

GLOBAL DIALOGUE

4.3

4 issues a year in 13 languages

Sociology as
a Vocation

Zsuzsa Ferge,
Melvin Kohn

XVIII ISA
World Congress

Margaret Abraham,
Vladimir Ilin,
Michael Burawoy

The Outsourced
Self

Arlie Hochschild
interviewed by Madalena
d'Oliveira-Martins,
Amrita Pande and
Ditte Maria Bjerg

French Sociology
Today

Bruno Cousin and
Didier Demazière,
Christine Musselin,
Frédéric Lebaron,
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NEWSLETTER



International
Sociological
Association



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> Editorial

The ISA Goes from Strength to Strength

This summer marked the International Sociological Association's 18th World Congress of Sociology held in Yokohama (July 13-19). Meticulously organized by the Japanese Local Organizing Committee in collaboration with the ISA Secretariat, 6,087 registrants met for the biggest event in the history of the association. The very scale of the Congress, with over 1,100 separate sessions, led some to wonder whether the ISA was perhaps getting too big, an issue highlighted by Russian sociologist, Vladimir Ilin, in his report for *Global Dialogue*. In Yokohama the new Executive Committee was elected with Margaret Abraham at the helm. In this issue of *Global Dialogue*, she unveils her exciting agenda to highlight sociology's contribution to social justice, with a special focus on gender violence.

In this issue we publish five articles on the state of French sociology. They underline its continued strength in both public and policy spheres. At the same time the authors discuss the bureaucratization and specialization of research, professionalization through the expansion of peer-review, the growing pressure to publish in English as well as the shortage of stable employment. France provides an interesting contrast with Czech sociology, the subject of a further two articles, where pressures for internationalization and orientation to Western sociology clash with counter-pressures for accountability to local issues. This tension is acutely felt in semi-peripheral countries that are expected to orient themselves to metropolitan centers of research.

This issue of *Global Dialogue* opens with two giants of sociology, writing about "sociology as a vocation" from the standpoint of their own careers. Zsuzsa Ferge reflects on her own history of contesting first the old Hungarian regime of state socialism and then the new regime that succeeded it, contestation from the standpoint of the poor and the marginalized, while Melvin Kohn describes the history of his pioneering cross-national research into personality and social structure. We also feature an interview with Arlie Hochschild, another pioneer, this time of emotional labor and the commodification of feelings, and, following the same theme, Amrita Pande and Ditte Bjerg describe their theatrical performance of surrogacy, the subject of Pande's research in India. Performed across Europe to much acclaim, theirs is indeed a novel form of public sociology!

I write this editorial from Sweden, where the Nordic Sociological Association is holding its biannual meeting. Throngs of young sociologists have assembled here in Lund to discuss such pressing issues as the decline of the Scandinavian welfare state and the challenges posed by successive waves of immigration. Scandinavia, particularly Sweden, has accepted many, fleeing the war zones of the world but, as investigations show, their assimilation has been thwarted by discrimination in access to welfare, education, and jobs. The humanitarian mission has its underside that sociologists have been quick to reveal.

> **Global Dialogue can be found in 13 languages at the [ISA website](#)**

> **Submissions should be sent to burawoy@berkeley.edu**



Zsuzsa Ferge, renowned Hungarian policy analyst and critic, recounts how she fell into sociology as an émigré from economics that couldn't deal with questions of inequality and poverty.



Melvin Kohn, distinguished US sociologist, describes his exploration of social structure and personality that led him into exciting cross-national collaborations.



Margaret Abraham, newly elected President of the ISA, lays out her plans to invigorate sociology's commitment to social justice, with a special focus on gender violence.



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> Sociologist by Desertion

by **Zsuzsa Ferge**, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary



| *Zsuzsa Ferge.*

I became a social statistician simply to earn a living while studying economics in the early 1950s. I was assigned to work on household budget statistics. The job involved visiting families living all over the country and processing by hand the monthly records of what they earned and how, what they ate, what they bought for their children. This experience was immensely more interesting than economics, Marxist or otherwise. So I deserted economics for something which was closer to people and society.

I started to analyze the household data, and soon found that numbers could help to make public in a non-ideological (apolitical) way the contrast or conflict between official ideology about equality, and the reality of everyday life. The then president of the Hungarian Statistical Office was flexible enough – and, although it is hard to believe now, independent enough – to authorize after 1956 a large survey (20,000 households) on various aspects of “social stratification.” (Words had then a tremendous symbolic importance for politics. “Social stratification” was a legitimate expression, while except in the official inept ideology, “social class” was not. We could study people with low income but could not mention poverty. Social statistics could be legitimately done, whereas sociology was anathema until the 1960s.)

The report on social stratification characterized various “socio-economic” groups and described the situation of “low-income” people. The implicit underlying theory suggested that the interconnections between the unequal distribution of power, knowledge and ownership (in that order) underpinned the formation of the structurally important groups.

Social inequalities have remained central to everything I have done ever since. After having mapped (at least to some extent) the statistical facts many questions arose. From the start my main question was how to reduce the

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For over 50 years **Zsuzsa Ferge** has held a leading position among Hungary’s sociologists and social statisticians. Whether under state socialism or the capitalism that followed, Ferge has always pursued research into patterns of inequality, poverty and marginality, leading to over fifteen books and hundreds of articles. One of Hungary’s most prominent academics, she has also been an inveterate critic and determined advocate of social policies. She founded the first department of social policy in Hungary in 1989 at the Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) in Budapest. Until it was dissolved in 2011, she headed the group doing research for and leading the local implementation of the National Program against Child Poverty, located in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. She has been recognized with numerous medals, awards and honorary degrees in Hungary and beyond.

inequalities that determined children's fate from birth. In the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, founded in 1963, we studied the school as one possible mechanism to equalize children's chances. These studies, while closely related to our former research, were deeply influenced by the "zeitgeist" of the times and particularly by the work of Pierre Bourdieu; all over Europe, social scientists hoped that education might help to reduce inequalities. Thus, starting in the late 1960s, our studies covered primary, secondary and vocational schools, school results and school careers of children, as well as the situation and opinion of teachers. But these hopes proved totally unfounded: our studies showed that while school structure had changed, schools continued to function as the most important agents in legitimating the social transmission of powerlessness and poverty.

Our questions continued in the same vein. Was there any agency that could change societal trends? The obvious next object of research was the state, or more exactly, state activities that could influence structural inequalities, among them social policy and central redistribution. So from the early 1970s, we started to explore Hungarian social policy. In 1966, I was fortunate to attend the World Congress of Sociology, where I met the founders of what later became the ISA Research Committee on Poverty, Social Welfare and Social Policy – Herbert Gans, Peter Townsend, Henning Friis, S.M. Miller and many others. These friendships opened the door to the work of Richard Titmuss, to the world of poverty research and to social policy studies.

We continued to study structural changes and poverty empirically and historically, and began to examine Hungarian social policy. Combining our sociological approach to social structure and (British) social policy in the strict sense of the word, we soon arrived at the concept of societal policy, linking the study of social policy to the larger analysis of structural change. In 1985, supported by the Sociology Department at Eötvös Loránd University, we introduced a degree in social policy – although it was called "historical sociology" because social policy was not yet recognized as a proper object of scholarship.

The Department of Social Policy and Social Work was established in 1989, on the eve of Hungary's systemic change. In the new capitalism the same forces shape social structure, but their order of importance, as I tried to show later, has changed. Ownership and power have become all-important, the role of knowledge has somewhat decreased, and relationship to the labor market (access

to jobs, the stability or precarity of jobs) has become as important as the first three structuring forces. I tried, but only partly succeeded, to incorporate Bourdieu's concepts of "social capital" and habitus as well as the activity of agents into my conceptual framework of structural change. Yet social and personal connections seem to be increasingly important, and perhaps not only in today's Hungary, in shaping and changing the distribution of other capitals. In Hungary, inequality, poverty, particularly child poverty, and especially deep child poverty, have increased since the 2008 global financial crisis.

After my retirement I continued to work on child poverty, and together with a group of colleagues, prepared a National Program to Combat Child Poverty 2007-2032. This plan was adopted by Hungary's Parliament in mid-2008, and was implemented with some success in a poor micro-region before the group was dissolved in 2011. A modest version of the National Program survives, but it is generally overlooked in Hungarian policy debates. Since 2010 government politics have had a deliberate anti-poor and pro-middle class political bias, colored by "anti-child" features. Progressive taxation has been replaced by a flat tax, social assistance reduced and made increasingly conditional, the minimum age of criminal responsibility lowered from 14 to 12 years, age of compulsory school attendance from 18 to 16, and so forth.

Thus, although I was a social critic of inegalitarian state socialism (or anything you choose to call it except "communism," which is a total, though widespread, misnomer), I have continued, with the same values about the trinity of the Enlightenment, as a critic of today's brave new world. It was only after the demise of the former system that I fully realized that, alongside the study of its inequalities, one also has to pay attention to the reduction of vast pre-war inequalities. What were the extent, the price, and the short- and long-term consequences of effectively reducing income, wealth and to some extent knowledge inequalities? Without answering these questions it is hard to explain the happenings since the political and economic system changed. (Let this remain unanswered here.)

