and networks that allow for community rehabilitation; 8) facilitate psychological rehabilitation to remedy the trauma from slavery inflicted on African descendant populations; 9) technology transfer and science sharing that enables wealth accumulation; 10) end the cycle of debt by the payment of domestic debt and the cancellation of international debt.

The CARICOM's 10-Point Reparation Plan is illustrative of how one might *begin* to approach reparations from a transformative justice perspective despite the plan's transitional justice elements. Gready and Robins contend that many approaches to addressing legacies of enslavement and genocide are based on transitional justice principles which often treat the symptoms rather than the structural foundations of inequality, power, and violence. Transitional justice processes might include truth commission reports, or may focus on acts of political violence against individuals. With transitional justice, human rights are defined legalistically and grounded in international law and rights. The CARICOM plan utilizes certain transitional justice standards such as their calls for investments in cultural institutions and knowledge programs and networks, which direct change via state-centric institutional mechanisms.

"The notion that technology transfer from the European governments would propel the Caribbean forward and away from the "illequipped backward space within the postmodern world economy" is problematic."

However, the plan does incorporate important features of transformative justice principles in that it includes a focus on collective experiences of structural and systemic violence, it considers rights as indivisible and interdependent giving equal consideration to social and economic rights; and it is a program for change that is empirically and evidentially driven, and grounded in context.

Yet some of the reparatory gestures/demands feed into an idea of development and progress that fits into the exploitative modern capitalist world-system which keeps the Caribbean in a subordinated position. The committee noted in the 10-Point Plan that the Caribbean languished in poverty while being denied participation in Europe's industrialization process, a process that allowed for Europe's wealth accumulation. However, the notion that technology transfer from the European governments would somehow propel the Caribbean forward and away from the ["illequipped backward space within the postmodern world economy"](#) is problematic. It is evocative of the idea that industrialization can be equated with development, which has been demonstrated to be deeply flawed (see: [Industrial Convergence, Globalization, and the Persistence of the North-South Divide](#) by Arrighi, Silver, and Brewer in *Studies in the journal Comparative International Development*, 2003).

In their article, [Western Imperialism and the Role of Sub-Imperialism in the Global South](#) earlier this year, Ana Garcia, Miguel Borba and Patrick Bond, note that the rise of the BRICS reinforced the deeply rooted imagery of "modernization" and "development" that reproduced core-periphery relations in an epoch when such projects were being challenged by non-Western scholarship. But this a view of development that is hard to abandon in the current political socio-economic landscape. More than anything, the particular technology transfer point in the reparations plan is indicative of the penetrative reach and ubiquitous nature of coloniality—it affects the very way we perceive our sense of self, being, and development as people in a deeply unequal world-system. We become embedded within the system of exploitation, participating in it and expanding it even while we're demanding to be free of it. This prevents us from truly confronting and challenging the modern capitalist world-system, a system that is inherently unequal, and buttressed by hierarchy and power. Still, reparations that truly exemplify transformative justice principles requires such a confrontation, and the dismantling of this structure of unending inequality and oppression.

Notes

1. In 1973, the prime ministers of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, signed the Treaty of Chaguaramas in an effort to build a deeper and more structured engagement between their nation states. In 2002, they modified the treaty to include additional member states and establish the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). This regional integration is not solely economic but also premised on foreign policy coordination, human and social development and security. CARICOM is now made up of twenty countries. Fifteen are full member states and five are associate members.

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Member Spotlights and News

Announcements



RC05: Immanuel Wallerstein's Legacies

at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Thursday, April 8 11:00am- 12:15pm eastern daylight; 8-9:15 am pacific daylight

Session Description

Sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein was one of the creators, with Samir Amin, Andre Gunder Frank and Giovanni Arrighi, of the world-system perspective that emerged in the 1970s as a critical approach to understanding global hierarchy and world history. Wallerstein died on August 31, 2019. His impact on scholarship and political practice is the topic of this ISA session.

