

PEWS NEWS

Political Economy of the World-System | American Sociological Association

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A Few Words from the Chair

Slaveship Earth & the World-Historical Imagination in the Age of Climate Crisis

“The accumulation of capital... employs force as a
permanent weapon.”
– Rosa Luxemburg

Jason W. Moore

The climate crisis is the fundamental question of the twenty-first century. Biospheric? Well duh. Political? Yes. Economic? Certainly. Personal? Without a doubt.

The world-historical imagination is unusually well-situated to engage and envision climate change as something more than a geological moment. (Which of course it is.) But will it?

At a time when scholars in the Section are reflecting upon the paradigmatic contributions of world-systems analysis, it may be useful to foreground two of its signal contributions. In the first instance, the narrative strategies of Braudel and Wallerstein challenge the framing of “society plus nature” still-hegemonic in the social sciences, but also within the world-systems tradition. The insight that capitalism emerges in and through the web of life, and that capitalism’s social relations are in fact geographical and multi-species relations, remains marginal. Such notions are often recognized philosophically, yet excluded from core conceptual and methodological framing of capitalism’s combined and uneven geographies. No less significant is the idea that capitalism as mode of thought and mode of production are joined at the hip. To the degree that we can speak of world-systems analysis rather than a “perspective” or “theory,” we are implicating a fundamental critique of the structures of the knowledge, including the profound fragmentation of scholarship into disciplinary formations.

At its best, world-systems analysis asks an epochal question: What mode of knowledge is appropriate for the planetary crises of the 21st century? Can the structures of knowledge implicated in these crises inform an analytics, aesthetics, and politics of climate justice? The thinking that created the crisis will provide few clues to navigating the crisis ahead in an

emancipatory and sustainable fashion. Meeting that challenge calls for a more thoroughgoing rethinking than scholars typically want to do – not least because to unthink the structures of knowledge, and to challenge the geocultures of domination to which they connect, requires us to give up many of our sacred analytical objects (nature, society, the market, the state, the worker, the city, and so forth).

Two of our most sacred objects are Society, and its antonym, Nature. These are not innocent signifiers; these words assume their contemporary meaning in the English language in the century after 1550, a period of bloody expropriations in the English countryside, Ireland, and the Americas. (If you've ever used the phrase "beyond the pale," you have invoked the old English colonial line around Dublin bounding the "civilized" English from the "savage" and "wild" Irish.) Nature and Society are not merely words, then. They have served as practical guides – *real abstractions* – for the disciplining of conquered peoples; the global policing of the world color line; and the violent redefinition of women's lives and labors as part of Nature, ever subordinated to Society.

So hegemonic is the imperial conception of Nature – a place without history – that most of us (including me) have used the term "naturalize" to refer to cultures of domination and their ambitions to re-present inequality as the eternal order of things. At a time when we have historicized nearly every other systemic process – think of our vast conceptual repertoire for global dispossession and production systems in the post-1975 period – Nature continues to be a domain without history, relegated to discussions of consequences, or of dire threats. But what if the climate crisis is a geohistorical – not only geophysical – crisis, in which capitalism's *longue durée* color, gender, and class divides are fundamentally implicated? And what does this do to the received models of thinking inequality, power, and the cultures of domination rooted in a Nature/Society cosmology?

In this respect, the "greening" of world-systems analysis, now two decades on, presented two intractable – and rarely engaged – problems. One was that, as is so often the case in the social sciences, "the environment" became yet another set of variables; or something to be tacked on to discussions of "social" relations, invariably defined as independent of nature. These procedures had the effect of reinforcing the modernist cosmology born of the long sixteenth century: social relations (humans without nature) and "nature" (ecologies without humans). The uncomfortable history of Society and Nature – real and practical abstractions recurrently mobilized through colonial conquest, ecocide, and genocide – was rarely acknowledged.

Nor has the tension between the anti-imperialist roots of the world-historical perspective and its later embrace of "the environment" as analytical category. Here is a second paradox: Why did world-systems analysis, a tradition born of anti-imperialist struggles, *come to embrace an environmental imaginary that emerged precisely to contain those anti-imperialist struggles?*

Here it is instructive to recall the geocultural history of "the environment" as a real abstraction, and as a hegemonic imaginary, installed and rapidly deployed beginning in 1968. Not coincidentally, the ten years after 1965 marked the most rebellious decade of anti-capitalist politics in capitalism's history. If historical accident always plays some role, it strains the imagination to think the emergence of a new environmental imaginary as merely coincidental. Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb*, co-published by the Sierra Club in 1968, became the ur-text of second wave Environmentalism. Like Malthus, Ehrlich banished the question of history from nature: the drive to overpopulation was rooted in "billions of years of evolution." Also like Malthus, Ehrlich wrote in the midst of unprecedented revolutionary ferment from below. Populationism, in 1968 no less than 1798, was a cultural hammer in the hands of empire.

The power to define a problem is about as fundamental as it gets. Is the climate crisis a management and design problem aboard Spaceship Earth? In varied hues, this has been the dominant environmental imaginary since 1968. Its message has been remarkably consistent: All of us, all humankind, share a common interest in a planet that wisely uses resources, ensures a basic right to food and other necessities, and minimizes pollution. We are all rubbing elbows (and not only elbows) aboard Spaceship Earth; we are all invested in the “human enterprise”; we are all living in the Anthropocene. If we are heedless of the risks, catastrophe and collapse will come – sooner rather than later.

Like any powerful metaphor, Spaceship Earth and its successors offer a comforting – and for some, intoxicating – brew of truth and illusion. Yes for sure, climate change is implicated in what earth system scientists call a “state shift” in the biosphere. That’s a dry term for a reasonably terrifying situation: devastating weather events, flooded cities worldwide, fearsome diseases, and all the rest. State shifts, these scientists remind us, are abrupt, fundamental, irreversible. And the weight of climate science tells us there’s no going back.

What’s ahead will depend on how well working people can imagine a radical politics that does two things: grasps capitalism’s long history of racist, sexist, and colonial domination as fundamental to the exploitation of working classes and endless capital accumulation; and comprehends the relation of human and extra-human natures as one in which an injury to one is an injury to all. That’s a tall order. But I think one way forward is to imagine the climate crisis as something more than purely biophysical, as a geohistorical moment that reveals webs of power, life, and production as fundamentally entangled?

The whole thrust of the Environmentalist imaginary since 1968 has worked to avoid naming the system, naming the power. Climate change is anthropogenic, not capitalogenic. We live in the “age of man” (Anthropocene) and not the “age of capital” (Capitalocene). Go home and have “fun with footprints” as you calculate your individual, market-oriented responsibility for environmental destruction. Set aside half the Earth for “nature” – as if five centuries of dispossession and genocide were not enough.

If the Earth is a ship, it’s not a spaceship, it’s a slaveship. If there is a human enterprise, it’s a firm with a CEO who earns 500 times the salary of its workers. If there is an Anthropocene, it’s an era when some humans turned most humans – and the rest of nature – into profit-making machines.