In recent decades I have tried to combine research, teaching and fieldwork with more involvement in "civil society," as I am increasingly convinced that without a strong civil society, both state and market will go astray. This conviction is firmly supported by the current reality – but Hungarian civil society is still too weak to matter for those larger forces. ■

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> Life as a Cross-National Collaborator

by **Melvin L. Kohn**, Johns Hopkins University, USA and member of the ISA Executive Committee, 1982-1990



| Melvin Kohn.

Melvin Kohn has been a pioneer in the study of the relation of social structure and personality. He is best known for his classic, *Class and Conformity* (1969 and expanded in 1977), that documents the close relationship between class and personality. Based on painstaking analysis of survey data he discovers a remarkable link between autonomy at work (freedom from supervision, complexity of tasks, and variety of work) and the degree of inner-direction. Conversely, occupations that involve routine, arduous, and monotonous work lead to conformity in people's behavior. In an elaborate cohort analysis he shows how the relationship works both ways, that those with inner-directed personality successfully seek out corresponding types of work as well as being shaped by that work. He shows how personality affects many

arenas of life, not least patterns of parenting and inter-generational transmission of behaviors. To discover how robust these relations are Kohn became an inveterate practitioner of and campaigner for cross-national comparisons, especially between capitalist and socialist countries, and then comparisons with countries undergoing dramatic social change. His many books and articles have followed and expanded this research program. Kohn has been amply decorated for his research, having been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and to President of the American Sociological Association. He became an enthusiastic supporter of the ISA, serving on its Executive Committee (1982-1990), using his influence there to foster international ties and collaborations.

After more than six decades as an empirical sociologist, I think that what principally differentiates me from my colleagues is a deep, even profound, engagement in collaborative research, especially during the four decades that I have been a bona fide cross-nationalist. The explanation is simple. I have a penchant for asking empirical questions about theoretical problems, especially about cross-national generality. Were our fascinating findings about the relationship between social structure and personality for the United States equally true of Western Europe's democracies? If so, how about the communist countries of Eastern Europe? If true for the Soviet Union, how about for China? Another country, another language and culture. But I consider myself literate only in English and a little German. Solution? Bilingual collaborators.

It happened by accident. A post-doctoral study of schizophrenia in Maryland extended to a study of social structure and personality in Washington, D.C. A speculative paper about that study prompted my colleague, Carmi Schooler, to insist we had to test my claims by studying men employed in civilian occupations across the United States. That was my first taste of real collaboration, and it was tremendously exciting; never did two minds so completely complement each other.

But it was not yet cross-national. I got a taste of cross-national collaboration by working with Leonard Pearlman in Torino, Italy, comparing, and extending, my findings from Washington, D.C. Not truly collaborative – except for one crucial part, about the consistent relationship of parental social class (rather crudely measured) to parental valuation of self-direction – but truly cross-national.

Then came the real breakthrough. Włodzimierz Wesolowski, the leading Marxist sociologist of Poland, invited me to give some lectures. I gladly came, enjoyed every moment of a week-long stay, and then Wesolowski (under a picture of Karl Marx) proposed to replicate my US studies. The Polish study was theirs: they would pay for it; they would own the data; they would call the shots. His protégé, Kazimierz (Maciek) Słomczyński would run the study, and I would serve as “technical consultant.”

The proposal was irresistible. Maciek and I worked intensively on developing methods for cross-cultural analysis of meaning and measurement of concepts that heretofore had been studied only intra-nationally, measuring both social class and social stratification for both a capitalist and a socialist country, using rigorously similar methods for both countries – with the marvelous help of Polish colleagues who devoted much time to working out such methods, and who were only too glad to see their efforts acknowledged.

Two books and several articles later, we offered compelling evidence that although social structure and per-

sonality differed significantly between the United States and Poland, they were for the most part similarly related to each other. In both countries, more advantaged social classes and people enjoying higher social status displayed higher levels of intellectual flexibility, more self-directness, and a stronger sense of well-being. More advantaged people enjoyed more complex work, were less closely supervised, and worked at less routinized tasks than did less advantaged people.

Meantime, by good fortune, Ken'ichi Tominaga and Atsushi Naoi brought Japan into the mix, and eventually we had a grand comparison of the United States, Poland, and Japan. Making allowances for cross-national variations in social class and stratification, the cross-national similarities were extraordinary, except for large differences between US and Polish manual workers in their levels of distress, with Japanese workers in between.

But, as Maciek and I watched Polish citizens challenge authoritarian rule, we asked a new question: how would a process of radical social change – as Poland became a democratic and decidedly Catholic country – change our comparative findings? Three sterling Polish collaborators – Krystyna Janicka, Bogdan Mach, and Wojciech Zaborowski – joined our team, and we extended our gaze to explore not only the social-structural situations and personalities of employed men, but also of employed women, and of the many Polish men and women who lost their jobs as capitalism embraced Poland.

But, how about the rest of communist Eastern Europe? It never had been easy (or even possible) to do a serious study of Eastern Europe, and I had never really tried. But now I looked for an opportunity to study Russia, and I asked a leading Soviet sociologist, Vladimir Yadov, to collaborate. He sadly replied that (even under Gorbachev) the subject was too sensitive. But he introduced me to two sociologists in Ukraine who would fit perfectly – a theoretician and social psychologist, Valeriy Khmelko, and a methodologist, Vladimir Paniotto. By the time we had designed our research, the Soviet Union had disintegrated – so Khmelko and Paniotto created in Ukraine the first serious survey research outfit in the history of the Soviet Union. From then on, for months, I shuttled back and forth between Warsaw and Kiev, coordinating the Polish and Ukrainian studies.

From the Polish-Ukrainian comparisons, we learned many things – especially, that both countries were becoming more like the United States and Japan (albeit at very different paces): the workers were distressed, as capitalism meant no change in job conditions, but did alter the relationships between workers and employers. By the end of our study, Polish workers could not be differentiated from US workers, and Ukrainian workers were not far behind. By the time the Poles felt that they had finished their research, the Ukrainians thought that they had just begun:

things were happening more slowly in Ukraine and there was more to study. So the Ukrainians, who paid for their own research from the income of their thriving survey business, did a follow-up study, which I selfishly analyzed.

The Ukrainian follow-up study was a true extension of a cross-sectional analysis to a longitudinal study, made possible by re-interviewing the respondents from the original study. We found extraordinary instability of personality in Ukraine during those three years, unmatched except (by wild coincidence) in Mali (and perhaps in other parts of Africa), where Carmi Schooler was finding the same thing under rather similar circumstances. Still, the relationships between work and personality remained much the same for Ukraine during this period, although the magnitude of relationships diminished. Our causal models showed that under these extreme conditions of social instability, personality had little effect on social-structural position, but social-structural position continued to have just as strong an effect on personality as it had had under conditions of social stability.

But this was not the end. I had long been interested in China, and my wife egged me on. We traveled to China together, though she was afflicted by Alzheimer's disease, so deeply that she had forgotten what I said in each lecture and enjoyed it all over again at the next university and the next lecture. She desperately wanted me to do a study of China, even though she would not live to see it done. There was considerable difficulty in finding just the right collaborators: I was keenly aware of how dependent on them I would be. But I lucked out, finding Lulu Li, and his protégé, Weidong Wang. I also recruited a graduate student, Yin Yue, who quickly took on the role of true collaborator. Weidong was a data-gatherer. He actually did the impossible, running five separate surveys in five selected cities, nearly simultaneously, working with one senior faculty member from each city and relying on local university students as interviewers. Yin, by contrast, was a novice, but he rapidly learned whatever was necessary.

The China research confirmed our findings from other countries, but *not* for the same reasons. For other countries, the linkages of class and stratification with such job conditions as complexity of work, closeness of supervision, and routinization, were key; but in China these job conditions explained very little of these relationships. In China, the explanation was that one social class, the self-employed, was aberrant: for them, *and only for them*, job conditions were irrelevant to personality. But why? I speculated, based on my wanderings around Beijing's back alleys, that these guys were scrounging a living on the fringes of the economy, and what really mattered was the poverty of their conditions of life. Nice speculations, but who would believe me, when I couldn't even speak Chinese? Fortunately, my two main collaborators provided data to support the answer. Long before, Weidong had included a question about respondents' household registration, or *hukou* status, indicating whether respondents were officially registered as rural or urban. Then, one day, Yin came breathlessly into my office, bringing a pair of articles authored jointly by a noted Chinese scholar, Xiaogang Wu, and the preeminent American student of social stratification, Donald Treiman; Wu and Treiman had surveyed the very people who were at issue: migrants from rural areas who had been unable to escape their rural *hukou* when they came into the city. These poor guys could not get jobs in the regular economy, nor decent housing, nor schooling for their kids.