Participants

Chair: Christopher K. Chase-Dunn (University of California, Riverside)

Participant: Albert Bergesen (University of Arizona)

Participant: Andrej Grubacic (California Institute of Integral Studies)

Participant: Marilyn Grell-Brisk (UC Riverside)

Participant: Michael Tyralla (Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)

Albert J. Bergesen, University of Arizona <albert@email.arizona.edu>

Extending Wallerstein's World-System Cycles into the 21st Century

Andrej Grubacic, California Institute for Integral Studies <agrubacic@ciis.edu>

Reading The Modern-World System Methodologically

Marilyn Grell-Brisk, University of California, Riverside <mgrell@ucr.edu>

Contemporary Africa in the World-System

Michael Tyralla, City University of Hong Kong <michaeltyrala@gmail.com>

Navigating Between the Scylla of Ignorance and the Charybdis of Deception: The Axial Division of Labor Four Decades On



THE April issue of the French journal **Socio** from the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme will be dedicated to the legacy of **Immanuel Wallerstein**. Articles are in English and French. <https://www.fmsh.fr/fr/diffusion-des-savoirs/31172>



TANYA GOLASH-BOZA delivered a TEDx talk, ***How to Kill a Neighborhood and Make a Profit***, where she shares her experiences growing up in a DC neighborhood that has now gentrified while also taking a close look at racist housing policies in the mid-twentieth century to show how they can help us understand gentrification patterns today. You can watch the talk at <https://youtu.be/eakUZX-pRCQ>

Tanya Golash-Boza founded the ***Racism, Capitalism, and the Law Lab (RCL)*** at the *University of California, Merced*. The RCL Lab analyzes the human rights violations inherent in U.S. laws and policies; how immigration and criminal laws exacerbate racial disparities; how these laws are used as tools of state repression during crises of capitalism; and how a profit-based system leads to the dispossession of working-class people and people of color. You can check out the work of the RCL Lab, including the Mapping Gentrification project at <http://racismcapitalismlaw.com/>

THE GLOBAL EXTRACTIVISMS and Alternatives Initiative (EXALT) is a new international network of scholars and activists dedicated to collaboration and knowledge creation around the pressing crisis stemming from extractivist policies and practices.



This Initiative draws together diverse critical analyses of the phenomena of global extractivisms and the myriad alternatives being actively pursued in both theory and practice. It is the intention of this Initiative to contribute to, expand, and deepen the concept of extractivism and the role of alternatives beyond the conventional usage connected to natural resources. We are eager to build new partnerships and collaborate in various academic activities in relation to extractivisms and alternatives, so do not hesitate to contact us at exalt@helsinki.fi and see our website exalt.fi for further information.



IN FALL 2021, Valentine M Moghadam is expected to be in residence at the Library of Congress, as Kluge Chair in the Countries and Cultures of the South, to work on her next book, *Varieties of Feminism in the Middle East and North Africa*.

Dr. Moghadam is also a research participant in Sylvia Walby's network, *Theorizing Gender Regimes*, and will be preparing a paper that integrates the world-systems perspective in gender regime theorizing.

New Publications from our Membership

New Articles

Austin, Kelly F., Mark D. Noble, and Virginia Burndt. 2021. Drying Climates, Food Insecurity and Unequal Vulnerabilities to HIV: A Cross-National Analysis of Women's HIV in Less-Developed Nations. *Social Indicators Research* 154(1): 313-334.

Austin, Kelly F. 2021. Degradation and Disease: Ecologically Unequal Exchanges Cultivate Emerging Pandemics. *World Development* 137(1): 105163.

Benner, Chris and Sarah Mason with Françoise Carre and Chris Tilly. December 2020. *Delivering Insecurity: E-commerce and the Future of Work in Food Retail.* Center for Labor Research and Education, University of California Berkeley: <https://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/delivering-insecurity/>

Burndt, Virginia and Kelly F. Austin. 2021. Drought and Disproportionate Disease: An Investigation of the Percentage of HIV Cases among Women in Less-Developed Nations. *Population & Environment* 42 (3):379-405

Carré, Françoise, Chris Tilly, Chris Benner and Sarah Mason. September 2020. *Change and Uncertainty, Not*

Apocalypse: Technological Change and Store-Based Retail. Center for Labor Research and Education, University of California Berkeley.

