ALTRUISM, MORALITY, AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY FORUM

The Newsletter of the AMSS Section of the American Sociological Association
FALL 2019

Newsletter Editor

Shai Dromi, Harvard University
shai.dromi@g.harvard.edu

Website and Social Media

https://sites.google.com/site/altruismmoralitysolidarity/home

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/AMSS123

Twitter: https://twitter.com/AMSS_Section

From the Chair's Desk

Kraig Beyerlein, University of Notre Dame

Hi Everyone,

It is a pleasure to write you as chair of the AMSS section. We have a lot of exciting events planned for the upcoming ASA meeting in San Francisco. Before turning to them, I want to thank Christine Horne—past chair—for her service to/vision for our section and making the transition seamless. As he has done for the last several years, Shai Dromi continues to be our newsletter editor, keeping us up to date on everything happening within the section, including

Table of Contents

member publications, and profiling interesting work from scholars in our field. Thank you, Shai, for your excellent work. Finally, a big round of applause goes out to everyone else who contributed to our section during the last year, especially those involved (council/committee members, organizers, presenters, etc.) in making our section shine at the ASA meeting in New York last year. Thank you and thank you again!

Turning to San Francisco, we will have a joint reception with the Collective Behavior and Social Movements section (time and place, TBA). Along with the Evolution, Biology, and Society and Medical Sociology sections, our section is jointly sponsoring the invited session, "On Human Nature: New Approaches in the 21st Century." With the Rationality and Society section, we also have a joint section session, "Rationality, Norms, and Social Action." In addition, our section is jointly participating, with the Association for the Sociology of Religion (ASR), in a panel on Robert Braun's new book, "Protectors of Pluralism" (the panel will be at the ASR hotel; look for details in the spring). I encourage all of you to attend these events, as we want a good turnout from our members.

Regarding sole activities of our section in San Francisco, Trish Snell Herzog (chair-elect) is organizing the following one-hour invited panel (it will take place during our business meeting, which we have done the past two years with success): Generosity, Morality, and Altruism: Global Studies in Cross-Cultural Values. She will finalize panelists early in the spring. For our regular session, Dana Moss (council member) put together the provocative one, "Understanding the Good in a World Gone Bad." Please submit your papers on this theme to Dana's session via the ASA online submission system by January 29, 2020 at 11:59 PM.

Despite our section having a unique perspective to offer to sociology, our membership numbers remain small (but stable). I would obviously like to see our numbers grow, so we can have more sessions at the ASA meetings in the future. Please email Monica Whitham (chair of the membership committee) any ideas you have about recruitment and mobilization efforts to increase our numbers. Finally, please email me any and all thoughts you have about ways to enhance the section, including increasing its visibility within sociology in particular and the broader public in general.

Kraig

"Empathy Matters"
Guest column by Gary J. Adler, Jr.,
Pennsylvania State University

In the past decade, empathy has provoked a wide range of scholarly interest: from arguments "against empathy" as a reliable aspect of morality (Bloom 2017), to studies of decline in Americans' empathy levels (Konrath, O'Brien and Hsing 2011), to a full-on embrace of empathy training by medical schools (Howick et al. 2018). Despite ongoing debates about the historical origins of empathy (Rifkin 2009) and how to measure it (Cameron, Spring and Todd 2017), empathy is assumed to matter in all sorts of ways.

Ironically, I hadn't given much thought of empathy as a useful sociological concept when I stood in the remote desert of Southern Arizona, hiking with a group of college students on rough trails that undocumented migrants would walk at night. I'd been observing the students for a week as they participated in an immersion trip to the U.S.-Mexico border. I was interested in how immersion travel could expose Americans to what Luc Boltanski (1999 [1993]) has called "distant suffering."

What I'd noticed during two previous trips with other groups had surprised me. Similar to theorists of cosmopolitanism (Appiah 2006, Beck and Sznaider 2006), the binational organization that produced these trips assumed that conversations between travelers and migrants—"hearing the story from real people"—would transform travelers. When groups talked with migrants at shelters and homes, though, the conversations didn't click.

On a desert walk, though, something *did* click. There were no individual migrants present, no personal stories to evaluate, no risk of navigating the demands of impulsive philanthropy. What the desert had was space for an experience: rocky paths, painful thorns, brutal sun, discarded migrant artifacts, and powerful stories told by activist guides. One group got lost. Another had a medical emergency. When I interviewed travelers a half year later, most had forgotten the names of any Mexicans or migrants they met, but all remembered the sensation of the desert, allowing their experience in the desert to stand as a form of awareness.

