

GLOBAL DIALOGUE

NEWSLETTER

EDITORIAL

The second issue of *Global Dialogue* features a debate between two very different understandings of global sociology. Ulrich Beck, author of *Risk Society*, advances the cosmopolitan turn with a critique of methodological nationalism that, he claims, pervades sociology. Our frameworks, he says, simply cannot handle the global issues we confront. On the other side, Raewyn Connell, renowned feminist and author of *Southern Theory*, considers Beck's cosmopolitan sociology as but another expression of a northern outlook. It misses the multiple voices of the south to which she calls attention. In this issue of *Global Dialogue* we do hear from Brazil, Bangladesh, China, Kyrgyzstan, Indonesia, Belarus, Poland and Germany. And if these voices, and they are often cries, sound a common theme it is that sociology positions itself at the cross-roads of national and global forces. We will continue this dialogue over the next four years, particularly as it applies to inequality and exclusion in a global context, the theme of the Yokohama Congress in 2014 for which, I'm pleased to report, we now have a wonderful program committee (see p.4). Once again I must thank our dedicated team of translators and designers: August Bagà, Lola Busuttil, and Gisela Redondo in Barcelona, Jing-Mao Ho in Taipei, and Genevieve Head-Gordon in Berkeley. All contributions to *Global Dialogue* should be sent to the editor, Burawoy@berkeley.edu

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KISS THE FROG: THE COSMOPOLITAN TURN IN SOCIOLOGY

by Ulrich Beck, Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich

In his inspiring programmatic statement "Meeting the Challenges of Global Sociology" (*Global Dialogue*, Vol.1, No.1), Michael Burawoy remains ambiguous as to whether global sociology is just an *additional* perspective, a supplement to the conventional nation-state centred sociology. Or is it more than that: a *substitute* for the mainstream, that is to say a *critical turn in sociological theory and research*? The first line of argument I call 'global sociology,' the second one 'cosmopolitan sociology'.

The collapse of a world order is the moment for reflection on the dominant social theory and research, but surprisingly this is not the case today. Mainstream social theory still floats loftily above the lowlands of epochal



"Let us kiss the frog and then find out if the frog turns into a prince, one that begins to re-map the institutions of the cosmopolitan age."

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HOW CAN WE WEAVE A WORLD SOCIOLOGY?

by Raewyn Connell, University of Sydney

Ulrich Beck is an imaginative and original sociologist, and we are all in his debt for his splendid rethinking of European social dynamics in *Risk Society*. In the 1990s he, like a number of colleagues, discovered 'globalization' and so gave us *World Risk Society* and *What is Globalization?* He now offers this as an agenda for sociologists at large, under the title of 'cosmopolitan' sociology.

It is pleasing that Beck is trying to think about sociology on a world scale. But does he have the right pattern for weaving it? Beck notes with regret that the discussion on cosmopolitanism has been overwhelmingly Euro-American, but doesn't stop to discuss why.

The key problem Beck diagnoses in earlier sociology is 'methodological nationalism', i.e. methods and theories that

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THE COSMOPOLITAN TURN IN SOCIOLOGY

(CONTINUED)

transformations (climate change, financial crisis, nation-states) in a condition of universalistic superiority and instinctive certainty. This universalistic social theory, whether structuralist, interactionist, Marxist, Critical or systems-theory, is now both out of date and provincial. *Out of date* because it excludes a priori what can be observed empirically: a fundamental transformation of society and politics *within* Modernity (from First to Second Modernity); *provincial* because it mistakenly absolutizes the trajectory, the historical experience and future expectation of Western, i.e. predominantly European or North American, modernization and, thereby, also fails to see its own particularity.

This is why we need not only a global sociology, but a *cosmopolitan turn in social and political theory and research*: How can social and political theory be opened up, theoretically, empirically as well as methodologically and normatively, to historically new, entangled Modernities which threaten their own foundations? How can it account for the fundamental fragility and mutability of societal dynamics (of unintended side-effects, domination and power), shaped, as they are, by the globalization of capital and risks at the beginning of the 21st century? What theoretical and methodological problems arise and how can they be addressed in empirical research? So what has to be done?

First, we have to call into question one of the most powerful convictions about society and politics, one which binds both social actors and social scientists: *methodological nationalism*. Methodological nationalism equates modern society with society organised in territorially limited nation-states. Second, we have to ask and answer the question: how to research the global? And third: what does a 'Cosmopolitan Vision' imply for the Social Sciences and Humanities at the beginning of the 21st century?

1. Critique of methodological nationalism

In brief: Methodological nationalism assumes that the nation, state and society are the 'natural' social and political forms of the modern world. Where social actors subscribe to this belief I talk of a 'national outlook'; where it determines the perspective of the social scientific observer, I talk of 'methodological nationalism'. The distinction between the perspective of the social actor and that of the social scientist is crucial, because there is only a historical connection between the two, not a logical one. This historical connection - between social actors and social scientists - alone gives rise to the axiomatics of methodological nationalism. Methodological nationalism is neither a superficial problem nor minor error. It involves routine data collection and production as well as the basic concepts of modern sociology and political science, concepts such as society, social class, state, family, democracy, international relations etc.

Moreover, sociologists tended to generalize from 'their' particular society to a claim about how 'society' in general is organized. (This also holds for my own book *Risk Society* [1986]). American sociology, in particular, developed in this way, pre-

suming that all societies were more or less like the USA, just poorer! It was perfectly acceptable to study that particular society and then to generalize as though all, or at least most, other societies (at least those that mattered!) were much the same. This led to debates about the general nature of order or of conflict within 'society' based upon the distinct US pattern. Order and conflict theories were to be 'tested' within the USA and it was presumed that these conclusions could then be generalized to all societies or at least to all rich industrial societies. For decades it was simply how sociology worked; it was a taken-for-granted way of doing sociology. But then 'global studies' marched in.

2. How to research the global? We do not live in an age of cosmopolitanism but in an age of cosmopolitization

We can distinguish three phases in the way the word 'globalization' has been used in the social sciences: first, denial, second, conceptual refinement and empirical research, third, 'cosmopolitization'. The initial denial is over because the theoretical and empirical refinement revealed a new social landscape in the making (see, for example, Held et al., *Global Transformations*). Its dominant features include *interconnectedness*, which means dependency and interdependency of people across the globe. Virtually the entire span of human experiences and practices is in one way or another influenced by the overwhelming interconnectivity of the world. (This should not be confused with world system and dependency theories.)

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HISTORY CORNER

by Jennifer Platt, University of Sussex, Vice-President for Publications

The history of ISA journals throws light on wider trends in the development of the ISA and of sociology. This account starts in 1973, with the first issues of the only journal we had then, *Current Sociology*, produced from outside the secretariat or UNESCO staff. Each issue consisted of extensive bibliographical essays on chosen subfields. That changed in the 1990s to more traditional articles. In 1984 *International Sociology* was founded, with a very clear internationalising mission within a conventional format. In 1999 this added a book review section, which also strove to be international in perspective. It soon became a substantial separate volume, the *IS Review of Books*. Around the same time *Current Sociology* also added to its range the *CS Monograph volumes*, concentrating on presenting work in fields drawn from Research Committee sessions. Finally, in 2005 the very modern *e-bulletin*, with an original mixture of types of presentation, completed the set. The recent levels of creativity and increased participation seem striking.