<https://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/change-and-uncertainty-not-apocalypse-technological-change-and-store-based-retail/>

Chang, Andy Scott. 2021. *Selling a Resume and Buying a Job: Stratification of Gender and Occupation by States and Brokers in International Migration from Indonesia.* *Social Problems*. doi: 10.1093/socpro/spab002

Davis, Andrew P., and Albert J. Bergesen. *Populism in the World-System: A cross National Analysis in Amit Ron and Majia Nadesan (eds.), Mapping Populism: Approaches and Methods,* London: Routledge, 2020. eBook version: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429295089>

Driscoll, Daniel. 2021. Drivers of Carbon Price Adoption in Wealthy Democracies: International or Domestic Forces? *Socius* 7:1–11. doi: [10.1177/2378023121992252](https://doi.org/10.1177/2378023121992252). <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2378023121992252#articleShareContainer>

Grell-Brisk, Marilyn. 2021. Blackness, Disposability, and the Black Spirit. *Journal of World-Systems Research.* 27(1): 345-355. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.5195/jwsr.2021.1057>

Hopewell, Kristen. 2021. *Heroes of the developing world? Emerging powers in WTO agriculture negotiations and dispute settlement.* *Journal of Peasant Studies*:1-24.

Hopewell, Kristen. 2021. Strategic Narratives in Global Trade Politics: American Hegemony, Free Trade, and the Hidden Hand of the State. *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 14(1):51-86.

Hopewell, Kristen. 2021. Trump & Trade: The Crisis in the Multilateral Trading System. *New Political Economy* 26(2):271-82.

Karshenas, Massoud, and Valentine M. Moghadam. Forthcoming 2021. Female Labour Force Participation and Women's Employment: Puzzles, Problems, and Research, in *The Routledge Handbook of Middle East Economics*, (ed. Hassan Hakimian). London: Routledge

Kent-Stoll, Peter. 2020. The Racial and Colonial Dimensions of Gentrification. *Sociology Compass* 14 (12): 1–17.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12838>.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 2020. What was Globalization? Globalizations. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2020.1842095>

Moghadam, Valentine M. 2020. *Gender Regimes in the Middle East and North Africa: The Power of Feminist Movements.* *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society.* 27(3): 467-485

Ollinaho, Ossi and Markus Kröger. 2021. Agroforestry transitions: The good, the bad and the ugly. *Journal of Rural Studies* 82:210-221.
(<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0743016721000164?via%3Dihub>)

Plys, Kristin. 2020. Time and World-History. *Critical Sociology* 46(4-5): 677-691.[\[link to article\]](#)

Plys, Kristin. 2021. Theorizing Capitalist Imperialism for Anti-Imperialist Praxis: Towards a Rodneyan World Systems Analysis. *Journal of World-Systems Research* 27(1): 1-26.

Quark, Amy, Kristen Hopewell, and Elias Alsbergas. 2020 (online first). Inter-State Competition and Transnational Capitalists across the North-South Divide: Different Strategies, New Configurations of Power. *Social Problems.* Online First.
<https://academic.oup.com/socpro/advance-article-abstract/doi/10.1093/socpro/spaa054/5939811?redirectedFrom=fulltext>

Rhomberg, Chris, and Steven Lopez. 2021. Understanding Strikes in the 21st Century: Perspectives from the USA. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 44: 37-62.
<https://doi.org/10.1108/S0163-786X20210000044005>

Rhomberg, Chris. 2020. The Struggle for a New Labor Regime: The U.S. *Tempo Social* (Sao Paulo, Brazil) 32(1): 99-118.
<https://www.revistas.usp.br/ts/article/view/164863>