Here is the moment where the world-historical imagination can grasp climate change as a geohistorical crisis, and not only a geophysical one. Such a reimagination will require the fundamental rethinking of our intellectual categories as well – not least our disciplinary attachments and the disciplines themselves. To grasp climate change as a geohistorical crisis asks us to go beyond adding up Society plus Nature and to interrogate the emergent properties of climate crisis through the emergence of new, emancipatory epistemologies and ontologies. Such an approach will refuse the idea of climate and the web of life as variable – and encourage the radical rethinking of how and what we measure -- for there is no domain of human reality that is exempt from the unfolding crisis.

Here I take my cue not only from the world-historical tradition but also from climate justice movements in their many forms. For the central unifying claim of climate justice – for all its diversity – is that climate change is a *geohistorical moment*. Radical motifs such as “there is no such thing as a natural disaster” underscore this recognition. Recent climate events – underscored by the successive hurricanes that swept across the Caribbean from Puerto Rico to Texas in fall 2017 – cannot be explained except through narratives that mix climate change with long histories of

colonialism, reckless real estate development, and racialized capitalism. The climate justice challenge, at its best, recognizes the 21st century's planetary crisis as something more than the output of carbon-belching machines; it recognizes those machines as vitally dependent upon the "machinery" of modern racism, sexism, and imperialism. This is Ghassan Hage's vital insight when he asks, "Is racism an environmental threat?" (Yes indeed!) Racial domination is not only a consequence of modern environmental change, but fundamental to capitalism and how capitalism turns the web of life into a profit-making machine. A political coalition that seeks to resolve the climate crisis without confronting modernity's *longue durée* racialized, gendered, and sexualized violence and injustice will replay the tragedies of the world's left in the twentieth century.

That confrontation has been in the making for several decades. Environmental justice movements across the globe – registered in agrarian, feminist, anti-toxics, anti-privatization, indigenous, worker health and safety, anti-nuclear, food and climate justice movements – have long insisted on the fundamental connection between economic, environmental, and human justice. If we approach climate change geohistorically, as a crisis of how capitalism organizes the world color, gender, and class divides with and within the web of life, then our imaginary of the crisis goes beyond Environmentalism's selective holism. The geohistorical holism of world-systems analysis, underlining the centrality of racialized labor and imperialism, opened the possibility for radical alternative to Environmentalist approaches – more often than not representing the holism of the rich.

An alternative imaginary that takes on climate justice as a guiding thread will require not only civil disobedience but *intellectual disobedience*. Such an alternative imaginary understands that the climate crisis activates new forms of established domination. A geohistorical imagination takes on board climate apartheid, climate patriarchy, and the climate class as something more than righteously provocative slogans, and cultivates activist analytics that shape our analysis – and our politics – in the coming decades.

This, it seems to me, is pivotal to the challenging of rethinking the world-systems project.

Jason W. Moore, an environmental historian and historical geographer, is Professor of Sociology at Binghamton University and 2017-18 chair of the Section on the Political Economy of the World-System. He is author, mostly recently, of *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things*, with Raj Patel (California, 2017), and coordinates the [World-Ecology Research Network](https://www.world-ecology.com/). Many of his essays can be found on his website, <https://www.jasonwmoore.com>.

Congratulations to Incoming Officers!

Chair (3-year term begins in 2018)

TIE *** Jennifer Bickham Mendez, The College of William & Mary

TIE *** Tanya Golash-Boza, University of California, Merced

Jennifer and Tanya will serve consecutive positions, so no new election until 2020. Tanya will serve as chair-elect 2018-2019, followed by Jennifer for 2019-2020.

Secretary/Treasurer (3-year term begins in 2018)

Bill Winders, Georgia Tech

Council Member (3-year term begins in 2018)

Kelly Austin, Lehigh University

Jordanna Matlon, American University

Student Representative (2-year term begins in 2018)

Sarah Manski, University of California, Santa Barbara

Congratulations to Section Awardees!

Book Award Winner: **Andy Clarno**, *Neoliberal Apartheid: Palestine/Israel and South Africa after 1994* (2017, Chicago). o

Honorable Mention: **Ching Kwan Lee** *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor and Foreign Investment in Africa* (2017, Chicago). e

Article award winner: **Şahan Savaş Karataşlı**. 2017. "The Capitalist World-Economy in the Longue Durée: Changing Modes of the Global Distribution of Wealth, 1500–2008," *Sociology of Development* 3(2):163-186

Grad student paper winner: **Ricarda Hammer and Alexandre White**. "Black Revolutions, Black Republics" which was published in the 2017 ASA conference proceedings.

PEWS Distinguished Teaching Award: **Jennifer Bickham Mendez**.

From the committee: Professor Bickham Mendez embodies the pedagogical philosophy of "teaching through doing" in all of her courses, but it is particularly evident in her path-breaking U.S.-Mexico Border Program—an interdisciplinary learning experience for students to study on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. This program allows students to participate not only in traditional seminars but also in meetings with humanitarian groups, government officials, activists, and migrants. In this program, and in all her courses, Professor Bickham Mendez instructs on research methodology through practical experiences. Testaments from her colleagues and students show not only the overwhelming success of her courses and programs, but also her strong overall commitment to undergraduate teaching and advising. The successful thematic integration of political economy, migration, and methodology in her courses provides a critical pedagogical service in this time.

PEWS at ASA

Sunday is PEWS day at the ASA this year.

Please see the ASA program for more information, and plan to attend the business meeting and reception. <https://convention2.allacademic.com/one/asa/asa18/>

Our section's reception is Sunday, August 12 from 7:30 to 10:00 at Ladder 15, which is located at [1528 SANSOM ST. PHILADELPHIA, PA 19102](#).

There will be a workshop on Monday, August 13th concerning the future of PEWS.

The workshop will include a lunch for attendants that RSVP. Further details on the workshop will be forthcoming. Please plan to attend.

PEWS Going Forward

In this edition we have commentaries from long-term PEWS members, including: Wilma A. Dunaway, Salvatore Babones, Donald A. Clelland and Kathleen Pickering. These members have draw on their experiences and conversations occurring within the section, including the section blog, as how we might move forward as a leading section in ASA.

Before delving into the editorials, I want to thank all the members for your support and contributions to the PEWS Newsletter for the last three years. As the current and outgoing editor of PEWS News, it has been a pleasure to get an insider perspective on the workings of the development of PEWS.

The PEWS Intellectual Legacy for the 21st Century

Wilma A. Dunaway (Virginia Tech, wdunaway@vt.edu)

Recently, a member of the current PEWS leadership stated on the section's blog: "I'm not a big fan of the world-system language because I think it has too much intellectual baggage." The PEWS membership should wonder how committed to diversity and inclusion the PEWS Council really is when one of its members draws such a discriminatory line that would exclude so many of us. Then we must ask: who among the PEWS membership is the source of the "intellectual baggage" to which he refers? Does he expect us to reject the rich intellectual legacies of the section's early architects: Immanuel Wallerstein, Samir Amin, Terry Hopkins, Giovanni Arrighi, and Andre Gunde Frank? Should we ostracize Chris Chase-Dunn for being impassioned about the notion that world-systems analysis is a school "in which arrays of theorization and empirical research are taking place within a general framework"? While there may be a diversity of approaches and methodologies among PEWS members, what unifies us is the world-systems perspective which is "an overarching epistemology that stresses the importance of whole world-systems in the understanding of social reality." Moreover, "the world-systems perspective sees the whole intersocietal system of national societies as the relevant whole system" (Chase-Dunn and Lawrence 2010). Should we be as short-sighted as this section leader and toss as "intellectual baggage" the recent argument of Albrecht and Korzeniewicz (2018: 94) that the world-economy as a whole [i]s the relevant unit of analysis for understanding the relationship between economic growth and social inequality"?

