

GLOBAL DIALOGUE

2.1

The Return of Class

Göran Therborn

The (Non)Citizens of Komtar

Aya Fabros

The Chaos of Order

Boaventura de Sousa Santos

- > **The Hegemony of English**
- > **National Sociologies: Peru and Romania**
- > **Ulf Himmelstrand, 1924-2011**
- > **History Corner: The Inclusion of Women**
- > **Human Rights: Patriarchy in Armenia**
- > **Public Sociology: South African Visions**
- > **ISA: Embracing Young Sociologists**
- > **Women's Worlds**
- > **The Brazilian Sociological Society**

NEWSLETTER



VOLUME 2 / ISSUE 1 / SEPTEMBER 2011

GDN

International
Sociological
Association



> Editorial

As I write the Libyan order has collapsed and all thoughts are turned to what will come next, not just in Libya, but across Arab lands. Turbulence has assumed global dimensions and so in this issue Göran Therborn diagnoses inequality on a global scale, and postulates the return of class politics; Boaventura de Sousa Santos analyzes the insurgencies in Europe, especially in England; while Aya Fabros paints a picture of Asian migrants forging their own communities in Malaysia. Gohar Shahnazar-yan distills the challenges of postSoviet reconstruction through the struggles of women in the war-torn region of the South Caucasus. If there is a common thread it is dispossession, the rallying call of the 'indignados'.

Global Dialogue continues the debate about global sociology with Renato Ortiz examining the effects of the hegemony of English while Ari Sitas and Sarah Mosoetsa present their charter for South Africa's social sciences and humanities. Nicolás Lynch from Peru and Marian Preda and Liviu Chelcea from Romania describe sociologies as battling against the legacies of oppressive regimes.

On the organizational front, Jennifer Platt recounts the history of the progressive inclusion of women into the ISA. Elisa Reis and Ann Denis report on two vibrant conferences: the Brazilian Sociological Society and the Women's Worlds, while Emma Porio reports on early career sociologists. We also pay tribute to one of the great leaders of the ISA, Ulf Himmelstrand.

In the beginning, we imagined *Global Dialogue* as a modest newsletter, but it has become a sociological eye on pressing issues in our discipline and beyond. It appears in 11 languages, the extraordinary feat of our managing editors and teams of translators strung across the planet. Digital technology makes possible today what was unimaginable yesterday, such as the transcontinental interviews with the ISA Executive Committee. Take a look at <http://www.isa-sociology.org/journeys-through-sociology/>

Global Dialogue can be found on [Facebook](#), and at the [ISA website](#).



> In This Issue

Editorial	2
> INEQUALITY AND PROTEST	
The Return of Class	3
The (Non)Citizens of Komtar	6
The Chaos of Order	9
> DEBATE ON INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGY	
The Hegemony of the English Language and the Social Sciences	11
> NATIONAL SOCIOLOGIES	
Romanian Sociology: Rapidly Making Up for its Rocky Past	12
The Twists and Turns of Peruvian Sociology	13
> ULF HIMMELSTRAND, 1924-2011	
Father of Sociology in Nigeria	16
A Personal Tribute from a former ISA President	17
> SPECIAL COLUMNS	
History Corner: The Uneven Inclusion of Women	8
Human Rights: Challenging Patriarchy in the South Caucasus	18
Public Sociology: Charting the Humanities and Social Sciences	20
> REPORTS AND CONFERENCES	
Early Career Sociologists in the ISA	21
Women's Worlds	22
Brazilian Sociological Society	23

> Editorial Board

Editor: Michael Burawoy.

Managing Editors: Lola Busuttil, August Bagà.

Associate Editors: Margaret Abraham, Tina Uys, Raquel Sosa, Jennifer Platt, Robert Van Krieken.

Consulting Editors: Izabela Barlinska, Louis Chauvel, Dilek Cindoglu, Tom Dwyer, Jan Fritz, Sari Hanafi, Jaime Jiménez, Habibul Khondker, Simon Mapadimeng, Ishwar Modi, Nikita Pokrovsky, Emma Porio, Yoshimichi Sato, Vineeta Sinha, Benjamin Tejerina, Chin-Chun Yi, Elena Zdravomyslova.

Regional Editors

Arab World: Sari Hanafi and Mounir Saidani.

Brazil: Gustavo Taniguti, Juliana Tonche, Pedro Mancini, Fabio Silva Tsunoda, Dmitri Cerboncini Fernandes, Andreza Galli, Renata Barreto Pretulan.

India: Ishwar Modi, Rajiv Gupta, Rashmi Jain, Uday Singh.

Japan: Kazuhisa Nishihara, Mari Shiba, Yoshiya Shiotani, Kousuke Himeno, Tomohiro Takami, Nanako Hayami, Yutaka Iwadate, Kazuhiro Ikeda, Yu Fukuda.

Spain: Gisela Redondo.

Taiwan: Jing-Mao Ho.

Iran: Reyhaneh Javadi, Saghar Bozorgi, Shahrads Shahvand, Faezeh Esmaeili, Jalal Karimian, Najmeh Taheri.

Russia: Elena Zdravomyslova, Elena Nikofova, Asja Voronkova.

Media Consultants: Annie Lin, José Reguera.

> Global Inequality: The Return of Class

by **Göran Therborn, University of Cambridge, UK, Linnaeus University, Sweden, and Member of the Program Committee for the ISA World Congress of Sociology in Yokohama**



Former President Mbeke overlooks sprawling poverty in Johannesburg.

The last two decades have been good for poor nations of the world. Since the late 1980s, what the international economic organizations call “developing Asia”, mainly China, India and the ASEAN countries, has been growing at a pace about double the world as a whole. Since 2001, sub-Saharan Africa, the tragic laggard of development in the last third of the last century, has been outgrowing the world, including the ‘advanced economies’. Latin America has been growing faster than the rich world since 2003, and the Middle East since 2000. Except for post-Communist Europe, ‘emerging and developing economies’ also weathered the Anglo-Saxon bankers’ crisis much better than the rich world.

> Nations and Classes

We are experiencing a historical turn, not only in geopolitics but also in terms of inequality. The 19th and 20th century international development of underdevelopment meant, among other things, that inequality among humans became increasingly shaped by where they lived, in developed or underdeveloped areas, territories, nations. By 2000, it has been estimated that 80 per cent of the income inequality among households depended on the country you live in (Milanovic 2011: 112). This is currently changing. International inequality is declining overall, although the gap between the rich and the poorest has not stopped growing. But intra-national inequality is, on the whole, increasing, albeit unevenly, denying any pseudo-universal determinism of ‘globalization’ or of technological change.

This amounts to a return of class, as an increasingly powerful global determinant of inequality. Class has always been important, but in the 20th century context of mainly national class organizations and class struggles – albeit including some networks of ‘proletarian internationalism’ – national class inequality was overshadowed by global inter-national gaps. Now, nations are growing closer, and classes are growing apart.

>>

The class side of the new global distribution pattern grew to prominence in the 1990s. That was the time when Chinese inequality soared, even more than along the capitalist road in the former Soviet Union, when the modest tendency to (rural) equalization in India was reversed into increasing rural as well as urban inequality. In Latin America, Mexico and Argentina had their neo-liberal inequality shocks. An IMF (2007: 37) study has shown, if not properly reflected upon, that on a global scale the only group which increased its income share in the 1990s was the richest national quintile, in high as well as in low income countries. All the other quintiles were losers, although not dramatically.

“...nations are growing closer, and classes are growing apart.”

The most important changes have taken place at the very top of the income distribution, between the richest 1% and the rest – and between the 0.1% or 0.01% and the rest. The US Nobel economist Joseph Stiglitz has recently (*Vanity Fair* May 2011) pointed to the capture of his country by the richest one per cent, who own 40% of the nation's wealth, who appropriate nearly a quarter of the annual national income, and who make up virtually the whole US Congress. Around the turn of the last century the richest 1% accounted for 15% of US income, as against 9-11% in India (Banerjee and Piketty 2003).

The inegalitarian trends of China and India, and of developing Asia generally, have continued in the new millennium, as in USA (Luo and Zhu 2008; Kochanowicz *et al.* 2008; Datt and Ravallion 2009). Accelerated economic growth in India, for instance, has hardly had any positive effect on the poorest fifth of Indian children, two thirds of whom were underweight – a life-long weakening condition – in 2009, as in 1995 (UN 2011: 14). The vigorous economic growth in the 2000s of what used to be the Third World has had no effect on hunger in the world. The number of undernourished has risen from 618 to 637 million people, 16% of humankind between 2000 and 2007 (UN 2011: 11). Food prices continue to rise. At the other end, in March 2011 *Forbes* magazine gleefully announced two records of its listed billionaires in 2010, namely, their record number, 1,210, and their total wealth, \$4.5 trillion, larger than the GDP of the world's third largest national economy, Germany. 413 are Americans, 115 (mainland) are Chinese, and 101 are Russians.

However, there is no inevitability, technical or economic, about increasing inequality. From its admittedly vulnerable position as the world's economically most unequal region, Latin America is currently the only region of the planet where inequality is *decreasing* (CEPAL 2010; UNDP 2010). As this is largely a political effect (Cornia and Marorano 2010), of revulsion against the neoliberalism of the military dictators of the 1970s and 1980s, and of their more or less democratically elected civilian successors, the ongoing redistribution policies of Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and others also reflect the

importance of class, in this case the money-grabbing of the rich oligarchs.

Another way of comparing (income) classes across nations is to calculate their Human Development Index, which includes income, life expectancy, and education, a heroic, very complicated operation with considerable margins of error. Nevertheless, it offers a noteworthy picture of world inequality. The poorest American quintile has a lower level of human development than, e.g., the richest quintile of Bolivia, Indonesia, and Nicaragua, below the most lucky 40% of Brazil and Peru, and has a level about equal to the fourth quintile of Colombia, Guatemala, and Paraguay (Grimm *et al.* 2009, Table 1).

Class, at least as a reference of distributive justice, is also likely to grow for other reasons than national economic convergence. Existential inequalities of racism and sexism, even if still potent here and there, are clearly being eroded. An important recent example is the fall of apartheid in South Africa. Democratic South Africa is also giving us one of the most dramatic examples of class inequality after institutionalized racism. Daring World Bank economists, Branko Milanovic (2008: Table 3) and others, have estimated the Gini coefficient of income inequality among the households of the planet at about 65-70 in the 1990s-2000s. But in 2005 the city of Johannesburg has one of 75! And this was measured in terms of consumer expenditure, which always gives a lower inequality figure than income measures (UN Habitat 2008: 72). Even allowing for margins of error, it does not seem presumptuous to say that the post-apartheid city of Johannesburg harbors at least as much economic inequality among its (mainly citizen) inhabitants as all the humans on the planet.