Seen through a news lens, the desert hike produced what Daniel Batson (2011) has argued are elements of empathy. First role-taking perspective: "I thought [it] was a haunting experience because we were physically walking *in the tracks of these people*." Second, a mutual feeling: "To be in that physical place where migrants were …it was *physically exerting*, even though we went a very small portion of what migrants actually do." As one traveler said to me at the end of a desert walk: "I feel solidarity in the other things we've done, but [in the desert] we were *really* walking where immigrants walk."

In my recent book based on this research, *Empathy Beyond U.S. Borders: The Challenges of Transnational Civic Engagement* (Adler 2019) I drew on my fieldwork to make two arguments about empathy that I think could help sociologists consider how empathy matters in social action.

First, empathy, what Mark Davis (2006) calls "a set of constructs that connects the responses of one individual to the experience of another," captures the complexity of what many if not most civic and social movement organizations actually do. The organizational work of motivation is not only about learning or seeing, but also about feeling and committing. Increased empathy has become a goal; empathy-raising the means. Organizations may not use the term empathy, but they do talk about "walking a mile in another's shoes," "feeling another's pain," or "getting inside" another's story. Organizations act like empathy exists, they act like they can shift it, and they believe that doing so matters for motivation and mobilization. In this way empathy is useful for bridging to concepts from the social movements literature, like consciousness-raising, embodiment, bystanders, and moral rage.

Second, organizations do this work by drawing from a repertoire of *empathy strategies*. As I argued in my book, empathy strategies are *interactive templates that civic organizations use to establish an obligation to global others by producing an emotional sense of suffering, a perspective of those who suffer, and a moralized sense of the need for action.*

I identified three different empathy strategies: informational, relational, and mimetic. With insights from cultural sociology and dual-process theory, we can think of these empathy strategies as different configurations of cognition, embodiment, memory, and interpretation. Empathy strategies link the role-taking and emotional elements of empathy, attaching them to moralization. In my research, the relational empathy strategy of face-to-face interaction appeared to generate weak, short-lived empathy concern. By contrast, the mimetic empathy strategy of simulating a migrant's journey generated a strong, consolidated, long-lasting empathy concern.

But these outcomes can vary. Empathy strategies help show that empathy can be fostered in different modes, can develop (or not) through different processes, and can be articulated (or not) in different

ways. The concept of empathy strategy reiterates that empathy is a social production, the result of organized interaction with objects made moral.

Having theoretically constructed empathy strategies, we can see how prevalent they are as well as make distinctions in how they work. For example, relational empathy strategies include speaking tours against sweatshops (Briscoe, Gupta and Anner 2015), humanitarian pen-pal campaigns (Bornstein 2001). Strikingly, simulation strategies are widespread as well: from the ballyhooed "migrant refugee" simulation at Davos to anti-apartheid shantytowns on college campuses (Soule 1997), from hunger banquets produced by Oxfam (Oxfam America 2010) to "tunnels of oppression" (Lechuga, Clerc and Howell 2009). Serious questions about the authenticity and efficacy of simulations remain, but with AI advancements there will likely be even more.

In the last century, empathy as both scientific concept and moral ideal have greatly expanded. Researchers interested in morality and altruism as social processes and social products may be interested to consider how empathy matters.

Adler Jr, Gary J. 2019. *Empathy Beyond Us Borders: The Challenges of Transnational Civic Engagement*: Cambridge University Press.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2006. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.

Beck, Ulrich and Natan Sznaider. 2006. "Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Social Sciences: A Research Agenda." *British Journal of Sociology* 57(1):1-23.

Batson, Charles Daniel. 2011. *Altruism in Humans*: Oxford University Press, USA.

Bloom, Paul. 2017. *Against Empathy: The Case for Rational Compassion*. New York, NY: Random House.

Boltanksi, Luc. 1999 [1993]. *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media, and Politics*. Translated by G. Burchell. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bornstein, Erica. 2001. "Child Sponsorship, Evangelism, and Belonging in the World of World Vision Zimbabwe." *American Ethnologist* 28(3):595-622.

Briscoe, Forrest, Abhinav Gupta and Mark S. Anner. 2015. "Social Activism and Practice Diffusion: How Activist Tactics Affect Non-Targeted Organizations." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 60(2):300-32.