Who has done the work? Gender patterns have not been quite as one might expect. Over the years the proportion of female editor has sunk from 100% in the 1970s (Margaret Archer, later our only woman president so far) to 67% in the 2000s, with almost entirely male cohorts in between. Nationality also has interesting patterns. Until 1990, 100% were British; then Canada, continental Europe, Israel and Singapore came on the scene, though the British were still strong. Most striking historically, given the numerical bases, is the representation of the US by only one editor, Said Arjomand, and the absence of France. The dominance of native speakers of English is evident, though that has now shifted somewhat. The latest appointments (with new editors from Brazil, India and Australia - see our last issue) suggest growing levels of success in full internationalisation, though questions of language and of local resources must still affect which candidates come forward.

FOXCONN - THE GLOBAL PREDATOR

by Jenny Chan, University of London

Taiwan-owned Foxconn Technology Group is the world's biggest contract electronics manufacturer, taking in over 50% of global electronics manufacturing and service industry revenue. Foxconn operates more than 40 manufacturing facilities and Research and Development centers in Asia, Russia, Europe, and the Americas. Its accumulated revenues for January to September 2010 reached NT\$1.95 trillion (US\$60.82 billion), up nearly 63% on the previous year-larger than some of the companies for which it manufactures products such as Microsoft and Nokia by the rankings of the Global Fortune 500 Companies. With the huge government expenditure and the rapid growth of demand for consumer electronics, China's export economy is fast recovering from the recent financial crisis. But is the Chinese strategy of low-cost, suppressed-labor-rights competitiveness economically sustainable or morally supportable? In the 'electronics workshop of the world,' [17 worker suicides](#) or attempted suicides took place at Foxconn's factories in China at the beginning of this year. This tragedy has led to 13 deaths and 4 injuries, all of them internal migrant workers between 17 and 25 years old-in the prime of youth. Their loss should awaken Chinese and international society to reflect upon the costs of a development model that sacrifices dignity and life for economic growth and profit.



Foxconn workers.

Over 85% of Foxconn's 937,000 employees in China are unmarried, young people. The post-80s and post-90s new generations have higher expectations of life than their elders. They are better educated, long for a life attuned to the times, and for the city where everything is happening. The higher their aspirations for a better future, the more obvious becomes the contrast to their harsh reality. As holders of rural household registration status, young migrants share deep anxieties over employment as they are being locked into minimum wage jobs with few benefits. On the bottom rung of the international commodity supply chain, Foxconn workers are deprived of decent wages and social protections. Employees at Foxconn and other workplaces remain marginalized workers and second-class citizens.

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DHAKA: MEGACITY OF DESPAIR

by Habibul Haque Khondker, Zayed University, ISA Executive Committee

In 2008 more than 50 percent of the world population of nearly seven billion became urban. This marked an important milestone in history. In 1800 only 3 percent, in 1900 14 percent and in 1950 30 percent of the world population lived in urban centers. Asia is home to the growing urbanization with a concentration of megacities or cities over 10 million people. By 2000 of the top ten megacities 5 (Tokyo, Bombay, Shanghai, Kolkata, and Delhi ranked number 1,5,6,7, and 8 respectively) were in Asia. In fact, seven of the 10 such cities were in the developing world.

As one of the top 11 megacities, Dhaka is probably the fastest growing in the world. Between 1990 and 2005, the population of Dhaka swelled from 6 million to 12 million. It is projected that by 2025 eight of the ten megacities will be in Asia with Dhaka ranked fourth following closely on the heels of Tokyo, Bombay and Delhi.

Historically, urbanization was the result of industrialization. In the developing world urbanization without employment-generating-industrialization or even informal work is often the norm, resulting in a concentration of the poor. Of Dhaka's estimated population of 15 million, 28% are poor and live in the slums. It is "slumization" rather than urbanization. Slums in Dhaka signal



Dhaka - The Megacity.

the growth of the informal sector of the economy. Majority of the slum-dwellers are actively engaged in the urban economy; some are rickshaw drivers, others - mostly women -- work as part-time domestics for the middle class households. The recent growth of apparel industries located in Dhaka has also attracted a huge number of rural women who have found employment, thereby further adding to the city population. The zoning laws of the city are rarely enforced. The urban landscape is a mish mash of smart residential areas woven with commercial districts. Urban problems are most visible on the street with snarled up traffic that makes Dhaka one of most anarchic cities in the world.

Bangladesh has made reasonable progress in reducing poverty. The problems of Dhaka lie in the governance of the city. Dhaka is managed in part by the various ministries of the central government as well as the mayor's office, resulting in complicated problems of coordination. Since the national government is run by the Awami League and the city mayor is from the rival Bangladesh Nationalist Party, it becomes a political problem. The two parties do not see eye to eye on most national issues with sharp ideological differences between them.

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TOWARDS AN 'E-FORUM FOR SOCIOLOGY'

by Vineeta Sinha, National University of Singapore, ISA Executive Committee



Vineeta Sinha.

In 2005, I became involved with the ISA E-Bulletin, initiated by the then Vice President for the ISA Publications Committee, Susan McDaniel, who invited me to apply for the position of editor. As someone who had some involvement with the editorial board of the *Asian Journal of Social Science* and as a sociologist based in the Department of Sociology at the National University of Singapore, this innovative concept of an ISA publication appealed to me. I thought this signalled an exciting moment and I wanted to be involved in this creative initiative in the world of social science.

This electronic document was first conceptualised as a space for showcasing the work, practices, ideas and voices of the diverse global community of sociologists, engaged in substantive, ethnographic, demographic, theoretical, historical and critical research, and operating out of different locations. To some extent, the E-Bulletin has achieved this function since it was launched in July 2005. Issues published thus far have reflected the diversity of the global sociological community and addressed the multi-layered and complex sociological problematic that engage us. From its inception, the document was further intended as a forum in which ISA members could not only present their work but also engage in scholarly debates and discussions. Thus far this purpose has yet to be actualized.

Five years and 16 issues later, it is timely for the document and the embedded concept to be reconfigured to reflect the vastly altered world in which we live today. This publication needs to be taken forward in terms of its content, mode of presentation and greater readability through wider access and dissemination. To begin, a name change is crucial to reflect a new identity and tone of the publication; the proposed alternative which will take effect from 2011, is the 'ISA E-Forum for Sociology,' with the intent of offering opportunities for exchange of views and facilitating greater interaction.

A second more fundamental change is for this publication to now not just be 'electronic' (i.e., a non-print medium) but to truly 'go digital.' For a non-print publication in this day and age, a website, a blog or 'going live' is critical. I am optimistic that this will also be helpful in jumpstarting a discussion forum and allow greater immediacy and spontaneity in rendering opinions and reflections on a range of crucial issues. A coterie of new technologies has redefined everyday lives in the second decade of the 21st century. The ways in which sociologists now 'work,' interact and think about sociological research have been restructured given the pervasive digital presence in our lives.