This negative comment by a section leader prompted me to remind the PEWS membership of the wide scope and diversity of the intellectual legacy of the section's members. I call attention to three of your PEWS colleagues who have produced very unusual work with which you may not be familiar, but they challenge us with cutting edge and influential scholarship. While the first PEWS scholar provides analysis at the global level, the other two scholars focus on ways that world-systems analysis can be applied "from the bottom up" to show the linkages between world-economic trends and the poorest, most exploited people in the world.

Salvatore Babones will provoke you with his argument that the modern world-system is dead, replaced by a very different 21st century world-system centered in the Pacific. Has Babones gone "too far" as some have told him? I am not so sure that PEWS founding father Giovanni Arrighi would agree that Babones' assertion is outlandish. In his final book, Arrighi (2007: 385-86) urged us to focus our attention on East Asia in the 21st century. China will ascend in the world-system and might emancipate the world "from the social and ecological degradations entailed in Western capitalist development," he insisted. The economic orientation of China "is of crucial importance for the future not just of Chinese society but of world society as a whole," he posited. He went further to portend a possible future in which "we will witness the formation of an East Asian-centered world-market society. . . based on greater equality among the world's civilizations (Arrighi 2007: 385-86, 389, 7-8). Isn't Babones pushing us toward the disquieting cutting edge, just as Arrighi challenged us to think outside the Western black box?

Over the last decade, Donald Clelland (2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) has introduced a new concept to world-systems analysis, and his cutting edge work received the PEWS Distinguished Article award in 2015. In contrast to Milton Friedman who argued that "there's no such thing as a free lunch," Clelland contends that the world-economy is structured to insure free lunches for capitalists. From the origins of the modern world-system, he insists, one of the free lunches provided to capitalists is the extraction of *dark value* in the forms of unpaid and under-paid labor. The capitalist productive system is inescapably based on capture of the dark value embedded in women's unpaid labors and underpaid waged and nonwaged labors. In the eyes of mainstream economists, transnational capitalists are doing a fabulous job of reducing prices in order to provide competitive consumer goods. However, those low prices conceal two structural outcomes that impoverish a majority of the world's people. First, real people live in households that face threats to their survival caused by this system of export commodity chain production. Second, the drain of potential surplus, mostly from labor but also from capitalists that are lower in the chain, is a loss of potential expanded reproduction (economic growth) to Global South producing countries. Revealing the daily misery that derives from dark value extractions from those households is the most important conceptual work that world-systems analysts can do in the 21st century, for this approach allows researchers to remove the veil of silence over the hidden subsidies to capitalism that are stolen from the world's most exploited peoples, i.e., women, laborer households and ethnic/racial minorities of the Global South. Clelland also challenges us to integrate such critical analysis into our antisystemic praxis. Anthropologist Katherine Pickering draws our attention to another aspect of world-systems analysis, and she is one of a tiny minority who has published her work about gender and indigenous peoples in world-systems venues. On the one hand, she draws our vision to the far edge of the economic periphery of a core country where American Indians exist outside the boundaries of consciousness of a majority of world-systems analysts. On the other hand, Pickering (2000, 2003, 2013) creatively grounds her analyses of capitalist impacts on these indigenous peoples in an early world-systems concept that has been under-utilized, i.e., the *semiproletarianized household*. Well before western feminists had begun to acknowledge Global South

women, Arrighi (1973), Wallerstein (1983) and study groups at Binghamton University (cf. *Review* vol. 3, issue 2) pointed to the unpaid and underpaid labors of women to generate survival needs for households that could not acquire sufficient livelihoods from intermittent waged labor. Throughout her career, Pickering has argued that the vantage points and practices of indigenous households have been obliterated from the hegemonic perspectives of (1) wage-based labor that can be measured by limited western accounting methods, (2) labor and ecological resources that have value only after they are commodified and (3) markets that are philosophically (but wrongly) defined to be the only “actors” with the capacity to meet all human needs. Like Pickering and many Global South scholar/activists, I found a resonating base for my work about enslaved, indigenous, Appalachian and nonwestern women (e.g., Dunaway 1997, 2008, 2014) in the early legacy of PEWS scholarship. Those ground-breaking ideas helped us to *decenter* our conceptual lenses away from western feminism. At its roots, then, the PEWS intellectual legacy helped us to capture the nonwaged (paid and unpaid) labors of nonwestern women and to argue that their households subsidize world capitalism in many hidden ways.

Theorizing the 21st Century Millennial World-System

Salvatore Babones (University of Sydney, salvatore.babones@sydney.edu.au)

The modern world-system is dead. If the final crisis of capitalism started in 1968, it ended in 2008. Over that 40-year period, the world-economy went global -- for the first time. Previous peaks of world trade represented mainly the exchange of finished goods facilitated by the exploitation of labor (whether slave or "free") by capital (whether transnational or "local"). Today's globally integrated world-economy is dominated by trade in intermediate goods bound up in transnational value chains in which the lion's share of the value comes from the exploitation of consumers, not workers. The exploitation of workers remains severe, but it is no longer where the money is. If Marx were alive today, he would be focusing on the economics of app stores, not factory floors.

World-systems analysis was born out of the struggle to connect the modernization of the long 16th century to the modernity of the 1960s, and it succeeded. But the modern economic processes studied by the first generation of world-systems analysts are no longer at the heart of global value creation and appropriation. Just as pre-modern economic relationships survived into modernity, modern ones have survived into postmodernity, but they are increasingly marginalized. It is time to start using world-systems analysis to help us understand the structure and operation of the postmodern economy -- and the postmodern world-society (note the hyphen!) it supports.

The emerging postmodern world-society is not so much "global" as "Pacific." Everyone agrees that "the West" is no longer the motor of history (though we may disagree about whether it ever was), but world-society has not quite "re-oriented" all the way to the East. The postmodern future is being made to the west of the old West, not in the East but in the Pacific. It is a virtual world-society that spans Silicon Valley, Hollywood, Seoul, and Shenzhen. The old Atlantic core of the modern world-system is still very rich, but it is greying into a comfortable rentier retirement, as the pre-modern Italian core of what was once the European world-system did five centuries earlier. Chinese entrepreneurs don't look to Europe for new business models. They look to California.

Between 1968 and 2008, international trade expressed as a percent of global GDP jumped from 25% to 60%. Post-crisis, it has stabilized in the mid-50s. Flows of foreign direct investment as a percent of global GDP are more volatile, but they too seem to have risen (5-fold!) and stabilized.

In the 2010s, the world-economy has settled into a "new normal" mode of operation, integrated but no longer rapidly integrating. We have yet to fully describe this new normal, never mind understand it. What we need is a bout of intellectual renewal. It's time to put aside the preconceptions we have inherited from decades of studying the modern world-system and develop new tools for studying the postmodern millennial world-system.