Cameron, C. Daryl, Victoria L. Spring and Andrew R. Todd. 2017. "The Empathy Impulse: A Multinomial Model of Intentional and Unintentional Empathy for Pain." *Emotion* 17(3):395.

Davis, Mark H. 2006. "Empathy." Pp. 443-66 in *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions*, edited by J. E. Stets and J. H. Turner. New York, NY: Springer.

Howick, Jeremy, Andrew Moscrop, Alexander Mebius, Thomas R Fanshawe, George Lewith, Felicity L Bishop, Patriek Mistiaen, Nia W Roberts, Eglė Dieninytė, Xiao-Yang Hu, Paul Aveyard and Igho J Onakpoya. 2018. "Effects of Empathic and Positive Communication in Healthcare Consultations: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis." *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 111(7):240-52. doi: 10.1177/0141076818769477.

Konrath, Sara H, Edward H O'Brien and Courtney Hsing. 2011. "Changes in Dispositional Empathy in American College Students over Time: A Meta-Analysis." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 15(2):180-98.

Lechuga, Vicente M, Laura Norman Clerc and Abigail K Howell. 2009. "Power, Privilege, and Learning: Facilitating Encountered Situations to Promote Social Justice." *Journal of College Student Development* 50(2):229-44.

Oxfam America. 2010, "Our Signature Event: The Oxfam America Hunger Banquet". Retrieved January 1, 2010 (http://actfast.oxfamamerica.org/).
Rifkin, Jeremy. 2009. *The Empathic Civilization: The Race to Global Consciousness in a World in Crisis*: Penguin.
Soule, Sarah A. 1997. "The Student Divestment Movement in the United States and Tactical Diffusion: The Shanytown Protest." *Social Forces* 75:855-82.

Gary J. Adler, Jr. (@GaryAdlerJr) is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Pennsylvania State University. He earned his doctorate in 2012 from the University of Arizona. His research on culture, organizations, and religion has explored how and why religious organizations organize concern and produce action for social issues, particularly through transnational civic engagement. His book, *Empathy Beyond U.S. Borders: The Challenges of Transnational Civil Engagement*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2019 as part of Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion, and Politics. He is the editor of *Secularism, Catholicism, and the Future of Public Life* (Oxford 2015) and co-editor of *American Parishes: Remaking Local Catholicism* (Fordham 2019). His next project is a collaborative study of "street level" church-state management in diverse contexts across the United States.

AMSS Podcast

There is a new podcast with Steven Hitlin – A Brief Overview of the Sociology of Morality – that includes a useful transcript. The podcast is available here: https://www.ambercazzell.com/post/msp-ep18-stevenhitlin

Our ASA 2020 sessions

Please consider submitting a paper to one of our sessions!

Open Session on Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity: Understanding the Good in a World Gone Bad
How are we to understand how, why, and when people do good in a world gone wrong? What distinguishes those who take moral action to help others from the bad? Why do people persist in working collectively for a good society against steep odds? How do people contest their own marginalization and create empowerment? Given the challenges that contemporary societies face due to patriarchy, racism, exploitation, nationalism, environmental destruction, and violence, among other problems, this open session examines the meanings, practices, institutions, processes, cultures, and movements intended to benefit the welfare of others. The session includes papers that approach this topic from range of methodological and epistemological perspectives.
Session organizer: Dana Moss*, University of Pittsburgh*

Joint Session for Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity and Rationality and Society: Rationality, Norms and Social Action
The session seeks papers that examine how the interaction between rationality and norms affect behavior.
Session organizer: Pamela Emanuelson*, North Dakota State University*

Generosity, Morality, and Altruism: Global Studies in Cross-Cultural Values
This one-hour invited panel (held during the AMSS business meeting) aims to advance cross-cultural approaches to studying generosity, morality, and altruism. The purpose is to better understand other-oriented activities across cultural contexts. In particular, the panel will focus on these understudied world regions: Asia, the Middle East and Turkey, Africa, and Latin America.
Note: since this is an invited session, please send your title and abstract to Trish Snell Herzog (organizer) no later than January 15 (earlier is appreciated) if you are interested in submitting a paper. This session will not appear on the ASA submission portal.

