Politics and Human Rights 2019
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**Front cover:** Celebration of the 50th anniversary of the mass conversion to Buddhism led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Photo by Laura Dudley Jenkins. From her book, *Religious Freedom and Mass Conversion in India* (see page 2).

**Back cover:** Alaska Cannery Workers Union marching in Labor Day parade, late 1930s. Labor Herald Photograph Collection, Labor Archives and Research Center, San Francisco State University. From Eduardo Contreras, *Latinos and the Liberal City* (see page 23).
Beyond Virtue and Vice
Rethinking Human Rights and Criminal Law
Edited by Alice M. Miller and Mindy Jane Roseman

Beyond Virtue and Vice examines the ways in which recourse to the criminal law features in work by human rights advocates regarding sexuality, gender, and reproduction—and presents a framework for considering if, when, and under what conditions recourse to criminal law is compatible with human rights. Contributors from a wide range of disciplinary fields and geographic locations offer historical and contemporary perspectives, doctrinal cautionary tales, and close readings of advocacy campaigns on the use of criminal law in cases involving abortion and reproductive rights, HIV/AIDS, sex work and prostitution law, human trafficking, sexual violence across genders, child rights and adolescent sexuality, and LGBT issues. The volume offers specific values and approaches of possible use to advocates, activists, policy makers, legislators, scholars, and students in their efforts to craft dialogue and engagement to move beyond state practices that compromise human rights in the name of restraining vice and extolling virtue.


Alice M. Miller is Codirector of the Global Health Justice Partnership of Yale Law and Public Health Schools. She is also an Associate Professor (Adjunct) at the Yale Law School, Assistant Clinical Professor in the Yale School of Public Health, and a Lecturer in Global Affairs at the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs at the Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies.

Mindy Jane Roseman is Director of International Law Programs and Director of the Gruber Program for Global Justice and Women’s Rights at Yale Law School.

Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights
2019 | 360 pages | 6 x 9 | Illus.
ISBN 978-0-8122-5108-1 | Cloth | $69.95
Religious Freedom and Mass Conversion in India

Laura Dudley Jenkins

“Religious Freedom and Mass Conversion in India is unparalleled in its reach. It explores mass conversion over time—from the late colonial period to the modern era; across communities—among the lower castes, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, and women; and in several different regions of India. It is a much needed contribution to scholarship on India and to comparative studies of religion, politics, and constitutional law.”—Amrita Basu, Amherst College

Hinduism is the largest religion in India, encompassing roughly 80 percent of the population, while 14 percent of the population practices Islam and the remaining 6 percent adheres to other religions. The right to “freely profess, practice, and propagate religion” in India’s constitution is one of the most comprehensive articulations of the right to religious freedom. Yet from the late colonial era to the present, mass conversions to minority religions have inflamed majority-minority relations in India and complicated the exercise of this right.

In Religious Freedom and Mass Conversion in India, Laura Dudley Jenkins examines three mass conversion movements in India: among Christians in the 1930s, Dalit Buddhists in the 1950s, and Mizo Jews in the 2000s. Critics of these movements claimed mass converts were victims of overzealous proselytizers promising material benefits, but defenders insisted the converts were individuals choosing to convert for spiritual reasons. Jenkins traces the origins of these opposing arguments to the 1930s and 1940s, when emerging human rights frameworks and early social scientific studies of religion posited an ideal convert: an individual making a purely spiritual choice. However, she observes that India’s mass conversions did not adhere to this model and therefore sparked scrutiny of mass converts’ individual agency and spiritual sincerity.

Jenkins demonstrates that the preoccupation with converts’ agency and sincerity has resulted in significant challenges to religious freedom. One is the proliferation of legislation limiting induced conversions. Another is the restriction of affirmative action rights of low caste people who choose to practice Islam or Christianity. Last, incendiary rumors are intentionally spread of women being converted to Islam via seduction. Religious Freedom and Mass Conversion in India illuminates the ways in which these tactics immobilize potential converts, reinforce damaging assumptions about women, lower castes, and religious minorities, and continue to restrict religious freedom in India today.

Laura Dudley Jenkins is Professor of Political Science and a faculty affiliate of the Women’s, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Department and Asian Studies Program at the University of Cincinnati.
Religious Freedom Under Scrutiny

Heiner Bielefeldt and Michael Wiener

“Offering a measured, deliberative, and erudite engagement with a range of critiques leveled against human rights discourses in general, and with regard to religious freedom in particular, Religious Freedom Under Scrutiny represents an informed perspective on a contentious set of debates. Scholars and practitioners alike will find the volume important reading.”
—Christopher Dole, Amherst College

Freedom of religion or belief is deeply entrenched in international human rights conventions and constitutional traditions around the world. Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights enshrines the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion as does the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which the United Nations General Assembly adopted in 1966. A rich jurisprudence on freedom of religion or belief is based on the European Convention on Human Rights, drafted in 1950 by the Council of Europe. Similar regional guarantees exist in the framework of the Organization of American States as well as within the African Union. Freedom of religion or belief has found recognition in numerous national constitutions, and some governments have shown a particularly strong commitment to the international promotion of this right.

As Heiner Bielefeldt and Michael Wiener observe, however, freedom of religion or belief remains a source of political conflict, legal controversy, and intellectual debate. In Religious Freedom Under Scrutiny, Bielefeldt and Wiener explore various critiques leveled at this right. For example, does freedom of religion contribute to the spread of Western neoliberal values to the detriment of religious and cultural diversity? Can religious freedom serve as the entry point for antifeminist agendas within the human rights framework? Drawing on their considerable experience in the field, Bielefeldt and Wiener provide a typological overview and analysis of violations around the world that illustrate the underlying principles as well as the relationship between freedom of religion or belief and other human rights.

Religious Freedom Under Scrutiny argues that without freedom of religion or belief, human rights cannot fully address our complex needs, yearnings, and vulnerabilities as human beings. Furthermore, ignoring or marginalizing freedom of religion or belief would weaken the plausibility, attractiveness, and legitimacy of the entire system of human rights.

Heiner Bielefeldt is Professor of Human Rights and Human Rights Politics at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. He served as the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief from 2010 to 2016.

Michael Wiener works in the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and is a visiting fellow at Kellogg College, University of Oxford.
The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights

Edited by Marie Juul Petersen and Turan Kayaoglu

“A well designed and executed volume, The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights offers a balanced and wide-ranging overview of both important rights issues—such as freedom of expression and the rights of the child—and the varied domains of the OIC’s activities, from its participation in the United Nations to its role in resolving conflicts and facilitating foreign aid.”—Jack Donnelly, University of Denver

Established in 1969, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is an intergovernmental organization the purpose of which is the strengthening of solidarity among Muslims. Headquartered in Jeddah, the OIC today consists of fifty seven states from the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The OIC’s longevity and geographic reach, combined with its self-proclaimed role as the United Nations of the Muslim world, raise certain expectations as to its role in global human rights politics. However, to date, these hopes have been unfulfilled. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights sets out to demonstrate the potential and shortcomings of the OIC and the obstacles on the paths it has navigated.

This volume provides essential empirical and theoretical insights into OIC practices, contemporary challenges to human rights, intergovernmental organizations, and global Islam. Essays by some of the world’s leading scholars examine the OIC’s human rights activities at different levels—in the UN, the organization’s own institutions, and at the member-state level—and assess different aspects of the OIC’s approach, identifying priority areas of involvement and underlying conceptions of human rights.


Marie Juul Petersen is Senior Researcher at The Danish Institute for Human Rights.

Turan Kayaoglu is Professor of International Studies and Associate Vice Chancellor for Research at the University of Washington in Tacoma.

Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights
2019 | 344 pages | 6 x 9 | 2 illus.
ISBN 978-0-8122-5119-7 | Cloth | $89.95
Human Rights and Participatory Politics in Southeast Asia

Catherine Renshaw

“Human Rights and Participatory Politics in Southeast Asia is a significant and much-needed contribution to the theoretical and comparative literature on regional human rights mechanisms. Catherine Renshaw argues convincingly that regional human rights work and national debates inform and influence each other.”—Mark Sidel, University of Wisconsin–Madison

In *Human Rights and Participatory Politics in Southeast Asia*, Catherine Renshaw recounts an extraordinary period of human rights institution-building in Southeast Asia. She begins her account in 2007, when the ten members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) signed the ASEAN charter, committing members for the first time to principles of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. In 2009, the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights was established with a mandate to uphold internationally recognized human rights standards. In 2013, the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration was adopted as a framework for human rights cooperation in the region and a mechanism for ASEAN community building. Renshaw explains why these developments emerged when they did and assesses the impact of these institutions in the first decade of their existence.

In her examination of ASEAN, Renshaw asks how human rights can be implemented in and between states that are politically diverse—Vietnam and Laos are Communist; Brunei Darussalam is an Islamic sultanate; Myanmar is in transition from a military dictatorship; the Philippines and Indonesia are established multiparty democracies; while the remaining members are less easily defined. Renshaw cautions that ASEAN is limited in its ability to shape the practices of its members because it lacks a preponderance of democratic states. However, she concludes that, in the absence of a global legalized human rights order, the most significant practical advancements in the promotion of human rights have emerged from regional institutions such as the ASEAN.

Catherine Renshaw is Associate Professor of Law and Deputy Head of the Thomas More Law School at Australian Catholic University.
Joyful Human Rights
William Paul Simmons. Foreword by Semere Kesete

“A bold, original, and ambitious book that makes a powerful case for incorporating joy into the scholarship and practice of human rights. It charts a new avenue of research and activism and offers a rich and rewarding intellectual journey.”—Bronwyn Leebaw, University of California, Riverside

Joyful Human Rights espouses a joy-centered approach that provides new insights into foundational human rights issues. William Paul Simmons offers a framework—surveying a more comprehensive understanding of human experiences—for theorizing and practicing a more affirmative and robust notion of human rights.

William Paul Simmons is Professor of Gender and Women’s Studies and Director of the online Human Rights Practice graduate program at the University of Arizona.

Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights
2019 | 304 pages | 6 x 9 | 9 illus.
ISBN 978-0-8122-5101-2 | Cloth | $75.00

The Ideals of Global Sport
From Peace to Human Rights
Edited by Barbara J. Keys
Winner of the Australian Society for Sport History’s Anthology Award

“This book provides a highly readable, fascinating, and valuable set of essays, which together demonstrate in rich detail the gap between the rhetoric and reality of sport’s moral discourse. It is essential reading for anyone—student, researcher, or sports fan—who wants to know more about the international politics of contemporary sport.”—Professor John Horne, coauthor of Sport and Social Movements: From the Local to the Global

Does international sport make the world a better place? This volume critically examines the claims that global sports events promote peace, mutual understanding, antiracism, and democracy, and exposes repeated shortcomings in human rights protections, from the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games to Brazil’s 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics.


Barbara J. Keys is Professor of U.S. and International History at the University of Melbourne.

Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights
2019 | 248 pages | 6 x 9
ISBN 978-0-8122-5150-0 | Cloth | $49.95
“Sarita Cargas makes a convincing case for an academic discipline in human rights that can and should be adapted to local contexts, contemporary issues, and the needs of faculty and students. Her call for the adoption of critical pedagogy has the potential to impact significantly how human rights is taught in the United States.”—William Paul Simmons, University of Arizona

In tracing the origins of the modern human-rights movement, historians typically point to two periods: the 1940s, in which decade the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was ratified by the United Nations General Assembly; and the 1970s, during which numerous human rights nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), most notably Amnesty International and Médecins Sans Frontières, came into existence. It was also in the 1970s, Sarita Cargas observes, when the first classes in international human rights began to be taught in law schools and university political science departments in the United States.

Cargas argues that the time has come for human rights to be acknowledged as an academic discipline. She notes that human rights has proven to be a relevant field to scholars and students in political science and international relations and law for over half a century. It has become of interest to anthropology, history, sociology, and religious studies, as well as a requirement even in social work and education programs. However, despite its interdisciplinary nature, Cargas demonstrates that human rights meets the criteria that define an academic discipline in that it possesses a canon of literature, a shared set of concerns, a community of scholars, and a methodology.

In an analysis of human rights curricula in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, Cargas identifies an informal consensus on the epistemological foundations of human rights, including familiarity with human rights law; knowledge of major actors including the United Nations, governments, NGOs, and multinational corporations; and, most crucially, awareness and advocacy of the rights and freedoms detailed in the articles of the UDHR. The second half of the book offers practical recommendations for creating a human rights major at the university level in the United States.

Sarita Cargas teaches human rights courses in the Honors College at the University of New Mexico.
Human Rights and Global Governance
Power Politics Meets International Justice

William H. Meyer

“William H. Meyer offers a compelling and persuasive account of the relationship between global governance and international human rights in a work of excellent scholarship and rare insights.”—Mahmood Monshipouri, San Francisco State University

International human rights have been an important matter for study, policy, and activism since the end of World War II. However, as William H. Meyer observes, global governance is not only a relatively new topic for students of international relations but also a widely used yet often contested concept. Despite the conflicting and often politicized uses of the term, three key dimensions of global governance can be identified: the impact of diplomatic international organizations such as the International Criminal Court, the importance of nonstate actors and global civil society, and global political trends that can be gleaned from empirical observation and data collection. In Human Rights and Global Governance, Meyer defines global governance generally as the management of global issues within a political space that has no single centralized authority.

Employing a combination of historical, quantitative, normative, and policy analyses, Meyer presents a series of case studies at the intersection of power politics and international justice. He examines the global campaign to end impunity for dictators; the recognition, violation, and protection of indigenous rights; the creation and expansion of efforts to ensure corporate social responsibility; the interactions between labor rights and development in the Global South; just war theory as it applies to torturing terrorists, war crimes in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the drone wars; and the global strategic environment that best facilitates the making of human rights treaties. Meyer concludes with an evaluation of the successes and failures of two exemplary models for the global governance of human rights as well as recommendations for public policy changes and visions for the future.

William H. Meyer is Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Delaware.
New in Paperback

The Promise of Human Rights
Constitutional Government, Democratic Legitimacy, and International Law
Jamie Mayerfeld

“Jamie Mayerfeld’s *The Promise of Human Rights* is a timely corrective to persistent misconceptions about international human rights law’s relationship to United States sovereignty and democracy. At a moment when ‘American Exceptionalism’ has re-emerged, in a new and crasser form, as a normative challenge to compliance with international legal constraints, Mayerfeld reminds us of American democracy’s roots in a Madisonian tradition that emphasizes the complex challenges of self-government and the need for checks on the concentration of power. Mayerfeld correctly notes that national sovereignty, far from precluding international legal obligations, is precisely what is exercised in the undertaking of such obligations.”

—*Human Rights Review*

Jamie Mayerfeld is Professor of Political Science at the University of Washington.

Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights
2019 | 320 pages | 6 x 9
ISBN 978-0-8122-4816-6 | Cloth | $69.95s | £58.00

New in Paperback

Sex and International Tribunals
The Erasure of Gender from the War Narrative
Chiseche Salome Mibenge

“In a book that ranges from poignantly personal to deeply ethnographic but is across-the-board strikingly original, Mibenge challenges the legalization of gender essentialism and the gender nature of (sexual violence in) conflict. Using original research from Rwanda and Sierra Leone alongside in-depth legal analysis, the author compellingly makes the argument that the very norms and laws that appear to protect victims of sexual violence actually regulate and silence the very people they are meant to attract.”

—*Choice*

Chiseche Salome Mibenge is the Director of Community Engaged Learning in Human Rights at Stanford University’s Haas Center for Public Service.

Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights
2019 | 248 pages | 6 x 9
ISBN 978-0-8122-4518-9 | Cloth | $59.95s | £50.00
Liberal democracies on both sides of the Atlantic find themselves approaching a state of emergency, beset by potent populist challenges of the right and left. But what exactly lies at the core of widespread dissatisfaction with the status quo? And how can the challenge be overcome?

In *Democracy in Crisis*, Christian Lammert and Boris Vormann argue that the rise of populism in North Atlantic states is not the cause of a crisis of governance but its result. This crisis has been many decades in the making and is intricately linked to the rise of a certain type of political philosophy and practice in which economic rationality has hollowed out political values and led to an impoverishment of the political sphere more broadly. The process began in the 1980s, when the United States and Great Britain decided to unleash markets in the name of economic growth and democracy. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, several countries in Europe followed suit and marketized their educational, social, and healthcare systems, which in turn increased inequality and fragmentation. The result has been a collapse of social cohesion and trust that the populists promise to address but only make worse. Looking to the future, Lammert and Vormann conclude their analysis with concrete suggestions for ways politics can once again be placed in the foreground, with markets serving social relations rather than the reverse.

*Boris Vormann* is Professor of Politics at Bard College Berlin.

*Christian Lammert* is Professor of North American Politics and Policy at Freie Universität Berlin.

*Susan H. Gillespie* is the founding director of the Institute for International Liberal Education and Vice President for International Education at Bard College.
**Paradigm Lost**

*From Two-State Solution to One-State Reality*

Ian S. Lustick

“Ian Lustick has written a richly informed and persuasive account of how the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians has become the seemingly dead-end tragedy it is today. This book provides an especially insightful analysis of why Israeli attitudes toward this issue evolved as they did. It is essential reading for anyone concerned about this conflict and hungry for new ways to think about it.”—Paul R. Pillar, former National Intelligence Officer for the Near East and South Asia

Why have Israelis and Palestinians failed to achieve a two-state solution to the conflict that has cost so much and lasted so long? In *Paradigm Lost*, Ian S. Lustick brings fifty years as an analyst of the Arab-Israeli dispute to bear on this question and offers a provocative explanation of why continued attempts to divide the land will have no more success than would negotiations to establish a one-state solution.

Basing his argument on the decisiveness of unanticipated consequences, Lustick shows how the combination of Zionism’s partially successful Iron Wall strategy for dealing with Arabs, an Israeli political culture saturated with what the author calls “Holocaustia,” and the Israel lobby’s dominant influence on American policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict scuttled efforts to establish a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Yet, he demonstrates, it has also unintentionally set the stage for new struggles and “better problems” for both Israel and the Palestinians. Drawing on the history of scientific ideas that once seemed certain but were ultimately discarded, Lustick encourages shifting attention from two-state blueprints that provide no map for realistic action to the democratizing competition that arises when different subgroups, forced to be part of the same polity, redefine their interests and form new alliances to pursue them.

*Paradigm Lost* argues that negotiations for a two-state solution between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River are doomed and counterproductive. Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs can enjoy the democracy they deserve but only after decades of struggle amid the unintended but powerful consequences of today’s one-state reality.

**Ian S. Lustick** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania and holds the Bess W. Heyman Chair.

Nov 2019 | 232 pages | 6 x 9
ISBN 978-0-8122-5195-1 | Cloth | $27.50
The London Bombings
Marc Sageman

On July 7, 2005, at the end of the morning rush hour, three near-simultaneous explosions tore apart the London Underground. Within an hour, the entire subway network was evacuated, and a fourth explosion in a bus underscored that this was a terrorist operation. The bombings shattered the British counterterrorism services’ assumptions about the global neojihadi threat to Britain. Authorities pondered whether al Qaeda was a loose coalition with no clear leadership or a highly structured group with international reach that posed a clear threat to the United Kingdom. These two perspectives are not just academic disputes but raise important issues with real consequences in terms of counterterrorism strategy. What sorts of distinct measures are needed to combat these opposing forms of terrorism? What can we learn from the ways in which the London terror attacks were planned and executed—and from Britain’s response?

In The London Bombings, counterterrorism expert Marc Sageman seeks to answer these questions through a new detailed account and analysis of the Underground bombings as well as three other attacks directed at Britain between 2004 and 2006. Drawing on previously unavailable trial transcripts and law enforcement records, terrorists’ self-documentation, and his own government experience in counterterrorism, Sageman makes the case that “top down” and “bottom up” conceptions of terror organizations need not be incompatible and that, in part because of this binary thinking, the West has tended to overreact to the severity of the threat. He stresses the fluid, chaotic ways that terrorist events unfold: spontaneously and gradually with haphazard planning—as the perpetrators are often worldly, educated, and not particularly religious before becoming engaged in neojihadi activities. The London Bombings is a vital, persuasive account of events that have not yet been properly presented to the public and are critical to the foundation of an effective counterterrorism strategy.

Marc Sageman, a forensic psychiatrist and political sociologist, is a qualified court counterterrorism expert.
Since 1978, the end of the Mao era, economic growth in China has outperformed every previous economic expansion in modern history. While the largest Western economies continue to struggle with the effects of the deepest recession since World War II, the People’s Republic of China still enjoys growth rates that are massive in comparison. In the country’s smog-choked cities, a chaotic climate of buying and selling prevails. Tireless expansion and inventiveness join forces with an attitude of national euphoria in which anything seems possible. No longer merely the “workshop of the world,” China is poised to become a global engine for innovation.

In *China’s Capitalism*, Tobias ten Brink considers the history of the socioeconomic order that has emerged in the People’s Republic. With empirical evidence and a theoretical foundation based in comparative and international political economy, ten Brink analyzes the main characteristics of China’s socioeconomic system over time, identifies the key dynamics shaping this system’s structure, and discusses current trends in further capitalist development. He argues that hegemonic state-business alliances mostly at the local level, relative homogeneity of party-state elites, the maintenance of a low-wage regime, and unanticipated coincidences between domestic and global processes are the driving forces behind China’s rise. He also surveys the limits to the state’s influence over economic and social developments such as industrial overcapacity and social conflict.

Ten Brink’s framework reveals how combinations of three heterogeneous actors—party-state institutions, firms, and workers—led to China’s distinctive form of capitalism. Presenting a coherent and historically nuanced portrait, *China’s Capitalism* is essential reading for anyone interested in the socioeconomic order of the People’s Republic and the significant challenges facing its continuing development.

*Tobias ten Brink* is Professor of Chinese Economy and Society and Director of the China Global Center at Jacobs University, Bremen.

2019 | 328 pages | 6 x 9 | 3 illus.  
ISBN 978-0-8122-5109-8 | Cloth | $69.95
Shareholder Cities
Land Transformations Along Urban Corridors in India

Sai Balakrishnan

“Shareholder Cities is a pathbreaking study of peripheral development along India’s transportation corridors. Breaking with the urban-rural binary, Sai Balakrishnan compares different treatments of liminal space to identify those most benefiting poor people. Her attention to cooperatives is a particularly important investigation of the redevelopment of formerly agricultural lands into urban real estate.”—Susan S. Fainstein, author of The Just City

In Shareholder Cities, Sai Balakrishnan argues that some of India’s most decisive conflicts over its urban futures will unfold in the regions along the new economic corridors, such as the Mumbai-Pune Expressway, where electorally strong agrarian propertied classes directly encounter financially powerful incoming urban firms.