The idea of this publication 'going digital' is both an acknowledgement of the interface of technology and social science domains *and* an effort to theorise the consequences of these intersections. The technological features will allow colleagues to showcase sociological work that is visual and aural, in the form of films, visual images, visual essays and audio recordings of important conversations. I see immense value in this move in diversifying the content of the publication, in recognizing the varied and multifaceted forms in which sociological work is expressed, in disseminating this work more widely and in enhancing possibilities for more sustained interaction amongst the global community of sociologists. Conversations and negotiations are underway to realise these plans and I invite everyone to come and visit the website when the 'ISA E-Forum for Sociology' goes live. ■

THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE FOR THE 2014 CONGRESS IN YOKOHAMA

Raquel Sosa Elízaga, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Vice-President for Program

The Program Committee for the 2014 Yokohama World Congress has been approved by the ISA Executive Committee. It was chosen with due regard to diversity by region, by gender, by area of specialty as well as for their scholarly distinction and expertise in the theme of the Congress: *Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Global Sociology*. I look forward to the intensive and extensive international collaboration to make the Congress a great success.

Committee Chair:

Raquel Sosa, National Autonomous University of Mexico, Vice-President for Program.

Ex-Officio Members

Michael Burawoy, University of California, Berkeley, USA, President

Margaret Abraham, Hofstra University, USA, Vice-President for Research Committee

Tina Uys, University of Johannesburg, South Africa, Vice-President for National Associations

Selected Members

J. Esteban Castro, Newcastle University, UK

Sari Hanafi, American University of Beirut, Lebanon, Member of the EC

Koichi Hasegawa, Tohoku University, Japan, Chair of the Local Organizing Committee for the Yokohama Congress

Kalpna Kannabiran, Hyderabad University, India

Edgardo Lander, Universidad Central de Venezuela

Boaventura de Sousa Santos, University of Coimbra, Portugal

Markus S. Schulz, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA

Benjamín Tejerina, University of the Basque Country, Spain, Member of the EC

Göran Therborn, Cambridge University, UK

Chin-Chun Yi, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, Member of the EC

Elena Zdravomyslova, European University, St. Petersburg, Russia, Member of the EC

WEAVING WORLD SOCIOLOGY (CONTINUED)

assume the nation-state is the container of social reality. It's not easy to see methodological nationalism in *Street Corner Society*, or *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, or *Ideology and Utopia*, but let that pass. More importantly, Beck's history omits the formative first two generations of European-North American sociology, from Comte and Spencer to Engels and Tönnies to Durkheim, Ward, Weber and Sumner.

Nineteenth-century sociology was already globalized. It did not take the nation-state as its point of reference, but the whole of human history. It drew a great deal of its data from the colonized world, and its concept of societal 'progress' offered a way of understanding global imperialism - then at its height.

Imperialism and colonialism are words that Beck does not utter. Like most glob-

alization theorists, he takes his distance from such crudities as 'world system and dependency theories'. He prefers the idea of a boundless interconnectivity, a kind of inkblot of modernity seeping across the world. An example of banal cosmopolitanization he gives - a common rhetorical move in texts about globalization - is being able to go to a restaurant and eat many cuisines: 'It is possible with enough money to "eat the world".'

But let us ask a sociological question about Beck's example. For what social groups is 'eating the world' *not* possible? They would include the billion people currently living in absolute poverty. They would include all rural people; half the world's population still live outside cities. Also those women who cannot leave home to go to a restaurant, whether forbidden by patriarchal custom or tied

to care of the old or the young. Also those men and women who are too tired from relentless industrial labour to go skipping between cuisines. Also those disabled or infected, or members of stigmatised castes or races, who would not be allowed into the restaurant.

In short, this vision of second modernity reflects the experience of a privileged minority, and treats that as the new reality of the world.

Globalization theory, of which Beck's 'cosmopolitan' model is a development, has always worked by taking a model of social analysis developed in Europe and North America, and projecting it onto a world scale. These ideas derive from intellectuals of the global North, and grow out of Northern experience, indeed out of the experience of privileged groups in the global North. The decline of nation-states, reflexivity, diversity, interconnectivity, global terrorism, 'the global

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ON "LULISMO"

by Ruy Braga, University of Sao Paulo

Despite the unexpected competition in the runoff, Dilma Rousseff's (PT - Workers Party) victory, with around a 12 million vote margin, over Jose Serra (PSDB - Brazilian Social Democracy Party) in the Oct. 31st Brazilian Presidential elections demonstrated the current administration's political hegemony.

Supported by a wide margin of votes in the Northeast of Brazil - one of the poorest regions of the country and the main beneficiary of an income transfer program known as the "Bolsa família" - where she obtained the support of 67% of the electorate, Dilma Rousseff is, in fact, the consolidation of a relatively new social and political phenomenon in Brazilian history: "Lulismo".

In an effort to understand the existence of this novel phenomenon, the political scientist Andre Singer has argued that a comparison of the 2002 and 2006 presidential election polls shows that the emergence of "Lulismo" was based on the support of low income voters - those receiving between one and two minimum wages - for Lula's political program. This happened at the same time that the former Brazilian president suffered declining support from among the urban middle classes, who had voted for him in 2002, in the wake of the "mensalão" scandal (illegal monthly allowance paid to members of Parliament in exchange for their support).

What exactly is this Lulismo and where did it come from? In Brazil, the 90s was a decade of corporate productive restructuring, privatizations and the crisis of militant unionism. The productive transformations and the privatizations increased unemployment, effectively undermining the grounds for labor organization. The old system of Fordist solidarity gave way to the casualization of employment, and the militant trade unionism associated with this system of solidarity went into crisis, heightening the bureaucratization of the unions.



Passing on Lulismo: the new president consults the old.

During Lula's rule the union bureaucracy amplified this trend by taking over the federal government, but preserving the essence of the economic policies of the previous Cardoso regime. Next, the Lula administration demobilized the social movements through the absorbing of a significant portion of their leaders. By integrating antagonistic social forces into the state apparatus, and by demobilizing the subaltern classes, "Lulismo" dissolved the social movements of the 1970s and 1980s. Dilma Rousseff, someone who had never run for election before, embodies the hegemony of this bureaucratic power.

Here, then, is the definition of "Lulismo": a form of hegemony produced by a co-optative revolution - some call it a "passive revolution" -- undertaken in the capitalist semi-periphery that managed to demobilize the social movements through absorbing their leadership into state administration under the guise of the apparent realization of their historical demands. What is left of the movements now *actively consent* to the economic exploitation driven by the globalized system of financial accumulation.

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GLOBAL MIGRATION: PERSPECTIVES FROM BALI

by Yoshimichi Sato, Tohoku University, ISA Executive Committee

I participated in an international symposium on “Today's Trends of Global Migration in Japan and Indonesia” in Bali on October 29. This symposium was sponsored by the Center for the Study of Social Stratification and Inequality, which I direct. It had two Japanese speakers (including me) and two Indonesian speakers. While the Japanese speakers talked about transnational migration -- immigration to Japan in particular -- the Indonesian speakers reported on domestic immigration to Bali. Although the migration streams were different, they shared some common themes: the effect of globalization on migration and the effect of migration on the host society.