Award nominations

Distinguished Career Award

DEADLINE: 3/1/2020
Awarded to an individual who has made a number of significant contributions to the study of altruism, morality, and/or solidarity over an extended period of time. The Distinguished Career Award is intended to recognize a senior scholar's cumulative achievements. Please direct any inquiries to the committee chair, Steve Hitlin.

Please email nomination materials to all members of the committee at:
Committee:
Steve Hitlin (Chair), University of Iowa, steven-hitlin@uiowa.edu
Lori Peek, University of Colorado Boulder, lori.peek@colorado.edu
Gary Adler, Penn State University, gary.adler@psu.edu

Outstanding Published Book Award

DEADLINE: 3/1/2020
Awarded to the author(s) of a theoretical analysis, research monograph, or reader published in the last 5 years that increases knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and/or solidarity. Please direct any inquiries to the committee chair, Iddo Tavory.

Please send materials to all members of the committee at:

Iddo Tavory (Chair)
New York University
Department of Sociology
295 Lafayette Street
4th Floor
New York University
New York, NY 10012
iddo.tavory@nyu.edu

Amy Kroska
University of Oklahoma
Department of Sociology
331 Kaufman Hall
Norman, OK 73019
amykroska@ou.edu

Jeffrey Guhin
University of California, Los Angeles
Department of Sociology
264 Haines Hall
375 Portola Plaza
Los Angeles, CA 90095
guhin@soc.ucla.edu

Outstanding Published Article Award

DEADLINE: 3/1/2020

Awarded to the author(s) of a theoretical or research article published in the last 3 years that increases knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and/or solidarity. Please direct any inquiries to the committee chair, Penny Edgell.

Please email an electronic copy of the article and supporting materials to all members the committee at:

Committee:
Penny Edgell (Chair), University of Minnesota, edgell@umn.edu
Mary Rose, University of Texas Austin, mrose@austin.utexas.edu
Tom Rotolo, Washington State University, rotolo@wsu.edu

Outstanding Graduate Student Paper Award

DEADLINE: 3/1/2020

Awarded to the author(s) of a theoretical or research paper that increases knowledge and understanding of altruism, morality, and/or solidarity and has been (a) presented, or accepted for presentation, at a regional, national, or international professional meeting during the two preceding calendar years, or (b) published, or submitted for publication, in a journal during the two preceding calendar years. Authors of eligible papers must be graduate students at the time of the papers submission. Multiple authored papers are eligible for the award if all authors are graduate students. Please direct any inquiries to the committee chair, Jennifer Glanville.

Please email nomination materials to all members of the committee at:
Committee:
Jennifer Glanville (Chair), jennifer-glanville@uiowa.edu
Kelly Bergstrand, University of Texas Arlington, kelly.bergstrand@uta.edu
Jonathan Coley, Oklahoma State University, jonathan.s.coley@okstate.edu

Call for Papers

Religions Special Issue

This Special Issue aims to advance cross-cultural approaches to studying the intersections of religiosity, spirituality, and moral values with generous orientations, philanthropic participation, and civic engagement. The purpose is to better understand whether and how religious engagement contributes to acting generously across cultural contexts. In particular, the issue will focus on these understudied world regions: Asia (especially East, Southeast, and South Asia), the Middle East and Turkey, Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific Islands. The science and imagination of generosity and religiosity are flourishing. Yet, the field lacks valuable integration of these topics, and global studies with cross-cultural comparisons need further advancement. Scholars continue to refine theories and methods for studying each topic individually, but these are under-tested across cultures, and their intersections are understudied.

For example, the *Religious Schema Scale* was constructed by Streib, Hood, and Klein (2010) but as yet has only been tested in the United States and Germany. Another example of a well-developed set of measures is based upon *attachment to God theory*, as constructed and investigated by Manglos-Weber, Mooney, Bollen, and Roos (2016). However, thus far, these measures have only been tested in the United States. Alternatively, the *Centrality of Religion Scale* was developed by Huber and Huber (2012) and has been tested in 25 countries, translated into 20 languages, and studied with more than 100,000 participants. However, this scale has not yet been studied along with measures of generosity and philanthropic participation. With regard to moral values, the *World Values Survey* is one of the most well-known social scientific surveys for studying values across the globe and collects data from almost 100 countries containing 90 percent of the world's population. However, the WVS has its critics (e.g., Abramson 2011; Lundgren 2015), most notably concerns that the questionnaires were developed in Western societies and then translated to include other nations (Kotzé and Lombard 2003; Inglehart 2008; Taonui 2016).