Sai Balakrishnan teaches urban planning at Harvard University.

Gu Hongming’s Eccentric Chinese Odyssey

Chunmei Du

“Gu Hongming is one of the most controversial and complicated figures in modern Chinese history. Chunmei Du has the broad knowledge, multiple language skills, and keen understanding required to situate Gu and the cultural phenomenon he represented in the international intellectual environment of his time.”—Xiaoping Cong, University of Houston

Gu Hongming’s Eccentric Chinese Odyssey is the first comprehensive study in English of Gu Hongming, both the private individual and the public cultural figure. An “imitation Western man” who became “a Chinaman again,” Hongming was a reactionary to his contemporaries and an Eastern prophet to foreign intellectuals after the carnage of WWI.

Chunmei Du is Associate Professor in the Department of History at Lingnan University, Hong Kong.

Gu Hongming’s Eccentric Chinese Odyssey

Chunmei Du

14 International Studies
Citizenship Beyond Nationality
Immigrants’ Right to Vote Across the World
Luicy Pedroza

“Finally giving the topic of noncitizens’ voting rights the empirical attention it deserves, Citizenship Beyond Nationality provides an immense service to everyone who studies democratic theory, migration, voting, and legislative party politics. Luicy Pedroza’s findings are carefully drawn and surprising. They will require that we revise many of our assumptions about how different regimes approach noncitizen enfranchisement.”—Elizabeth F. Cohen, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

In Citizenship Beyond Nationality, Luicy Pedroza considers immigrants who have settled in democracies and who live indistinguishably from citizens—working, paying taxes, making social contributions, and attending schools—yet lack the status, gained either through birthright or naturalization, that would give them full electoral rights. Referring to this population as denizens, Pedroza asks what happens to the idea of democracy when a substantial part of the resident population is unable to vote? Her aim is to understand how societies justify giving or denying electoral rights to denizens.

Pedroza undertakes a comparative examination of the processes by which denizen enfranchisement reforms occur in democracies around the world in order to understand why and in what ways they differ. The first part of the book surveys a wide variety of reforms, demonstrating that they occur across polities that have diverse naturalization rules and proportions of denizens. The second part explores denizen enfranchisement reforms as a matter of politics, focusing on the ways in which proposals for reform were introduced, debated, decided, and reintroduced in two important cases: Germany and Portugal. Further comparing Germany and Portugal to long familiar cases, she reveals how denizen enfranchisement processes come to have a limited scope, or to even fail, and yet reignite. In the final part, Pedroza connects her theoretical and empirical arguments to larger debates on citizenship and migration.

Citizenship Beyond Nationality argues that the success and type of denizen enfranchisement reforms rely on how the matter is debated by key political actors and demonstrates that, when framed ambitiously and in inclusive terms, these deliberations have the potential to redefine democratic citizenship not only as a status but as a matter of politics and policy.

Luicy Pedroza works at the Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS), German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Berlin.
“A substantial, unique, and much needed contribution to our understanding of media, politics, and policy. Inspired and comprehensive in its approach, Digital Media and Democratic Futures offers a set of fresh and original questions answered by innovative thinkers.”—Zizi Papacharissi, University of Illinois, Chicago

The revolution in digital communications has altered the relationship between citizens and political elites, with important implications for democracy. As new information ecosystems have evolved, as unforeseen examples of their positive and negative consequences have emerged, and as theorizing, data, and research methods have expanded and improved, the central question has shifted from if the digital information environment is good or bad for democratic politics to how and in what contexts particular attributes of this environment are having an influence. It is only through the careful analysis of specific cases that we can begin to build a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the role of digital media in democratic theory and practice.

The essays in Digital Media and Democratic Futures focus on a variety of information and communication technologies, politically relevant actors, substantive issues, and digital political practices, doing so from distinct theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches. Individually, each of these case studies provides deep insights into the complex and context-dependent relationship between media and democracy. Collectively, they show that there is no single outcome for democracy in the digital age, only a range of possible futures.

Contributors: Rena Bivens, Michael X. Delli Carpini, Jennifer Earl, Thomas Elliott, Deen Freelon, Kelly Gates, Philip N. Howard, Daniel Kreiss, Ting Luo, Helen Nissenbaum, Beth Simone Noveck, Jennifer Pan, Lisa Poggiali, Daniela Stockmann.

Michael X. Delli Carpini is Professor of Communication at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania.

Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism
2019 | 352 pages | 6 x 9 | 21 illus.
ISBN 978-0-8122-5116-6 | Cloth | $69.95
Making Peace with Your Enemy
Algerian, French, and South African Ex-Combatants

Laetitia Bucaille. Translated by Ethan Rundell

“Making Peace with Your Enemy is a breakthrough book. Laetitia Bucaille focuses on how former combatants experienced the cessation of hostilities and the ways in which they represent their past. She builds incisively on the narratives—and silences—of torturers and tortured, hunters and hunted, and the intertwined official and personal remembering and forgetting on all sides in France, Algeria, and South Africa. Fresh and compelling, this book is a must-read.”—Dale F. Eickelman, Dartmouth College

Reconciliation between political antagonists who went to war against each other is not a natural process. Hostility toward an enemy only slowly abates and the political resolution of a conflict is not necessarily followed by the immediate pacification of society and reconciliation among individuals. Under what conditions can a combatant be brought to understand the motivations of his enemies, consider them as equals, and develop a new relationship, going so far as to even forgive them? By comparing the experiences of veterans of the South African and Franco-Algerian conflicts, Laetitia Bucaille seeks to answer this question. She begins by putting the postconflict and postcolonial order that characterizes South Africa, France, and Algeria into perspective, examining how each country provided symbolic and material rewards to the veterans and how past conflict continues to shape the present. Exploring the narratives of ex-combatants, Bucaille also fosters an understanding of their intimate experiences as well as their emotions of pride, loss, and guilt.

In its comparative analysis of South Africa and Algeria, Making Peace with Your Enemy reveals a paradox. In Algeria, the rhetoric of the regime is characterized by resentment toward colonizing France but relations between individuals are warm. However, in South Africa, democratization was based on official reconciliation but distance and wariness between whites and blacks prevail. Despite these differences, Bucaille argues, South African, Algerian, and French ex-adversaries face a similar challenge: how to extricate themselves from colonial domination and the violence of war in order to build relationships based on trust.

Laetitia Bucaille is Professor of Sociology at Langues’O, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO), Université Sorbonne Paris Cité and a researcher at the Centre d’études en sciences sociales des mondes américains, africain et asiatique (CESSMA).
**Culture and PTSD**

Trauma in Global and Historical Perspective

Edited by Devon E. Hinton and Byron J. Good

“Stress and trauma have become part of globalized languages of suffering and healing and the construct of PTSD is at the center of this discourse. The editors have brought together a stellar group of contributors who present historical and ethnographic studies that unpack some of the complexity of trauma response and PTSD to show the interplay of social contexts, cultural practices, and psychological processes. Culture and PTSD marks important advances in cultural psychiatry and will be richly rewarding for both researchers and mental health practitioners.” —Laurence J. Kirmayer, McGill University

**Contributors:** Carmela Alcántara, Tom Ball, James K. Boehnlein, Naomi Breslau, Whitney Duncan, Byron J. Good, Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good, Jesse H. Grayman, Bridget M. Haas, Devon E. Hinton, Erica James, Janis H. Jenkins, Hanna Kienzler, Brandon Kohrt, Roberto Lewis-Fernández, Richard J. McNally, Theresa D. O’Nell, Duncan Pedersen, Nawaraj Upadhaya, Carol M. Worthman, Allan Young.