Deep world-historical analysis has taught us that many prior world-systems have been born, developed, and passed away. A century or more of critical theory has further taught us to understand the internal contradictions of capitalism. A capitalist world-system has just died before our very eyes, at a time when most of our leading intellectuals were loudly proclaiming the final crisis of capitalism. We have now come out the other side of the crisis, and there is much work to be done. The modern world-system is dead. Long live the millennial world-system!

Imperialism and Dark Value in the 21st Century World-System

Donald A. Clelland (University of Tennessee, donclelland@gmail.com)

In my recent work (Clelland 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015), I have explored the story of the hidden surplus that capitalist imperialism drains from its peripheries to benefit its transnational capitalists and core consumers. The capitalist world-economy takes the form of an iceberg. The most studied part which appears above the surface is supported by a huge underlying structure that is out of sight. Unlike

the iceberg, the world-economy is a dynamic system based on flows of value from the underside toward the top. These include drains of surplus that take two forms: visible monetarized flows of *bright value* and hidden un(der)costed flows that carry *dark value* (especially the unrecorded value of cheap labor, unpaid labor reproduction and uncosted ecological externalities). Commodity chains are central mechanisms for these surplus drains in the world-economy. These chains are complex networks in which value of both types is embedded in products (as value added) at each node of the chain. However, the point of these chains is *value capture*. At each node, participants attempt to maximize their capture of bright value through wages, rent and profit. Success in bright value capture is based in several mechanisms for constructing differential *degrees of monopoly* (control of

the markup between cost and sale price) and *degrees of monopsony* (control of markdowns of production costs). Such success is highly dependent upon the transformation of dark value into bright value for capture. However, much of the dark value embedded in products produced in the Global South is passed along the chain as *consumer surplus* for capture by the final buyers (mostly in the core, but also in semiperipheries). Quantitatively, dark value is estimated through measurements of the value of under-payments for labor, for unpaid reproductive labor, for environmental damage and for other externalities for which capitalists do not pay.

Since the beginning of capitalism, the essence of imperialism has been to capture of value and its transfer across space. Both logic and evidence point to the benefits of lower costs that are transmitted from the point of origin to the place of their realization. This capture of surplus is grounded in transfers derived from extraordinary differences in labor costs between periphery and core, and the transferred value is significant. Most of this transfer would not occur in a world-economy that was purely competitive. In such a system, the capitalist who captures the lower price of production would also seize the benefit in the form of higher profit. In reality, core buyers of peripheral products receive much of the captured value of cheap labor. This transfer of value is based on the monopsonistic power of a few core firms to push down the prices, wages and profits that can be attained by the many peripheral firms in a highly competitive context. In

this monopsonistic relationship, those peripheral capitalists act as underpaid subordinates who slash export production costs, especially labor.

The core-periphery structure of global value transfer is the essence of imperialism. The differential wage component of global value transfer is based on the idea that two classes of laborers, working under similar conditions, produce commodities of equal market value. The difference in surplus value produced by the cheaper labor class may be considered as dark value derived from underpayment. Concealed in periphery to core exports, this dark value approximates the bright value of trade prices. Since dark value is extra surplus expropriated through underpayment of labor costs, some of it is readily transformed into bright value.

However, cheap labor could not be as cheap without that deeper level of dark value expropriated from even cheaper workers who reproduce labor power through unpaid or ultra-cheap inputs from households and the informal sector. This hidden labor is embedded in the production of all surplus, and it is concealed in all commodities. When we take its value in labor time into account, the size of the global value transfer from periphery to core roughly doubles. Surprisingly, capitalists do not capture all the dark value obtained from the various forms of cheap peripheral labor involved in periphery to core exports. Most of the dark value is captured by core consumers because capitalists utilize it to reduce prices. This consumer surplus is value beyond price, and its value is greater than that captured by core capitalists.

Consequently, cheap goods consumerism is now the driving force of the world-economy. On the one hand, modern world capitalism is a system that delivers the goods to its core population at the expense of the world majority. On the other hand, most of the core working class becomes a consumerist *aristocracy of labor* because capitalists transfer part of their dark value surpluses to them. In the core, what was once Lenin's small "bribed" section of the working class has been transformed into a broad aristocracy of labor comprised of ordinary citizens who have little reason to oppose the imperialistic system from which they obtain rewards. Objectively, the majority of the Global South population should resist surplus drains. However, most peripheral elites, state leaders, emerging professional/managerial classes and middle classes benefit from the expropriation and export of dark value embedded in the imperialistic value transfer system.

What is to be learned from this argument? The origins of dark value can be made visible through more accurate mapping of commodity chains. Because dark energy is disproportionately provided by households and by the females and ethnic/racial minorities in them, capitalists keep costs of production low and consumer prices well below the total value of the labors required to produce export commodities. When estimated quantitatively, dark values are shocking. For example, the estimated total dark value embedded in Apple's first generation iPad was \$1,077, an amount that was ten times greater than Apple's operating profit margin and more than twice the retail price (Clelland 2014). Similarly, the overwhelming source of low coffee prices for US consumers is the contribution of cheap and unpaid labor in the periphery. While capitalists retain only about \$1.16 in profits, they pass on more than \$23 in embedded dark value to consumers (Clelland 2013b). Through commodity chains, transnational capitalists accumulate on a world scale by draining pennies from the unpaid labor of those at the very bottom. It is this dark energy that drives the expansion and growth of the modern world-system. To recognize this fact is to view the world-system from the bottom up, where a majority of the world's worker households, women and ethnic/racial minorities struggle to survive.

The world is one, but it is vastly unequal. Its economic and wealth polarization is worsening. A high proportion of the world's people are being dispossessed globally and inside their own

countries. Exploitation and oppression of women and girls continue unabated throughout the Global South where females bear the brunt of wars, poverty, hunger, and the transnational labor migration of household members. Global warming, land grabbing, degradation and waste of natural resources fuel world wealth accumulation while destroying the survival needs of Global South communities and households. The world food system drains nutritional resources to the richest consumers, leaving the world's farmers and fishers the most malnourished people in the world. The struggle against those trends has always been part of the rich intellectual and praxis legacy of PEWS, and the world-systemic problems of the 21st century cry out for continuing antisystemic resistance from PEWS members.

Indigenous Economics and the Essential Lens of PEWS

Kathleen Pickering (Colorado State University, kathleen.pickering@colostate.edu)

Over the last thirty years, I have employed world-systems analysis to study Indigenous peoples and their contemporary struggles to create self-determined communities and economic development. As a young scholar working on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, I struggled to see the empirical realities of Indigenous communities reflected in the theoretical literature of the academy. The neoliberal paradigm assumed the benefits of capitalism, positing a lack of capitalist integration as the cause of Indigenous poverty. Supposedly, Native peoples were encased in a historical plastic that kept them separate from the economic and social realities of capitalism. All they had to do was join the capitalist system to gain the economic prosperity they were lacking, if only their culture would get out of their way (Hall and Fenelon 2004). Because of their focused on industrialization and wage labor struggles, Marxist approaches also fell short of elucidating the economic position and practice of Indigenous households and communities. Indigenous communities, and particularly Indigenous women, were viewed as marginal and therefore either redundant or incipient to the capitalist mode of production (Dunaway 2001).