It is obvious that globalization has facilitated domestic as well as transnational migration. However, it is still unclear how domestic policies such as screening of immigrants through visa policies affect immigration patterns. For example, in 1990 the Japanese government opened its door to Brazilians who are descendants of Japanese immigrants to Brazil in order to compensate for the shortage of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Over the years, however, some Brazilian immigrants who had

been manual workers entered the middle classes, becoming, for example, shop owners utilizing their ethnic resources or middle-level managers functioning as a liaison between Brazilian workers and Japanese higher-level managers. These phenomena are consequences unintended by the Japanese government and lead to interesting research topics about the interactions among globalization, migration, and local institutions (or policies).

Another intriguing topic discussed at the symposium concerned the prestige of occupations. An Indonesian speaker talked about Balinese farmers who hire immigrant workers from Java instead of relying on the labor of children. They want their children to go to college, despite farming income being higher than other jobs. The speaker attributed this to the low prestige of farming, which then becomes a factor in determining migration.

In sum, the symposium was a successful exchange of findings on domestic and transnational migration in Japan and Indonesia, deepening our understanding of migration in the era of globalization. ■

IN MEMORIAM: MATTEI DOGAN, 1920-2010

by Arnaud Sales, Université de Montréal, Former ISA Vice-President, Research

Mattei Dogan, Founder and Chair (1971-1986) of Research Committee 24 on Environment and Society and Research Committee 20 on Comparative Sociology (1986 to 2006) passed away in Paris on October 10, 2010. A generous man with a strong character, he will be greatly missed by many colleagues and friends. Born in Romania, he studied at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris (BA), then History and Philosophy (MA) at the Sorbonne where he subsequently received a Doctorat d'État ès Lettres et Sciences Humaines. In 1953, he joined the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, capping his formal career at the CNRS as Emeritus Research Director. He was also Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles, from 1973 to 1991, in addition to being a visiting professor at various universities including Tokyo, Yale and Firenze. Mattei Dogan was able to transmit his dynamic enthusiasm into the academic life of sociology and political science; he created and led various research committees as part of both the ISA and the IPSA, in addition to organizing a number of conferences and contributing to the editorial committees of about ten journals.



Mattei Dogan.

Western Europe (1975); *Pathways to Power* (1988); *Elites, Crises and the Origins of Regimes* (1998); and *Elite Configurations at the Apex of Power* (2003). He is known for his work in the area of political behavior and electoral studies, specifically women's voting patterns and the sociology of values (nationalism, religion, and political legitimacy). Although much of his work focussed on France, early in his career he did research on Germany, Italy and Great Britain, as well as Europe and the United States. This helped forge his vocation as a comparative sociologist. He enthusiastically and skilfully developed and promoted this comparative approach to political sociology as shown in his work *How to Compare Nations* (1990). His analysis of the fragmentation of disciplines, interdisciplinarity and the hybridization of branches of disciplines in the social sciences is also of particular note. See *Creative Marginality: Innovation at the Intersections of Social Sciences*, 1990, (with R. Pahre).

Early in the year 2000, he created a foundation devoted exclusively to the social sciences. This foundation provided the ISA Research Council with the opportunity to create the Fondation Mattei Dogan ISA Prize to honour distinguished sociologists in the World Congresses, which unfortunately was terminated by the last ISA Executive Committee in July 2010. The foundation offers twenty-one prizes for excellence in academic research and oversees three online anthologies.

The International Sociological Association is very grateful to Mattei Dogan for his leadership in RC 24 on Environment and Society and RC 20 on Comparative Sociology, and for all his accomplishments in the development of our discipline and the social sciences in general. May he rest in peace. ■

He was the author of more than 200 publications, many of which involved empirical research, in addition to theoretical, methodological and epistemological analysis. A large number of his publications focussed on political and governmental administrative elites. Included among his books are *Mandarins of*

ATTENTION: AN AUTHORITARIAN REGIME THREATENS SOCIOLOGY!

by Elena Zdravomyslova, European University, St. Petersburg,
ISA Executive Committee

Historians of science have shown that the development of sociology is directly related to the structure of society and its political regime. Authoritarian political regimes hinder the development of social studies, and sociology, if it survives, becomes a transmission belt of repressive rule. In such conditions independent sociological examination becomes impossible, and repression can threaten the position, and sometimes even the life, of the sociologist.



Andrei Vardomatsky.

This is what we observe in the case of the famous Belarusian sociologist Andrei Vardomatsky, the director of the research laboratory "Novak". For more than a dozen years, virtually every month, "NOVAK" has conducted polls for Belarusian citizens. Vardomatsky is, also, one of the experts for the civic campaign "Tell the truth!" This citizens' initiative aims to inform the Belarusian society of social problems: unemployment, the still tangible consequences of the Chernobyl disaster on public health, etc. It has even put forward an alternative candidate for Presidency in Belarus.

On May 18, 2010 the research lab and apartment of Dr. Vardomatsky were searched. On June 1, 2010 the Belarusian sociol-

ogist, for no apparent reason and without explanation, was detained at the border when he was returning to Minsk from Lithuania. According to most commentators, and Dr. Vardomatsky himself, the arrest and search was a form of political intimidation, connected to his professional activity and cooperation with the independent media. These actions of the authorities are taken in the context of the ongoing election campaign. Presidential elections are expected in December. Note that the current President of Belarus, Alexander Lukashenko, has managed to be reelected three times since 1994 and, according to the country's constitution, he can run for President for an unlimited number of times. Authorities are taking measures to intimidate the independent media, civic initiatives and social scientists collaborating with the opposition. This has become traditional practice just before elections - it happened in 2001 and 2004.

Searches conducted by law enforcement have been widely covered in the independent media, but the state media are silent about these repressive actions. Belarusian authorities are most wary of professional public opinion research, especially during election campaigns. That's why elements of the 2010 Presidential campaign are threatening action against independent sociologists and their organizations.

The international sociological community expresses concern over the harassment of Andrei Vardomatsky by the authorities, and raises its voice in defense of the rights of its profession and its scholars. Repression and intimidation against independent social science are signs of the vulnerability and fragility of an authoritarian regime. As sociology is increasingly becoming a science without borders, research data become available outside the countries where they are collected. Belarus, without an independent sociology, becomes a pariah society, in effect preserving Soviet-style attitudes towards our profession. A tamed sociology has no value, and it mirrors a tamed society, that is one where there is no freedom of speech and pluralism of opinion. ■

FOXCONN - THE GLOBAL PREDATOR (CONTINUED)

Leading international brands have tremendous influence over their contractors. Apple for example is squeezing suppliers worldwide with little concern for the effects of its actions on the people who produce their products. It is estimated that Apple commands gross margins in the range of 50% on the new fourth-generation iPhone, compared to 20-40% for competitor products. Apple enjoyed record profits, and still Apple used every opportunity to secure ever lower prices from suppliers. Producers from India, Vietnam, Cambodia, Bangladesh and other developing countries are pitted against China in a battle to become sub-tier suppliers further down the global supply chain. On factory floors, workers bear the brunt of cost cutting.

Under the direct pressure of Apple and other buyers, as of May 2010-at the height of the then 13 consecutive building-jumper-suicides (dubbed the 'suicide express' by Chinese media)-Foxconn paid assembly-line workers at its 500,000-strong Shenzhen factories only 900 yuan a month (US\$132). This subsistence level wage is not enough to meet workers' needs and compels workers to work up to 100 hours of overtime a month,

close to three times the maximum 36 hours permitted by Chinese labor law.