Devon E. Hinton is Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard University.

Byron J. Good is Professor of Medical Anthropology at Harvard University.

The Ethnography of Political Violence

2019 | 440 pages | 6 x 9 | 16 illus.

ISBN 978-0-8122-2445-0 | Paper | $34.95

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**Food Security and Scarcity**

Why Ending Hunger Is So Hard

C. Peter Timmer

“Peter Timmer is one of the world’s foremost experts on global food policy. This book draws on his very extensive experience, primarily but not exclusively from Asia, his very impressive research record, his large number of publications and his effective application of economic theory to food policy analysis. . . . In this book, Timmer has once again guided those of us interested in food policy through the complexities of the food sector and its interaction with economics and politics.” —American Journal of Agricultural Economics

C. Peter Timmer is Thomas D. Cabot Professor of Development Studies, emeritus, at Harvard University.

2019 | 232 pages | 6 x 9 | 18 illus.

ISBN 978-0-8122-4666-7 | Cloth | $65.00s | £54.00

Moral Victories in the Battle for Congress
Cultural Conservatism and the House GOP

Marty Cohen

“Few transformations in recent U.S. politics are as important as the rise of the Christian right within the GOP. Marty Cohen provides a real inside sense for how changes in recruitment have affected congressional politics.”—Eric Schickler, University of California, Berkeley

While Christian conservatives had been active in national politics for decades and had achieved a seat at the table by working with the Republican Party, the 1980s and 1990s saw them make significant strides by injecting issues of moral traditionalism into U.S. House races across the country. Christian conservative activists worked diligently to nominate friendly candidates and get them elected. These moral victories transformed the Republican House delegation into one that was much more culturally conservative and created a new Republican majority. In Moral Victories in the Battle for Congress, Marty Cohen seeks to chronicle this significant political phenomenon and place it in both historical and theoretical contexts. This is a story not only of the growing importance of moral issues but also of the way party coalitions change, and how this particular change began with religiously motivated activists determined to ban abortion, thwart gay rights, and restore traditional morality to the country.

Beginning in the early 1980s, and steadily building from that point, religious activists backed like-minded candidates. Traditional Republican candidates, more concerned about taxes and small government, resisted the newcomers and were often defeated. As a result, increasing numbers of House Republican nominees were against abortion and gay rights. Voters responded by placing moral issues above their interests in economic policies, which led to the election of ever more socially conservative representatives. As a result, the House Republican caucus evolved from a body that advocated largely for low taxes and small government to one equally invested in moral and social issues, especially abortion and gay rights. The new moralistic Republican candidates were able to win in districts where traditional business Republicans could not, thereby creating the foundation for a durable Republican majority in the House and reshaping the American political landscape.

Marty Cohen is Associate Professor of Political Science at James Madison University.

American Governance: Politics, Policy, and Public Law
2019 | 264 pages | 6 x 9 | 39 illus.
ISBN 978-0-8122-5123-4 | Cloth | $69.95
Law Without Future
Anti-Constitutional Politics and the American Right
Jack Jackson

“Law Without Future is a superb book making a brilliant and original argument: that American jurisprudence has entered a time when, increasingly, decisions are made without reference to past (that is, precedent) or future (that is, the application of the law). Jack Jackson is an excellent legal scholar, political theorist, and writer, and he proves himself a devastating critic of Bush v. Gore and other legal cases and laws.”—James Martel, San Francisco State University

As the 2000 decision by the Supreme Court to effectively deliver the presidency to George W. Bush recedes in time, its real meaning comes into focus. If the initial critique of the Court was that it had altered the rules of democracy after the fact, the perspective of distance permits us to see that the rules were, in some sense, not altered at all. Here was a “landmark” decision that, according to its own logic, was applicable only once and that therefore neither relied on past precedent nor lay the foundation for future interpretations.

This logic, according to scholar Jack Jackson, not only marks a stark break from the traditional terrain of U.S. constitutional law but exemplifies an era of triumphant radicalism and illiberalism on the American Right. In Law Without Future, Jackson demonstrates how this philosophy has manifested itself across political life in the twenty-first century and locates its origins in overlooked currents of post-WWII political thought. These developments have undermined the very idea of constitutional government, and the resulting crisis, Jackson argues, has led to the decline of traditional conservatism on the Right and to the embrace on the Left of a studiously legal, apolitical understanding of constitutionalism (with ironically reactionary implications).

Jackson examines Bush v. Gore, the post-9/11 “torture memos,” the 2005 Terri Schiavo controversy, the Republican Senate’s norm-obliterating refusal to vote on President Obama’s Supreme Court nominee Merrick Garland, and the ascendancy of Donald Trump in developing his claims. Engaging with a wide array of canonical and contemporary political thinkers—including St. Augustine, Alexis de Tocqueville, Karl Marx, Martin Luther King Jr., Hannah Arendt, Wendy Brown, Ronald Dworkin, and Hanna Pitkin—Law Without Future offers a provocative, sobering analysis of how these events have altered U.S. political life in the twenty-first century in profound ways—and seeks to think beyond the impasse they have created.

Jack Jackson teaches political theory and constitutional law at Whitman College.

2019 | 200 pages | 6 x 9
ISBN 978-0-8122-5133-3 | Cloth | $45.00
American Justice 2019
The Roberts Court Arrives
Mark Joseph Stern

Following the retirement of Justice Anthony Kennedy and the controversial confirmation of Justice Brett Kavanaugh, the Supreme Court plunged into a contentious term that featured divisive cases involving abortion, immigration, capital punishment, and voting rights on the court’s docket. In American Justice 2019, Mark Joseph Stern examines the term’s most controversial opinions and highlights the consequences of Chief Justice John Roberts stepping into a new role as the court’s swing vote. His account depicts a court sharply divided over its role in American democracy, with the man at its center striving to stay above the political fray without abandoning his conservative instincts.

Mark Joseph Stern is a legal analyst and Supreme Court Correspondent for Slate magazine.

Nov 2019 | 128 pages | 5 1/2 x 8 1/2

The Future of Risk Management
Edited by Howard Kunreuther, Robert J. Meyer, and Erwann O. Michel-Kerjan

Highlighting past research, recent discoveries, and open questions, The Future of Risk Management provides scholars, businesses, civil servants, and the concerned public tools for making more informed decisions and developing long-term strategies for reducing future losses from potentially catastrophic events.


Howard Kunreuther is the James G. Dinan Professor of Decision Sciences and Public Policy in the Operations, Information, and Decisions Department, and Co-Director of the Risk Management and Decision Processes Center at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

Robert J. Meyer is the Frederick H. Ecker/MetLife Insurance Professor of Marketing.

Erwann O. Michel-Kerjan is a partner at McKinsey & Company.