The explanations of these theorists were of little utility as I grappled with Pine Ridge realities. Reservation unemployment captured more than 75% of the working-age population, and underemployment encompassed virtually all the rest. A few experiments at reservation-based industry were tried and failed, and the only corporate presence to speak of was a handful of fast-food chains (but no McDonald's). However, most individual Lakota life-histories revealed a broad array of short-term and off-reservation wage work, with a small percentage of permanent bureaucrats for tribal, state and federal government. Nevertheless, there were thriving extended family households, headed almost exclusively by women, engaged in a rich pooling of limited wage work, traditional art production, subsistence provisioning, and sale and barter of services, along with child-rearing, sick and elderly care, and spiritual and ceremonial practice. Furthermore, Lakota people recalled their own ancestors' economic independence, involved in robust and dynamic trade across the reach of the Great Plains up until the creation of the reservation system. Neither neoliberal nor Marxist theories accounted for such economic contradictions.

The scholars working under the umbrella of the PEWS Section provided me the conceptual tools that were missing from other approaches. Their approach was complex, holistic, and multi-scalar, providing voice to the complete diversity of experiences within this single interlocking global economic system called capitalism (Wallerstein 1989). Braudel's (1981: 28-29, 559) seminal "double register of history" allowed for a single, coherent analysis of both global and local, rich and poor, not simply by contrast but by the causal link between capital accumulation of land,

labor and resources and the active generation of poverty. The concept of “everyday economies” revealed the blended waged and non-waged activities and commodified and non-commodified resources that combined to meet the needs of material life for communities like the Lakota, the “humble lives at the foot of the ladder,” far from the decision-making centers of global capital, but experiencing its impact on a daily basis nonetheless (Braudel 1981: 562-63).

World-systems scholars provided the theoretical tools and deep historical analysis to help me explore Indigenous peoples as simultaneously enmeshed in a global web of capital accumulation, but excluded from the privileged characteristics of race, ethnicity and gender that would allow them to benefit from their inclusion (Hall and Fenelon 2004). Furthermore, the world-systems approach provided tools for seeing the movement of power and control over the *longue duree* and for recognizing both the challenges and the potential benefits of distance from the core (Hall 1983). Rather than being outside the “real” capitalist system, Indigenous communities were active players within capitalism, but they were also holding up antisystemic clues to what the post-capitalist mode of production might entail (Hall and Fenelon 2003). Rather than irrelevant to the analysis, the critical roles of women in providing the backbone of Lakota economic practice could take center stage through the insights of the World-Systems approach, applying rigorous conceptualizations of semiproletarian householding, commodification, and commodity chains (Dunaway 2001).

Commodity chains are the key structural mechanisms of unequal exchange, transferring surplus value from the low-wage, low-profit periphery to the high wage, high profit core (Wallerstein 1995). Indigenous communities on the periphery provide raw inputs and cheap temporary labor at the beginning of commodity chains for products ultimately demanded by core consumers. Because of the elite desire for quaint, authentic and exotic goods, core consumers often mistakenly imagine they “support” Indigenous economic and civil rights through corporatized purchases of commodified traditional foods and art objects (Pickering Sherman and Aikers 2014). Even when local producers have new ideas and know-how, the complex structure of commodity chains allows capitalists to endlessly manipulate and reorganize the production and distribution process to ultimately exclude local innovators and concentrate the surplus accumulated from their ideas in fewer, more distant hands.

Almost no household is exempt from the global process of commodity chains, not even female-headed Indigenous households on the peripheral edges of the world-system. These semiproletarian households— in which wage-income represents a minority of the total household resources— are rich empirical microcosms of the structural inequities of the capitalist world-economy (Wallerstein 1995: 5-6). Conceptualization of semiproletarian householding provides a structural basis for bringing women and gender inequality into the foreground to reveal how their labor has been crucial for specific forms of capital accumulation. Women in semiproletarian households subsidize the wages of employed household members with self-provisioning, supplemental income generating activities, and with the actual reproduction of labor. Semiproletarian households also subsidize commodity chains through their absorption of production costs that can then be externalized by capitalists. Therefore, as access to limited, temporary wage work declines, additional pressure is created for these households to further self-exploit, accepting lower short-term wages, and lower payments for their raw materials and home-based products used in commodity chains ultimately destined for distant, lucrative core-consumer markets. In culturally distinct Indigenous communities, these households are also the organizational centers of spiritual values and resulting antisystemic resistance (Dunaway 2001). Nonwage and unpaid labor is the pivotal thesis of this world-systems model of households,

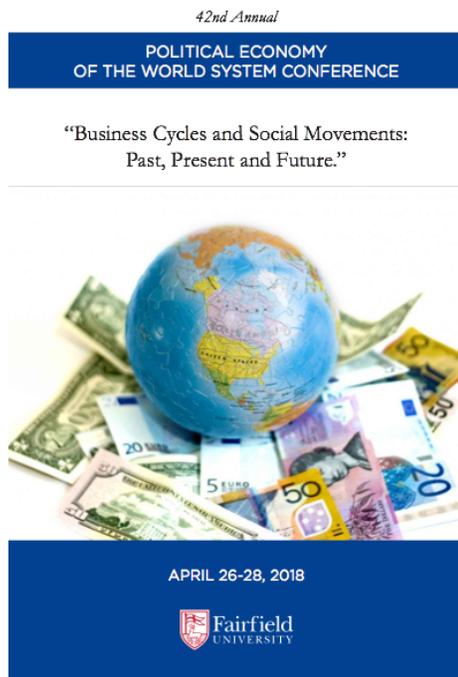
where even surpluses created by women in non-commodified production can be appropriated, as the commodification process continues to expand (Pickering-Sherman and Akers 2014).

The explanatory power of commodity chains and semiproletarian households expands as we fully appreciate the global trend toward “commodifying everything” (Hopkins and Wallerstein (1986: 159). Contemporary forms of accumulation involving non-material knowledge, style, and culture provide unthinkable practices of wealth appropriation from the poorest of the poor, including Indigenous communities and other communities of color. Examples from Pine Ridge include a variety of commodity chains of more recent vintage, such as bison meat, tourism services, native arts, and cultural designations of ritual authenticity. All of these examples demonstrate the ongoing mechanisms of unequal distribution of capital away from Lakota producers, accomplished through a combination of state regulation and competition. Nevertheless, Lakota households continue to integrate cultural and community values into their economic practice, despite the growing pressure to make cultural trade-offs to increase their minimal economic returns. Even Lakota poverty is being commodified by the neoliberal explosion of non-governmental organizations, adding a final link to a longer chain of appropriation, initially of land and natural resources, now transformed into an appropriation of the labor and ideas of Lakota women (Pickering Sherman and Akers 2014:145-153).

Maintaining the diverse perspectives represented within world-systems analysis is more critical now in academia than ever before, as the time elapsed since the 1968 revolutions has increased the corporatization of higher education. Capitalist interests continue to erode the academic commitment to critical thinking, critical theory and critical pedagogy in favor of the appropriation of intellectual properties and the suppression of civil society and antisystemic viewpoints (Giroux 2011; Chomsky 2016). World-systems scholarship forecast the capitalist corruption of academia itself, as well as the problematic role of higher education in the face of effective challenges to the capitalist status quo (Wallerstein 2001). Appropriation is a cornerstone of contemporary efforts to limit knowledge production to those willing to comply with the viewpoints of capitalist elites, and to marginalize those who give voice to the critical role of all aspects of diversity in maintaining civil society. For example, the rhetoric of diversity has been appropriated by academic public relations to recruit the children of national and international elites of color to replace local students from poor and working class families. Similarly, academia favors those who appropriate and commodify the ideas and efforts of others, and who claim the appropriations as accomplishments deserving of tenure, promotion, and elevated professorial status. The task at hand is for all who have benefitted from the explanatory and inclusive paradigm of a world-systems approach to defend this powerful legacy, shining an empirical light on the true character of capital accumulation throughout the global economy.