The likely resurgence of class may take at least two, very different directions, a middle-class and a working-class direction, each with two major sub-variants. One, ideologically predominant, middle-class variant looks forward to an emerging global middle class taking possession of the earth, buying cars, one-family houses, and an endless amount of electronics and consumer durables, and spending on international tourism. While this globalized and upgraded consumerism may cause nightmares for ecologically conscious people, it makes businessmen, the business press, and business institutions salivate. Middle-class consumerism has the great advantages, on top of business profits, of both accommodating the privileges of the rich and of providing a quiescent horizon of aspiration for the popular classes. These business dreams are not beyond the possible, but they tend to underestimate the social explosiveness of the current trajectory of economic distancing and exclusion.

In the second alternative, the widening gap between the middle class and the rich carries the former into politics before consumption. In recent years we have seen something which Europeans, at least, have not experienced since 1848 – middle classes mobilizing in the streets, even making middle-class revolutions. Many of these middle-class mobilizations have been socially and economically reactionary, like those against Allende in Chile and against



Chávez in Venezuela, or, more recently, the US Tea Party. Contrary to liberal mythology, there is nothing inherently democratic in middle-class mobilizations, the Thai “Yellow Shirts” of 2008, or the drivers of the putsches in Chile and Venezuela bear witness to that.

Other middle-class protests, however, have been hostile to oligarchic, ‘crony’ capitalism as well as oligarchic politics. The so-called Orange revolution in the Ukraine may come closest to the ideal type. But the ‘Arab Spring’ of 2011 also included a significant, probably crucial middle-class component. The exclusive capitalism of high finance or of high politics, the political economy of, by, and for the richest one per cent, might bring an angry middle class onto the political stage with unpredictable outcome.

The other class direction focuses on the working class. The era of a historically vanguard industrial capitalism has now gone, together with the opponent it empowered, namely, the working-class movement, predicted by Marx in mid-19th century, which did materialize in Europe, in the Nordic countries above all. Europe and North America are now de-industrializing, private financial capitalism is outgrowing public sectors, the working classes are being divided, defeated, and demoralized. The resulting economic polarization and soaring intra-nation inequality is the North Atlantic contribution to the global resurgence of class (as a structural mechanism of distribution).

The relay of an industrial working class has been passed on to China, the emerging centre of world manufacturing. Today’s Chinese industrial workers are largely immigrants in their own country, given the still lingering *hukou* system of different urban and rural birthrights. But the growth of Chinese industrial capitalism is strengthening the workers’ hand as currently manifested in localized protests and rising wages (Cf. Pun Ngai in *Global Dialogue* 1.5). The political regime of China is still formally committed to socialism, in some sense. What the future holds is anybody’s guess. But a new round of distributive conflict, driven by industrial labor, largely displaced from Europe to East Asia, is not to be excluded.

A fourth class scenario would derive its primary dynamic from the heterogeneous popular classes of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and their, perhaps, less forceful counterparts in the rich world. Empowered by a rise of literacy and by new means of communication, the popular class movements face great hurdles of division – ethnicity, religion, and particularly the divide between formal and informal employment – as well as the dispersion of activities, for example in street hawking and small sweatshops. But the barriers to organization, mobilization and rallying are not insurmountable. India has spawned strong organizations of self-employed, the Red Shirts movement of the Thai popular classes returned as the country’s prime political force in the July 2011 elections, and popular class coalitions have produced left-of-centre governments in Brazil and in a number of Latin American countries.

Each of these four class approaches to world inequality has a sociological plausibility, globalized middle-class

consumerism, middle-class political rebelliousness, industrial class struggle – including the possibility of class compromises – decamped from Europe to China and East Asia, and, fourthly, heterogeneous popular class mobilizations, headed by Latin American and Southeast Asian movements, but possibly involving Arab countries and Sub-Saharan Africa (Cf. Enrique de la Garza and Edward Webster in *Global Dialogue* 1.5). The most likely scenario for the future are strides along all four roads. Their relative significance is not only impossible to predict, but weighing the evidence as well as assessing its meaning and value are also likely to be controversial.

More clear, however, is that while nation-states remain formidable organizations and class conflicts will remain mainly state-bounded, the new turn of global inequality means that classes will rise and nations decline in determining human life-courses. ■

References

- Banerjee, A., and Piketty, T. 2003. “Top Indian Incomes, 1956-2000”, B R E A D working paper, <http://ipl.econ.duke.edu/bread/papers.htm>
- CEPAL, 2010. *La hora de la igualdad*. Santiago de Chile, CEPAL.
- Cornia, G.A., and Martorano, B. 2010. *Policies for reducing income inequality: Latin America during the last decade*. UNICEF Policy and Practice Working Paper. New York: UNICEF.
- Datt, G., and Ravallion, M. 2009. “Has India’s Economic Growth Become More Pro-Poor in the Wake of Economic Reforms?”, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 5103, www.worldbank.org/
- Grimm, M. et al. 2009. “Inequality in Human Development. An Empirical Assessment of 32 Countries”, *Luxembourg Income Study*, Working Paper 519, www.lisproject.org/publications/wpapers
- IMF 2007. *World Economic Outlook*, October 2007. www.imf.org
- Kochanowicz, J., et al. 2008. “Intra-Provincial Inequalities and Economic Growth in China”, Faculty of Economic Sciences, University of Warsaw, Working Paper no. 10/2008. www.wne.uw.edu.pl
- Luo Xubei and Zhu Nong 2008. “Rising Income Inequality in China: A Race to the Top”, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4700. www.worldbank.org/
- Milanovic, B. 2008. “Even Higher Global Inequality Than Previously Thought”, *International Journal of Health Services*: 48:2.
- Milanovic, B. 2011. *The Haves and the Have-Nots*. New York, Basic Books.
- UN 2011. *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2011*. www.un.org/
- UNDP 2010. *Regional Human Development Report for Latin America and the Caribbean*. www.undp.org
- UN Habitat 2008. *The State of the World Cities 2008/9*. www.unhabitat.org/

> The (Non)Citizens of Komtar: Transnational Migrants Forging Their Own Communities in Malaysia

by Aya Fabros, Research Associate with Focus on the Global South, Philippines

Kompleks Tun Abdul Razak (KOMTAR), in Penang, Malaysia, is a run-down shopping complex revived and appropriated by migrants. Although frequented by foreigners, it is not your typical tourist spot, offering a glimpse to a grimier side of the global. Accommodating a neatly compartmentalized tapestry of different worlds, converging in a shared, borrowed space, Komtar – like Lucky Plaza in Singapore or Victoria Park in Hong Kong

– reflects everyday negotiated practices carried out by migrant workers as they make room for themselves in their host locales, straddle transnational realities and navigate through global disparities.

Contrary to its reputation, on the inside, Komtar follows an implicit order – the containment policies toward migrant workers resonate with the placement of various sections carved out by different migrant groups. Hidden away in some

awkward corner on the first level, a Nepali canteen provides Nepalese workers a place to meet, where they eat curry and *momos*, and enjoy drinks while listening to music from Kathmandu. Up in the main building, the second level houses the Burma section, followed by the Indonesian nook on the third floor and the Filipino area on the next level.

While groups largely keep to themselves, they do have a sense where the others are. There's an acknowl-



Once envisioned as the premier shopping district in Penang, Komtar remains a landmark even after losing its luster as the local hub for leisure, entertainment and shopping. Still a central location and the tallest building in Penang, Komtar today is also emerging as a globalized, ghettoized arena, opening up space for transnational migrants. Photo by Aya Fabros.

edged unspoken order, a systematized smorgasbord of various things Asian – where one can find *batik*, *bagoong* and Burmese publications offering the latest news on Aung San Suu Kyi. Although still not a widely recognized focal point, like Chinatown or Little India, once you walk around, you step into a space that is not only regional but also transnational, where interactions that traverse borders are carried out and sustained; where globalization's rank and file retreats and congregates.

In Malaysia, it is estimated that 1 out of 4 workers is *pekerja asing* (foreign worker) employed in factories, plantations, the service sector or as domestic workers. Despite their number and Malaysia's reliance on them, migrant workers remain undervalued, neglected, and invisible. Constructed as mere visiting, laboring bodies, they're tied to employers and bound to their jobs through work permits that specify the name of their workplace, industry, and employer, who's got practically absolute discretion to grant and cancel these documents. One worker observes: "They can dictate and change the terms of employment, pick and sack workers as they please, but we cannot choose employers or simply leave even when we are clearly disadvantaged."

While workers concede that they came to Malaysia "to work," some also express that their situation is '*parang walang laya*' (we don't have freedom), working "as if we were slaves from old times." Traveling far in search of employment, upon arrival many foreign workers contend with restricted movement and limited freedoms. They are confined to their workplaces and employer-managed living spaces, thrust into a position where they are practically isolated from others and heavily dependent on employers or agents, many of whom would not hesitate to take workers' passports, threatening them with deportation to keep them passive and compliant. Disciplined to docility by a combination of intimidation, desperation and isolation, migrants consequently find themselves in a situation that also renders them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation within the workplace and beyond.

Contending with restrictions outside, within Komtar migrants appear to reclaim a sense of citizenship and agency. Here, they are not mere workers stripped of identities, plugged in as cogs on assembly lines or servants in shops and households. In this space, they are Filipinos or Burmese or Nepalese, and not simply victims of *othering*, imposed identities whereby Filipino means 'maid' and Burmese means 'illegal.' They are customers consuming choice products or sending home their hard earned pay; compatriots extending sympathy and support, exchanging opinions about their day-to-day travails or chronic 'national issues'; members practicing presentations for church or community gatherings, planning activities or posting announcements and updates, all of which bear the imprint of an emerging sense of community.

While appropriating unwanted spaces and snubbed for being 'dangerous and dirty,' migrants are nonetheless constantly reminded of their 'place,' even in this area, disrupted by routine raids, crackdowns and permanent police and omnipresent surveillance. Nonetheless, shop owners attach added meaning to the space, emphasizing the importance of remaining in business, because otherwise "where would they [migrant workers] go then?"