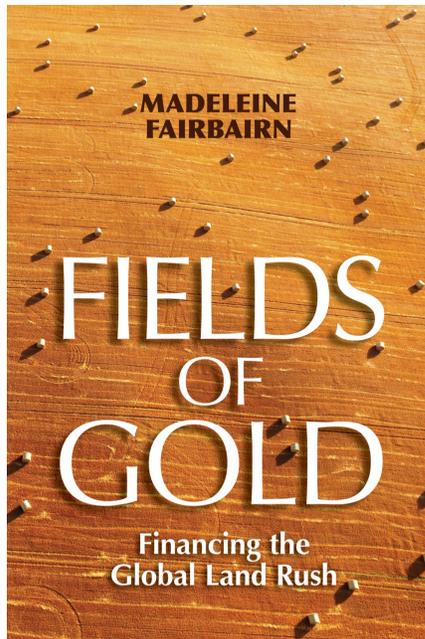
Tilly, Chris and Georgina Rojas-García. 2021. Shifting tides of informal worker resistance in Mexico: A domestic work-construction contrast,"*Bulletin of Latin American Research* 40(3).
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/blar.13109>

Winders, Bill. 2020. The Global Context of the U.S. Farm Bill in 2018: World Markets, Instability, and Policy Preferences in Agriculture. *Renewable*

Agriculture and Food Systems.
35(4):367- 375.

New Books

Fairbairn, Madeleine. 2020. *Fields of Gold: Financing the Global Land Rush*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

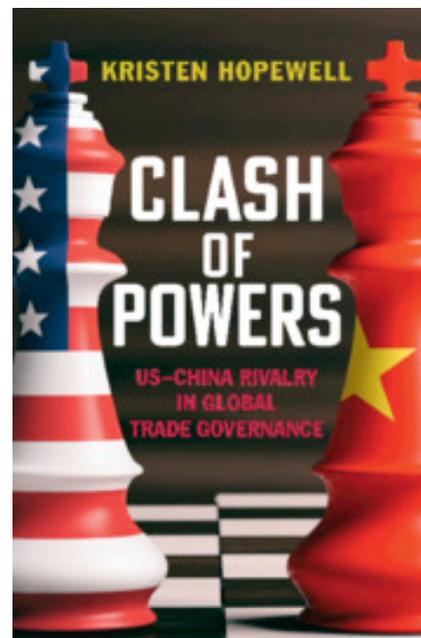


Fields of Gold critically examines the history, ideas, and political struggles surrounding the financialization of farmland. In particular, Madeleine Fairbairn focuses on developments in two of the most popular investment locations, the US and Brazil, looking at the implications of financiers' acquisition of land and control over resources for rural livelihoods and economic justice.

At the heart of *Fields of Gold* is a tension between efforts to transform farmland into a new financial asset class, and land's physical and social properties, which

frequently obstruct that transformation. But what makes the book unique among the growing body of work on the global land grab is Fairbairn's interest in those acquiring land, rather than those affected by land acquisitions. Fairbairn's work sheds ethnographic light on the actors and relationships—from Iowa to Manhattan to São Paulo—that have helped to turn land into an attractive financial asset class.

Hopewell, Kristen. 2020. *Clash of Powers: US-China Rivalry in Global Trade Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



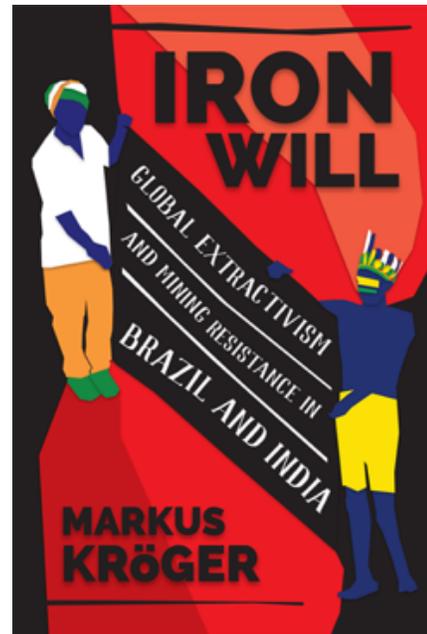
The US-China trade war instigated by President Trump has thrown the multilateral trading system into a crisis. Drawing on vast interview and documentary materials, Hopewell shows how US-China conflict had already paralyzed the system of international rules