PEWS 42nd Annual Conference

Thanks to Professor Eric Mielantes and the folks at Fairfield University for hosting this year's PEWS conference.



Maria Jose Haro Sly and Immanuel Wallerstein

New Publications

Books:

Chase-Dunn, C., Gills, B.K., Grinin, L., Korotayev, A. Forthcoming. *World-Systems Evolution and Global Futures*. Springer.

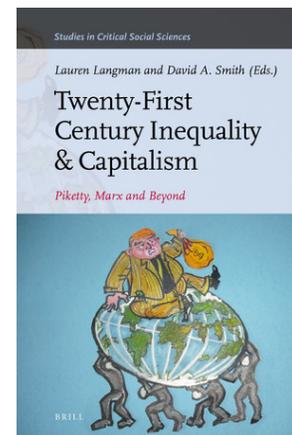
This series seeks to promote understanding of large-scale and long-term processes of social change, in particular the many facets and implications of globalization. It critically explores the factors that affect the historical formation and current evolution of social systems, on both the regional and global level. Processes and factors that are examined include economies, technologies, geopolitics, institutions, conflicts, demographic trends, climate change, global culture, social movements, global inequalities, etc. Building on world-systems analysis, the series addresses topics such as globalization from historical and comparative perspectives, trends in global inequalities, core-periphery relations and the rise and fall of hegemonic core states, transnational institutions, and the long-term energy transition. This



ambitious interdisciplinary and international series presents cutting-edge research by social scientists who study whole human systems and is relevant for all readers interested in systems approaches to the emerging world society, especially historians, political scientists, economists, sociologists, geographers and anthropologists.

Langman, Lauren and Smith, David. 2018. *Twenty-First Century Inequality & Capitalism: Picketty, Marx and Beyond*. Brill.

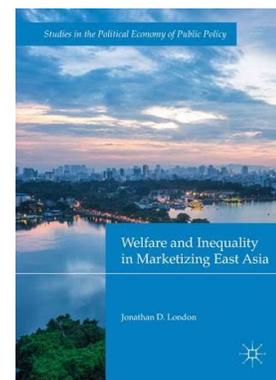
Twenty-First Century Inequality & Capitalism: Picketty, Marx and Beyond is a collection that begins with economist Thomas Picketty's 2014 book. Most chapters critique Picketty from the perspective of critical theory, global political economy or public sociology, drawing on the work of Karl Marx or the Marxist tradition. The emphasis focuses on elements that are under-theorized or omitted entirely from the economists' analysis. This includes the importance of considering class and labor dynamics, the recent rise of finance capitalism, insights from feminism, demography, and conflict studies, the Frankfurt School, the world market and the world-system, the rise of a transnational capitalist class, the coming environmental catastrophe, etc. Our goal is to fully understand and suggest action to address today's capitalist inequality crisis.



Contributors are: Robert J. Antonio, J.I. (Hans) Bakker, Roslyn Wallach Bologh, Alessandro Bonnano, Christopher Chase-Dunn, Harry F. Dahms, Eoin Flaherty, Daniel Krier, Basak Kus, Lauren Langman, Dana Marie Louie, Peter Marcuse, Sandor Nagy, Charles Reitz, William I. Robinson, Saskia Sassen, David A. Smith, David N. Smith, Tony Smith, Michael Thompson, Sylvia Walby, Erik Olin Wright.

London, Jonathan D. 2018. *Welfare and Inequality in Marketing East Asia*. Palgrave Macmillan.

The world-scale expansion of markets and market relations ranks among the most transformative developments of our times. We can refer to this process by way of a generic if inelegant term – marketization. This book explores how processes of marketization have registered across East Asia's diverse social landscape and its implications for patterns of welfare and inequality. While there has been great interest in East Asia's economic rise, treatments of welfare and inequality in the region have been largely relegated to specialist literatures. Proceeding from a synthetic critique of political economy, this book places welfare and inequality at the center of a more encompassing comparative approach to political economy that construes countries as dynamic, globally embedded social orders defined and animated by distinctive social relational and institutional features.



Thomas, Kevin J. 2018. *Contract Workers, Risk, and the War in Iraq*. McGill-Queens University Press.

In 2003, just before the start of the US invasion of Iraq, military planners predicated that the mission's success would depend on using diverse sources for their workforce. While thousands of US troops were needed to secure victory in the field, large numbers of civilian contractors — many from poor countries in Africa and Asia - were recruited to provide a range of services for the occupying forces. In *Contract Workers, Risk, and the War in Iraq* Kevin Thomas provides a compelling account of the recruitment of Sierra Leonean workers and their reasons for embracing the risks of migration. In recent years US military bases have outsourced contracts for services to primary military corporations who recruit and capitalize on cheaper-low skilled workers. Thomas argues that for people from post-conflict countries such as Sierra Leone, where there are high levels of poverty and acute unemployment, the opportunity to improve their situation outweighs the risks of migration to war-torn Iraq. Examining migrants' experiences in their native country, at US bases, and after their return to Sierra Leon, Thomas deftly explores the intricate dynamics of risk, sets up a theoretical framework for future researchers, and offers policy recommendations for decision-makers and practitioners in the field. Incorporating the voices of Sierra Leonean contractors who were manipulated and exploited, *Contract Workers, Risk, and the War in Iraq* turns the spotlight on a subject that has remained on the periphery of history and reveals an unexpected consequence of the War on Terror.

Articles:

- Bin, Daniel. 2018. "Dispossession does not mean accumulation: capitalist accumulation in Africa." *Review of African Political Economy Online*. Available at <<http://roape.net/2018/03/13/dispossession-does-not-mean-accumulation-capitalist-accumulation-in-africa/>>
- Chase-Dunn, C. and Jennifer S.K. Dudley. 2018. "The global right in the world revolutions of 1917 and 20xx" in Jerry Harris (ed.), *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* Brill IROWS Working Paper #118 at <http://irows.ucr.edu/papers/irows118/irows118.htm>
- Dixon, Marion W. "Chemical fertilizer in transformations in world agriculture and the state system, 1870 to the interwar period". *Journal of Agrarian Change*. Available in early view at: <http://rdcu.be/I2x6>.
- Khutkyy, Dmytro, and Christopher Chase-Dunn. 2017. "The World-System(s)." Pp. 1067-1082. in *The SAGE Handbook on Political Sociology*. Vol. 2. Edited by W. Outhwaite and S.P. Turner. Los Angeles: SAGE. Retrieved December 12, 2017 (<https://uk.sagepub.com/en-gb/eur/the-sage-handbook-of-political-sociology-2v/book244876#preview>).
- London, Jonathan D. 2017. "Varieties of States, Varieties of Political Economy: China, Vietnam, and the Making of Market Leninism." In Carroll, T. and Jarvis, D.S. eds., *Asia after the Developmental State: Disembedding Autonomy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Manski, Sarah G. "[Book Review: Profit and Gift in the Digital Economy](#)." *The British Journal of Sociology*, Volume 69, Issue 1, March 2018.
- Paret, Marcel. 2018. "The politics of local resistance in urban South Africa: Evidence from three informal settlements." *International Sociology* DOI: 10.1177/0268580918764837.
- Paret, Marcel. 2018. "Migration politics: Mobilizing against economic insecurity in the United States and South Africa." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 59(1): 3-24.