Foxconn CEO Terry Gou publicly expressed that the suicides had no connection to Foxconn's management methodology, wages, working or dormitory conditions but rather that personal problems led to the suicides. Recently, media reports show Foxconn rapidly expanding everywhere across the mainland, aiming at creating a 'supply empire' of no less than 1,300,000 workers by 2011. When these two pieces are brought together, inevitably it leads to concerns that such a giant enterprise would fail to reflect on the reasons for the tragic loss of life. During this high-speed growth, aside from increasing its own market competitiveness and the worth of stockholders' shares, what will Foxconn do for this vast number of young migrant workers?

From this May to September, [SACOM](#) and [Foxconn Research Group](#), a team of over 60 professors and students from 20 universities in mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, including Peking University, Tsinghua University, National Taiwan University, and Hong Kong Polytechnic University, conducted a research at 12 of Foxconn's mainland factories in Shenzhen, Nanjing, Kunshan, Hangzhou, Tianjin, Langfang, Taiyuan, Shanghai, and Wuhai cities. We conducted a survey (1,736 questionnaires) and interviews (300 cases). In addition, 14 undercover researchers entered Foxconn to work as workers. Through this independent investigation, we call on Foxconn

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GLOBALIZATION AND THE TURKIC WORLD

by Tina Uys, University of Johannesburg, South Africa, ISA Vice-President for National Associations

It was with great excitement (and some trepidation) that I embarked on a 29-hour journey from South Africa to attend the Third World Congress of Turkic Sociologists held in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, 21-24 September. Not only had there been reports in the newspapers about ethnic violence between the Uzbeks and Kyrgyz in the South of Kyrgyzstan, and bride kidnappings, but I also did not have a visa - just a letter from the organizers that my visa was waiting for me at Manas International Airport. However, it was plain sailing from the moment I arrived at the airport, with the organizers making every effort to ensure the successful participation of all delegates in the congress. I never felt unsafe during my visit and enjoyed every moment of it.

The congress was hosted by the Center for Turkic Civilization Studies at Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University. The General Secretaries of the Organizing Committee were Prof Dr Ilhan Sahin, the Dean of Sociology at the university, and Prof Dr Kusein Isaev, the President of the Kyrgyz Sociological Association. This association is one of the ISA's youngest collective members, and one of only four of the 55 ISA collective members coming from this region. The others are the Azerbaijan Sociological Association, the Kazakhstan Sociological Association and the Turkish Social Science Association. The following countries were represented at the congress: Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkey, Russia, Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, Tajikistan, Tatarstan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

The speeches at the formal opening were followed by a concert of beautiful traditional dances and an enthralling rendition of a section from the heroic epic 'Manas', which consists of a collection of Kyrgyz myths, legends and fairy tales related to the heroic character of Manas. During the opening session I was given the opportunity to encourage the approximately 200 participants to become involved in the ISA, and I also provided brochures with information about ISA activities for collection at the registration desk.

The main theme of the congress was "Globalization and the Turkic World", and about 200 papers were presented during 40 split sessions over the three days. The debates were very lively and it is clear that Sociology is standing strong in the region. I also appreciated the efforts made to ensure the involvement of young sociologists as they are the future of our discipline.

The main barrier to full participation by individual members from this region in the ISA is of course language difficulties. The main languages of the congress were Turkish and Russian, while some delegates spoke Kazakh or Kyrgyz. The two official languages of Kyrgyzstan are Russian (which everyone but those in the most remote locations apparently understands) and Kyrgyz (recently introduced as an official language). Unfortunately none of the four languages that I understand were

of much value in that environment and I had to rely heavily on my excellent interpreter, Meerim Kinalieva, to be able to communicate. Her assistance was invaluable.

Following an invitation from Prof Galina Gorborukova from the American University of Central Asia (<http://www.auca.kg/>), fellow Executive Committee member Prof Nikita Pokrovsky and I had an opportunity to talk to AUCA's final-year sociology students about their research projects. I was very impressed by the students' enthusiasm (and their command of English) which bodes well for the future of sociology in Kyrgyzstan.

A further highlight was an invitation by Professor Kusein Isaev to Nikita and me to attend a celebration at a family member's house. It gave us an opportunity to experience Kyrgyz hospitality and to gain some insight into family life in Kyrgyzstan. It was an honour to be allowed to share in his family's joyful festivities and to witness the strong family bonds.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Center for Turkic Civilization Studies at the Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University who hosted the congress for inviting me to take part in this important event. In particular I would like to thank my hosts, Professor Isaev and Professor Sahin, as well as my interpreter, Meerim Kinalieva, for their efforts to make my stay so enjoyable. I look forward to seeing a closer relationship develop between the ISA and the Turkic sociologists and their organizations. A meeting between the top management of Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University and delegates from various countries clearly demonstrated their desire to explore various forms of cooperation. ■



Sociologists hiking in the hills of Kyrgyzstan.

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO SOCIETY? THE LONG VIEW FROM POLAND

by Grażyna Skapska, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

In September 2010 Polish sociologists held their fourteenth national congress, organized by the Polish Sociological Association (*Polskie Towarzystwo Socjologiczne* - PTS) and the Jagiellonian University. This event proved to be a great success with the attendance of more than 1200 sociologists from Poland and abroad. Key, too, was the fact that over one third of all participants were students. The congress program consisted of three plenary sessions, four symposia, and 85 working groups, a number of ad hoc groups, and several poster sessions. Its opening lecture was given by Claus Offe, while the closing one was by Michael Burawoy, who also met with young sociologists to discuss the role of sociology and sociologists in the contemporary world and in the ISA.

The title of this congress reflected the traditions of sociology and sociologists in Poland, and especially the traditions of

their most important professional organization. It demonstrated the strong engagement of Polish sociologists in critical debates regarding burning social issues, as well as their equally strong theoretical interests.

The PTS is the primary association for sociologists in Poland. In its present form, it has enjoyed a continuous existence since 1956, but its history can actually be traced back to 1927 when Florian Znaniecki established the first such organization under the name of the Polish Sociological Institute. In 1931, at the first national congress of sociologists in Poznań, this evolved into a professional organization under the name of the Polish Sociological Association (*Polskie Towarzystwo Socjologiczne*) created upon Znaniecki's initiative. This association was one of the first of its type in the whole of Europe.

Unfortunately, during the Stalinist period in post-World War II Poland, sociology was declared a "bourgeois" science in 1951. All sociology departments and institutes at universities were closed. Once it had been readmitted to academic life in Poland as of 1956, a group of sociologists at the Universities of Warsaw and Łódź (centering on Stanisław Ossowski) set up a sociology section within the Polish Philosophical Association, which became a member of



Opening Plenary of the Polish Sociological Society, Krakow.

the International Sociological Association of which Ossowski had already been a founding member since 1949. The following year, this "section" transformed itself into the Polish Sociological Association with Ossowski elected as its first president. During communist rule, although academic life was highly formalized and subject to ideological control and political pressure, the PTS remained fully autonomous of government intervention, rendering itself an attractive venue for unrestricted, critical debate.