Here was the answer to our anomaly, provided for me by my two collaborators, one of whom had asked a survey question about household registration, the other of whom had found two splendid papers in journals not likely to be read by Chinese scholars. And my two Chinese collaborators were no different from my collaborators from all the other countries with whom I had worked: conscientious, thoughtful, serious, and helpful, a pleasure to work with. ■

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> Strengthening Sociology's Commitment to Social Justice

by **Margaret Abraham**, Hofstra University, USA and ISA President, 2014-2018



Margaret Abraham, the new ISA President, making her acceptance speech in Yokohama. Photo by Kayo Sawaguchi.

This July, 6,087 sociologists and social scientists from 95 countries met in Yokohama, Japan, for the ISA's XVIII World Congress of Sociology. For a hugely successful event, our heartiest congratulations and thanks to the Japanese Local Organizing Committee, superbly chaired by Koichi Hasegawa; to the ISA Program Committee, chaired by Raquel Sosa

and our ISA Vice-Presidents, Tina Uys, Robert van Krieken, Jennifer Platt; and to Program Coordinators of the Research Committees, Working Groups and Thematic Groups. Very special thanks, also, to ISA Executive Secretary, Izabela Barlinska, whose consummate professional skills underlie the congress' organization, and to Confex, our professional conference management team.

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Symbolizing the succession of power, Margaret Abraham grasps the two Samurai swords from Michael Burawoy, but refuses to kill the outgoing President. Photo by Vladimir Ilin.

Most importantly, the Congress' unqualified success owes much to the leadership and dynamism of ISA President Michael Burawoy, who conceived the Congress theme of "Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Global Sociology," and who has unfailingly drawn attention to the inequalities confronted by civil society and to the threat to our discipline posed by increased privatization and commodification. We are deeply indebted to Michael for his remarkable vision in creating an active sociological community through *Global Dialogue* and his efforts to use electronic media to reach beyond the discipline's academic borders, contributing to sociology and to social change by building a global sociological constituency.

We now have the opportunity to further strengthen our discipline and the organization, with the support of our newly elected Executive Committee and a great team of Vice-Presidents: Markus Schulz (Research Council), Sari Hanafi (National Associations), Vineeta Sinha (Publications) and Benjamin Tejerina (Finance and Membership).

Our association needs to continuously respond to the challenges of our changing, often tumultuous world. More than ever before, we confront complex global concerns, compelling us to draw upon sociology as a dis-

cipline to dialogue within and across societies, however disparate; and to address the social, economic, and political challenges, to collaboratively shape a more just world in the 21st century. As I see it, the ISA's core mission is not only to analyze and explain the social human world, but also to imagine solutions and directions that will help to create a more humane future for us all.

As the new President of the ISA, I have identified some key priorities. Despite considerable progress, we must continue to develop the ISA's global character. The ISA's first organizational goal is to represent sociologists everywhere "regardless of their school of thought or ideological opinion," yet more than half the world's countries are not represented in the organization. A North and West-centric slant still dominates our membership and research agendas, restricting the intellectual engagement and cross-pollination of ideas so central to our mission. I hope to considerably increase the ISA membership to make our organization truly global, representing all peoples and shades of sociological thought. With the support of the Research Committees and National Associations, we will consider realistic avenues to building institutional capacity to support sociologists who encounter multiple barriers – economic and political – impeding participation in

global exchanges. Increasing opportunities for emerging and early career sociologists is critical to ensuring the association's vitality. This must entail strengthening our financial base, so that we can ensure more inclusive participation without jeopardizing the ISA's fiscal viability – which will be possible only with the support and cooperation of our members.

Significantly, the ISA's manifesto stresses "institutional and personal contacts between sociological and other social scientists throughout the world." Sustained dialogue across disciplines is critical for a fuller appreciation of humanity, its nuances and differences. I hope we can embrace, extend and re-define the interdisciplinarity at the historical roots of Sociology. Just as the world needs constant inquiry by sociologists, so also do we need active interaction with other social scientists to remain relevant. The ISA's conferences and workshops could benefit from including leading opinion makers from other fields. I hope to work towards facilitating collaborative inquiry, enhancing productive exchanges in our global interactions.

Of course, the ISA's ultimate goal is "to advance sociological knowledge throughout the world." This means engaging in a systematic, skeptical



and critical analysis of our human social world and thereby contributing to making it a better place. Restricting this grand vision to a narrow focus on the purely academic interests of an elite community of sociologists would entail a highly constricted reading of the ISA's mission. We need critical analysis but also action and intervention, including working with non-governmental agencies for progressive social justice and social change. The ISA should certainly devote resources and time to research and training, develop strong theoretical frameworks and rigorous methodology, but it should also embrace a sociology that grapples with the problems of the real world – a world brutalized by genocide, tyranny, terrorism, xenophobia, racial discrimination, fundamentalism, gender injustice, corruption and environmental degradation, problems which have engendered poverty, lack of freedom, vast inequalities in wealth, and social exclusion. As ISA President I shall work for a sociology that not only analyzes the major problems of our social worlds, but is proactive in pointing toward new directions for progressive social change. I shall endeavor to further enhance

the role of the ISA as an international body pro-actively engaged with the contemporary world.

As a feminist sociologist, who has learned much from the global community of feminist scholars and community activists, I am especially concerned about the gendered violence and discrimination, which pervade societies worldwide. While it is particularly severe on women and girls, gendered violence has deleterious implications for families, communities and society at large; systematic targeting of women is characteristic of modern conflicts. The problem of violence against women must be an important part of the ISA's broader agenda on social justice. I plan to initiate an ISA presidential global project to explore and coordinate a global network of sociologists and stakeholders, who will draw upon local, national, regional and global experiences to provide solutions for mitigating gendered and intersectional violence.

What we learn of our complex, conflict-ridden world cannot be confined solely to journals and conference room spaces. With your help, I intend

to disseminate ISA's work on contemporary social issues to the wider world, to translate specialized sociological knowledge into popular concepts that the average citizen can understand, relate to and be inspired by.

Our electronic media will be used to disseminate our research, promote exchanges and dialogue, and share sociological analyses. My presidential plan includes an ISA initiative to electronically map sociologists across the world as a resource for the global community, and strengthen sociologists' use of social media to draw attention to complex contexts and concerns.

The ISA is an organization that wants to make a difference, and our membership brings together a rich and diverse range of sociological perspectives and methodological skills. Having outlined my priorities for the ISA, my remit is now to translate intent into meaningful action –with your constructive critique, cooperation and collaboration. ■

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> Reflections on Yokohama

by **Vladimir Ilin**, State University of St. Petersburg, Russia



*Front Stage. Architect of success, Koichi Hasegawa, Chair of the Japanese Local Organizing Committee, receives an award for JLOC's dedication to the XVIII World Congress of Sociology.
Photo by Kayo Sawaguchi.*

The Eighteenth Congress of the International Sociological Association took place in Yokohama, July 13-19.

Writing about the Congress is an unrewarding task: whatever one says, there will always be someone who will argue the opposite. With over 6,000 participants, it was such a large-scale event that I feel like the blind man trying to capture the entire elephant by touching its different parts. So I will limit my comments to a few events and some personal reflections.

> Focus on Inequality

The theme of the Congress was social inequality and the challenges it posed for global sociology – a particularly pertinent theme, both because the world is not getting more just, despite optimistic projections of greater equality, and because sociology has become more sensitive to deep and often tragic disruptions of social orders, a pattern reflected in the leftward shift of global sociology. That Michael Burawoy, an eminent



Back Stage. Architects of success – representatives of the Japanese PCO (Professional Conference Organizer) and their volunteers, the ISA Secretariat, and Confex.

Marxist, was elected President of the International Sociological Association for the period 2010-2014, and Erik Wright, Marxist analyst of class, also present in Yokohama, was elected President of the American Sociological Association are facts that speak for themselves. The left trend in world sociology is reinforced by the growing number of sociologists from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, where social contradictions of capitalism are revealed in dramatic forms, stimulating novel forms of critical theory. In his Presidential address, Michael Burawoy called attention to the election of Pope Francis in 2013 – the first Pope from the Global South, and one uniquely concerned with questions of inequality. It was quite unexpected to hear a left sociologist citing the Pope's Apostolic Exhortation (not just phrases

but six concise theses!) about social inequality, an anti-capitalist Catholic Manifesto organized around the idea that money should serve, not govern! Burawoy also noted that economists – who traditionally overlooked social inequality – have begun to turn their attention to social inequality.

Burawoy began by noting that participation in the Congress reflected global inequalities in material resources and the development of sociology: although increasing numbers of ISA members live outside the Global North, 71% of Yokohama participants came from the world's richest countries and only 10% came from its poorest countries. When the ISA was established in 1949 it only represented sociologists from the US and Western Europe. Today the picture is far more diverse.

Yet many believe that democratization of the sociological community has a downside: more participants lack systematic professional education, and do not have opportunities to improve their qualification, to participate in research, or to access current sociological literature. Immanuel Wallerstein, veteran and former President of ISA, told us that the first Congress he attended in 1959 included only 300 participants. Almost all came from Western countries, and the meeting attracted many "stars" of the professional community. While over 6,000 attended the Yokohama congress, by no means all "celebrity" names were represented in its program. Many sociologists consider smaller seminars and conferences more efficient investments of time and money; most sociologists are known only to their own colleagues.