At a coffee place downstairs, two young men compare newly issued cards from the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees), while waiting for another companion to take them to Alor Star, where relatives and friends are detained. Upstairs, a makeshift table is set for a game of *tongits*, while in the next room, a Filipina DH (Domestic Helper) belts out a lively rendition of "Top of the World" by the Carpenters.

In Komtar, people linger on for hours and come even without the intention of buying anything. "When you come to Malaysia, you are alone, you have no one, in Komtar somehow you do not feel that way," a Filipina 'domestic' points out.

In this regard, Komtar functions as an agora for a polity in the diaspo-

ra, where dispersed individual workers, plucked from their homes and communities, are able to meet and mingle. There is no encompassing migrant collective consciousness *per se* nor an explicitly articulated notion of common projects, but within respective communities, a level of solidarity seems to be shared, nurtured and exercised in ways that at least fill the gaps left by their condition of non-citizenship. Here, migrants from Burma established "volunteer funeral services" and hospitalization support, formalizing their organization after countless cases of raising funds and arranging rites for workers who do not have access to these basic services. Other self-organized support groups provide relief and assistance to compatriots in distress, at the same time also mobilizing co-nationals around sociocultural events.

Komtar is constantly abuzz with dynamism and activity, teeming with possibility, even without yet posing any direct challenge to the deeply embedded injustices migrant workers face. While enjoying and carving out their own tenuous nooks and crannies, migrant worker expressions underscore that they do not intend to threaten their employment and stay. They are reclaiming a sense of agency and asserting a *right to be here* through some token symbolic presence and local imprint. These are nonetheless subtle articulations made on an uneven terrain where migrants tread carefully. For now, these everyday acts, seemingly mundane practices, almost collectivized by common experience and amplified by sheer number, glare against conditions that would isolate or make migrant workers invisible and inconsequential. As these communities take root, however, it will be exciting to observe how the spaces they engender will evolve and where their deepening solidarities may lead. ■

> History Corner: The Uneven Inclusion of Women

by Jennifer Platt, University of Sussex,
UK, and ISA Vice-President for Publica-
tions 2010-2014

A glance at the back end of our new 2010 *Directory of Members* shows that RC32, Women in Society, is the largest Research Committee, with 291 names. This surely reflects the influence of the women's movement generally, as well as the important development of intellectual understanding of gender issues to which it has led in sociology. We can trace some simple measures of the quantitative changes this has affected within the ISA.

On the Executive, the first woman was elected only in 1974; in 1978 she became a Vice-President and was joined by two more women members, and three (out of 17 or 18) remained the total until 1986, when it became five; one of them was Margaret Archer as the first (and so far only) female President. By the later 1990s women were seven of the 21 members, one of them a Vice-President; in the 2000s there have been 8-10 women out of the 22 members, with two to four of them Vice-Presidents. Clearly this shows a gradual approach to gender equality of numbers, and the increasing proportion of women in higher education might lead beyond that.

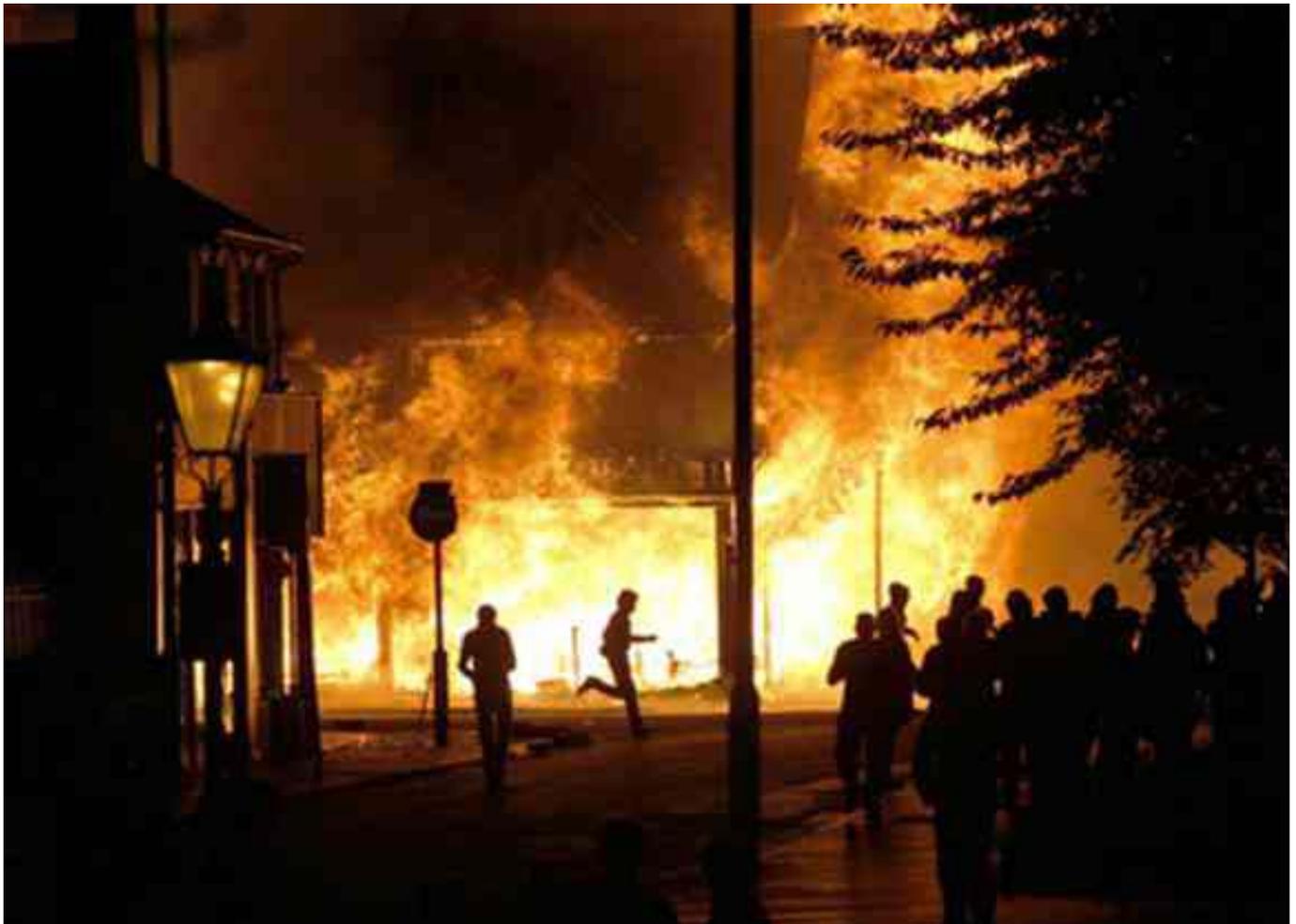
But the patterns shown cannot be treated as specific to the ISA as such; they owe much to the varying social processes across the globe which have led women to enter sociology and to become members of the ISA. The 1976 membership list showed that only 22% of ordinary members were then women, so that their 18% of executive members does not grossly under-represent them, but they were drawn from a limited range of national backgrounds. In the RC executives, we can see that the few women who became involved before 1970 were all either British or from Eastern Europe, which reflects the diversity of national situations at a period when sociology had yet to be institutionalised in many countries.



Margaret Archer, First Woman President
of ISA, 1986-1990.

However, the uneven distribution of members of any social category across different structures within the ISA can have limiting effects. Each RC has one representative on the Research Council, which means that if women (or members of any other subgroup) are concentrated in a small number of RCs they will probably have fewer representatives than if they were spread thinly over a larger number. Similarly, women drawn heavily from a few nationalities will be under-represented where each nationality has one representative.

Most of the members of RC32 have been female. Of the names in 2010 where I can identify gender, only ten are those of men, who are heavily outnumbered. The gender balance looks rather different in the other particularly large current group, RC16 on Sociological Theory (257 members). Such variations in the characteristics of sociologists choosing different fields, and their relation to their subject matter, merit more historical study of their intellectual consequences than they have yet received, especially in fields other than gender. ■



| London on Fire.

> The Chaos of Order

by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, School of Economics, University of Coimbra, Portugal, University of Wisconsin-Madison Law School, USA and Member of the Program Committee for the ISA World Congress of Sociology in Yokohama

In spite of their specificity, the violent riots in London and other British cities should not be seen as an isolated phenomenon. They are a disturbing sign of our time. In contemporary societies a high inflammable fuel is flowing underneath our collective lives unsuspected of families, communities, social organizations, and politicians. When it rises to the surface, propelled by a spark-like incident, it may provoke a social fire

of unimaginable proportions. Such fuel is made up of four components: endorsement of both social inequality and individualism, mercantilization of individual and collective life, racism renamed as tolerance, democracy high-jacked by the privileged elites followed by politics turned into management of the loot “legally” taken from the citizens and the unease it provokes. Each one of these components bears an internal contradiction.

>>

When they overlap, any incident may bring about an explosion.

> **Inequality and individualism**

With neoliberalism, the brutal increase of inequality stopped being a problem to become the solution. The ostentation of the super-rich became proof of the success of a social model that condemns to pauperism the large majority of people, allegedly because they do not strive enough to succeed. This was only possible because individualism has become an absolute value which, paradoxically, must be lived as a utopia of equality, i.e., each one equally rescinding social solidarity, whether as its agents or beneficiaries. Such an individual only considers inequality to be a problem when it is adverse to him or her. When that is the case, it is considered unfair.

> **Mercantilization of life**

Consumer society implies replacing relations between people by relations between people and things. Rather than fulfilling needs, consumer objects create them endlessly, personal investment in objects being as strong when they are possessed as when they are not. Shopping malls provide the ghostly vision of a network of social relations beginning and ending in objects. Capital, ever yearning for profitability, is now submitting to the law of the market goods that we have always considered too common (water, air) or too personal (privacy, political convictions) to be traded in the marketplace. Between believing that money is the universal mediator and

believing that anything can be done to obtain it there is a smaller step than one suspects. The powerful make this step everyday and nothing happens to them. Seeing this, the destitute believe they can do the same – and end up in jail.

> **Tolerance's Racism**

The unrest in England had a racial dimension from the beginning. The same was true in 1981, as it was regarding the turmoil that shook Paris and other French cities in the fall of 2005. This is no coincidence; it rather reflects the colonial sociability which continues to prevail in our society long after the end of political colonialism. Racism is merely one among the components, since youngsters of different ethnicities have been involved in the riots. But it is an important component, because it adds corrosion of self-esteem to social exclusion. In other words, being less is worsened by having less. A young black person in our cities experiences daily a suspicion that persists regardless of what he or she is or does. Such suspicion is all the more poisonous by existing in a society distracted by official policies fighting discrimination and by the fake appearance of multiculturalism and the benevolence of tolerance. When everybody dismisses racism, victims of racism are termed racist for fighting against it.