Similarly, numerous studies measure the rates of philanthropic participation globally. For example, the Hudson Institute's Center for Global Prosperity (2006) developed a set of *Global Philanthropy Indices* to compare philanthropic activities across 79 countries, employing a standard instrument that was developed with the input of several country-based experts. However, these indices focus on macro-level national contexts rather than cultural values and norms and also do not include measures of religiosity. Moreover, the *Science of Generosity* Initiative supported projects that collected data on generosity in at least 27 countries, including the United States, India, Israel, Japan, the Honduras, Tanzania, Turkey, Canada, England, Wales, France, Spain, Italy, Ireland, and many other countries in Europe, which resulted in at least 45 peer-reviewed publications spanning the disciplines of sociology, psychology, economics, political science, psychiatry, international relations, medicine, neuroscience, anthropology, biobehavioral health, business, education, family consumer and human development, history, public administration, public affairs, public policy, religion, and social work. However, the world regions identified for this Special Issue remain understudied.

This Special Issue invites articles that address the topics of religiosity, spirituality, moral values, generosity, philanthropy, or civic engagement, including life course development. We are particularly interested in literature reviews, concept papers, and empirical investigations that pursue the intersection of these topics, as well as those that focus on cross-cultural studies of these world regions: Asia (East, Southeast, and South Asia), the Middle East and Turkey, Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, or the Pacific Islands.

If you are interested in submitting a manuscript for consideration in this Special Issue, please email the guest editor by January 15, 2020 with a title and abstract (email: **psherzog@iupui.edu**, subject: *Religions* abstract). ***Full papers are due by April 15, 2020.***

Dr. Patricia Snell Herzog

Guest Editor

Manuscript Submission Information

Manuscripts should be submitted online at **www.mdpi.com** by **registering** and **logging in to this website**. Once you are registered, **click here to go to the submission form**. Manuscripts can be submitted until the deadline. All papers will be peer-reviewed. Accepted papers will be published continuously in the journal (as soon as accepted) and will be listed together on the special issue website. Research articles, review articles as well as short communications are invited. For planned papers, a title and short abstract (about 100 words) can be sent to the Editorial Office for announcement on this website.

Submitted manuscripts should not have been published previously, nor be under consideration for publication elsewhere (except conference proceedings papers). All manuscripts are thoroughly refereed through a double-blind peer-review process. A guide for authors and other relevant information for submission of manuscripts is available on the **Instructions for Authors** page. ***Religions*** is an international peer-reviewed open access monthly journal published by MDPI.

Please visit the **Instructions for Authors** page before submitting a manuscript. The **Article Processing Charge (APC)**for publication in this **open access** journal is 1000 CHF (Swiss Francs). Submitted papers should be well formatted and use good English. Authors may use MDPI's **English editing service** prior to publication or during author revisions.

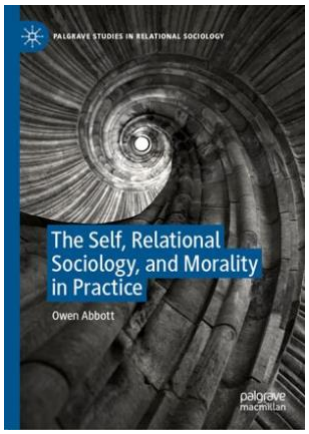
Keywords: Generosity, Philanthropy, Religiosity, Spirituality, Moral values, Youth and emerging adults, Cross-cultural studies

New book announcements

The Self, Relational Sociology, and Morality in Practice

Owen Abbott, University of Manchester

Palgrave Macmillan / Springer



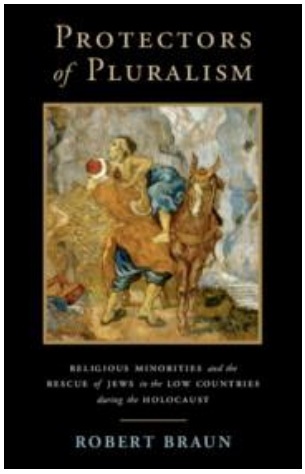
Providing a theory of moral practice for a contemporary sociological audience, Owen Abbott shows that morality is a relational practice achieved by people in their everyday lives. He moves beyond old dualisms—society versus the individual, social structure versus agency, body versus mind—to offer a sociologically rigorous and coherent theory of the relational constitution of the self and moral practice, which is both shared and yet enacted from an individualized perspective. In so doing, *The Self, Relational Sociology, and Morality in Practice* not only offers an urgently needed account of moral practice and its integral role in the emergence of the self, but also examines morality itself within and through social relations and practices. Abbott's conclusions will be of interest to social scientists and philosophers of morality, those working with pragmatic and interactionist approaches, and those involved with relational sociology and social theory.