Yet how are we to enhance the overall level of sociology, unless all sociologists are able to participate in a global dialogue? This contradiction between democratization, on the one hand, and nostalgia for a former elite status, on the other, signifies an emerging tension in world sociology.

> The Public Sociology Agenda

At this congress Michael Burawoy stepped down from being President. He made his mark by building a global sociological community through the expanded use of social media – what he called digital worlds – and also by constantly traveling to meet with sociologists across the globe. Formulating a very clear and comprehensible – though by no means universally shared – concept of public sociology, Burawoy argued that sociologists could do more than conduct research and speak to a narrow circle of colleagues; their goal should be to hold up a mirror in which society can see itself in a transparent and systemic form. This vision of public sociology was organically complemented by an attempt to shift the balance of power in the sociological community, advancing a sociology sensitive to problems of countries outside the West. Gradually, this idea has radicalized sociology, making it an intellectual tool for forces struggling to create a more just world.

By focusing our attention on the subject of social inequality, the Yokohama Congress actualized this project. The idea that sociologists could actively participate in changing the world is not new. After all, classical Marxist sociology was designed as much to change the world as to offer scientific analysis. The beginning of American sociology was closely tied to movements for social reform. Pitirim Sorokin was actively engaged in the 1917 Russian Revolution, almost losing his life in the process. Several ISA presidents have been active in the political arena: Jan Szczepański and Alberto Martinelli were elected to their countries' legislative bodies; Fernando Henrique Cardoso was elected a senator and later a President of Brazil.

Differing views were expressed during the Yokohama session with former presidents. Piotr Sztompka, a former ISA President (2002-6) and professor at Krakow University, one of the most articulate opponents of public sociology and its revolutionary connotations formulated an alternative approach, describing sociology as an academic discipline involving careful, objective research, which, he argued, should not be involved in changing the world. Sociologists' place is in the library, not on barricades. According to Sztompka, the primary duty of sociologists who genuinely want to

address inequality is to understand the phenomenon. Most sociologists, he claimed, support reform, but sociologists cannot produce change by moralizing, preaching, or through ideological manifestos. Sociologists' responsibility is to reveal mechanisms and patterns of social life – including those which generate and reproduce inequality or injustice. Karl Marx spent most of his life in the library, not on barricades; he became a giant of social thought due to *Capital*, not *The Communist Manifesto*.

In his presentation at the Congress and in earlier publications Sztompka has promoted the idea of a singular sociology, equally applicable to wealthy and poor countries. One cannot have separate sociologies for different worlds. Social mechanisms and cycles of social change are the same for all corners of the globe, although their phenomenal forms will vary; standards for sociological research and criteria for the evaluation of theories are also universal. Apparently, neither side is right or wrong. Sociology can take different forms and sociologists choose the path that best fits their character, skills, and beliefs. ■

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> Immanuel Wallerstein receives ISA's Excellence Award

by **Michael Burawoy**, former President of the ISA, 2010-2014, and Chair of the Award Committee



*Immanuel Wallerstein, distinguished recipient of the ISA Award for Excellence in Research and Practice.
Photo by Kayo Sawaguchi.*

The Opening Ceremony of the Yokohama World Congress of Sociology featured the ISA's new and only association-wide award, the Award for Excellence in Sociological Research and Practice. The award was widely advertised to encourage the broadest possible nominations from ISA members. From among a number of impressive candidates, the seven-person committee drawn from the ISA Executive Committee chose Immanuel Wallerstein as the first recipient.

The award committee received a remarkable set of supporting documents testifying that among living sociologists no one has exercised more influence on the social sciences than Immanuel Wallerstein. His contributions to social science go well beyond producing a 50-year series of exceptional award-winning books and articles too numerous to count. Indeed, he is one of those very rare scholars whose work has been paradigm shifting.

Having started out in the 1960s analyzing colonialism and national liberation struggles in Africa, he turned to the broadest possible intellectual project, the analysis of the emergence and subsequent dynamics of the "modern world-system," carefully grounding his theoretical enterprise in deep and detailed historical scholarship. Beginning in 1974 with the first volume of his *Modern World-System* (of which three further volumes appeared in 1980, 1989 and 2011) his approach revitalized sociology as a com-

parative historical enterprise, bringing it back to classic concerns with long-term social change. His world-systems framework continues to be a thriving area of social science, attracting some of its best minds.

As he rewrote the history of the world he came to reflect and analyze the peculiar provincialism of Western Social Science, not least its segmentation into artificial disciplines. His view on the reconstruction of the social sciences came to be widely known with the acclaimed publication of *Open the Social Sciences*, the 1995 report of the Gulbenkian Commission that he chaired. Since then he has been the author of many volumes on the history and future of the social sciences.

Wallerstein is not just an intellectual giant. He has also been a genuine servant of sociology as a global discipline, traveling tirelessly around the world and serving in a multitude of organizational roles. As President of the International Sociological Association (1994-98), he created a receptive space in the global arena for scholars from all over the world but particularly from the Global South, from Latin America, from Africa, from Asia and from the Middle East. He cultivated and inspired a new generation of leaders of the ISA and of world sociology. The committee considered there to be no more worthy first recipient of the Award for Excellence in Research and Practice of Sociology than Professor Immanuel Wallerstein. ■

> Emotional Labor around the World

An Interview with Arlie Hochschild



Arlie Hochschild.

Arlie Russell Hochschild is one of the most renowned sociologists of our time. Her work is proof that theoretical depth combined with accessible discourse is an effective strategy for accomplishing fruitful sociological inquiry. In her eight academic books – including *The Managed Heart* (1983), *The Commercialization of Intimate Life: Notes from Home and Work* (2003), *The Outsourced Self* (2012), and the most recent *So How's the Family? And Other Essays* (2013) – Hochschild examines how emotions can help us understand the relationship between the micro and macro spheres of social life. Original concepts such as “emotional management,” “emotional labor,” and “feeling rules,” are key to grasping the depth of analysis achieved in her work. In this interview, Hochschild reveals herself to be at once charismatic and down-to-earth. Talking to the American sociologist one can easily recognize that she is a free spirit with an eye – and heart – on the main social issues of our time. Madalena d’Oliveira-Martins, a Portuguese researcher at the Institute for Culture and Society, University

of Navarre, Spain, conducted the interview in Berkeley, California, on February 27, 2014.

MO: You were a graduate student at Berkeley during the 1960s. What was your perception of what was going on and how did that affect your sociological perspective?

AH: In October of 1962, I’d recently arrived in Berkeley. The Cuban Missile Crisis was looming and the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the US had suddenly grown hot; President Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev were threatening a nuclear showdown. One day I bicycled to the central plaza of the campus and discovered that it was filled with throngs of students, teaching assistants, professors huddled in small groups – ten people here, twenty there, engaged in intense conversation. Are we facing the possibility of a nuclear holocaust? What can a peace movement do? Everyone was publicly engaged. I felt, “This is where I want to be.” Later it occurred to me this might be what Habermas had in mind: reasonable discourse in the public square.

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Not long ago I was walking in the same plaza and saw students passing each other, cell phones to their ears. They were talking, but not to each other. I felt the absence of that public square. Some face-to-face group conversation has moved on-line, of course, but in the process, it may have thinned out that immediate sense of common purpose. In whatever form, I think we need more of that magical, shared '60s optimism about changing things for the better.

MO: One of your central concepts is emotional labor – the work of evoking or suppressing feeling so as to feel “the right feeling for the job.” Can you tell us what that concept illuminates?

AH: In societies with a growing service sector, that concept illuminates the daily reality of many jobs – nannies, daycare workers, eldercare workers, nurses, teachers, therapists, bill collectors, policemen, workers in call centers. Less and less are modern economies based on felling trees, drilling wells, manufacturing stuff; more and more, they are based on face-to-face, voice-to-voice, interaction needed to provide services. Those interactions call for emotional skill.

MO: Looking at your essay “Love and Gold” in *Global Woman*, and your essay “The Surrogates Womb” in *So How’s the Family?* it seems to me you’ve taken “emotional labor” around the world. Is that right?

AH: I've been tracking nannies and eldercare workers in the Global South who leave their children and elderly in order to care for children and old people of the Global North, forming “nanny chains.” Inspired by the work of Rhacel Parrenas, I've interviewed Filipina nannies in Redwood City, California, who've hired their own nannies to care for their children back in Manila, creating a “chain” of nannies – at the end of which is a child of the Global South on whom the brunt of the global system rests.

MO: You call the result of all this a “global heart transplant,” right?

AH: Yes, the expression of a woman's heart in one context is diverted to another. This diversion calls for intense emotional labor. The transplanted nanny manages her sense of loneliness, isolation, and even confusion about feeling more emotionally attached to the baby she cares for during long hours in a Silicon Valley employer's home than she does to her own child – whom she hasn't seen for five, six, seven years – left with a sister back in Manila – or San Pedro Sula, Michoacan or elsewhere in the South. The nanny's wages pay her child's school fees, but the child him or herself may feel hurt, depressed, angry, or even somewhat detached.