> **Highjacking of democracy**

What is there in common between the unrest in England and the destruction of the citizen's welfare brought

about by the austerity measures imposed by the rating agencies and the financial markets? They both submit the democratic order to a stress test of uncertain outcome. The rioting youngsters are criminals, but we are certainly not facing here "pure and simple criminality," as Prime Minister David Cameron said. We are facing a violent, political denunciation of a social and political model that finds resources to bail out banks but not to bail out the youth faced with no future worthy of the name, young people stuck in the nightmare of an increasingly expensive education which may turn out to be irrelevant, given the rise of unemployment. These are youngsters abandoned in communities, which anti-social public policies have turned into training camps for wrath, anomie, and revolt.

“...The true disorderly are in power...”

Between the neoliberal credo and the urban rioters there is a fearful symmetry. Social indifference, arrogance, unfair sharing of sacrifices are sowing chaos, violence, and fear. Tomorrow, the sowers, taking offence, will argue that what they sowed had nothing to do with the chaos, violence, and fear haunting our cities today. The true disorderly are in power; soon they will be emulated by those who have no power, only to bring order back to political power. ■

> The Hegemony of the English Language and the Social Sciences

by Renato Ortiz, State University of Campinas, Brazil

English is the official language of globalization. I say 'officially' because the presence of other languages is constitutive of our contemporary condition, even though one language, above others, takes a privileged position. In the global market of linguistic goods English becomes the language of global modernity. What are the implications for the social sciences?

I would like to avoid two positions commonly encountered in intellectual debates. On the one hand, there is the view that the predominance of English is an artifact of imperialism. I do not believe that imperialism is a useful concept for the understanding of contemporary globalization. On the other hand, there is the view that national identity makes one's own language authentic as against others that are fake. As Saussure teaches us, the arbitrariness of sign is tied to the context of territory and history – no language is superior to others, they only capture the real in distinct manners.

A banal statement in contemporary debates is that English is a 'lingua franca' in the scientific community. But what is a 'lingua franca'? A language emptied of its multiple connotations with the intention of maximizing communication among scientists. This is partly possible in the natural sciences, but English cannot function as a 'lingua franca' in the social sciences. It is not as a question of

national pride, but by virtue of the process of knowledge construction. The sociological object is constructed through language. Using this or that language is not accidental, but a decisive dimension of final result. Thus, there are differences in the practice of the natural and social sciences. Let me cite just a few examples. The natural science text, not only has a specific order of presentation, it uses a particular narrative form. It is written in the third person and generally the present tense. For example, biologists write: "the radiation doses delineate three strips..." or "the mutation distinctly presents itself centripetally..." The verb tense is the present and the utilization of the third person confers on the discourse an objectivity based on the absence of the scientist. Texts in the social sciences cannot remove the narrator, which is why C. Wright Mills described social science as an intellectual craft. The narrator could be an 'I' or a 'we', but certainly writing is not limited to the third person. Whether we use 'I' or 'we', in narrative discourse there is always a mediator. There is also the problem of translation, which is not limited to words, that is to the search for equivalent terms in two distinct languages. In the process of translation different intellectual traditions must be taken into consideration. The term 'national question' cannot be reduced to nationalism. The 'national question' implies a specific political context in which a specifically Latin American intellectual debate takes place – a

context that involves the problematic of national identity, the construction of modernity, the critique of importing foreign ideas, the inferiority complex of colonized countries, and the dilemmas of peripheral modernity. It refers us to an entire bibliographic and artistic tradition – from Mexican muralists to Brazilian modernism. The 'national question' is a shorthand expression connected to the history of Latin American countries in search of their identities. This is not the same as nationalism.

However, despite these obstacles, the domination of English in the Social Sciences continues. There is a consolidation of certain scientific styles, global in scale, that favor the English language. This is the case, for example, in the use of databases whose production is conditioned by various factors, such as technical factors, costs, and market distribution. Organizing texts and citations requires a linguistic register which is minimized or hidden when one partakes in the pretention that such databases offer a reliable portrait of the scientific world. The Institute for Science Information (ISI) produces four different types of catalogues, each of which is marked by linguistic distortion. Between 1980 and 1996 in the Social Science Citation Index database, English language publications count for between 85% and 96% of all articles. If we accept the idea that a citation is a requirement for scientific authority, this signifies a clear hierarchy (grounded in nothing) based on linguistic exclusion. The choice of English in the production of databases, as in the publication of scientific reports and books, is a question of markets. The big corporations (Reed Elsevier, Wolters Kluwer) dominate the world market in English due to the ease of circulation of texts. In this way arbitrary linguistic criteria become the basis of the global legitimacy of 'science making' (or 'doing science'). This arbitrariness has been reinforced by the advent of digital technology (texts in PDF, bibliographic indices) and an unequal distribution of translation on an international scale. In the U.S.A. and the U.K., translated foreign texts (including all genres) do not exceed 5% of the total published texts. While in countries such as Swe-

den and the Netherlands, this figure is approximately 25%, in Greece it is 40%. In other words, the more central a language the fewer are the texts translated into that language. After all, nothing of relevance could exist outside of it.

If, in the social sciences, English cannot function as a 'lingua franca', what is the meaning of its predominance? My impression is that English, by virtue of its ubiquity, acquires the capacity to 'guide' intellectual debate on a global scale. To 'guide' means to select those issues that will become relevant and

“...English cannot function as a 'lingua franca'...”

visible from a much wider range of possible issues. Phrased another way, the English language has the power to shape the intellectual agenda. There are still other implications. Eugene Garfield, founder of ISI, said that in the 1970s the weakness of the French sci-

ences was due to one fact: they were becoming provincial because they were written in French. This line of argument considers the universal to be an attribute of English, while provincialism defines all other languages. *Global English* becomes *universal English*. It is forgotten, however, that cosmopolitanism is not an attribute of the globalization process, and while particularism appears as dialect in the local it also appears as a defining feature of contemporary globalization. Under the condition of global modernity, then, it is perfectly plausible and commonplace, to be globally provincial. ■

> Romanian Sociology: Rapidly Making Up for its Rocky Past

by Marian Preda and Liviu Chelcea, University of Bucharest, Romania

If one thinks of Michael Burawoy's classification into professional, critical, policy and public sociology, one may say that sociology in Romania is strong on policy sociology and improving (read weaker) on the other three types. Sociology in Romania was first taught at the end of the 19th century. It evolved in the interwar period into the so-called Bucharest Sociological School (interdisciplinary and mainly ethnographic). A World Congress of Sociology, supposed to take place in Bucharest, was cancelled due to the beginning of World War II. In 1948, sociology was prohibited, re-established in 1966 and re-prohibited in 1977. Since 1989, several sociology departments have emerged and thousands of students have obtained BA, MA or PhD degrees in sociology.

During the last two decades, Romanian sociology generated three ministers of labor, a prime minister, two speakers of the House of Deputies and many MPs and high-level political advisors. Many political analysts, journalists, survey companies, top-level managers have contributed to a positive public perception of the sociology profession in Romania. Despite that, the relinking of Romanian sociology to international sociology has not been a priority until recently. Until the 2010 ISA World Congress in Gothenburg (attended by 30+ sociologists from Romania) Romania used to be underrepresented in the international events. This seems to be part of a broader tendency – according to the documents counted by one bibliometric service (SCImago), the contribution of Romanian social sciences increased from 0.02% of the global production in 1996, to 0.15% in 2008 and to 0.44% in 2010 (<http://www.scimagojr.com/countrysearch.php?area=3300&country=RO&w=>).

Aside from the occasional presence of sociologists from Romania in some top international sociological journals (e.g. *Current Sociology* and *Social Forces*), another trend has been the creation of new, scholarly peer-reviewed journals, whose

scope is international. One example is *International Review of Social Research* (www.irsr.eu), whose forthcoming special issues will deal with environmental sociology, material culture and consumption in the Global South, social economy, lifestyle, and tourism. It gathers contributions from such prominent social thinkers as Jean-Claude Kaufmann, Michael Redclift, and Zygmunt Bauman and anthropologists Richard Handler and Daniel Miller.

In 2008, the Association of Romanian Sociologists, a large group of sociologists composed of academic and applied sociologists from universities and private research institutes, set up a new professional organization, the Romanian Sociological Society (RSS, <http://societateasociologilor.ro/en>). It now counts more than 400 members. The first RSS International Conference, held in Cluj-Napoca in 2010 and called *Remaking the Social: New Risks and Solidarities* (<http://cluj2010.wordpress.com/>) had about 200 presentations. The most frequent topics concerned migration, organizations, urban issues, social problems and policy, social psychology, but there was also much interest in the study of social values, survey methodology and post-socialist transformations.

The 2nd International Conference, called *Beyond Globalization?*, will be held in June 2012, with submissions starting in mid-September 2011. For more details please visit the website <http://www.societateasociologilor.ro/en/conferences/conference2012>. The conference will attempt to take stock of the end of the historical cycle that has changed sociology in important ways during the last 30 years. Taking into account the epochal events of the last few years (such as 9/11 and the global financial crisis), the conference seeks to explore which trends of neoliberalism and globalization will fade away and which will persist. ■

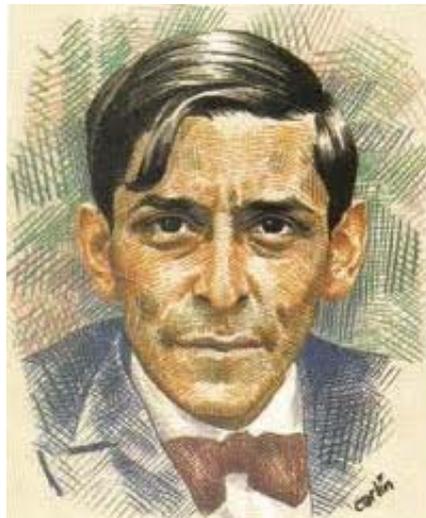
> The Twists and Turns of Peruvian Sociology

by Nicolás Lynch, National University of San Marcos, and Former Minister of Education of Peru

Currently, Peruvian sociology exists as a scientific discipline and as a profession. Nonetheless, it is not well institutionalized, as well as lacking recognition and influence. The development of sociology in Peru has gone through four stages: concern with social issues, sociology as a professional occupation, the deterioration of sociology in NGOs, and the return of a critical sociology.