Among its past presidents are the already-mentioned Stanisław Ossowski (1957-1963) and Nina Assodobraj (1964-1968), followed by Władysław Markiewicz (1968-1972), Jerzy Szacki (1972-1976), Stefan Nowak (1976-1983), Janusz Ziółkowski (1983-1989), Antonina Kłoskowska (1989-1994), Antoni Sułek (1994-1998), Andrzej Kojder (1998-2002), Włodzimierz

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FOXCONN - THE GLOBAL PREDATOR (CONTINUED)

directly to face and resolve its systemic labor problems. No one has the authority to advance economically and accumulate wealth at the cost of another person's life.

On September 22 the Mid-Autumn Festival Holiday, we visited 17-year-old Tian Yu-one of the Foxconn survivors. On March 17, this carefree girl who once loved laughing and flowers jumped off the fourth floor of the Shenzhen Longhua Factory worker dormitory. Compared to the other jumpers, she was lucky; she lived. Yet in some ways she is unlucky, because her young body is still paralyzed even after many surgeries, and she will spend the rest of her life in a wheelchair.

To prevent workers from responding to unjust treatment with suicides, we urge Foxconn and its high-profile customers to improve working conditions. We encourage credible NGOs and scholars to offer participatory training in workers' rights at the

workplace level. Workers should exercise their rights to democratic union organization and collective bargaining. At the time of writing, Foxconn suppressed the peaceful sit-in strike at the 7,800-worker Tamilnadu factory in southern India. Foxconn India management refused to negotiate with the [union representatives](#) to raise wages-currently a regular Indian worker with an experience of four years earns only Rs4,800 (US\$106) a month. On October 9, local police arrested hundreds of striking Foxconn workers and jailed them in the Vellore Central Prison.

ActNow! (1) Please support the LabourStart campaign titled [India: Over 500 Workers Jailed in Dispute with Foxconn](#). (2) Add your name to the students and scholars signature campaign titled [Create Humane Labor Standards at Foxconn and End 'Stealth Manufacturing' in Information Technology!](#) Please email [Debby Chan](#) or [Jenny Chan](#) at SACOM. Thank you! ■

QUESTIONING TRANS-NATIONALISM AT THE CENTENNIAL OF THE GERMAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

by Petra Rostock and Linda Supik, Goethe University, Frankfurt/Main

The German Sociological Society (DGS) recently celebrated its hundredth anniversary with a Centennial Jubilee Congress in Frankfurt/Main (October 11-15, 2010). The organizers chose the theme “Transnational Makings of Societies” (<http://dgs2010.de/English>)

While a century ago the nation state had been a new actor and framed what was the subject of research - national societies - for the scientific discipline-in-the-making called Sociology, today, the task is to map out a new scene of the social: the transnational space. What is its relevance, how can it be conceptualized, measured and researched; and - a question that seemed immensely provocative to a vast part of congress participants - will the transnational replace the national as research focus? Maybe it is just 'natural' that a *national* scientific organization feels strongly challenged by a concept that is *querying* its field of research and reference.

The notion of transnationalism as presented in Frankfurt/Main appeared like a buzzword. It had been easily integrated in nearly all the panels' titles, but it was not always the subject of concern in the presentations. Sometimes 'transnational' was used rather broadly and without specificity, and could have been easily substituted by 'international'.

How has sociology in Germany changed over a century? Surely, a male bias is still showing. In 100 years the DGS has had only one female president. Yet gender proportions among academics are much more balanced these days. But does transnationality show in the list of speakers? The tradition of having 'guest countries' was followed at this Congress by featuring renowned speakers from France and the US, the two other “great nations” of Sociology.

In multicultural Frankfurt/Main, with a fortunately large number of local students participating, the face of German sociology appeared very white. White dominance even prevailed in one of the - for us - most welcome, progressive panels on postcolonial-feminist perspectives on transnational relations. Yet even here the concepts used seemed to remain rather superficial, and not fulfilling the normative promise associated with postcolonial-feminist perspectives, that is to link epistemological and social criticism so as to challenge hegemonic systems of truth, highlighting the way these systems of truth are based on exclusion, homogenization and alterity.

In the face of ongoing debates in Germany on “integration” and Islam, and in the face of stigmatizing people who are perceived as migrants, as culturally different and therefore inferior, we

were disappointed by the final discussion on “Cultural Globalization: New Forms of Transnational Religious Societies”. While the panel certainly represented three renowned sociologists (Peter L. Berger, Hansfried Kellner and Thomas Luckmann), an analysis of the present as well as perspectives on the (trans?)national future were missing.

In contrast, the congress's supporting program nicely connected contemporary social questions with current developments in theatre and music. However, the scheduling was rather tough on the congress participants. Lacking any breaks, the organizers seemed to believe that dedicated scientists live on knowledge and air alone.



Hansfried Kellner, Thomas Luckmann, and Peter Berger in deep discussion. Photograph by David Schommer.

Acknowledging the importance of a reflection on the past, especially on the occasion of a centennial jubilee, we hope that old and new concepts will be further challenged in the future, in particular the concept of the 'national'. The congress revealed impressively that a discussion of the relevance of the 'national' as a key unit of sociological analysis has yet to happen. ■

THE COSMOPOLITAN TURN IN SOCIOLOGY (CONTINUED)

The third phase uncovers the core unseen, unwanted consequence of this global interconnectivity: really existing cosmopolitization - the end of the 'global other'. The global other is here in our midst. This is precisely the point: to clearly distinguish between *philosophical cosmopolitanism* and *social scientific cosmopolitization*.

Cosmopolitanism in Immanuel Kant's philosophical sense means something active, a task, a conscious and voluntary choice, clearly the affair of an elite, a top-down perspective. But today in reality a 'banal', 'coercive' and 'impure' cosmopolitization unfolds unwanted, unseen -- powerful and confrontational

beneath the surface, or behind the façade of persisting national spaces, jurisdictions and labels. It extends from the top of the society down to everyday life in families, work situations and individual biographies - even as national flags continue to be raised and even as national attitudes, identities and consciousness are strongly being reaffirmed. Banal cosmopolitization is, for example, seen in the huge array of foodstuff and cuisines routinely available in most towns and cities across the world. It is possible with enough money to 'eat the world'. What others have viewed as a 'postmodern eclecticism' I see not against the modern but as rather a new reflexivity about what modernity is. Thus, cuisines, global risk, art and global cultural conflicts (for example, about the Danish Mohammed cartoons), are assembled, compared, juxtaposed, and reassembled out of diverse components from multiple countries around the world. So the new volcanic landscapes of 'societies' and their radicalized social

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THE COSMOPOLITAN TURN IN SOCIOLOGY

(CONTINUED)

inequalities have to be re-mapped on the macro level as well as on the micro level, and projected horizontally through communication, interaction, work, economy, and, indeed, all such social and political practices.