MO: And you've written about Indian commercial surrogates who are trained to think of their wombs as carrying cases.

AH: Yes, some of the most moving interviews I've done have been with commercial surrogates in Anand, India – poor women in whom a couple's embryo is implanted and who carry that baby to term for \$3 to 5,000 for domestic or foreign clients. Drawing on those interviews as well as work by sociologist Amrita Pande¹, I describe the world's largest womb rental service. Out of financial need, the surrogate manages her emotional ties to her own body – whose womb is it if it is the doctor and client who authorize eliminating extra fetuses? – and with the baby she carries, gives away but long remembers.

Nannies and surrogates face the challenges of emotional estrangement. In the 19th century, Marx gave us the powerful image of the alienated male, European factory worker. I offer an update to that model: the 21st century, female service worker from the Global South.

MO: You've written about “empathy maps” and the German sociologist Gertrud Koch dedicated her book, *Pathways to Empathy*, to you. What's an empathy map?

AH: It's a social space we envision enclosed by boundaries separating it from other social spaces. We empathize with those inside that space, and not with people outside it. Two groups of people can be equally *capable* of empathy and equally *active* at the hidden *practices* which enhance empathy but, given their different maps, refuse empathy to one another. To expand our maps, we need to feel our way across the boundaries we set between them. I'm keenly interested in just how we do that.

MO: In your article “The Sociology of Feelings and Emotions” (1975) you named a new subfield of sociology, the “sociology of emotions.” Was this an important step for recognizing a habitus that needed attention?

AH: Yes. Emotion is the heart of what sociology is. If we are political sociologists, we need to ask about the feelings behind a political belief and where they came from. If we are economic sociologists, we need to ask what feelings animate our beliefs about the economy, our consumer preferences, the cheers and tears on the stock market floor. Every subfield of sociology has emotion at its core. I'm proposing that we focus on that core in highly nuanced ways.

A number of trends were in the air in the 1970s when this idea occurred to me. A massive shift of women into the workforce called for a changing notion of womanhood, feeling rules and emotion management. Sometimes women had to change – it didn't do to be a shy and deferential trial lawyer – and sometimes women changed the office atmosphere by legitimizing care. The service sector was on the rise. Corporations were getting bigger, and calling for new forms of emotion management to deal with rela-

tions in and outside the company. With the rising cult of private life, an increased fragility in family life, and removal of former buttresses to it, they were more hinged on getting good at figuring out emotional relationships. All these trends made me realize we need to develop the concepts that permit us to explore this emotional core of social life.

MO: Did you worry about the treatment that emotions were given in psychology and other sciences?

AH: Oh yes. Even one of my mentors, Erving Goffman. He, other colleagues and I were riding in a car and laughing at a joke – he was teaching at the University of Pennsylvania and had come back to California for one of his periodic ski trips – and Erving turned to me and said, “Arlie, *all of these emotions in the car.*” As if to say, “How can you study emotions scientifically? It’s not possible.” He was a Mr. Science guy, with a black box – you can’t talk about a person’s interior – approach to psychology. And yet, he talked brilliantly about that interior all the time and gave us highly important tools to build on.

MO: In the same article you proposed a concept that was missing from classical formulations in sociology, “the sentient self,” an image suggesting that for the study of emotions it is necessary to take into account the active role of the individual. Is the meaning that emotions carry the result of evaluative thoughts? Do they derive from evaluative thoughts or from drives and instincts?

AH: The answer is “both.” On one hand, I see emotions as a sense, like eyesight, like hearing, like touch. It’s there in babies. But biological determinists end the story there. The sociological task is to take it from there, to name and study the different ways we pay attention to feelings, label feelings, assign meanings to those labels, hear and respond to those meanings. Psychologists of perception don’t say, “We have eyes, end of story.” They study how we learn to see.

I had the chance to talk to a man from Lapland who described his experience of walking along a path in the dead of winter above the Arctic Circle. “Sometimes you’re surrounded by white snow,” he said, “and suddenly you’re startled by two black eyes. It’s a snow bird! And then you look for those two black eyes. You prepare to see it again. You see snow differently.” We do the same thing with our feelings. We prepare for joy (“you’re going to love this”) or resentment (“he has it coming”). We develop “expectational states” toward our own feelings.

And quite apart from what we expect to feel, or attune ourselves to feel, there’s what we think we *should* feel: “I should be happy at winning the prize or horror at a crime.” Such affirmations are the micro-moments through which we build moral maps that govern feeling. We imagine our-

selves as freely inquiring social scientists but how free are we if we are not looking very carefully at feeling rules?

MO: At the same time that we navigate in a market culture that creates anxiety in our lives – and offers solutions to that anxiety, this resulting in the growth of the services industry – we continuously search for “family values” and “community values.” Are emotions – and the ways in which we manage them – greater indicators of the boundaries that are being crossed? Do you think that “psychological strengths” are opposing the “economical strengths” of our times?

AH: We often use market lingo to describe our personal lives. “I buy that idea.” “I like her brand.” “He’s invested in you.” Metaphors imply feeling rules. I give an example in *So How’s the Family* of a new service that helps you find a (same sex, non-romantic) friend in your geographic area. It’s a for-pay service and it tells you, in effect, “If you pay for our service, we’ll get you a friend in an efficient manner. You’ll get ‘good R.O.I.’ (return on investment.) And if you sign up, you’ll know other candidates we’ve recruited for friendship seriously want to find a friend because they *paid* for the service.” If we treat *finding* a friend in an R.O.I way, I’m wondered, does that alter the feeling rules for *being* a friend? In *The Outsourced Self*, I’m trying to explore just how we “do” the boundary between market and personal life, especially as personal services specialize, expand, and extend from the upper to the middle class. When do we “go on attachment alert” – either as worker or client – because we feel “too detached” from what we’ve defined as personal life?

MO: Can you tell me about your next project?

AH: In *The Outsourced Self* I looked at how we set – or don’t set – boundaries between market ways of imagining life, and personal (family/community) ways of imagining it. Now I’m turning to a different kind of boundary – between government and personal life. Over the last quarter century, America has experienced an increasing split between conservatives and liberals over the proper place and function of government. Each side holds a different moral map, and follows a different regime for regulating feeling. Typically liberals fear drone strikes and NSA surveillance; conservatives fear government over-regulation and taxation. So I’m trying to climb out of my own liberal bubble, and to empathically understand people who live inside the other bubble, to discover more about the emotional logics that drive their beliefs and ours. I also want to locate bridges across the widening divide, so we can get back to that public square and agree on some ways to change the world for the better. So stay tuned. ■

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¹ Amrita Pande’s research is also featured in this issue of *Global Dialogue*.

> *Made in India* Sketches from a Baby Farm

by **Amrita Pande**, University of Cape Town, South Africa and **Ditte Maria Bjerg**, Global Stories Productions, Denmark



Amrita Pande celebrates surrogate mothers as creative laborers with workers' rights, producers of embroidery as well as of babies. Photo by Morten Kjærgaard.

"It was excellent. I've never seen documentary theater like this, where a PhD sociologist and actress performs the research of a subject as urgent as this."

Simon Andersen, "Smagsdommerne," Danish National Television.

For our colleagues in theater and performance studies, using creative performance for social inquiry may be a mundane occurrence, but not so for us sociologists. Most of us are either closet or classroom performers who bring creativity rather sneakily into our otherwise textbook sociological imaginations.

So when Ditte Maria Bjerg, artistic

director of Copenhagen-based Global Stories Productions labeled me an "expert" on commercial surrogacy in India and asked if I would collaborate with her on an interactive theatre performance on the same topic, I did a little jig. Ditte's previous artistic production includes performances based on American sociologist Arlie Hochschild's works on emotional labor, and it was Arlie who put the two of us in touch. Ditte's plan was simple: to

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On returning to the field surrogate mothers organize a Godh Bharai (baby shower) for Amrita Pande. Photo by Miriam Nielsen.

“prepare an artistic work on commercial surrogacy” for which she needed to mine my PhD fieldwork. My previous life as a performer in India turned out to be quite convenient and I was promoted from a field notes provider to an educator-performer.

So started our interdisciplinary journey – two artist-researchers exploring interactive community theater as a way to extend our understanding of surrogacy.

We develop the following narrative as a series of field notes by a sociologist (Amrita) learning how to use creative means to re-study her work, and a creative artist (Ditte) using the dual lens of an artist and a researcher. We focus on two moments in the making of our performance *Made in India*: Godh Bharai (ritual Hindu baby shower) organized by the surrogates for Amrita, and an embroidery project with the surrogates. On the one hand, both moments allowed us to interact

with the surrogate mothers outside of their role as “disciplined mother-workers,” living under strict medical surveillance in surrogacy hostels (Pande, 2010). On the other, these experiences could be shared with audiences around the world – people who would otherwise never get to “interact” with the mother-workers in India. We explore both moments as community theatre, albeit involving two distinct communities – that of the surrogates and that of audiences. The ultimate ambition of the interactive performance *Made in India: Notes from a Baby Farm* is to bridge the two communities so that they can interrogate how they see themselves, how they see others, and how they see themselves in relation to others.