Critical Studies in Risk and Disaster
2019 | 416 pages | 6 x 9 | 28 illus.
ISBN 978-0-8122-5132-6 | Cloth | $79.95
In This Land of Plenty
Mickey Leland and Africa in American Politics

Benjamin Talton

“Benjamin Talton’s compelling new book focuses our attention on a forgotten, heroic American: Representative Mickey Leland. Talton deftly shows how Leland brought the sensibilities and concerns of the 1960s African American freedom movements to the politics of the 1980s. In doing so, Leland played a key role in crafting American humanitarianism, in rethinking U.S. policy toward Africa, and in bringing a powerful African American perspective to U.S. politics. By placing Leland at the center of a number of vital policy issues, Talton helps us better understand American politics and foreign policy in the 1980s.”
—Carl Bon Tempo, University at Albany

On August 7, 1989, Congressman Mickey Leland departed on a flight from Addis Ababa, with his thirteen-member delegation of Ethiopian and American relief workers and policy analysts, bound for Ethiopia’s border with Sudan. This was Leland’s seventh official humanitarian mission in his nearly decade-long drive to transform U.S. policies toward Africa to conform to his black internationalist vision of global cooperation, antiracism, and freedom from hunger. Leland’s flight never arrived at its destination. The plane crashed, with no survivors.

When Leland embarked on that delegation, he was a forty-four-year-old, deeply charismatic, fiercely compassionate, black, radical American. He was also an elected Democratic representative of Houston’s largely African American and Latino Eighteenth Congressional District. Above all, he was a self-proclaimed “citizen of humanity.” Throughout the 1980s, Leland and a small group of former radical-activist African American colleagues inside and outside Congress exerted outsized influence to elevate Africa’s significance in American foreign affairs and to move the United States from its Cold War orientation toward a foreign policy devoted to humanitarianism, antiracism, and moral leadership. Their internationalism defined a new era of black political engagement with Africa. In This Land of Plenty presents Leland as the embodiment of larger currents in African American politics at the end of the twentieth century.

Exploring the links between political activism, electoral politics, and international affairs, Benjamin Talton not only details Leland’s political career but also examines African Americans’ successes and failures in influencing U.S. foreign policy toward African and other Global South countries.

Benjamin Talton is Associate Professor of History at Temple University.

Politics and Culture in Modern America
2019 | 328 pages | 6 x 9 | 8 illus.
ISBN 978-0-8122-5147-0 | Cloth | $45.00
Latinos and the Liberal City
Politics and Protest in San Francisco

Eduardo Contreras

“Eduardo Contreras tells an analytically sophisticated and archivally rich story of San Francisco and its Latino populations and traces in novel ways their engagement with the ideals and failures of twentieth-century democratic liberalism. This book will quickly become a standard bearer in the growing canon of Latino history.”
—Lorrin Thomas, Rutgers University-Camden

The “Latino vote” has become a mantra in political media, as journalists, pundits, and social scientists regularly weigh in on Latinos’ loyalty to the Democratic Party and the significance of their electoral participation. But how and why did Latinos’ liberal orientation take hold? What has this political inclination meant—and how has it unfolded—over time?

In *Latinos and the Liberal City*, Eduardo Contreras addresses these questions, offering a bold, textured, and inclusive interpretation of the nature and character of Latino politics in America’s shifting social and cultural landscape. Contreras argues that Latinos’ political lives and aspirations have been marked by diversity and contestation yet consistently influenced by the ideologies of liberalism and latinidad: while the principles of activist government, social reform, freedom, and progress sustained liberalism, latinidad came to rest on promoting unity and commonality among Latinos.

Contreras centers this compelling narrative on San Francisco—America’s liberal city par excellence—examining the role of its Latino communities in local politics from the 1930s to the 1970s. By the early twentieth century, San Francisco’s residents of Latin American ancestry traced their heritage to nations including Mexico, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile, and Peru. These communities formed part of the New Deal coalition, defended workers’ rights with gusto, and joined the crusade for racial equality decades before the 1960s. In the mid- to late postwar era, Latinos expanded claims for recognition and inclusion while participating in movements and campaigns for socioeconomic advancement, female autonomy, gay liberation, and rent control. *Latinos and the Liberal City* makes clear that the local public sphere nurtured Latinos’ political subjectivities and that their politicization contributed to the vibrancy of San Francisco’s political culture.

Eduardo Contreras is Associate Professor of History at Hunter College, City University of New York.

Politics and Culture in Modern America
2019 | 328 pages | 6 x 9 | 11 illus.
ISBN 978-0-8122-5112-8 | Cloth | $45.00
Religion in the Public Square
Sheen, King, Falwell
James M. Patterson

“Informative and provocative, Religion in the Public Square is original in its interpretations and judicious in its assessments. James M. Patterson makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the role of preachers and public religion in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century”—Robert Kraynak, Colgate University

In Religion in the Public Square, James M. Patterson considers religious leaders who popularized theology through media campaigns designed to persuade the public. Ven. Fulton J. Sheen, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Rev. Jerry Falwell differed profoundly on issues of theology and politics, but they shared an approach to public ministry that aimed directly at changing how Americans understood the nature and purpose of their country. From the 1930s through the 1950s, Sheen was an early adopter of paperbacks, radio, and television to condemn totalitarian ideologies and to defend American Catholicism against Protestant accusations of divided loyalty. During the 1950s and 1960s, King staged demonstrations and boycotts that drew the mass media to him. The attention provided him the platform to preach Christian love as a political foundation in direct opposition to white supremacy. Falwell started his own church, which he developed into a mass media empire. He then leveraged it during the late 1970s through the 1980s to influence the Republican Party by exhorting his audience to not only ally with religious conservatives around issues of abortion and the traditional family but also to vote accordingly.

Sheen, King, and Falwell were so successful in popularizing their theological ideas that they won prestigious awards, had access to presidents, and witnessed the results of their labors. However, Patterson argues that Falwell’s efforts broke with the longstanding refusal of religious public figures to participate directly in partisan affairs and thereby catalyzed the process of politicizing religion that undermined the Judeo-Christian consensus that formed the foundation of American politics.

James M. Patterson teaches politics at Ave Maria University.
Beyond the New Deal Order
U.S. Politics from the Great Depression to the Great Recession
Edited by Gary Gerstle, Nelson Lichtenstein, and Alice O’Connor

“As both a historical and historiographical marker of persistence and transformation, this outstanding volume invites readers to consider anew the New Deal’s legacies and successors. Offering inventive analytical reflections that illuminate recent decades of the American experience, the book’s bracing essays prompt fresh thought about periodization, historical causation, the scope of possibility, and a good deal more.”—Ira Katznelson, author of Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time

In Beyond the New Deal Order, contributors bring a fresh perspective to the historic meaning and significance of New Deal liberalism while identifying the elements of a distinctively “neoliberal” politics that emerged in its wake. Part I offers contemporary interpretations of the New Deal with essays that focus on its approach to economic security and inequality, its view of participatory governance, and its impact on the Republican party as well as Congressional politics. Part II features essays that examine how intersectional inequities of class, race, and gender were embedded in New Deal labor law, labor standards, and economic policy and brought demands for employment, economic justice, and collective bargaining protections to the forefront of civil rights and social movement agendas throughout the postwar decades. Part III considers the precepts and defining narratives of a “post” New Deal political structure, while the closing essay contemplates the extent to which we may now be witnessing the end of a neoliberal system anchored in free-market ideology, neo-Victorian moral aspirations, and post-Communist global politics.


Gary Gerstle is the Paul Mellon Professor of American History at the University of Cambridge.