The book is part of the Palgrave Studies in Relational Sociology series. More information is available on the publisher's website.

Protectors of Pluralism: Religious Minorities and the Rescue of Jews in the Low Countries during the Holocaust

Robert Braun, University of California, Berkeley

Cambridge University Press



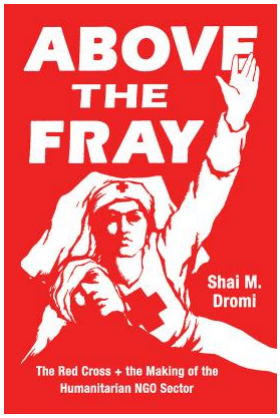
Protectors of Pluralism argues that local religious minorities are more likely to save persecuted groups from purification campaigns. Robert Braun utilizes a geo-referenced dataset of Jewish evasion in the Netherlands and Belgium during the Holocaust to assess the minority hypothesis. Spatial statistics and archival work reveal that Protestants were more likely to rescue Jews in Catholic regions of the Low Countries, while Catholics facilitated evasion in Protestant areas. Post-war testimonies and secondary literature demonstrate the importance of minority groups for rescue in other countries during the Holocaust as well as other episodes of mass violence, underlining how the local position of church communities produces networks of assistance, rather than something inherent to any religion itself. This book makes an important contribution to the literature on political violence, social movements, altruism and religion, applying a range of social science methodologies and theories that shed new light on the Holocaust.

More information is available on the publisher's website.

Above the Fray: The Red Cross and the Making of the Humanitarian NGO Sector

Shai M. Dromi, Harvard University

University of Chicago Press



From Lake Chad to Iraq, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) provide relief around the globe, and their scope is growing every year. Policymakers and activists often assume that humanitarian aid is best provided by these organizations, which are generally seen as impartial and neutral. In *Above the Fray*, Shai M. Dromi investigates why the international community overwhelmingly trusts humanitarian NGOs by looking at the historical development of their culture. With a particular focus on the Red Cross, Dromi reveals that NGOs arose because of the efforts of orthodox Calvinists, demonstrating for the first time the origins of the unusual moral culture that has supported NGOs for the past 150 years.

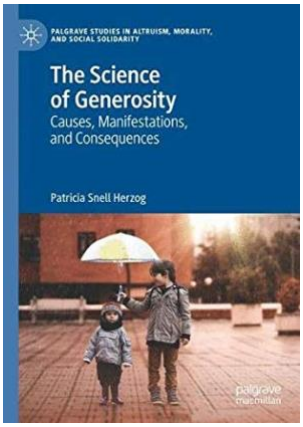
Drawing on archival research, Dromi traces the genesis of the Red Cross to a Calvinist movement working in mid-nineteenth-century Geneva. He shows how global humanitarian policies emerged

from the Red Cross founding members' faith that an international volunteer program not beholden to the state was the only ethical way to provide relief to victims of armed conflict. By illustrating how Calvinism shaped the humanitarian field, Dromi argues for the key role belief systems play in establishing social fields and institutions. Ultimately, Dromi shows the immeasurable social good that NGOs have achieved, but also points to their limitations and suggests that alternative models of humanitarian relief need to be considered.

More information is available on the publisher's website.

The Science of Generosity: Causes, Manifestations, and Consequences

Patricia Snell Herzog, IU Lilly Family School of Philanthropy
Palgrave Macmillan / Springer



This book advances understanding of the manifestations, causes, and consequences of generosity. Synthesizing the findings of the 14 research projects conducted by the Science of Generosity Initiative and offering an appendix of methods for studying generosity, this comprehensive account integrates insights from disparate disciplines to facilitate a broader understanding of giving—ultimately creating a compendium of not only the latest research in the field of altruistic behaviors, but also a research roadmap for the future. As the author sequentially explores the manifestations, causes, and consequences of generosity, Patricia Snell Herzog here also offers analyses ranging from the micro- to macro-level to paint a full picture of the individual, interpersonal and familial, and collective (inter)actions involved in altruism and generosity. The author concludes with a call to stimulate further interdisciplinary generosity studies, describing the implications for emerging scholars and practitioners across sociology, economics, political science, religious studies, and beyond.