> Enacting a Godh Bharai (baby shower)

Ditte: Reading Amrita’s field notes, I quickly realized that to turn these stories into a sensory stage performance,

I needed to go to India together with Amrita and my artistic team, a stage designer and a video-photographer, to create visual material, which would interact playfully with the stage and the audience – and to somehow investigate the relationship between the expert-interviewer-sociologist Amrita and the interviewed women. Exactly how to do this, I didn’t know, until the day Amrita called me and said: “Ditte... I will be pregnant during our journey.”

Amrita: Ditte’s introduction to my field was through the fertility clinic and surrogacy hostels in India where I had done much of the ethnographic work for my book *Wombs in Labor*. The decision to revisit the ethnographic field is a nerve-wracking one; you are never sure whether the respondents will welcome you back with open arms or lambast you for misinterpreting their lives. My return was trickier because I was, at that time, in my sixth month of pregnancy. I was unsure how my



pregnancy would be perceived by the surrogates themselves. My concerns about potentially being a disrespectful researcher were dismissed in no uncertain terms by the former surrogates and friends who I contacted via email and telephone. The women were eager to celebrate the “naive” (read unmarried) researcher in her new avatar and Ditte was eager to make my return an entry point to the interactive theater project.

When we arrived at the surrogacy hostel, I found some old friends – women who were pregnant as surrogates for the second or third time. They enthusiastically took it upon themselves to organize a Godh Bharai (Hindu baby shower) for me. The hostel matron often organizes such a ritual for the surrogates in their seventh month of pregnancy. The surrogate mothers were, for once, allowed to break all hostel rules, miss their afternoon naps and dress me up instead. Jigna, the only upper-caste surrogate, volunteered to serve as the “priest” for the ritual, and Puja became the make-up artist. In my six years of research in this field, this was the first time I was seeing the surrogates away from their dormitory beds, physically active, singing, dancing and laughing in such an unrestrained manner. The women were in charge, whether the artistic team liked it or not. If this was what an artistic intervention could achieve, I was all for it! As the singing continued into the afternoon, a surrogate mother Vaishali quietly remarked, “The only difference is that at the end of it all you get to keep the baby.”

> Embroidery Project

Amrita: Given the anxieties surrounding surrogacy, it is hardly surprising

that debates around surrogacy find it hard to steer away from morality. Surrogacy hostels add to the dystopic vision of baby farms. “But is there any point just constantly talking about how immoral it is that these poor brown women are being forced to sell their wombs? Don’t we need to move on and realize that these women are workers, workers with workers rights? What do you think?” I script these lines for European theatre-going audiences and wonder how they would react. How does one shift the lens away from morality towards labor rights?

Ditte: One of the “training” activities for the women residing at the surrogacy hostel is embroidery. Twice a week a teacher turns up and the women are taught how to embroider mundane motifs like flowers and leaves. This gendered work seems “fitting” for pregnant women, it does not hurt the baby, and does not challenge the disciplining tactics, the medical staff or the clients visiting the hostel. But we came up with a devious plan: Could we not collaborate with the women and produce some embroideries for the performance and create motifs about their “work” as surrogates? The women would get paid for their work and our audiences would get a concrete representation of the women, and understand that these women are workers, able to produce something else than babies. The project is formed together with a famous artist/activist Mallika Sarabhai and SEWA (an NGO for informal women workers). We arrive at the surrogacy hostel where 50 pregnant women are gathered in the TV room to hear our ideas and see drafts of the motifs. As they start realizing that the motifs are all of “products” and their work as surrogates they start giggling, laughing and

collaborating. Our ideas about motifs like injections, embryo transfers and egg removal are supplemented with their own more pressing images of surrogacy – airplanes, cellphones and hot chili peppers.

In the final performance of *Made in India* these embroideries are attached on a string and presented to the audience, right after Amrita has floated the notion of surrogacy as labor, and the surrogates as workers with workers’ rights. The audience is given the opportunity to touch these embroideries during the break and to reflect on the fact that each of the pieces of embroidery represents a woman working as a surrogate mother in India. In the last part of the performance the audience can make up their minds about this work and ask questions to the many characters in this process.

> Made in India – On Tour 2013-2014

Made in India has been a great success in Scandinavia. The performance opened in Stockholm Fall 2012. After touring all over Sweden, in 2013 the show was presented at several venues in Denmark. *Made in India* now exists in a touring version. Amrita Pande and Ditte Maria Bjerg want to present the performance at conferences and festivals, as an example of how art and academics can stimulate each other. The performance is two hours long, including a staged question and answer with Amrita Pande who plays many different characters involved in the surrogacy process. ■

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> French Sociology at the Turn of the 21st Century

by **Bruno Cousin**, University of Lille 1, France, Member of ISA Research Committee on Regional and Urban Development (RC21) and **Didier Demazière**, CNRS and Sciences Po, Paris, France

Neither French sociology as a field, nor the sociological profession as it is practiced in France, have been systematically studied as sociological objects. Although other disciplines such as philosophy and economics have been the focus of numerous analyses (for instance those developed on economists by Frédéric Lebaron and Marion Fourcade), there is no overall examination of our own discipline as a national field.

However, we have several monographs or biographies on sociologists considered among the most creative, intellectually speaking, and/or important organizational figures: for example, Georges Friedmann and Georges Gurvitch who, although largely unknown by non-francophone readers today, played key roles in establishing sociology within French academia in the post-war era, drawing links between the students of Émile Durkheim (Marcel Mauss, Maurice Halbwachs) and the cohorts that followed. Moreover, there are also many autobiographical pieces, ego-histories or auto-analyses by some of the most influential French sociologists of the last half-century: Raymond Aron, Georges Balandier, Luc Boltanski, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Cro-

zier, François Dubet, Henri Lefebvre, Henri Mendras, Edgar Morin, Pierre Naville, Gérard Noiriel and Dominique Schnapper, among others. Together with less formal statements and reflections by other colleagues, the official histories of certain departments and research centers, and our direct observations, these references allow us to sketch in broad strokes the general evolution of French Sociology over the past few decades.

The first main transformation is the progressive weakening of the oppositions between schools of thought, and their replacement by a more thematic organization of scholars. While schools of thought were organized around a strong theoretical paradigm, a leading scholar and a research center, almost always in Paris, the thematic organization favors collaborations between specialists of a given topic. Today, for instance, there is no equivalent to the once dominant quadrumvirate Bourdieu-Touraine-Crozier-Boudon, which structured much of the French sociological field from the mid-1970s until the second half of the 1990s (i.e. during the period following the academic decline of historical materialism and the success of structuralism). Of course scientific controversies and rivalries between the respective heirs of these

traditions have not completely disappeared, and other – new – theoretical formulations emerged with strong national and international acceptance.¹ However, nowadays, instead of grand theoretical dispute, we mainly see a reorganization of scientific debates around grand themes: urban sociology, economic sociology, political sociology, sociology of education, sociology of migration, etc.

This trend towards specialization is driven, in part, by a large increase in the number of researchers and teacher-researchers over the last decades of the 20th century, a trend which pushes individual researchers to seek differentiation through more precise research objects, and foster the creation or the reinforcement of thematic subfields, each of them having now enough members to secure a certain autonomy. In addition, easier access to scientific literature from all over the world brought an international scientific opening, but the borders between subfields have also been reinforced by the growing opportunity costs of mastering and establishing a dialogue with international references, i.e. the Anglophone literatures, which is now required to publish in the main French journals, as well as, of course, in English.

“There is no equivalent to the once dominant quadrumvirate Bourdieu-Touraine-Crozier-Boudon”

Over the last fifteen years, some of the most prestigious research universities in the social sciences – including Sciences Po and the EHESS (The School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences) – sought international attention and impact, thus indirectly exacerbating this trend towards fragmentation; similarly, the organization of the French Sociological Association (established in 2002) in thematic sections directly reinforced the trend². Moreover, thematic specializations are largely compatible with the widespread interest in French academia for interdisciplinarity within the social sciences and humanities, in line with the lasting project of the *École des Annales* to unify them. Finally, this evolution is also encouraged by the various institutions seeking sectoral expertise.

Indeed, since the beginning of the 21st century, the three roles usually adopted by French sociologists – scholar devoted to research, advisor to decision-makers, and/or critical intellectual – went through several changes. The first role was supposed to be reinforced by recent reforms to render French research more internationally “competitive.” However, a shortage of research and teacher-researcher positions (see text by Musselin in this issue of *Global Dialogue*), the generalization of the funding of research through competitive calls for proposals, and the expansion of a bureaucratic apparatus of managerial evaluation, on top

of the numerous instances of peer review (see text by Lebaron in this issue of *Global Dialogue*), reduced the individual and collective autonomy of sociologists, as well as of scholars in other disciplines.