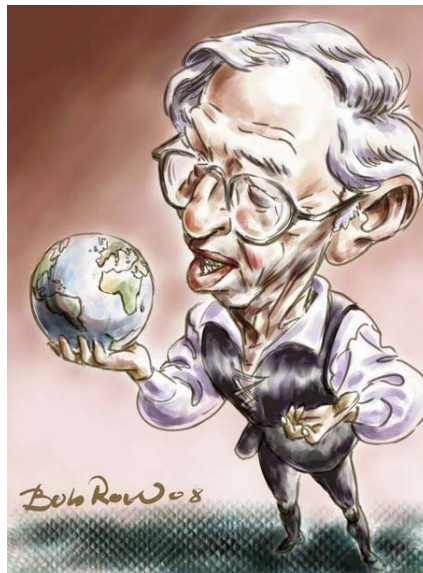
As Chang Kyung-Sup has written, like climate change, most of the main impetuses for social and economic transformations in the new century do not differentially or exclusively apply to certain limited groups of nations. Consider the following: global free trade and financialization, corporate deterritorialization and transnationalized production, globalized labor use, competition and class conflicts, globalized policy consulting and formulation (coerced by the IMF, etc.), internet communication and cyberspace, globally orchestrated bioscientific manipulation of life forms (gradually including

“ IN REALITY A 'BANAL',
'COERCIVE' AND 'IMPURE'
COSMOPOLITIZATION
UNFOLDS UNWANTED,
UNSEEN...” ”

human bodies), global risks of all kinds (financial crisis, terrorism, AIDS, swine flu, SARS), transnational demographic realignments (the migration of labor, spouses, and children), cosmopolitized arts and entertainments, and, last but not least, globally financed and managed regional wars. There are no permanent systematic hierarchies, sequences or selectivities by which different groups of nations - whether at different levels of development, in different regions or of different ethnicities and religions - are exposed to these new civilizational forces in mutually exclusive ways. Desired or not, they are every nation's and every person's concern because they are structurally enmeshed with the new civilizational process which I call 'reflexive cosmopolitization'; and the civilizational condition thereby shared across the globe is a 'reflexive' or 'second' modernity.

The recent world history seems to dictate that surviving, let alone benefiting

from, these new civilizational forces require every nation to actively internalize them and one another. The sociological implication is simple: the global other is in our midst! Isolationist efforts - whether spoken in terms of trade protectionism, religious fundamentalism, national fundamentalism, media and internet control or whatever else - are readily subjected to international *moral* condemnations (and, to some extent, ineffective). In fact, accepting or refusing these forces remains beyond willful political or social choices because they are globally reflexive - that is, compulsively occurring through the '*cosmopolitan imperative: cooperate or fail!*'



3. A 'cosmopolitan vision' for the social sciences

It is a paradox that the very lively debates on cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitization are overwhelmingly Euro-American. They are about globalization, and about risks, rights, and responsibilities in an interconnected world, but they reflect disproportionately views from the old 'core' of the modern world system (and Western-educated elites from formerly colonial outposts). This is the source of at least four biases.

First, though an effort is made to include consideration of poor, developing, or emerging economies cosmopolitan theories reflect the perspective of the rich.

Second, though an effort is made to be multicultural, cosmopolitan theories are rooted in the West. Third, cosmopolitan theories try to escape cultural bias by imagining an escape from culture into a realm of the universal (as though those who travel aren't still shaped by their previous cultural contexts and as though such global circuits themselves don't provide new cultural contexts). Fourth, as Craig Calhoun has written, despite attention to social problems, because cosmopolitan theories are rooted in the (declining) core of the modern world system, they tend to imagine the world as more systematically and uniformly interconnected than it is. Those biases are exactly what cosmopolitan sociology has to overcome.

Let me end by summarizing in seven theses what the cosmopolitan turn entails:

1. An earlier phase of modernity was organized primarily in terms of nation-states, which sought to manage many of the risks people faced, although markets and other phenomena did cross state boundaries.
2. Modern social and political theory grew with the dominance of nation-states and internalized the nation-state as the tacit model for the ideal-as-society - influenced by the actual power of nation-states but also by the widespread aspiration to organize the world on the basis of nation-states.
3. An earlier philosophical cosmopolitanism developed in this context, calling on people ethically to transcend narrow nationalist views, as though the sociological conditions of their lives did not really matter.
4. Consider global free trade and financialization, corporate deterritorialization and transnationalized production, globalized labour use, internet communication, globally orchestrated bioscientific manipulation of life forms and, last but not least, globally financed and managed regional wars. Recent world history seems to dictate that surviving, let alone benefiting from, these new civilizational

WEAVING WORLD SOCIOLOGY (CONTINUED)

other here in our midst' - can we not hear the Northern narrative in these concepts?

I am writing this comment in Australia, where I live as the great-granddaughter of British colonists. 'The global other' has been 'here in our midst', from an Aboriginal point of view, for two hundred years. The British began the conquest of the territories they later called Australia in 1788, about the time Immanuel Kant was dreaming of perpetual peace and cosmopolitan law in Königsberg. The Global Other brought fire and sword to the territories later called Latin America more than two hundred years before that. And the Global Other completed the conquest and exploitation of Africa, an extraordinarily violent process in regions like the Congo, one hundred years later.

In Beck's analysis, however, the social history of most of the world is not relevant, because 'there are no permanent systematic hierarchies' in Second Modernity. Everyone is structurally enmeshed in reflexive cosmopolitanization, evidently on much the same terms and in the same degree, around the globe. If only it were true!

The way to break out of the frame of Eurocentric thought is, surely, to study non-Eurocentric frames of thought. And this is the real problem in contemporary sociological thought, a problem that goes far beyond Beck's case: the leading practitioners *do not study the social thought of the majority world*.

In their *British Journal of Sociology* paper Beck and Grande list 'the dominant theo-

ries in contemporary sociology' - Bourdieu, Coleman, Foucault, Giddens, Goffman, Habermas, Luhmann, Meyer, Parsons, and even Beck - and note it is a problem when ideas from one society are implicitly applied to society in general. Correct. What they don't say is that Bourdieu, Coleman etc. come not from any random 'society', they come *specifically from the global metropole*, and that is why their theories are dominant. There is a systematic global hierarchy, and here is its trace. We don't find in Beck's footnotes, nor in the reading lists of most sociological theory courses, Nandy, Hountondji, García Canclini, dos Santos, Quijano, Das, el Sadaawi, Montecino, Shariati, or even Spivak. These are collectively as brilliant and insightful a group of social thinkers as the first ten - but lack the solid institutional centrality delivered by US and European origin, and are mostly writing about the periphery.

We need a sense of the global sociology of knowledge. The best account of this comes from the Beninese philosopher Paulin Hountondji and his colleagues. Colonialism installed a global division of labour in science, which has continued in the postcolonial era. The periphery served mainly as a mine of *data*, and the moment of theory was located in the metropole. After the production of theory, knowledge is re-exported to the periphery as applied science, or as a packaged version of science for students to study. Hountondji describes the characteristic stance of intellectuals in the periphery as one of 'extroversion', i.e. being oriented to an external source of authority. One reads texts from the metropole, learns methods from the metropole, travels to the metropole for advanced training, tries to publish in

metropolitan journals and join 'invisible colleges' centred in the metropole. Can readers see any resemblance to sociology?