> Social Concerns

The concern with social issues has motivated intellectual reflection in Peru since the turn of the 20th century. Nevertheless, at that point, it largely took the form of great diagnostic essays about the crossroads facing the country and efforts to delineate, in broad strokes, the direction that Peru's evolution, development, and transformation should take. Thinkers in this early period began to ask big questions about Peru for the first time. They included people associated with the conservative right, who expressed the positions of the dominant oligarchy, as well as others from the reformist and revolutionary left, which had begun to emerge and produce its first, great intellectuals. On the right, important names included those of José de la Riva Agüero, Francisco García Calderón and Víctor Andrés Belaúnde; on the left, those of Manuel González Prada, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and José Carlos Mariátegui.



| José Carlos Mariátegui, 1894–1930.

In this first period, specifically in 1896, sociology also appeared as a university course in the Department of Letters at the University of San Marcos. As a course, it was relatively marginal to the analysis of national issues. Rather, the course followed the postulates of Comte and Spencer to develop a theoretical explanation of social development. Curiously, in this first stage, there was little contact between the analysis of social concerns and sociology, in spite of the fact that, in the following decades, the former would be central to the development of the latter.

> The Development of Sociology as a Professional Occupation

Only recently, in 1961, did sociology

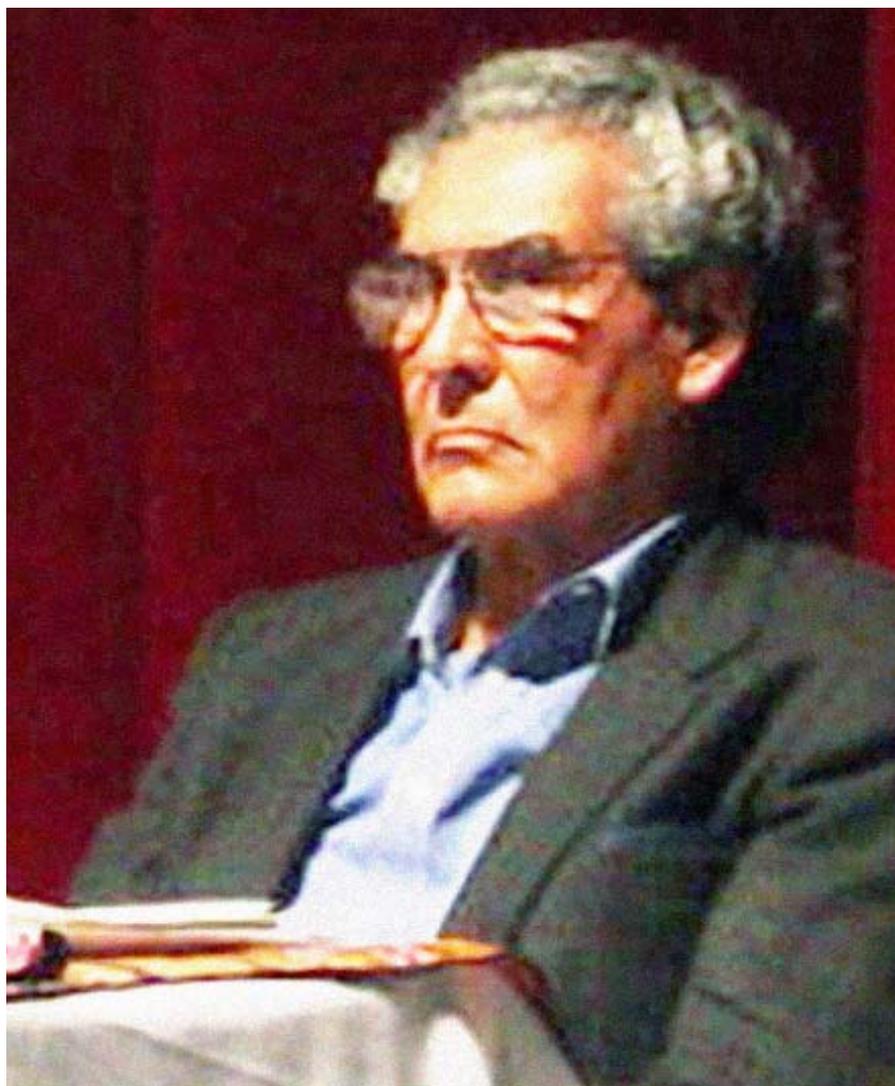
become a professional occupation in Peru, with the founding of the Department of Sociology at the University of San Marcos. A few years later, in 1964, something similar happened at the Pontific Catholic University, which established a School of Social Sciences, including a major in sociology. Foreign support and influence proved important in both: the University of San Marcos received funding from UNESCO, and the Catholic University from the Dutch government. In the beginning, structural functionalism imported from the United States strongly influenced both teaching and research in sociology. The technocratic turn, with the idea of 'solving specific social problems,' would be very important in this first moment of academic sociology.

Nevertheless, this technocratic sociology shifted almost immediately to a sociology influenced by the arrival of Marxism through the student movement, and the momentum of leftist thought in Latin America, which would drive critical thinking. That time also marked the appearance of a nationalist, leftist government, the result of a military coup, which would, despite being a dictatorship, radically expand the number of jobs available to sociologists. This was 1968, a meaningful year in Peru as it was in the rest of the world. This shift would give sociology the revolutionary identity it maintained during the following decades, at least until the neoliberal regression of the 1990s. The Marxist influence pushed

>>

the prior technocratic orientation aside, putting sociology at the service of what, at that moment, was considered the revolutionary transformation of society. During the 1970s, the new orientation and an improved labor market brought sociology to its peak in Peru. At that time, not only were new sociology majors established in various universities, but sociologists were also employed in various state agencies, pushing forward the military government's reforms. There were important developments in sociological research, especially in the field of politics and in the characterization of the capitalist development that was occurring in the country. The profession acquired significant status as a new career, expressing the spirit of an epoch of change.

The appeal of Marxism lay not only in its global perspectives but also because it returned to sociology's progressive precursors of the first decades of the 20th century, especially the figure of José Carlos Mariátegui whose works appeared in new editions. An important debate arose over his legacy, with significant interventions from the Peruvian sociologist César Germaná and the Argentine José Aricó, not himself a professional sociologist but a key figure nonetheless. Still, as a line of critical thinking, Marxist influence remained limited although there were advances made, particularly in the journal *Sociedad y Política* (Society and Politics), directed by Aníbal Quijano, with its memorable analysis of the military government in the decade of the 1970s. The journal *El Zorro de Abajo* (Zorro from Below), directed by anthropologist Carlos Iván Degregori but run by an editorial committee mostly made up of sociologists, was also important during the 1980s. Sinesio López, a member of its editorial group, was particularly influential. Using Antonio Gramsci's framework, his writing offered an interesting lens to understand the development of the state and the characteristics of nascent social movements. Julio Cotler provided a rare example of a



| Aníbal Quijano.

blend of Marxist and Weberian thinking that focused on Nation State building and the lack of legitimacy of the oligarchical power in the country. His major book *Clases, Estado y Nación en el Perú* has gone through several editions since the original publication in 1978.

The other side of Marxism, which would prove to be the most influential in sociology and in Peruvian social sciences as a whole, was Marxism-Leninism. This dogmatic Marxism came hand in hand with the rising influence of the Maoist segment of the communist movement, very powerful in public universities in the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, especially where sociology was offered. Dogmatic Marxism sought to reconstruct social science curricula requiring all professors be political addicts who limited their bibliogra-

phies to the manuals of the former USSR Academy of Science and the selected works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao. The intellectual domination of this dogmatic Marxism coincided with years of political violence in Peru, when the insurgency of the Maoist group Sendero Luminoso cost the country twelve years of internal war and approximately 70,000 deaths. This conversion practically spelled the death of sociology in the country, drastically reducing its influence as a form of professional knowledge and its presence in public institutions, and marginalizing it intellectually. Several public and private universities eliminated their majors in sociology. It persisted with some quality only in the two original centers: the University of San Marcos and the Catholic University. With the collapse of the discipline, needless to say, individual, professional soci-



ologists suffered degradation as well as personal challenges of survival.

> **The Deterioration of Sociology in NGOs**

During the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) became an important place of refuge for professional sociology. NGOs literally served as a refuge, because these were the decades of internal warfare (1980s), first, and then, after that, of the neoliberal dictatorship of Alberto Fujimori (1990s). In that epoch sociology's identification with the left, and even worse with the revolution, worked against the discipline. The demand for sociologists diminished drastically, most of all in the public sector but also, as was mentioned above, because various universities that used to offer sociology courses closed their doors to the discipline. NGOs were formed, in part, by sociologists who put together small development projects and obtained financial support from international sympathizers. This type of work had the virtue of helping many sociologists develop professionally in a line of work that was closely linked to social needs. Nevertheless, sociology was deprived of great minds, limiting possibilities for its intellectual development. This became especially true as funding increasingly came from multilateral agencies like the World Bank, imposing the influence of the so-called Washington Consensus. The hegemony of this form of thinking led to the 'subalternization' of critical social categories. In perhaps the best example of this, the category of poverty almost completely replaced the category of inequality.

On a positive note, in the decade of the 1990s, the College of Peruvian Sociologists, a professional association of Peruvian sociologists, was formed. The College has been a reference point for sociologists and sociology. Even though it is still developing, the College has made it possible to bring together professional sociolo-

gists and to certify them as skilled in the application of sociology to new areas and activities.

> **Sociology under the Return to Democracy**

Peru's return to democracy in the year 2000 coincided with a turn to the left in Latin America that had both cultural and political repercussions. Elsewhere spaces opened up for the development of the social sciences, especially sociology, but less so in Peru where democracy was not accompanied by a turn to the left (at least until the latest elections, this year, in 2011). The tension between the technocratic turn of the 1990s and critical sociology continues apace, without any solution in sight. Paradoxically, in academic discussions, the technocratic turn tends to attach itself to a bull-headed defense of sociology as an extension of the natural sciences. Thus, critical sociology remains limited to the domain of intellectual engagement. New ideas did develop, however, in graduate programs, both master's degrees and doctorates, which have proliferated in the last 15 years. Nevertheless, like the initial proliferation of university majors in the 1970s, the quality of these programs has been very uneven. Still, there have been several master's theses and a few doctoral theses based on interesting research in urban sociology, culture, and gender. The dogmatic imprint of Marxism-Leninism seems to be buried and incapable of resurfacing.