At the same time, the role of French sociologists as advisors has not increased. Although many participate in national and local consulting commissions, in think tanks, or in operations of intellectual communication or aiming to structure public debates, sociologists have little impact on the actual development of public policies. Their expertise is often treated as a (limited) complement to the analyses developed internally by high-placed technocrats in government (while the main school in charge of training these public officials, the *École Nationale d'Administration*, gives scarce attention to sociology); and economics is also regarded as a much more legitimate and effective science of government. Nevertheless, in some instances, both the public sector, when confronted with “social questions,” and the private sector, when concerned with managing human resources, consider sociological insights necessary (see text by Neyrat in this issue of *Global Dialogue*).

Finally, the critical dimensions of French sociology – its ability to denounce inequality, and the mechanisms of exploitation, domination, discrimination and social reproduction, as well as its capacity to endow

social movements with conceptual tools and alternatives to the current social order – have also changed in recent years. Since Pierre Bourdieu's death in 2002, no social scientist in France has attained comparable recognition as a critical intellectual. But the trend towards specialization has favored the multiplication of engaged sociologists and collectives as “specific intellectuals” (in the sense used by Michel Foucault), and their analyses and political positions are often displayed on the opinion pages of the main national newspapers, in critical journals read inside and outside academia, and in small essay collections. Moreover, in France, as elsewhere, an increasing trend toward reflexivity encourages reflection on the difficulties of producing critical thought and critical sociology; sometimes with an impact on the regulation of the sociological profession, as was the case when the national association refused to adopt a code of conduct (see text by Pudal in this issue of *Global Dialogue*). ■

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¹ For instance, the sociology of critical capacity and regimes of action by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot, as well as actor-network theory by Bruno Latour and Michel Callon, are often cited as renowned examples of a proliferating French “pragmatic sociology.”

² Concerning the French Sociological Association, see Cousin, B. and Demazière D. (2014) “L'Association Française de Sociologie: A Young and Rallying Organization,” *European Sociologist* 36, pp. 10-11: http://europeansociology.org/docs/Newsletter/ESA_Newsletter_Summer%202014.pdf

> Disappearing Academic Careers in France

by **Christine Musselin**, Sciences Po, CSO-CNRS, Paris, France

The French higher education and research systems are characterized by a mix of three different types of institutions: universities offering PhD programs; national research institutions, including both the multidisciplinary CNRS (National Center for Scientific Research) and more specialized ones like the INSERM for biology, or the INRA for agriculture and agronomy; and *grandes écoles* which train the French industrial, administrative and economic elite but still rarely have doctoral candidates. French social scientists, including sociologists, mostly work in universities. Some positions are available in the CNRS, but it has always hired fewer scholars than universities, and the gap tends to grow: as the number of students has risen, university positions grew substantially and always much faster than CNRS positions. Some sociologists also work in specialized research institutions but they are rather marginal, as the latter are not focused on social science¹.

Finally a few sociologists work in engineering or business schools; we have no data on this last group, but since their career and salaries are specific to each school this note concentrates on universities, where most academic sociologists in France work today.

University positions require a PhD, and applicants must be recognized as “qualified” by a national body structured in discipline-based national committees – the CNU, *Comité National des Universités* – in order to be allowed to apply for a first position as *maître de conférences* (MCF). It is important to note that in France such positions are tenured; historically, French universities did not have a “tenure track,” although recently some *grandes écoles* have

introduced this idea. Among the 385 PhDs² in sociology who asked for a qualification in 2013, only 221 got it, and many of these – along with many of those qualified during the previous three years as the qualification is acquired for four years – competed for the 27 sociology positions open in the same year.

As the number of positions offered by the CNRS is very low (on average 5 to 6 a year), academic positions concern only a small fringe of the PhDs in sociology. In 2012, 6.5% of the newly qualified were recruited. The newly recruited MCF of 2012 were on average 35 years old and almost 57% were women. Clearly, many “qualified” PhDs are left standing at the doors of academe. As shown in a recent study, French academics still prefer young, early and productive new colleagues, i.e. colleagues with a linear scholarly trajectory and who recently finished their PhD. As a consequence, those who do not enter rapidly after their PhD and occupy successive post-doc positions are less and less likely to become an MCF.

Once an MCF, teaching duties reach 192 hours per year and, in many places the newcomer is asked to take over the classes others do not want and to accept quite significant service hours. Maintaining a high level of research activity, much less leading time-heavy empirical fieldwork, is therefore often difficult. In cities with high living costs, such as Paris, the low salary offered to MCF – around 2,500€ per month after a few years – prompts some newly recruited faculty members to offer paid overtime, further reducing the time available for research – a pattern which may explain why many remain MCF until the end of their careers, never becoming professors.

“Many ‘qualified’ PhDs are left standing at the doors of academe”

Promotion to professor requires passing a *habilitation à diriger des recherches*, a sort of second thesis. Again, candidates must be “qualified” by the same national discipline-based committee in order to apply for a professorship. The rate of qualification is quite high (67% of the 64 candidates asking for it in 2013) and in recent years the process has not been so competitive (21 positions offered to the 42 newly qualified in 2013 and those who qualified since 2010). In 2012, 30% of the newly qualified were recruited as professors. The new professors of 2012 were 47 years old on average and almost 41% of them were women.

Competition for access to the academic profession shows that it is still attractive to many, although it is not very well paid. Salaries range from 2,100 euros per month for a *maître de conférences* to 6,000 euros per month for a very senior professor. The progression depends partly on seniority but even more on how quickly, and whether, one is promoted to professor, but in social sciences this generally happens later than in sciences.

The situation of French academics – including sociologists – has changed quite dramatically in the recent years with reforms in university governance. Academics are still civil servants with a national status set by the state, but

more and more competencies have been delegated to universities. Since 2007, universities are responsible for their payroll, making faculty members more like employees of their own institution. At the same time the expansion of evaluation, project-based research and performance-based budgeting has provided more information to universities about their own staff and allowed for more institutional merit-based evaluation and reward, a shift which has slightly increased differentiation between those who successfully adapt to the new rules of the game and the rest. It has also increased differences between disciplines, with some finding it easier than others to meet the new demands. It is too early to say whether sociologists will benefit or not from the decentralization of university funding decisions and from this more competitive situation, but it is a shift that should be monitored in the coming years. ■

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¹ Furthermore, and by contrast with the CNRS (and the INSERM), the research labs of specialized research institutions are not located within universities while about 85% of the CNRS researchers, and almost all of them in social sciences, are active in research units that are affiliated both to the CNRS and to the universities.

² All figures are based on statistics produced by the Ministry for Higher Education and Research: <http://www.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/pid24586/concours-emploi-et-carrieres.html> (May 9, 2014).

> Evaluating Sociological Research in France

by **Frédéric Lebaron**, Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, France

In France, as elsewhere, sociologists spend much of their everyday lives evaluating each other's work as well as responding to numerous evaluations. Of course, given the way higher education and research are organized, as well as national intellectual habits, in France this quasi-universal activity takes particular forms.

> The Evaluation of Doctorates and Accreditation to Supervise Research

In France, the doctoral dissertation is evaluated in a very special way. The dissertation itself is lengthy, usually over 300 pages and sometimes closer to 1,000 pages. It is submitted to the prospective members of a jury – usually five or six faculty members or *enseignants-chercheurs*, including the dissertation advisor. Two of these must be external reviewers or *rappor-teurs* from other universities who may decide to suspend the dissertation defense. If the two reviewers approve the dissertation, each of the jury members, beginning with the dissertation advisor, will comment on it during the dissertation defense. They will then ask questions to the candidate, a rather long ritual that lasts over three hours. Next, the jury decides whether to award the candidate highest honors, that is the “*félicitations du jury*,” only the “*très honorable*” distinction, or even a lower grade. The first one requires unanimous agreement from the jury, reached through

a secret ballot. Finally, the president of the jury drafts a long dissertation report or *rapport de thèse* summing up what each jury member said during the defense. This text plays a decisive role in the academic future of the doctoral graduate.

All doctoral students strive to receive these “*félicitations du jury*,” which are critical but also quite arbitrary (and some universities have in fact chosen to abandon this practice). In sociology, increased attention is therefore given to the dissertation report. The *rapport de thèse* can provide a synthetic and quite precise account of the quality of a dissertation, with various comments from jury members clarifying a candidate's contributions.

> The Evaluation of Scholarly Production (Articles, Books, Reports)

Over the past few years, the evaluation of journal articles has undergone clear changes. A “normalization” of evaluation practices is taking place, compliant with international standards, including author anonymity; anonymous and detailed reviews by, at least, two reviewers; and a reasonable and timely turnaround of both reviews and articles. These shifts are driven by the rising pressure to publish at different stages of an academic career.

English publications are still rare in French journals, but they have become core evaluation criteria for both

researchers and institutions – which has an obvious impact on the journals. Some French journals select a few of their articles to be translated into English in order to increase the visibility of what are deemed the most original findings of French sociology.

The French Evaluation Agency for Research and Higher Education (AERES) publishes a list of journals in several languages that are considered to be at the scientific cutting edge of the discipline. Of course, in practice, qualitative judgments on what are the “main journals” persist, and also provoke tension around these lists and whether or not certain journals are “sociological,” as well as their “quality.”