Graduate Student in the Spotlight: Michaela Curran, U.C. Riverside

Interviewed by Jennifer Skornick, California State University, Northridge

PEWS is excited to highlight one of our graduate student members. Michaela Curran is a doctoral candidate at University of California, Riverside where she is working on her dissertation, “Health Disparities in Global Context: Income Inequality, Economic Development, and Resource Gradients.”

“I’m a compulsive reader of scientific literature,” Michaela says. “I’ll read anything that captures my interest.” Her dissertation topic arose from this habit as she digested reading from multiple disciplines to add to her specific research topic. “It’s important to anchor literature from other disciplines in what Mills might refer to as the ‘sociological imagination’ or what Berger might term the ‘sociological perspective’ that comes from careful reading within your specialized area and the discipline as a whole. Otherwise, it becomes a distraction that won’t expand your horizons as a scholar.”

Completing a dissertation is providing interesting and unexpected challenges for Michaela. “I anticipated creating my own personal bubble and going off to work on my own. However, you can’t produce a quality dissertation without assistance from others.” She suggests striking a balance between working independently and soliciting feedback from advisors. Sometimes feedback can get discouraging, especially if it’s extensive. Michaela warns not to take it personally. “Remember, if your committee didn’t care about your development as a scholar, they wouldn’t bother with careful criticism! You should seek out as much feedback as you can because that’s how you learn to produce quality work.”

Aside from her dissertation, Michaela is currently the lead author on two other research projects. “The first investigates the persistence of cross-national inequalities in foreign aid disbursements. I’m working on this project with a fellow graduate student from my cohort (Ronald Kwon). The second project explores class stratification and political attitudes in the United States. It’s a collaborative effort with a faculty member (Professor Steven Brint) and an early-career graduate student (Joel Winegar).” Additionally, Michaela recently received a grant for her translational health project that focuses on invisible disabilities in the academy. As a secondary author, Michaela is working on projects related to the structure of income and employment, income inequality, and social network interventions for health.

Following the completion of the doctoral program, Michaela plans to apply for tenure-track faculty positions and relevant post-doctoral positions. “The job market is quite competitive,” Michaela says. “My ultimate goal is to obtain a tenure-track position at a Graduate Student Spotlight continued...

research-focused institution. In the meantime, Michaela stays busy with research. However, she also makes time for hobbies. “I think hobbies are an important way to keep you grounded, especially when you’re busy.” Michaela practices classical violin when she can. She plays video games, attends game nights with friends, or attends gamer or comic conventions with her husband. She also works on electronic projects. “My dad gave me a sound effects circuit kit when I was young, and I’ve been tinkering with electronics ever since. Whenever I’m due for a new desktop computer or an upgrade, I enjoy the challenge of researching parts and building it myself.”

Michaela and World-Systems Analysis

Michaela initially planned to study global social movements when preparing her graduate school applications. Her research eventually drew her to focus more on political economy, but she continues to appreciate examinations of the inter-related part of the world economy through an historical comparative approach. Graduate school has allowed Michaela opportunities to further explore different methods and theories. “One of my favorite memories of graduate school will always be reading Polanyi’s *The Great Transformation* while sitting in on empirical research methods lectures in the economics department. The juxtaposition of those two experiences still makes me smile.”

Michaela developed her love of Marx and the historical origins of capitalism during her undergraduate Honors College coursework. This exploration of capitalism eventually brought her to Giovanni Arrighi’s *The Long Twentieth Century*, where she was introduced to world-systems theory. “Much later, I would go on to read the work of other world-systems thinkers, such as Christopher Chase-Dunn (with whom I’ve had the great pleasure of collaborating), Thomas D. Hall, Beverly Silver, and Jackie Smith.” Michaela joined PEWS to connect with our community of like-minded scholars. “A sense of community is important in terms of identity and development.” As a member, Michaela has access to mentoring and networking opportunities as well as news about grants, conferences, and jobs. “It’s a low maintenance way to stay connected to a network of colleagues.”

Advice for Other Students

Graduate school requires a juggling a lot of tasks and performing at a much more demanding level than undergraduate. We asked Michaela what advice she might have for students interested in taking on these challenges. “My biggest advice is to learn the limits of how many projects you can take on reasonably. Setting boundaries and learning to say ‘no’ are important skills. If the project doesn’t seem interesting or important to your career, it’s wise to say no.” Michaela has benefitted from careful planning, developing discipline, and managing her time and energy. She recommends breaking big tasks, like a dissertation or research project, into manageable pieces. Be mindful of distractions. Try different methods for managing work (e.g. the Pomodoro method) to figure out what works best for you. Manage your time as well as your energy. “Work on difficult or boring tasks when your energy levels are high, and save the easier tasks for when you have less energy.” Good habits may take time to develop. “Developing a sense of discipline is very important. I find that people can easily fall into the trap of believing that a strong sense of discipline is an inborn trait and fail to realize that you can develop it just like a muscle.”

As a student, Michaela has collaborated with faculty and classmates on several papers and presentations. “I enjoy collaborations because I view them as an opportunity to learn something new.” Michaela’s advisor, Professor Matthew C. Mahutga frequently collaborates with his students. Engagement with faculty provides opportunities to learn new techniques, craft effective arguments, or generally hone your skills as an academic. Connecting with other students is also valuable. “There’s something rewarding about struggling through a project together and seeing it through to publication. It’s quite different than working with faculty. As such, it gives you a different perspective about your strengths and areas for improvement as a scholar. You also get the opportunity to mentor each other, which is an invaluable skill to learn.” Collaborations also allow students a chance to practice navigating relationships in an academic setting. “Part of the charm of academia is passionate criticism, but that’s also one of the trials of collaborations with different personalities. Co-authors may view the project in a fundamentally different way, and they

may have varied methods for dealing with conflict.” Skill development is a big part of the collaboration process. “Ultimately, the process of being an excellent collaborator parallels the process of being an excellent leader. You have to learn how to manage your and others’ emotions, preferences, and strengths. Respect for others and learning how to listen are fundamental to the process.”

Michaela offers some advice for students who are interested in collaborations and building relationships, but aren’t sure how to get started. She suggests getting to know the faculty and students in your network, then tapping into their extended networks. Joining organizations like PEWS or the Association for Women in Science can help broaden your network. Attend colloquia, brown-bag meetings, “grad chats,” or other informal events to meet scholars in your area. “If your department doesn’t already organize these types of events, you might consider asking about them or even volunteering to help organize them in conjunction with faculty.” Conferences are also a great place to meet other scholars. Develop an “elevator pitch” to advertise your work and interests to other attendees. Most importantly, do not hesitate to ask your professors to introduce you to colleagues. Do not expect potential collaborators to come to you in the early stages of your academic career. “Once you build a reputation for doing solid work, others may seek you out for collaboration.” Michaela advises that building a reputation for doing solid work is invaluable. “You should definitely work on developing knowledge of your literatures, gaining a good methodological skill set, and articulating your research interests. But, you also need to learn how to talk to fellow scholars about how your work and their work intersect.” Even if you are shy or uncomfortable to put yourself out there, but it’s the best way to build a network of potential collaborators. “It gets easier, I promise!”