The book is part of the Palgrave Studies in Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity series. More information is available on the publisher's website.

New articles on Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity

Angelo, Hillary, The greening imaginary: urbanized nature in Germany's Ruhr region. *Theory & Society* 48, no. 5 (2019), pp 645–669.

This article provides a sociological explanation for urban "greening," the normative practice of using everyday signifiers of nature to fix problems with urbanism. Although greening is commonly understood as a reaction against the pathologies of the industrial metropolis, such explanations cannot account for greening's recurrence across varied social and historical contexts. Through a study of greening in Germany's Ruhr region, a polycentric urban region that has repeatedly greened in the absence of a traditional city, I argue that greening is made possible by a social imaginary of nature as an indirect or moral good, which I call *urbanized nature*, that is an outcome of, and subsequently becomes a variable in, urbanization. I draw on processual accounts of urbanization and the sociology

of morality to explain urbanized nature's emergence in the Ruhr at the beginning of the twentieth century, and its use to fulfill two competing visions of urban democracy in the postwar period. I find that rather than an ideological reaction against cities, greening is an aspirational practice that can be mobilized by a range of actors in a variety of places and times. By showing how a new social imaginary made new forms of moral action possible and how those ideals were then materialized in urban space, this article draws attention to the role of cultural imaginaries in urban change and to the material consequences of moral beliefs.

Balsiger, Philip, The dynamics of 'Moralized Markets': a field perspective. *Socio-Economic Review* (Online First).

This article describes the distinctive features and structural properties of 'moralized markets', that is, markets in which producers set higher moral standards than those governing conventional market practices, and consumers buy products that respect those higher moral standards. Starting from a critical discussion of existing theoretical conceptualizations in terms of conventionalization/co-optation, quality conventions and resource partitioning, this article conceptualizes moralized markets as fields where actors are in strategic interaction. Using illustrations from several empirical studies, it suggests that all moralized markets are composed of a plurality of actors whose understanding of and commitments to moral principles vary. It reveals the main dimensions of the field, characterizes typical positions, and identifies and describes the core strategies used in struggles around field boundaries and the issues of policing and regulation of field settlements. The article concludes by offering six propositions regarding different possible outcome scenarios for the dynamics of moralized market fields, highlighting the role of the state for the stabilization of field settlements.

Coley, Jonathan S, Reframing, Reconciling, and Individualizing: How LGBTQ Activist Groups Shape Approaches to Religion and Sexuality, *Sociology of Religion* (Online First).

Past research reveals the multiple ways that people grapple with the connections between religious and sexual identities. Some people perceive religious identities to be in conflict with lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer (LGBQ) identities, but others believe such identities to be compatible. Some people look to religious authorities for guidance in understanding the connections between religious and LGBQ identities, whereas others rely on strategies of religious individualism. What factors affect people's approaches to understanding the connections between religious and sexual identities? Drawing on 77 interviews with participants in lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) activist groups at four Christian colleges and universities, and employing Goffmanian insights, this article shows how LGBTQ activist groups' different audiences inspire distinct approaches to understanding religion and sexuality. The study demonstrates that activist groups can powerfully shape understandings of seemingly disparate social identities and suggests a theoretical framework for future research.

Fulton, Brad R., Oyakawa, Michelle, and Wood, Richard L., Critical standpoint: Leaders of color advancing racial equality in predominantly white organizations. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership* 30, no. 2 (2019): 255– 276.

Organizations are often core sites for the production and perpetuation of social inequality. Although the United States is becoming more racially diverse, organizational elites remain disproportionately white, and this mismatch contributes to increasing racial inequality. This article examines whether and

how leaders of color within predominantly white organizations can help their organizations address racial inequality. Our analysis uses data from a national study of politically oriented civic organizations and ethnographic fieldwork within one predominantly white organization. We draw on institutional work research, the outsider-within concept, and insights from critical whiteness theory to explain how leaders of color can use their position and "critical standpoint" to help guide their organization toward advancing racial equality. The qualitative analysis shows how such leaders, when empowered, help their organization address race internally by (a) providing alternatives to white-dominated perspectives, (b) developing tools to educate white members about racial inequality, and (c) identifying and addressing barriers to becoming a more racially diverse organization. The qualitative analysis also shows how leaders of color help their organization address race externally by (a) sharing personal narratives about living in a white-dominated society and (b) brokering collaborations with organizations led by people of color. This research has implications for organizations seeking to promote social equality: Organizational leaders from marginalized status groups can help their organizations address social inequality, if those leaders possess a critical standpoint and sufficient organizational authority.