Nelson Lichtenstein is Distinguished Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Alice O’Connor is Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara.
The Workfare State
Public Assistance Politics from the New Deal to the New Democrats
Eva Bertram

“Bertram offers a compelling account of the politics surrounding the transformation of the welfare state into a ‘workfare state’ or one that links public assistance to work activity among the poor. . . . A richly detailed analysis of formative moments in welfare policy-making.”—Journal of Children and Poverty

“The Workfare State provides a thoughtful and cogent analysis, and an incisive and sobering reminder that a two-tiered system of social provision is a core legacy of the Democratic Party.”
—Perspectives on Politics

Eva Bertram is Associate Professor of Politics at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

American Governance: Politics, Policy, and Public Law
2019 | 336 pages | 6 x 9
ISBN 978-0-8122-2444-3 | Paper | $29.95

New in Paperback

Civil Disabilities
Citizenship, Membership, and Belonging
Edited by Nancy J. Hirschmann and Beth Linker

“Insightful, comprehensive, and personal. . . . These essays illuminate the social, political, and environmental realities that have been variably experienced as helpful and harmful to the citizenship of those identified as disabled. The authors provide meaningful conceptualization and develop a lexicon which enhance understanding of the obstacles to full citizenship, membership and belonging. The resulting narrative is steeped in the everyday experience of differentness that illuminates the impact of economic, legal, political and social forces.”—Sex and Disability


Nancy J. Hirschmann is Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania.

Beth Linker is Associate Professor in the Department of the History and Sociology of Science at the University of Pennsylvania.

Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism
2019 | 320 pages | 6 x 9
The Music of Reason
Rousseau, Nietzsche, Plato

Michael Davis

“The Music of Reason is beautifully written and lucidly argued. Michael Davis is truly an original thinker who leads readers to understand what philosophy is, not by merely describing it or its results but by inviting them to engage in it along with him.”—Catherine Zuckert, University of Notre Dame

In recent years, the field of cognitive psychology has begun to explore the rootedness of rational thinking in subrational inspiration, insight, or instinct—a kind of prediscursive hunch that leaps ahead and guides rational thought before the reasoning human being is even aware of it. In The Music of Reason, Michael Davis shows that this “musical” quality of thinking is something that leading philosophers have long been aware of and explored with great depth and subtlety. Focusing on the work of three thinkers traditionally viewed as among the most poetic of philosophers—Rousseau, Nietzsche, and Plato—Davis reveals the complex and profound ways in which they each plumbed the depths of reason’s “prerational” foundations.

Davis first examines Rousseau’s Essay on the Origins of Languages: Where Something Is Said About Melody and Musical Imitation and Nietzsche’s The Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music to demonstrate that revealing the truth, or achieving individual enlightenment, requires poetic techniques such as irony, indirection, and ambiguity. How philosophers say things is as worthy of our attention as what they say. Turning to Plato’s Lesser Hippias, Davis then reconsiders the relation between truth-telling and lying, finding the Platonic dialogue to be an artful synthesis of music and reason.

The “ancient quarrel between philosophy and poetry” that Plato placed near the core of this thinking suggests a tension between the rational (scientific) and the nonrational (poetic), or between the true and the beautiful—the one clear and definite, the other allusive and musical. Contemplating language in Rousseau, the Dionysian in Nietzsche, and playfulness in Plato, The Music of Reason explores how what we might initially perceive as irrational and so antithetical to reason is, in fact, constitutive of it.

Michael Davis teaches philosophy at Sarah Lawrence College.
Political Corruption
The Underside of Civic Morality

Robert Alan Sparling

“In his striking and worthwhile juxtapositions of familiar and lesser-known thinkers, Robert Alan Sparling displays a sophisticated grip on the theories of his subjects and makes an original contribution to our understanding of the idea of political corruption.”—Christopher Brooke, University of Cambridge

The notion of corruption as a problem for politics spans many centuries and political, social, and cultural contexts. But it is incredibly difficult to define what we mean when we describe a regime or actor as corrupt: while corruption suggests a falling away from purity, health, or integrity, it flourishes today in an environment that is often inarticulate about its moral ideals and wary of perfectionist discourse. Providing a historical perspective on the idea, Robert Alan Sparling explores diverse visions of corruption that have been elucidated by thinkers across the modern philosophical tradition.

In a series of chronologically ordered philosophical portraits, Political Corruption considers the different ways in which a metaphor of impurity, disease, and dissolution was deployed by political philosophers from the Renaissance to the early twentieth century. Focusing specifically on the thought of Erasmus, Étienne de La Boétie, Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, Robespierre, Kant, and Weber, Sparling situates these thinkers in their historical contexts and argues that each of them offers a distinctive vision of corruption that has continuing relevance in contemporary political debates. He contrasts immoderate purists with impure moderates and reveals corruption to be a language of reaction and revolution. The book explores themes such as the nature of civic trust and distrust; the relationship of transparency to accountability; the integrity of leaders and the character of uncorrupted citizens; the division between public and private; the nature of dependency; and the relationship between regime and civic disposition.

Political Corruption examines how philosophers have conceived of public office and its abuse and how they have sought to insulate the public sphere from anticivic inclinations and interests. Sparling argues that speaking coherently about political corruption in our present moment requires a robust account of the good regime and of the character of its citizens and officeholders.

Robert Alan Sparling teaches political studies at the University of Ottawa.

Haney Foundation Series
2019 | 272 pages | 6 x 9
ISBN 978-0-8122-5087-9 | Cloth $59.95
Florentine Political Writings from Petrarch to Machiavelli

Edited by Mark Jurdjevic, Natasha Piano, and John P. McCormick

“With its masterful introductions and accessible translations, Florentine Political Writings from Petrarch to Machiavelli will serve as the standard reference for scholars and teachers of Renaissance Italy and premodern political thought.”—Nicholas Scott Baker, Macquarie University

Presenting nineteen primary source documents, including lesser known texts by Machiavelli and Guicciardini, several of which are here translated into English for the first time, this useful compendium shows how the Renaissance political imagination can be productively applied to pressing civic questions.

Mark Jurdjevic is Professor of History at York University.
Natasha Piano is a Ph.D. candidate in the political science department at the University of Chicago.
John P. McCormick is Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago.

Machiavelli
Political, Historical, and Literary Writings

Edited by Mark Jurdjevic and Meredith K. Ray. Translations by Meredith K. Ray

“Including letters, dramatic works, and other texts that do not often come first to readers’ minds when thinking of Machiavelli, Mark Jurdjevic and Meredith K. Ray have provided a selection of his work that paints a new and interesting portrait of the political theorist. Arranged chronologically, these lesser-known texts frame excerpts from The Prince, Discourses on Livy, and The Art of War, resulting in a finely grained intellectual autobiography. The volume is perfect for the classroom and for readers interested in gaining a fuller understanding of Machiavelli’s thought.”—Christopher S. Celenza, Georgetown University

Throughout his life, Niccolò Machiavelli’s overriding central concerns were the present and future strength and independence of Florence. Presenting a wide sample of the many genres in which he wrote, this volume highlights and explores this underappreciated aspect of Machiavelli’s intellectual preoccupations.

Mark Jurdjevic is Professor of History at York University.
Meredith K. Ray is Professor of Italian at the University of Delaware.
Carnal Spirit
The Revolutions of Charles Péguy
Matthew W. Maguire

“Matthew W. Maguire’s mastery of Charles Péguy’s voluminous writings is impressive. His book will bring certain contemporary questions into sharp relief, not least the new forms of totalization and control whose early versions Péguy detected at the turn of the twentieth century.”—Annette Aronowicz, author of Jews and Christians on Time and Eternity: Charles Péguy’s Portrait of Bernard-Lazare

It is rare for a thinker of Charles Péguy’s considerable stature and influence to be so neglected in Anglophone scholarship. The neglect may be in part because so much about Péguy is contestable and paradoxical. He strongly opposed the modern historicist drive to reduce writers to their times, yet he was very much a product of philosophical currents swirling through French intellectual life at the turn of the twentieth century. He was a passionate Dreyfusard who converted to Catholicism but was a consistent anticlerical. He was a socialist and an anti-Marxist, and at once a poet, journalist, and philosopher.