PhDs on the Market

Name and Institution: Ben Manski, University of California Santa Barbara

Contact: ben@umail.ucsb.edu and www.BenManski.com

Research Specialization: Social Movements, Law & Society, Sociology of Constitutions, Environmental Sociology, Political Sociology, Comparative and Historical Sociology

Dissertation: The Constitutional Revolution

Campaigns to democratize the U.S. Constitution are emergent features of contemporary politics. Yet evaluating the possibilities for campaign success is hampered by the lack of recent U.S. cases; the last major amendment was ratified in 1971 and the last formal constitutional revolution took place with Reconstruction. Elsewhere the story has been different. One third the world’s countries adopted new constitutions at the end of the 20th century; democracy movements played important roles in many cases. My research compares these cases in seeking the various configurations of originating conditions, movement strategies, and interactive dynamics of constitutionalization that proved necessary and/or sufficient to bring about substantive democratization. In so doing, I assess an object often missing in studies of constitutional change: The strategies of democracy activists attempting to constitutionalize democratic reforms. This assessment not only provides practical perspective relevant to contemporary U.S. campaigns, it also contributes to future scholarship. In centering popular agency in the constitution of society, this approach offers balance to certain top-down institutional accounts of law and democracy. In bringing constitutionalism further into the purview of social movement studies, it makes available

a terrain on which macro, meso, and micro social movement theories of contention, identity, and praxis converge.

Journal of World-Systems Research Updates: Social Science Citation Index Acceptance Near, Usage Continues to Grow

Jackie Smith, Editor

Joshua McDermott, Co-Managing Editor

David Ruvolo, Co-Managing Editor

[*Journal of World-Systems Research*](#)

We've got some important updates for PEWS members about our Section's [*Journal of World-Systems Research*](#). First, we've expanded our editorial team to include two new co-managing editors, **Joshua McDermott**, who began working with the journal this past fall and **David Ruvolo**, who joins us as our journal integrates a new section on World-Historical Information. This new section is edited by Patrick Manning, who launched the open access [*Journal of World-Historical Information*](#) in 2013, with a focus on historical data analysis and reviews of online datasets. The two journals collaborated from the first, then proposed in 2017 to merge JWHI into JWSR, in order to expand the exchanges among analysts of world systems and data-oriented world historians. The merger, approved by the PEWS Section in August, 2017, has begun with our Winter 2018 (current) issue.

In addition to completing the move to integrate this new content, we completed work this fall to formally apply to have the JWSR listed in the Social Science Citation Index. This will allow us to have the impact factor of our journal ranked with other academic journals and should help expand our readership. It will also encourage more junior scholars to submit their work to JWSR. We expect to hear the decision on our application by the end of September 2018, and feedback from those who are familiar with this process makes us hopeful for a positive outcome.

The [Winter/Spring 2018 issue of JWSR](#) is another strong one, and we hope you'll make time to read and share it. Book review editor Jenn Bair has put together a special book review section on ["Cities in the World-System."](#) This is an exciting area of research and the books reviewed here offer much to think about in regard to how global forces shape local communities. We also want to highlight two especially relevant research articles. First, Peter Wilkin's ["The Rise of 'Illiberal' Democracy: The Orbánization of Hungarian Political Culture,"](#) offers a timely analysis of the political situation in Hungary, where the April 8 election gave Orban's right-wing party a strong majority. And Timothy Gill's article ["From Promoting Political Polyarchy to Defeating Participatory Democracy: U.S. Foreign Policy towards the Far Left in Latin America,"](#) speaks to important questions about how U.S. interference undermines democracy in the region. Gill published a [Washington Post editorial](#) on March 7, 2018, where he referenced his research as it speaks to current U.S. debates about Russian interference in our own elections.

As we did last issue, we would also like to illustrate some more of the PlumX metrics we're now using to track JWSR's usage and reach, which continues to grow thanks to the University of Pittsburgh's Library System publishing platform. As we mentioned in the fall, we have a team of librarians working to make our journal visible and readily search-able in various search engines, and this is enhancing our journal's reach and impact over time.

PlumX allows us to track five categories of metrics for each published article, including:

- usage (abstract views, HTML views, full-text views)
- captures (e.g., Mendeley readers)
- social media (e.g., tweets; Facebook shares, likes, and comments)
- mentions (e.g., blog mentions, Reddit comments, Wikipedia links)
- citations (e.g., Scopus, SSCI, CrossRef)

Below are a few examples of metrics generated by PlumX Please note that the metrics of our current volume, of which Issue #1 was published in on March 22nd of this year, are not yet reflected in the tables below.

PlumX Statistics (4/12/18)

	2014 (Vol. 20)	2015 (Vol. 21)	2016 (Vol. 22)	2017 (Vol. 23)
Total Usage	12,274	19,506	34,397	23,194
Social Media	99	219	792	433
Citations	36	17	12	1
# Items	32	52	40	46

PlumX reports that **37 articles have been shared or liked on Facebook over 400 times**, a number we hope to grow now that we have established a dedicated [Facebook page](#) and [Twitter account](#) to complement the Journal's pre-existing [Facebook group](#). We also have **28 articles with a usage count above 1,000**.

Top 5 Articles by Social Media Engagement

Article	Year	Shares, Likes, Comments (Facebook), and Tweets
From Peripheral Domination to Internal Colonialism: Socio-Political Change of the Lakota on Standing Rock <i>James V. Fenelon</i>	1997	441
Neoliberal Imperialism and Pan-African Resistance <i>Niels S.C. Hahn</i>	2007	436
Long-Term Trends in World Politics <i>George Modelseki</i>	2005	435

Timbuktu: A Lesson in Underdevelopment <i>Ricardo Pelizzo</i>	2001	434
Gender and Globalization: Female Labor and Women's Mobilization <i>Val Moghadam</i>	1999	434

These metrics reflect usage as of April 12, 2018.

If you're interested in viewing more of the alternative metrics data for JWSR, please visit <https://plu.mx/pitt/g/journals/issn-1076156x>. [This link to the current volume, number 24](#), will give you a sense of some more information on the latest issue. Please note that the number of items in an issue, and the topics of articles, also has an impact on usage statistics.

We remind PEWS members that the success of our journal relies on the contributions of Section members as authors, reviewers, copyeditors and promoters. Please help spread the word of our journal to those in your networks. Be sure to introduce your students to our journal. We also ask that you register on our website (jwsr.pitt.edu) and update your account to provide your current research interests to help us in finding appropriate reviewers. If you would like to volunteer as a copyeditor, reviewer, or otherwise get involved in the journal, please email Joshua McDermott at jwsr@pitt.edu.

Thank you for all those that contributed to the Spring Issue of PEWS News!

Ben Marley
Binghamton University