and institutions governing trade. The China Paradox – the fact that China is both a developing country and an economic powerhouse – creates significant challenges for global trade governance and rule-making. While China demands exemptions from global trade disciplines as a developing country, the US refuses to extend special treatment to its rival. The implications of this conflict extend far beyond trade, impeding pro-development and pro-environment reforms of the global trading system. As one of the first analyses of the implications of US-China rivalry for the governance of global trade, this book is crucial to our understanding of China's impact on the global trading system and on the liberal international economic order.

Kröger, Markus. 2020. *Iron Will: Global Extractivism and Mining Resistance in Brazil and India*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

(<https://www.fulcrum.org/concern/monographs/tq57ns985>).

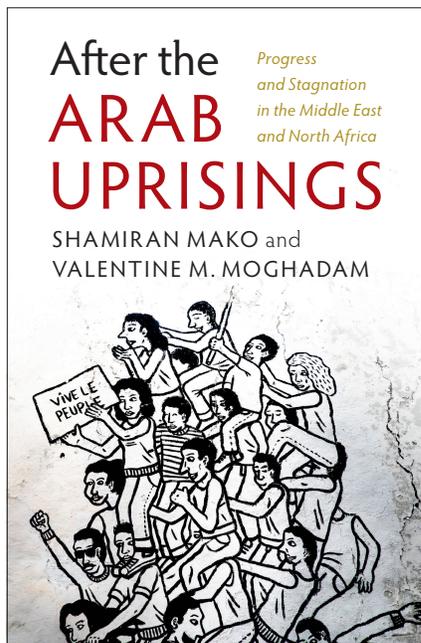
Iron Will lays bare the role of extractivist policies and efforts to resist these policies through a deep ethnographic exploration of globally important iron ore mining in Brazil and India. It is the most comprehensive book on the political economy and ecology of iron ore and steel. Markus Kröger addresses resistance strategies to extractivism and tracks their success, or lack thereof, through a comparison of peaceful and armed resource conflicts, explaining how different means of



resistance arise. Using the distinctly different contexts and political systems of Brazil and India highlights the importance of local context for resistance.

By drawing on a detailed field research and other sources, this book explains precisely which resistance strategies are able to influence both political and economic outcomes. Kröger expands the focus of traditionally Latin American extractivism research to other contexts such as India and the growing extractivist movement in the Global North. In addition, as the book is a multi-sited political ethnography, it will appeal to sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, geographers, and others using field research among other methods to understand globalization and global political interactions.

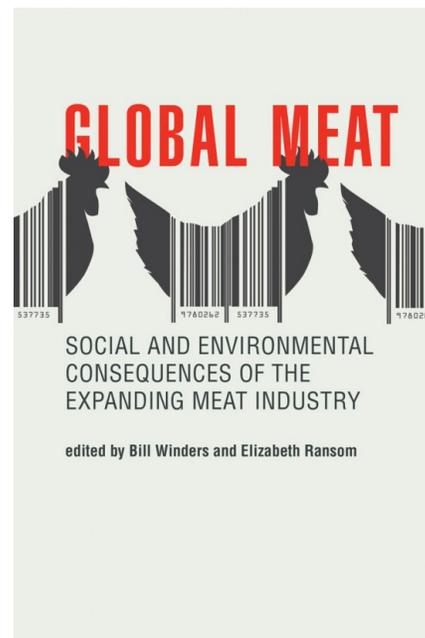
Mako, Shamiran, and Valentine M. Moghadam. Forthcoming 2021. *After the Arab Uprisings: Progress and Stagnation in the Middle East and North Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