Péguy (1873–1914) rose from a modest childhood in provincial France to a position of remarkable prominence in European intellectual life. Before his death in battle in World War I, he founded his own journal in order to publish what he thought most honestly, and urgently, needed to be said about politics, history, philosophy, literature, art, and religion. His writing and life were animated by such questions as: Is it possible to affirm universal human rights and individual freedom and find meaning in a national identity? How should different philosophies and religions relate to one another? What does it mean to be modern?

A voice like Péguy’s, according to Matthew Maguire, reveals the power of the individual to work creatively with the diverse possibilities of a given historical moment. Carnal Spirit expertly delineates the historical origins of Péguy’s thinking, its unique trajectory, and its unusual position in his own time, and shows the ways in which Péguy anticipated divisions that continue to trouble us today.

Matthew Maguire is Associate Professor of History and Catholic Studies at DePaul University.
The Moment of Rupture
Historical Consciousness in Interwar German Thought
Humberto Beck

“Connecting a trajectory of aesthetic thought that began in the eighteenth century with a vision of a radically different future, The Moment of Rupture shows how the complex and multifaceted conception of the ‘instant’ in Weimar culture was central to the political philosophy that sought to transcend Germany’s first republic. Humberto Beck persuasively argues that Ernst Jünger, Ernst Bloch, and Walter Benjamin are, from very different angles, reflecting on a particular and peculiar sense of time and crisis in their works.” —Carl Caldwell, Rice University

An instant is the shortest span in which time can be divided and experienced. In an instant, there is no duration: it is an interruption that happens in the blink of an eye. For the ancient Greeks, kairos, the time in which exceptional, unrepeatable events occurred, was opposed to chronos, measurable, quantitative, and uniform time. In The Moment of Rupture, Humberto Beck argues that during the years of the First World War, the Russian Revolution, and the rise of fascism in Germany, the notion of the instant migrated from philosophy and aesthetics into politics and became a conceptual framework for the interpretation of collective historical experience that, in turn, transformed the subjective perception of time.

According to Beck, a significant juncture occurred in Germany between 1914 and 1940, when a modern tradition of reflection on the instant—spanning the poetry of Goethe, the historical self-understanding of the French Revolution, the aesthetics of early Romanticism, the philosophies of Søren Kierkegaard and Friedrich Nietzsche, and the artistic and literary practices of Charles Baudelaire and the avant gardes—interacted with a new experience of historical time based on rupture and abrupt discontinuity. Beck locates in this juncture three German thinkers—Ernst Jünger, Ernst Bloch, and Walter Benjamin—who fused the consciousness of war, crisis, catastrophe, and revolution with the literary and philosophical formulations of the instantaneous and the sudden in order to intellectually represent an era marked by the dissolution between the extraordinary and the everyday. The Moment of Rupture demonstrates how Jünger, Bloch, and Benjamin produced a constellation of figures of sudden temporality that contributed to the formation of what Beck calls a distinct “regime of historicity,” a mode of experiencing time based on the notion of a discontinuous present.

Humberto Beck is Professor at the Center for International Studies at El Colegio de México in Mexico City.

Intellectual History of the Modern Age
2019 | 232 pages | 6 x 9
ISBN 978-0-8122-5159-3 | Cloth | $59.95
Between Utopia and Realism
The Political Thought of Judith N. Shklar

Edited by Samantha Ashenden and Andreas Hess

“Editors Samantha Ashenden and Andreas Hess are ideally suited to producing this outstanding collection on such a wide-ranging thinker as Judith Shklar. The essays, authored by an impressive roster of scholars, reflect Shklar’s capacious range, spanning political and legal theory, history, and international relations.”
—William Outhwaite, Newcastle University

From her position at Harvard University’s Department of Government for over thirty-five years, Judith Shklar (1928–92) taught a long list of prominent political theorists and published prolifically in the domains of modern and American political thought. She was a highly original theorist of liberalism, possessing a broad and deep knowledge of intellectual history, which informed her writing in interesting and unusual ways. Her work emerged between the “end of ideology” discussions of the 1950s and the “end of history” debate of the early 1990s. Shklar contributed significantly to social and political thought by arguing for a new, more skeptical version of liberalism that brought political theory into close contact with real-life experience.

The essays collected in Between Utopia and Realism reflect on and refract Shklar’s major preoccupations throughout a lifetime of thinking and demonstrate the ways in which her work illuminates contemporary debates across political theory, international relations, and law. Contributors address Shklar’s critique of Cold War liberalism, interpretation of Montaigne and its connection to her genealogy of liberal morals, lectures on political obligation, focus on cruelty, and her late reflections on exile. Others consider her role as a legal theorist, her interest in literary tropes and psychological experience, and her famed skepticism.

Between Utopia and Realism showcases Shklar’s approach to addressing the intractable problems of social life. Her finely honed political skepticism emphasized the importance of diagnosing problems over proffering excessively optimistic solutions. As this collection makes clear, her thought continues to be useful in addressing cruelty, limiting injustice, and combating the cynicism of the present moment.


Samantha Ashenden is Senior Lecturer in Politics at Birkbeck College, University of London. Andreas Hess is Professor of Sociology at University College Dublin.

Haney Foundation Series
Oct 2019 | 320 pages | 6 x 9 | 1 illus.
ISBN 978-0-8122-5166-1 | Cloth | $65.00
New in Paperback

**Mary Shelley and the Rights of the Child**

*Political Philosophy in Frankenstein*

Eileen Hunt Botting

“Readers of *Mary Shelley and the Rights of the Child* will never again be able to read *Frankenstein* simply as a work of Gothic fiction that questioned the counter-theology and scientific bravado of its day. Eileen Hunt Botting, more thoroughly than any previous commentator, has revealed the philosophical content of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* and has firmly placed it in the context of modern political thought.”—Gordon Schochet, Rutgers University

In *Mary Shelley and the Rights of the Child*, Eileen Hunt Botting contends that *Frankenstein* is a profound work of speculative fiction designed to engage a radical moral and political question: do children have rights?

Eileen Hunt Botting is Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame.

Haney Foundation Series
2019 | 232 pages | 6 x 9

New in Paperback

**Thinking in Public**

*Strauss, Levinas, Arendt*

Benjamin Aldes Wurgaft

“In his powerful and beautifully written *Thinking in Public*, Benjamin Wurgaft explores how three giants of twentieth-century thought, Leo Strauss, Emmanuel Levinas, and Hannah Arendt, grappled with the intertwined roles of intellectuals and Jews in modern society. . . . By situating the relationship between thinkers and their public at the center of his protagonists’ careers, Wurgaft brings a fresh perspective to texts that have been thoroughly plowed by countless scholars. . . . A tremendous achievement.”—*The Journal of Modern History*

*Thinking in Public* examines the ambivalence that public political life and the figure of the intellectual provoked in the generation of European Jewish thinkers born around 1900. By comparing Hannah Arendt, Emmanuel Levinas, and Leo Strauss, Wurgaft offers a new perspective on the relationship between philosophers and politics.

Benjamin Aldes Wurgaft is a National Science Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s Program in History, Anthropology, and Science and Technology Studies.

Intellectual History of the Modern Age
2019 | 312 pages | 6 x 9
Dissent

Dissent is a quarterly publication of politics and culture that ranks among the handful of political journals read most regularly by U.S. intellectuals. A magazine of the left, Dissent is also a magazine of independent minds welcoming the clash of strong opinions. Each issue features reflective articles about politics in the U.S., incisive social and cultural commentary, plus the most sophisticated coverage of European politics to be found anywhere outside of Europe.

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