For the social sciences, some of the most powerful alternatives to metropolitan thought are those that arose not before colonialism, but in response to colonialism and its evolution. This chapter in the history of social thought concerns figures like Jamal ud-Din al-Afghani, Sun Yatsen, Sol Plaaje, and a later generation such as Frantz Fanon and Ali Shariati. These are familiar figures in political history, but are not on our lists of 'classical theorists' - where perhaps they ought to be, as they began the critical analysis of massive social transformations.

There is a growing movement in sociology to change the reading lists - to recover, value and link the many perspectives in social thought that arise from the colonized and postcolonial world. Three publications of 2010 mark this moment, called respectively *Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for a Global Sociology*; *The ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions*; and *Decolonizing European Sociology*. In these texts, with others from the periphery published in recent years, there is a wealth of ideas and materials for weaving a truly world sociology. ■



ISA Vice-Presidents weaving world sociology on ooVoo, the latest in e-communication.

ON "LULISMO" (CONTINUED)

For their part, a considerable portion of the Brazilian lower classes also consent but in a more passive way. They are entangled in a network of dependence on governmental public policies such as the "Bolsa Familia", the expansion of the federal university system with support for affirmative action, the push towards "decasualization" of the labor market, the policy of increasing the minimum wage beyond inflation, the resumption of investment in infrastructure and, more recently, the encouragement of mass consumption through payroll loans.

Tired of being politically innovative and of defending them-

selves economically, the Brazilian subaltern classes catch their breath and, relying on redistribution of income permitted by economic growth, they continue their support of Lulismo and its new representative, Dilma Rousseff.

However, it is worth remembering the 10 million null and blank votes, as well as the 20 million votes obtained by Marina Silva (PV - Green Party) in the first round, and the million votes won by the extreme left. These dissenting voices point to dissatisfaction with the narrow limits set by the current bipartisan political game (PT-PSDB) that dominates the country. Even the celebrations of Dilma's victory were timid and bureaucratic. It remains to be seen how "Lulismo" will respond, now without Lula, to these cracks in the edifice. ■

POLAND (CONTINUED)

Wesołowski (2002-2005), and Piotr Gliński (2005-present). Currently PTS boasts approximately 1200 members. Its honorary members have included James S. Coleman, the late Shmuel Eisenstadt, Theodore Abel, Stanisław Andreski, Zbigniew Pełczyński, Jerzy Zubrzycki, Melvin Kohn, Jiri Musil, Richard Grathoff, Jan Sedlacek, Feliks Gross, and Vladimir Yadov. The PTS publishes the English-language quarterly, the *Polish Sociological Review*.

There have always been close personal and intellectual links between the PTS and the ISA. Indeed, some members of the PTS became officers of the ISA: Jan Szczepański in 1970-1974, and Piotr Sztompka in 2006-2010 served as President, and Magdalena Sokołowska was Vice President in 1990-1994.

By 2010 the PTS had held thirteen congresses. Their title themes and debated topics have illustrated the altering social reality, and the equally changing issues of public concern in a country that - at least since 1945 - has been subjected to "natural" experiments. For better or worse, life in Poland has comprised an extant "laboratory" for sociologists (inside Poland and out); here one has been able to study most of the influential ideas and

forces which have shaped social, political, and also economic processes in the 20th and early 21st centuries. The regularly held congresses have contributed significantly to the development of sociology as a scholarly discipline, and to independent public debate in Poland. At the end of the 1970s when this debate took its most critical turn, the term "oral sociology" was coined since the most crucial and intellectually important ideas could only be spoken and discussed, but not published.

In the initial years of the political thaw after 1956 the PTS congresses reflected the intellectual visions and ambitions of Polish sociologists. This is clear from the titles: *Changes in Polish Society under the Influence of Industrialization and the New System* (1965), *Sociological Theory and Research vis-à-vis Societal Practice* (1969), *The Development of Polish Society and Sociology* (1977), or *Polish Sociology Facing the Country's Problems* (1981).

Not surprisingly, the congresses organized after 1989, were devoted to the post-communist transformation and its possible outcomes, both theoretical and practical. Congress themes included such topics as *Fundamental Change and Its Challenges: Theories of Social Change Faced with the Challenges of the Present* (1990), or *People and Institutions: The*

Development of Social Order (1994). The most recent congresses, including the 14th Congress organized in Kraków this year, have dwelt on processes of differentiation as well as the anxieties and uncertainties found in both society and sociology. Thus, the title of the congress held in 2006 was *What Associates Us, What Differentiates Us*, and the most recent one dealt with *What's Happening to Society?*

During the 14th Congress of Polish sociologists, these anxieties and uncertainties were clearly aired in the opening lecture by Claus Offe, entitled *What, if anything, do we mean by social and political "progress" today?* The topics of the subsequent plenary sessions and symposia, working sessions, and ad hoc groups developed this discussion. However, the plenary sessions and symposia were future-oriented, too. Indeed, many of the leading panels were devoted to "reading the future" based on an analysis of contemporary phenomena.

The 14th Congress of Polish sociologists concluded with a panel discussion on *Sociology and society in a globalizing world* led by Piotr Sztompka, and then a special lecture by Michael Burawoy on public sociology. The closing discussions more than realized the program committee's intentions to project a sociology that was future-oriented and publicly-engaged. ■

THE COSMOPOLITAN TURN IN SOCIOLOGY (CONTINUED)

forces requires every nation to actively internalize them and one another. This is what I call '(Reflexive) Cosmopolitization'; and the civilizational condition shared across the globe is called 'Reflexive' or 'Second' Modernity'

5. I do not see the nation-state as disappearing. I see it as only one of many actors in a global power game. The focus needs to be on that global power game and not on the nation-state.

6. Such a shift in focus requires the restructuring of the social sciences not only conceptually, theoretically, and methodologically but also in the very organization of research. All their fundamental concepts - especially the nation-state - need to be re-examined. Many are

'zombie concepts' that continue to live on even though the world that they related to at one time no longer exists.

7. Cosmopolitan sociology not only involves a fundamental reorganization of the social sciences, and a dramatic shift in focus - from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism - but it must also be critical in its orientation. One critical focus must be on the increasing inequality in the world. The focus on the nation-state has led to a shameful subordination of 'objective' and 'value-free' sociology to the imperatives of the nation-state which blinds even empirical sociology to the fundamental transnational transformations of domination and inequality.

There are risks as well as opportunities in the cosmopolitan turn, but for now let us kiss the frog and then find out if the frog turns into a prince - one that begins to re-map the scapes, flows, new lines of conflict, actors and institutions of the cosmopolitan age. After all, kissing does-

n't hurt anybody, does it?

For the debate on cosmopolitan sociology see Ulrich Beck/Edgar Grande (eds): *Varieties of Second Modernity: Extra European and European Experiences and Perspectives*, *British Journal of Sociology* 61(3), 2010; and *Soziale Welt* 61 (3/4), 2010. ■

DHAKA (CONTINUED)

Dhaka has survived for the past 400 years over which time it has seen rise and decline, opulence and poverty. The city was made a provincial capital in the late seventeenth century by the Mogul rulers. During the British rule the city declined as Kolkata rose, but since 1971 it has been the capital of Bangladesh, growing again albeit in an unplanned manner. Under a capable and democratic city government, Dhaka may regain its past glory transforming itself from a megacity of despair into a thriving megapolis. ■