Kiviat, Barbara, The Moral Limits of Predictive Practices: The Case of Credit-Based Insurance Scores. *American Sociological Review* 84, no. 6 (2019): 1134–58.

Corporations gather massive amounts of personal data to predict how individuals will behave so that they can profitably price goods and allocate resources. This article investigates the moral foundations of such increasingly prevalent market practices. I leverage the case of credit scores in car insurance pricing—an early and controversial use of algorithmic prediction in the U.S. consumer economy—to unpack the premise that predictive data are fair to use and to understand the conditions under which people are likely to challenge that moral logic. Policymaker resistance to credit-based insurance scores reveals that contention arises when predictions depend on mathematical distinctions that do not align with broader understandings of good and bad behavior, and when theories about why predictions work point to the market holding people accountable for actions that are not really their fault. Via a de-commensuration process, policymakers realign the market with their own notions of moral deservingness. This article thus demonstrates the importance of causal understanding and moral categorization for people accepting markets as fair. As data and analytics permeate markets of all sorts, as well as other domains of social life, these findings have implications for how social scientists understand the novel forms of stratification that result.

McCaffree, Kevin. Towards an Integrative Sociological Theory of Empathy. *European Journal of Social Theory* (Online First).

Sociological theories of morality have grown in prevalence over the last decade and a half. These theories often focus on developing single concepts such as identity, reputation or emotion, or they provide sweeping historical accounts. Such theories often also take the construct of empathy for granted, as an inevitable consequence of morality. Here, I present a mechanistic theory of empathy which operates at multiple levels of analysis. The approach offered can help frame particular topics in the sociology of morality, though it is also robust enough to analyse historical change. Specifically, the theory presented here is composed of sets of situational, structural and societal mechanisms. Each set is discussed, as well as their relation to one another, before turning to an explication of how the present theory relates to a selective sampling of prominent theories in the contemporary sociology of morality.

Molina, José Luis, Borgatti, Stephen P., Moral bureaucracies and social network research. *Social Networks* (Online First).

In the wake of Europe's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), research ethics governance does not just affect the ethical dimensions of social research but also the range of scientific decisions available to researchers. Because of the sensitive status of personal data and the aversion to even minimal risk by what we call "moral bureaucracies", we are concerned that social network researchers will increasingly limit their research decisions to "safe" options, like reusing anonymized datasets, choosing target populations based on convenience rather than theoretical relevance, and routinely subcontracting fieldwork to professional data collection companies, among others. We also suggest that scientific associations and social scientists in general need to adopt a proactive role in preserving both scientific freedom and genuine ethics advice within this new regulatory framework.

Yukich, Grace, Fulton, Brad R., Wood, Richard L., Representative Group Styles: How Ally Immigrant Rights Organizations Promote Immigrant Involvement. *Social Problems* (Online First).

Why are some organizations more successful than others at involving socially diverse groups of people? Previous research emphasizes the role representative leaders play in recruiting diverse constituencies. This study extends that research by analyzing how an organization's group style—its customs that shape everyday interactions—influences constituent involvement by either bridging or reinforcing social divides. Our multi-method approach examines ally immigrant rights organizations to assess the relationship between their group styles and their ability to involve immigrants. Ethnographic data reveal that divergent levels of immigrant involvement in two organizations can be explained by differences in the organizations' group styles—specifically, differences in their religious, class-based, and linguistic practices. Original survey data from a national sample of ally organizations demonstrate the generalizability of our findings. Our analysis shows how having an immigrant-friendly group style can promote immigrant involvement, indicating that an organization's style is associated with its social composition. Having representative leaders from immigrant groups, though positively associated with immigrant involvement, is insufficient for sustaining immigrant involvement; group style can moderate the effect of having representative leaders. This research suggests that organizations seeking to recruit and retain a diverse social base could benefit from cultivating a representative group style.

Happy holiday season from the AMSS section!