Why were some, but not all the Arab mass social protests of 2011 accompanied by relatively quick and nonviolent outcomes in the direction of regime change, democracy, and social transformation? Why was a democratic transition limited to Tunisia, and why did region-wide democratization not occur? *After the Arab Uprisings* offers an explanatory framework to answer these central questions, based on four key themes: state and regime type, civil society, gender relations and women's mobilizations, and external influence. Applying these to seven cases: Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Bahrain, Libya, Syria, and Yemen, Valentine M. Moghadam and Shamiran Mako highlight the salience of

domestic and external factors and forces, uniquely presenting women's legal status, social positions, and organizational capacity, along with the presence or absence of external intervention, as key elements in explaining the divergent outcomes of the Arab Spring uprisings, and extending the analysis to the present day.

Winders, Bill and Elizabeth Ransom, editors. 2019. *Global Meat: Social and Environmental Consequences of the Expanding Meat Industry*. MIT Press.



Global meat production and consumption have risen sharply and steadily over the past five decades, with per capita meat consumption almost doubling since 1960. The expanding global meat industry, meanwhile, driven by new trade policies and fueled by government subsidies, is dominated by just a few corporate giants. Industrial farming—the intensive production of animals and fish—has spread

across the globe. Millions of acres of land are now used for pastures, feed crops, and animal waste reservoirs. Drawing on concrete examples, the contributors to *Global Meat* explore the implications of the rise of a global meat industry for a range of social and environmental issues, including climate change, clean water supplies, hunger, workers' rights, and the treatment of animals.

Book Contributors: Conner Bailey, Robert M. Chiles, Celize Christy, Riva C. H. Denny, Carrie Freshour, Philip H. Howard, Elizabeth Ransom, Tom Rudel, Mindi Schneider, Nhung Tran, Bill Winders

Pews Sessions at ASA 2021

PEWS day at ASA 2021 is on **Saturday, August 7, 2021.**

Refereed Round-tables

Organizer: Lu Zhang, Temple University

Refereed roundtables will feature cutting-edge theoretical and empirical research that engages global, political economic approaches organized by topical theme. Depending on the abstract/paper submissions we receive online, the roundtables will cover important themes such as Climate Change, Racial Justice, Gender Inequality, Global Social Movements, Labor, Migration, Sustainable Development, Nationalism, Democratization, Human Rights, Culture and Mass Media, and the Impact of COVID-19, etc.

COVID-19 and the Capitalist World-System

Co-organizers: Christopher Chase-Dunn, UC, Riverside; William I Robison, UC, Santa Barbara

The COVID-19 pandemic thrust the capitalist world-system into the worst economic and political crisis in decades. It brought about heightened class and racial inequality, aggravated geopolitical tensions, and fanned social conflict around the world. The pandemic brought into stark relief the extent of malaise in the global social order. It may prove to be a before-and-after turning point. What will the capitalist

world-system look like as it emerges from the pandemic? How will the crisis play out? What are the prospects for social justice in the post-pandemic world? This panel will explore these issues and welcomes paper submissions from a broad range of perspectives.

Political Economy Approaches to Technology and the Environment

Co-organizers: Kelly Austin, Lehigh University; Sarah Grace Manski, George Mason University

While capitalism is often associated with fostering technological innovation, capitalist development also shapes emergent technologies to facilitate the accumulation of profit, often leading to ever-increasing environmental destruction. This panel invites papers that engage political economy or world systems approaches to technology or the environment, or the nexus between the two. Both of these concepts, technology and the environment, can be broadly conceptualized in the research. For instance, issues related to technology could include developments related to big data, the Internet of Things, algorithmic automation, artificial intelligence, distributed ledger technologies, technological innovation, material agency, etc. The topics related to the environment might consider biodiversity, resource use and degradation, climate change, environmental justice, food systems, waste management, renewable energy, the built environment, etc. Papers should engage critical themes related to globalization, and be of interest to a general

audience. The goal of this session is to bring together leading technology and environmental scholars who conduct empirical work informed by sociological theory on the possibilities of building new communication, governance, and production institutions outside of capitalism. Papers should address how these changes relate to inequality, democracy and politics.