However, it's important to mention a new paradigm, driven by Aníbal Quijano with the inspiration of Immanuel Wallerstein, and that is the "coloniality of power." This critique is considered an extension of the work of José Carlos Mariátegui. Quijano argues that Peru participates in a type of capitalism imposed by the metropolis on Latin America, condemning them to a permanent subsidiary role. Based on an old pattern of nation-states, the state is unable

to identify with its own supposed nationals and maintains a vision that is Eurocentric and basically evolutionist. The critique suggests that modernization, or Marxism-Leninism, has failed to bring about development. Quijano proposes to think about the region as located in the Global South, thereby reclaiming the identity of its inhabitants, and constructing its own forms of politics and economic development. This is especially pertinent now, given the new window of autonomy for this part of the world. In addition to Quijano, there are others who have begun to rebuild the field: César Germaná in methodology; Sinesio López in politics and particularly citizenship; Gonzalo Portocarrero and Pedro Pablo Kuczynski in education and culture; and Alberto Adriansén on the Latin American turn to the Left.

Peruvian sociology has had limited development both academically and professionally. Dominant lines of thought are still only embryonic and tend to reside in individual intellectual personalities. Its institutional development is largely limited to university teaching, mostly at the introductory level. There are no research centers specific to the discipline that merit mention, or projects that bring together different academics. Nevertheless, Peruvian sociology has overcome the threat of destruction that loomed over it in the 1980s and 1990s, due to the dogmatic hand of Marxism-Leninism and neoliberalism. Surviving these threats has allowed it to re-emerge in specific research areas and develop niches of professional knowledge. But, most important, today it still sustains itself as a form of critical knowledge. If it takes advantage of the emerging context, Peruvian sociology may find ways to contribute to a new, regional autonomy and a new form of development in Latin America as a whole, marked by the progressive turn in culture and politics. Here lie the possibilities for new developments and different horizons. ■

> Ulf Himmelstrand, 1924-2011 – Father of Sociology in Nigeria

by Ayodele Samuel Jegede, Professor and Head, Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, and ISA member



Memorial for Ulf Himmelstrand. Photo by Ayodele Samuel Jegede.

Ulf Himmelstrand (1924-2011), the father of sociology in Nigeria is dead. Himmelstrand, 87, died on June 8 in his home town, Uppsala, Sweden. Himmelstrand was born, and much of his childhood was spent, in India, where his father was a missionary for the Church of Sweden, though some of his schooling was in Sweden. This inevitably gave him a somewhat marginal status in both countries. The chance of academic decisions then took him to other foreign settings and ones where major social disruptions were evidently under way – in Nigeria during the Biafran War, and in California at the height of the student revolution of the 1960s. These experiences surely affected his sociology.

As a budding scholar, Himmelstrand concluded his PhD thesis on “Social pressures, attitudes and democratic processes” in 1960. Until this achievement, he was a lecturer at the University of Uppsala where he became an Assistant Professor (1960-1964) and was later appointed the pioneer Head of Department and Professor at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Until Nigeria’s Independence in 1960 and for a few years afterwards, the profession of Sociology in Nigeria was miniscule. It was not much more than courses in colonial social anthropology taught at the University of Ibadan and the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Among the bold strategies for raising

the University of Ibadan to world-class standards by the great Kenneth Dike, first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ibadan, was his plan to decolonize social anthropology and usher standard Sociology into the University. Working with a team from the Rockefeller Foundation, Kenneth Dike recruited a 40-year-old Swedish sociologist with a formidable name of Ulf Himmelstrand as the first Head of a full-fledged Department of Sociology at the University of Ibadan.

Before his arrival in August 1964, he had carved a niche for himself with research in Sri Lanka and Sweden. He arrived in Ibadan to meet two excellent scholars, Francis Olu Okediji and Albert Imohiosen. They were joined by Ruth Murray, a British social anthropologist, and Paul Hare, an American social psychologist. He took over from Peter Lloyd who headed the sub-department until 1960 when Sociology was created out of the Department of Economics. He laid the foundation for excellence in the pursuit of sociological scholarship. Himmelstrand had Peter Ekeh and Stephen Imoagene (now renowned Professors) as his first postgraduate students.

Ulf Himmelstrand attracted more students to study Sociology. He decolonized the curriculum leading to a mainstream sociology that was far more respectful of Nigeria’s cultures. Right from his first year at Ibadan, Ulf Himmelstrand brought to the University what most excites a University administration: an international

research program and a handsome funding to match. In the ‘Summer’ (long vacation) of 1965, the Department of Sociology hosted an international workshop on research on political culture that brought to Ibadan famed social scientists from the US, Latin America, Europe and Asia, including the leaders of the research program: Sidney Verba (Stanford University) and Robert Sommers (University of California, Berkeley). The Nigerian section of that research was headed by Himmelstrand and was the first large-scale social science research in Nigeria. Its fieldwork covered all the regions of the country in 1965-67. Happily, this tradition of large-scale research has survived in the Department of Sociology at Ibadan.

He was able to mentor several young scholars (then) who are now renowned the world over. Professors Peter Ekeh, Stephen Imoagene, Ekundayo Akeredolu-Ale, Samson Oke, Simi Afonja, Ades- uwa Emovon, Martin Igbozurike, and Layi Erinoshon were the first set shaped by this erudite Swede. Professors Adigun Agbaje and Eghosa Osaghae were able to work with him later in the production of a book *African Perspectives on Development* (1994).

He made a great impact in his chosen field as a foremost sociologist. He was the President of the International Sociological Association (ISA) (1978-82) and ensured that the World Congress of the ISA be held in his hometown, Uppsala, in 1978.

He was until his death, an Africanist, a theorist, a positivist and to some extent, a Marxist with a focus on social psychology. Himmelstrand was an accomplished scholar. He touched many lives and influenced the world. In 1989 he became Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the University of Uppsala. He was buried on July 12, in his hometown. May his soul rest in perfect peace. ■

> A Personal Tribute to Ulf Himmelstrand

by Margaret Archer, University of Warwick, UK, and former ISA President

With the death of Ulf Himmelstrand on June 8th 2011 world sociology has lost one of its gentlest and most dedicated of friends. To him 'globalization' was neither merely a concept nor a cause, it was something he lived. Never one to inflict his biography on others, evidence of his dedicated support has to be pieced together from the narratives of those who had experienced it at first hand.

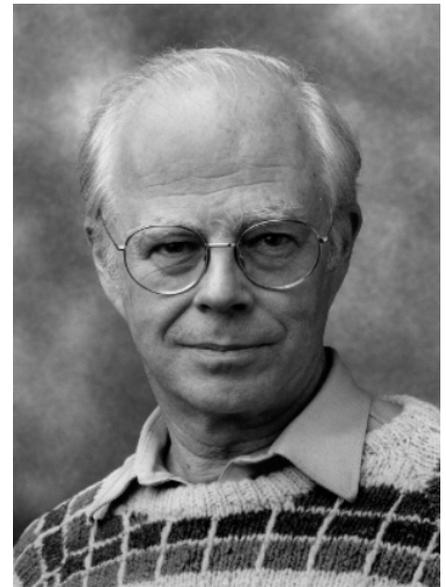
This was especially the case for his years at the University of Ibadan in the mid-1960s as Head of the Sociology Department. His love of Africa and Nigeria in particular was very clear but what he did for Nigeria was not something he himself would have characterized in the grandiose terms of 'the decolonization of anthropology and sociology.' Yet, that was what it was, accomplished partly through his teaching, research and curriculum revision at Ibadan, but equally powerfully through his commitment to promoting a generation of bright young Nigerian scholars throughout their careers. Peter Ekeh has provided his own tribute to the lasting fidelity of this support in the obituary he wrote (*The Guardian* 26.06.2011) and that must stand for the experience of many.

This love of an Africanist for Africa was resilient. When nearly a quarter of a century later he was mugged and seriously injured on one of his frequent return visits, his subsequent messages contained no words of self-pity or re-priming but simply a quiet, practical detailing of how he was re-learning to cope with the keyboard and continuing with his work.

Again, long before Roland Robertson coined the term 'glocalization', Ulf was living it with his global network continuously active from the tiny town of Uppsala and his Nigerian friends visiting regularly. Correspondingly, as ISA Vice-President (1974-78) he was particularly keen to bring the World Congress to Uppsala in 1978, to a venue that could only just contain it! He wanted this to be an unforgettable event, one that showcased international sociology

for Sweden and Scandinavia in general. Because he was also a passionate theorist, critical of both contemporary functionalism and Marxism alike, a highlight of the Congress was to be a debate between Parsons and Poulantzas. This was scheduled for an evening to avoid clashes with the rest of the program and was to take place in a large but rather distant Aula. Sadly, after hundreds of us had walked through the rain for this event, the Chairman had the sorry duty of reading out two telegrams from these giants explaining their inability to be present. Up went the umbrellas and we began our return through the downpour. Wet through and with most of the walk still in front of me, I became irritatingly aware of a kerb-crawler driving slowly behind me. Eventually, the car drew level and Ulf rescued me from the elements and then drove on to check the well-being of his other wet sheep.

When he was ISA President (1978-82) I continued to work closely with him because of my role in Publications. Executive Committee meetings could go on into the small hours with debates hotting up as the hours for sleep diminished. Only two of the Presidents with whom I have worked could diffuse potential explosions by their gentle reasonableness: Tom Bottomore and Ulf Himmelstrand. Ulf had a special piece of apparatus to assist him. Those were the un-reconstructed days of heavy smoking and Ulf would sit behind his careful arrangement of the pipe-smoker's essentials: a rack of eight pipes whose different merits I never understood; the indispensable equipment for poking, de-blocking and cleaning (again incomprehensible); and various tins of weed. These were stage-props for a functional ritualism that had little to do with polluting the meeting room. The rational actor might well have wondered how so much apparatus was necessary to so little visceral satisfaction. That was not the point. As tempers frayed, Ulf would intensify his absorbed excavations with a pipe cleaner and finally look up to gently produce the makings of a consensual formula. In all those years, I never heard him (need to) raise his



| Ulf Himmelstrand, 1924-2011.

voice and his formulae were not simply pacific, they carried us forward.

With Ulf, collegiality was also a matter of friendship. It was about home visiting as well as formal meetings. Once, he was lecturing in England and typically brought his bike with him. He proposed coming to say hello at our home outside Oxford. This he duly accomplished by biking from the Open University, some sixty miles away and, true to Swedish etiquette, he presented me with a gift. This was a pastoral poem, written in English whilst pedaling, in praise of the north Oxfordshire hedgerows. For a long time afterwards whenever a cyclist approached the door, my two young sons would rush into the study excitedly proclaiming "Oolf", "Oolf's back!"

As a friend, Ulf never went away. He was the first to greet me after I came off the podium having given my Presidential address in Madrid (1990) and typically this was not with florid compliments but a warm bear-hug. I would come across generous reviews he had written of my work, which he never announced or forwarded. But, unlike some, he had obviously read each book from start to finish.

Now he has left us and left me with the sorry feeling that I never told him how valuable his friendship was. If this small tribute has concentrated more upon Ulf's personal qualities than the extent of his contributions to sociology this is because considerable and lasting as the latter were it seems to me a greater achievement to have been universally recognized as the kindest of men. ■

> Challenging Patriarchy in the South Caucasus

by Gohar Shahnazaryan, Yerevan State University, Armenia



Protest in Yerevan on International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. Photo by Gohar Shahnazaryan.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 inaugurated a challenging new stage for the women's movement in Armenia and the whole region of the South Caucasus. With the assistance of international organizations and funds, women's non-governmental organizations were established. In 2003 we formed a group of young women from Armenia and the Diaspora and started to discuss the problems that young women were facing in Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Since we didn't have any office space, we used to gather in a

cafe-bookstore called *Artbridge* located in downtown Yerevan, the capital of Armenia. A year later we decided to create an empowering space for ourselves and other young women who openly resented being marginalized, underestimated and not being heard. That space turned out to be the first resource center created for young women in post-Soviet Armenia. In the beginning we were located inside the Yerevan State University campus and we served as a drop-in center for young female students.

Soon the bureaucratic order of the university posed insuperable obstacles to our activities, requiring us to leave the building at 6pm, forbidding us to discuss certain topics, such as sexuality, sexual health, and problems of sexual harassment in the university. So we were forced to move from the university and register ourselves as an independent non-governmental organization. We called it the Women's Resource Center (www.womenofarmenia.org). Since 2006 we have been located in downtown Yerevan and we are open to

women of all ages, education, sexual orientation and social backgrounds. Many people got to know us through our monthly training on women's rights where we discuss discrimination against women in different parts of the world as well as in Armenia, the history of Armenian women's movement, the connections among patriarchy, power and violence against women, and the social and cultural bases of gender construction. Apart from educational workshops, courses and publications, we also try to shake the apathy and indifference of post-Soviet youth by organizing different advocacy events, marches, collective exhibitions and festivals. We also mobilize people around numerous gender issues in Armenia and in the whole region of the South Caucasus (including Georgia, Azerbaijan and three conflict zones – Nagorno Kharabakh, South Ossetia and Abkhazia). Generally, our events are organized around controversial and taboo issues, such as women's sexuality, virginity, and sexual violence against women. For example, in 2008 we organized an artistic event called "Burying the Red Apple". The ritual of 'red apple' is a patriarchal ritual of controlling women's body and sexuality which is still quite common in the small towns and villages of Armenia as a symbol of virginity of a young bride. According to this ritual the bride's family and in-laws visit the new family on the second day after the wedding to make sure that the bride is a virgin. To symbolize the bride's virginity they bring with them a basket of red apples.

We are also working on women's role in the peace building processes. This is especially important given that there have been three brutal wars in the region since 1990. Indeed, even now we have a situation of 'no war, no peace'. As a result, we are faced with thousands of single women and mothers, as well as thousands of refugees, all suffering from depression, and post-traumatic stress syndrome. So we opened a branch of our center

in Nagorno Kharabakh to give women psychological support as well as medical advice. We have tried to develop business connections so that they can sell their home-made products. In an attempt to build bridges after wartime hostilities we have had joint meetings in such neutral places as Istanbul and Georgia where Armenians and Azerbaijanis could meet.

Together with our colleagues from Georgia and Azerbaijan, this year we organized a public reading of the famous *Vagina Monologues* in Armenian, Azerbaijani and Georgian and even in some dialects of our respective language. The event took place in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, in February 2011. We were very much afraid that this initiative would be condemned, but much to our surprise it was well received, with both men and women coming to hear women's stories about violence and discrimination, about bodies and sexuality. As one of the participants reported: "It was incredible to hear the different sounding languages side by side, and to hear stories about sexuality, body, birth, rape, discovery, and so on from the lips of different women, with connected histories and experiences. It was as if the act of speaking dissolved the borders between the three countries."

One of our most recent achievements, of which we are very proud, was drafting changes and amendments to the law on Sexual Violence in the Armenian criminal code. The draft is now in circulation in Parliament and we are hoping it will be accepted during the Fall hearings. The current law is very weak. According to it sexual assault is not classified and punished in the same way as other serious crimes.

Certainly, we are also experiencing a lot of obstacles, in large part because we are always positioning ourselves as feminists, which automatically makes us 'radical' and 'women

who are challenging the traditional patriarchal family.' Usually, people are very surprised to hear that the women's movement in Armenia is not something 'imported' from the US or Europe but, on the contrary, that it has deep roots in Armenian history going back to the 6th and 7th centuries when the equality of men and women was enshrined in legislation. Apart from the hostility of the public at large, we also face tensions within the women's movement itself. Unfortunately, almost everywhere in the post-Soviet world there is a 'monopoly' of the women's movement by women who used to be activists in the Communist Party and who have now moved over into the non-governmental sector. As a result in the majority of post-Soviet countries, including the countries of the South Caucasus, the contemporary women's movement too often reproduces the elements of the patriarchal Soviet system, and its authoritarian style of leadership. It can be extremely resistant to innovative ideas and concepts. There is also a wide gap in the understanding of such concepts as 'civic organization', 'grassroots organization' and 'social activism' between the older women, former activists in the Communist Party, who are now running women's NGOs, and the younger women who hold more egalitarian, less hierarchical perspectives on democracy, activism and social change. So, our main goal now as an NGO is to continue strengthening the position and self-confidence of young women so that they can participate in awareness raising, lobbying and advocacy campaigns for women's rights and gender equality.

So here are seeds of a new women's movement in the South Caucasus region – a movement based, on the one side, in developing democratic values and principles and, on the other side, in the recognition of ethnic and cultural peculiarities of gender and women's rights. ■

> Charting the Future of the Humanities and Social Sciences: A Bold Vision from South Africa

by Ari Sitas, University of Cape Town, former ISA Vice-President 2002-2006, and Sarah Mosoetsa, University of Witwatersrand, South Africa

South African Minister of Higher Education and Training, Blade Nzimande, commissioned sociologists Ari Sitas and Sarah Mosoetsa to chart the future of and make proposals for the Humanities and the Social Sciences. *Global Dialogue* asked them to summarise their bold vision. The full report and commentary can be found at www.charterforhumanities.co.za.

At a time when the Humanities and Social Sciences are under pressure the world over, South Africa is developing a new Charter for Humanities and Social Sciences (HSS), which promises to invigorate many fields of study in higher education. A task team and reference groups were established by the Department of Higher Education and Training of South Africa. In drafting the Charter we wanted to avoid drowning in the flood of existing problems. We did not want to stop at the redress so necessary to wipe out the legacies of our apartheid past, but to also provide a vision and an architecture that would be adequate for the future.

When the first post-apartheid steps were taken in organizing the pedagogy and research required by the country's tertiary education system, there was an urgent need to respond to what appeared to be a vital demand: as Manuel Castells had written in the opening to Volume III of *The Information Age* (1998), "A dynamic, global economy has been constituted around the planet, linking up valuable people and activities from all over the world, while switching off from the networks of power and wealth, people and territories dubbed as irrelevant from the perspective of dominant interests."

Castells elaborated quite a harrowing narrative of the prospects for those who were condemned to remain in a 'fourth world', of the newly excluded, and of the underside of the digital divide. South African leaders considered sinking into the 'black holes of informational capitalism' as unthinkable – the need to avoid this

fate at all costs was a non-negotiable goal. For many who demanded a move away from Afro-pessimism, the imperative became to save ourselves from ourselves. The consequence was a policy framework that prioritised the sciences and technology, one that attempted to steer the Academy towards powering-up economic growth.

The importance of HSS was downplayed, its scholarship ignored and its contributions marginalised. This is reflected in the government's bias in its existing funding formula, and the tendency towards what John Higgins has termed a STEM model (Science, Technology, Engineering and Management) for rewarding research productivity – a model that is insensitive to HSS scholarship. There is a vibrant critique of the implications of this singular emphasis just as there is a growing critique of the implications of the 'corporatisation' of higher education in the world system as a whole. After our encounters with more than a thousand colleagues in all the institutions of higher learning, and interested parties in government and civil society, we are convinced that Humanities and Social Science scholarship can be a repository of heritage, history, memory and meaning as South Africa strives for peace, prosperity, security and socio-economic well-being.

After careful consideration and analysis we arrived at a series of recommendations based on what we feel are very sound principles. We proposed six key interventions which will occur in two phases – Phase 1: 2012–2015, Phase 2: 2015–2018:

- The formation of an Academy/Institute/entity of Humanities and Social Sciences – a special purpose institution to energize fields of inquiry through five primarily virtual Schools in the first phase and four such Schools in the second phase, each located in a designated province.
- The creation of an African Renaissance Program which will be a continent-wide version of programs like the Socrates and Erasmus Programs in the European Union.
- The formation of a National Centre for Lifelong Education and Educational Opportunities to generate and preserve equity, employability and access.
- The consolidation of six Catalytic Projects during the first phase that will animate the fields of the HSS.
- The creation of the frameworks and new formulae necessary for the integrity of the fields/disciplines of study.
- The implementation of 14 Corrective Interventions during Phase 1 to overcome once and for all the perceived crisis in the current landscape of humanities and social science scholarship.

We argue that if the Task Team's recommendations are implemented, we can envision that by 2030 the Humanities and the Social Sciences will be an epicentre of scholarship, pedagogy, community practice and social responsibility in Africa.

We also envision that our institutions and our academic community will constitute an equal partner in the world's knowledge production and dissemination alongside centres of excellence in the North and the Global South. Recognizing that tertiary education and research are central to the social and economic advance of all societies, we shall be recommending ways through which our system could be a vital co-agent of change.