JWSR Update

Special issue out now. Vol. 27 No. 1 (2021):
**Capitalist World-Economy in Crisis:
 Policing, Pacification, and Legitimacy**

We are excited to announce the Winter/Spring 2021 issue of the Journal of World-Systems Research Special Issue “Capitalist World-Economy in Crisis: Policing, Pacification, and Legitimacy,” with special editors Zeynep Gönen, and Zhandarka Kurti. The papers in this special issue explore the ways the penal arm of the state has replaced the welfare state, demonstrating how other areas of life are increasingly reorganized by the logic of policing and surveillance to meet the end goals of productivity and profit. Research papers in this issue cover diverse concepts including hegemonic transition, global trade in waste, and capitalist imperialism.

ISSUE CONTENTS:

CAPITALIST WORLD-ECONOMY IN CRISIS

Zeynep Gönen, and Zhandarka Kurti | Introduction to the Special Issue on Capitalist World-Economy in Crisis: Policing, Pacification, and Legitimacy

Steven Osuna | Securing Manifest Destiny: Mexico’s War on Drugs, Crisis of Legitimacy, and Global Capitalism

Simten Coşar and Gülden Özcan | A Feminist Analysis of Security in Turkey: Neoliberal

Patriarchy, Authoritarianism, and Package Politics

Mark Neocleous | Debt as Pacification

Tom Montel | Policing Asylum Seekers’ Flight Within Europe: About the Subjugation of Migrant Labor Under the Dublin Regime

Brendan McQuade | World Histories of Big Data Policing: The Imperial Epistemology of the Police-Wars of U.S. Hegemony

Zhandarka Kurti | Starting a Dialogue: From Radical Criminology to Critical Resistance: An Interview with Tony Platt

ARTICLES

Robert Denemark | Pre-Emptive Decline

Toufic Saredine | Middle Kingdom Enters Middle East: A World-Systems Analysis of Peripheralization along the Maritime Silk Road Initiative

Alexandre Abdal and Douglas Ferreira | Deglobalization, Globalization, and the Pandemic: Current Impasses of the Capitalist World-Economy

Junfu Zhao | Investigating the Asymmetric Core/Periphery Structure of International Labor Time Flows: A New Network Approach to Studying the World-System

Yikang Bai and Jennifer Givens | Ecologically Unequal Exchange of Plastic Waste?: A Longitudinal Analysis of International Trade in Plastic Waste

Kristin Plys | Theorizing Capitalist Imperialism for an Anti-Imperialist Praxis: Towards a Rodneyan World Systems Analysis

LECTURES

Immanuel Wallerstein | Remarks on Challenging Capitalist Modernity
David Graeber | All Economies are Ultimately Human Economies

INTERVIEWS

Staughton and Alice Lynd | Interview with Staughton and Alice Lynd:
Conducted by Andrej Grubačić

BOOK REVIEWS

Contesting the Global Order: The Radical Political Economy of Perry Anderson and Immanuel Wallerstein by Gregory P. Williams, reviewed by Juho Korhonen

The Routledge Handbook of Transformative Global Studies by S. A. Hamed Hosseini, James Goodman, Sara C. Motta, and Barry K Gills (eds.), reviewed by Amentahru Wahlrab

The Global Police State by William I. Robinson, reviewed by Zhandarka Kurti

BOOK REVIEW ESSAYS

Marilyn Grell-Brisk | Blackness, Disposability, and the Black Spirit

**Thank you to PEWS Section Members for contributing to PEWSNews!
Remember to follow us on twitter (@ASAPEWS) and email announcements to us
directly at pewsnewsletter@gmail.com. We look forward to hearing from you!
Marilyn, and Zeinab.**