All the above – being a dynamic epicentre on the continent, being partners in global initiatives and being a key energy centre for ideas of progress and change – are central to our vision. We are heartened that CODESRIA (The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa) would like to see this process evolving into a Pan-African Charter for the Humanities and the Social Sciences. ■

> Early Career Sociologists in the ISA¹

by Emma Porio, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines, Member of ISA Executive Committee 2006-2014

Right after the XVII ISA World Congress of Sociology (2010) in Gothenburg, then newly elected Michael Burawoy constituted a subcommittee to know more about the status of early career sociologists in the ISA. The following is a summary of the results of a survey of ISA's student members as well as of the report of the subcommittee presented at the Executive Committee meeting in Mexico City (March 23-25, 2011).

> Data Sources: The subcommittee's report is based on the following sources: 1) Electronic survey of the student ISA members (about 30 percent response rate conducted by Izbela Barlinska and ISA staff); 2) list of PhD Laboratory winners from 2000-2009 and their subsequent membership status; 3) testimonies of previous PhD Lab members, both members and non-members of the Junior Sociology Network (JSN); 4) JSN e-group; 5) PhD Lab organizers; 6) communication from JSN leaders to ISA Presidents Michel Wieviorka and Michael Burawoy. The electronic survey covered basic socio-demographic variables (age, gender, year finished PhD, email and postal address, country of graduate studies, year of completing undergraduate studies, and employment status).

Who are the early career sociologists in ISA? Of the 5,053 ISA members, 830 or 16% are early career sociologists². They are ISA members who paid student membership fees and are mostly pursuing their MA or PhD degrees or have recently completed their studies. They are classified in the student category for a maximum of 4 years after obtaining their last degree. In terms of the economic classification of their countries of origin, the pat-

tern of distribution follows the pattern of the ISA general membership: 507 come from A countries, 245 from B countries and 78 from C countries.

Of the 253 members who responded to the survey, 138 were females (55%) and 115 males (45%). The majority (80%) were PhD students while the rest had recently completed their PhD (14%) and MA (4%) degrees. Only one respondent was studying for a BA degree in sociology. Most of the postgraduate students were pursuing degrees in their home countries. Most of the PhD students (54%) and those who have completed their PhD (78%) reported holding stable job positions as compared to only half of the holders of MA degrees.

A potential base for recruitment for ISA membership are previous participants in the ISA PhD Laboratory (130) or winners and finalists of the World Competition for Junior Sociologist (about 45). But of the 130 participants in the PhD Laboratories (2000-2009), only one half (64) ever joined ISA and only 34 had retained their membership as of November 2010.

At the XVI World Congress (Durban, 2006), participants of the ISA Junior Sociology Workshop organized themselves into the *Junior Sociology Network* (JSN). Since then, they have been active in promoting activities for their members such as organizing special sessions for junior sociologists in the 2008 Barcelona Forum and the 2010 World Congress of Sociology in Gothenburg. But, like others, they face challenges in organizing sessions and raising resources to participate in these global events. They would, therefore, like their activities

to receive more support and better integration into ISA global events.

Based on the electronic survey and interviews with members of the JSN, the subcommittee recommended the ISA take the following actions:

1. Organize a reception for early career sociologists at ISA global events (e.g., ISA 2012 Buenos Aires Forum and 2014 World Congress of Sociology in Yokohama) where they could meet the ISA officers and other senior, established sociologists.
2. Sessions organized by JSN should be integrated into the conference program of ISA global events.
3. Career advancement seminars and workshops (e.g., how to publish in refereed journals, how to write review articles, etc.) for early career sociologists should always be part of the program in ISA global events.
4. The ISA leadership should strongly encourage Research Committees, Thematic and Working Groups, National Associations and other collective members to actively support early career sociologists, in particular, at all ISA conferences, forums and congresses. (Data from the ISA Finance and Membership Committee show that, in practice, most RCs and TWGs do give preferential treatment to members from B and C countries, especially those in the early stages of their careers through, for example, travel grants to ISA conferences.)
5. Organizers of the ISA PhD Laboratory and the World Competition for Junior Sociologists should actively encourage participants to become members of the ISA.
6. Early career sociologists participating in any ISA event should be tracked by the secretariat so as to maintain their links with ISA.
7. The ISA statutes and by-laws should be revised to recognize the importance of integrating early career sociologists into the ISA.

¹ This piece is partly based on the "Early Career Sociologists Subcommittee Report" presented by the chair of the subcommittee (Emma Porio) on March 24, 2011 to the ISA Executive Committee meeting in Mexico City. Special thanks to the ISA Secretariat, Izbela Barlinska and staff, for conducting the electronic survey; and to the other members of the subcommittee, Michelle Hsieh, Jan Fritz and Yoshimichi Sato for their written inputs.

² We use the name 'early career sociologists' because some sociologists, who are in the early stages of their career and really need support, cannot be considered young or junior. ■

> Women's Worlds

by Ann Denis, University of Ottawa, Canada, President RC05, and former ISA Vice-President for Research 2002-2006

Women's Worlds, an international interdisciplinary conference on women held every three years in different parts of the world, was co-hosted this year by Carleton University and the University of Ottawa/Université d'Ottawa, with the support of Université du Québec en Outaouais and St. Paul University. It took place in Ottawa-Gatineau, July 3-7. The 2000 registrations, some 800 presenters and participation from 92 countries underline the international breadth of the conference, while the daily plenary was complemented by a plethora of concurrent sessions (often up to 30 sessions in each of 3 time slots for the day). Participants were from academe and activist communities, and had diverse understandings about feminism and the inclusion of women (or its absence). This was a rich opportunity to dialogue and learn from each other.

The overall conference theme was 'Connect, converse. Inclusions, exclusions, seclusions: living in a globalized world.' Thus diversity and the international were fore-grounded. There was one theme each day: breaking cycles, breaking ceilings, breaking barriers, and breaking ground – in other words, from challenges to the constraints on women to innovations for a more inclusive and equitable future. Within each of these broad themes, sessions focused on such substantive areas as microcredit, HIV-AIDS, violence against women, women and the arts, and many more. In some sessions traditional conference pa-

pers were presented, in others there were conversations among presenters on a structured series of themes (and this was the format of all the plenaries), in still others the organizer led a focused discussion/reflection with those in attendance, and sometimes there were reports of initiatives aimed at greater autonomy or participation by women.

“...a rich opportunity to dialogue and learn from each other...”

A distinctive feature of Women's Worlds 2011 was that it was trilingual – in English, French and Spanish. There was limited interpretation, concentrated in the plenaries. Some sessions were bilingual (with informal interpretation if needed) and others were exclusively in French or Spanish. This was also a conference which attended thoughtfully to disability/accessibility (for example, by sign language in sessions and wheelchair accessibility), and to the inclusion of young women, and aboriginal women. Each of these concerns was evident in the conference organization and programming. The inclusiveness and richness facilitated by consultation with advisory groups from each of these communities were evident throughout. Finally, this was a conference of participation by and

dialogue between the academy and the community, and was very international in scope.

I have concentrated on conference organization rather than the content of the presentations in the hopes of providing a bit of the flavor of the conference, rather than a necessarily selective account of a few sessions – those I attended.

Members of RC32 of the ISA, Women in Society, were once again active participants at Women's Worlds 2011: in addition to organizing a RC32 brown bag lunch for exchange of news about our recent and upcoming activities, and a RC32 information table at the WW11 Bazaar, RC32 Chair, Evie Tastsoglou, circulated a list (now on the ISA website for RC32) of the extensive and diverse RC32 participation at Women's Worlds, all of which helped us get in contact with each other, and showcased RC32.

For more information about Women's Worlds, including video clips and a discussion forum, along with a full listing of the program – which gives a more comprehensive taste of the range of speakers and topics than I could hope to do – see (<http://www.womensworlds.ca>). The next Women's Worlds conference is in three years (2014): like the four I have attended since 1993 it is sure to be thought-provoking and energizing. ■

> Brazilian Sociology Goes from Strength to Strength

by Elisa P. Reis, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and former member of the ISA Executive Committee 2006-2010



Attentive crowds of sociologists at the Curitiba Meeting of the Brazilian Sociological Society. Photo by Elisa Reis.

The XVth Congress of the Brazilian Sociological Society (SBS) took place in Curitiba from the 26th to the 29th of July. Around two thousand sociologists gathered together in the capital city of the state of Paraná – well known for the successful implementation of innovative urban programs – to discuss “Changes, Continuities and Sociological Challenges”, the general theme of the meeting. As the President of SBS, Celi Scalon, observed in her opening speech, taking into account that ours is a discipline constantly challenged by its historical context, the congress theme invited participants to seize the opportunity and take stock of our theoretical and methodological resources, in order to be better equipped to fulfill our public role.

The program committee assembled an amazing combination of themes and approaches, involving Brazilian sociologists from all over the country as well as engaging several foreign colleagues in fruitful dialogues. The topics addressed by the keynote

speakers covered a vast array of issues. Margaret Archer, Seyla Benhabib, Robert Mare, Tom Dwyer, Werneck Vianna, and Maria Nazareth Wanderley provided inspiration for lively theoretical, methodological and policy debates. Werneck Vianna, one of the two sociologists awarded with the lifetime career prize, in his address “Society, Politics and Law”, discussed the tasks fulfilled by legal institutions and procedures in both the old Brazilian authoritarian path to modernity, and in the country’s democratizing experience of recent decades. Maria Nazareth Wanderley, the other recipient of the prize, addressed theoretical and policy issues in rural sociology.

All together, the program comprised six keynote addresses, seven special sessions, seven forums, three special courses, 31 round tables and multiple sessions organized by 32 research committees, as well as a vast panel of student posters, and several cultural activities. But, more exciting than the sheer number of activities was the presence of so many young

professionals and students that with their enthusiasm and great commitment invigorated the debates.

Established in 1950 by a small group of pioneering sociologists, the Brazilian Sociological Society has come a long way. After a period of great political turmoil, SBS was revitalized with the first signs of democratization of the late 1970s. Since then, it has grown steadily in membership, and in institutional relevance. As former secretary of SBS, I find the advances made by the association since the 1980s really remarkable. Looking through the window provided by the XVth Congress, it is clear that Brazilian sociology is flourishing, supporting an association deeply aware of its national commitments, and proud of its membership in the global community of scholars. ■