It is important to note that publishing books continues to be important. Dissertations are often published as books, and individual and collective volumes structure professional debates as well as teaching.

> Careers and Institutions

Academic positions are based on the evaluations of specific committees: “selection committees” for French universities and a “national committee” for positions at the National Center for Scientific Research or CNRS. The dissertation and the dissertation report are of course critical in the beginning of this process. Nevertheless, greater importance is being given to journal publications, as well as teaching and professional service.

“The indicators we use are largely insufficient”

It is important to distinguish the recurrent evaluation procedures employed for researchers at the CNRS or similar organizations from those used for university faculty members, which depend on whether an individual is a *maître de conférences* or a professor, and only apply when one seeks a promotion. In both cases, a national committee made up of elected and appointed representatives carry out evaluations collectively; and numerous debates arise around selection criteria, journals, etc.

In the case of universities, the National Council of Universities has seen heated professional conflicts. Although it may seem a generally accepted idea, not all sociologists consider it necessary to establish explicit minimum norms for empirical work or for the quality of publications. Moreover, most of them refuse to apply standardized norms based on bibliometrics. Evaluation criteria, therefore, make up a complex field, requiring the adoption of an open and multidimensional perspective. Hence the need to continue a permanent and deep debate on each component of our profession: teaching, research, the dissemination of research results, professional service and other professional responsibilities. Of course, for each of them, different criteria would need to be seri-

ously considered, and no simplified metric should be applied.

Finally, research centers or *laboratoires* are evaluated by AERES, mainly on the basis of their publishing records. Other criteria include: internal functioning; governance; intellectual vibrancy in terms of the organization of seminars, etc. Unlike other countries, France has no national ranking system for either research centers or departments. The ranking endorsed by the Ministry is based on criteria such as the professional placement of students. Hence, it is mostly related to the strength of professional master's programs.

> For a More Pluralistic and Comprehensive Evaluation

The future development of French sociology, if we aim to perpetuate a rich and innovative discipline, requires that a multidimensional notion of the quality of research and publications be disseminated abroad. For this we must refuse a total hegemony of the English language, which would erase certain national specificities. We should also refuse the use of bibliometrics as simplified and dominating metrics for the evaluation of researchers and research centers. More refined and nuanced forms of evaluation must be developed in or-

der to seize the particular characteristics and singularities of sociological works. It is also essential to reject any form of sectarianism, either of schools or of intellectual traditions.

Major efforts are needed to preserve the intellectual life of scholarly production in national languages. Exchanges among different languages must be increased, which requires translation, but would allow for the diffusion of knowledge on more egalitarian grounds.

Moreover, attention to criteria other than publications in both individual and collective evaluations is also crucial for the future of our discipline. The quality of our sociology programs is key, and yet the indicators we use, based solely on the professional placement of students, are largely insufficient. Although these must be considered, they could be measured and interpreted better. Moreover, contributions to collective academic life, the quality of “democratic governance” as well as working and academic career conditions, particularly for young hires on precarious contracts, should also be taken into consideration. ■

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> The Changing Sociology Profession in France

by **Frédéric Neyrat**, Université de Limoges, France

Since the 1960s, French sociology has been the object of a sort of trial about its professional prospects. With the first massification of higher education, the number of students enrolled in sociology curricula increased dramatically. But, considered a “new” discipline compared to humanities, sociology aroused doubts in terms of openings, at a time when job opportunities (and therefore also the contents of the curricula) were seen mainly through the recruitment of secondary school teachers. Indeed, 50 years ago, sociology was not taught in secondary schools, but even after the introduction of economic and social sciences in school programs, and the creation of competitive entrance examinations to recruit teachers (CAPES in 1969 and *agrégation* of economics and social sciences in 1977), the links with the sociology curricula of the universities remain limited.

In addition, doubts concerning the career paths of sociology students were also driven by politics: some of the students protesting in May 1968 were sociologists. Those who followed Raymond Aron (*The Elusive Revolution: Anatomy of a Student Revolt*, Praeger, 1969) in its criticism of the “collective delirium” of the “May Revolution” saw their main cause in the “cluttering universities” and the “absence of job prospects” that ensued – a discourse regularly updated ever since by journalists and politicians. Sociology became emblematic of the absence of career options for humanities and social sciences university students – even if the French Center for Research on Qualifications (CEREQ) suggested that this be reconsidered in the light of actual experiences of graduates from both the *licence* and masters’ programs in sociology.

Nevertheless, it is at the doctorate level that the professional placement of sociologists is most interesting;

or rather, the placement of the sociologist as a professional, which can provide insights on how the discipline is placed overall. One thinks immediately of *enseignants-chercheurs* or teacher-researcher jobs, as well as research jobs at large public institutions. Without a doubt, sociology as a discipline benefitted from the second massive expansion of higher education. Between 1984 and 2010, the number of teacher-researcher positions in sociology grew more rapidly than in other disciplines: the increase was 302% for sociology versus 213% for all disciplines. However, recent growth patterns have been less promising for sociology, as well as for other academic sectors. Generally speaking, research in France is in decline. University hires have dropped; in less than five years, the overall number of teacher-researcher hires plummeted by 25%, falling from 2,000 to 1,500. Similarly, the CNRS decreased its research hires from 400 to 300 in the same period.

Meanwhile, precarious working conditions have intensified, both in research and higher education teaching positions. A greater percentage of public research in France is funded through calls for proposals, namely through the French National Research Agency (ANR). “Postdoc” positions are created but they are precarious by nature. Moreover, universities are seeking to delay the hiring of statutory permanent teacher-researchers (with tenured, public positions). When the LRU law was passed in 2007, universities were allowed to make hires under private permanent contracts to ensure “teaching, research or teaching and research functions.” Since 2012, an increasing number of universities have adopted this strategy. Indeed, French public universities were granted “autonomy,” as the state partially withdrew from funding them – as Thomas Piketty showed in a recent article (see “Faillite silencieuse à l’université,” *Libération*, November 18, 2013). As a re-

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“Almost one fourth of universities are on the brink of bankruptcy”

sult, almost one fourth of universities, including internationally renowned centers, are on the brink of bankruptcy and relying increasingly on non-statutory positions that are cheaper and do not lead to long-term contracts.

Fortunately, the future of sociologists is not circumscribed to the academic sphere. Numerous research companies and consulting firms, which draw on sociological skills, have been created over the past few years, driven by increasing demand for applied research and evaluations. In both urbanism and planning, preliminary studies, usually conducted by interdisciplinary teams, are mandatory. Depending on the importance and objectives of a given project, sociologists may be included as part of the team. This is especially true of “urban renovation projects,” particularly when “sensitive urban areas” (ZUS) are involved. Program managers require assessments of the impact of planning projects in terms of urban mix between different social groups.

Another market for research companies and independent consultants is public policy evaluation. For example, in relation to health care, sociologists are asked to evaluate care work policies for seniors. Similarly, education policies, cultural policies or social policies are frequent objects of regular evaluations requested by different state authorities. Finally, businesses also often request research on the following topics: evaluation of psychosocial risks (stress, harassment, suicide, etc.), organization of work (reorganization, downsizing measures, relocation, etc.), fostering gender equality, and addressing discrimination within companies.

Sociologists are not the only professionals in the market for research and consultancy on these topics. Studies are often interdisciplinary. In addition, sociologists are in competition with other professionals who may claim to be sociologists – the title is not protected in France. Nevertheless, increased specialization is bringing some professional protection, for example through the creation of professional master programs focused on both the teaching of the sociological craft and on a specific sector. Mastering both quantitative and qualitative skills seems to be highly valued and sought-after, and a strong complement to an individual’s more specific areas of expertise (urban, health or social policies, etc.).

Some sociologists working at research firms hold doctoral degrees, and have decided to either temporarily or definitively quit academia given the condition of the academic job market. Nevertheless, there are strong ties between the two. Some professors and researchers support these firms by participating in their scientific committees. Similarly, sociologists working at research firms may also take on teaching positions at universities.

Finally, sociologists are not only those who teach and conduct sociological research both within and outside academe: we should be able to consider all professionals who have been trained in sociology at some point of their careers, as they bring a “sociological eye” to their professions. Unfortunately, we do not have the data to elaborate a discussion about this at a national scale. ■

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> Why is there no “Human Subjects Protocol” for French Sociologists?

by **Romain Pudal**, CNRS (CURAPP-ESS), Amiens, France

Unlike sociological associations in other countries, the French Sociological Association (AFS) decided not to adopt a code of conduct for the sociological profession during its meeting in 2011 – a decision that came after several years of debate, in which the AFS set up working groups and examined existing codes in other countries, particularly in North America, to prepare the first drafts that sparked much debate.

The question of whether French sociology should adopt a “deontological code” or “human subjects protocol” was initially raised by a group of sociologists working for private firms, public agencies and other organizations outside academia, where codes of conduct exist for most professions. Drafts of a deontological code for sociologists were based on: codes of conduct charted by other sociological associations, consultants, health professionals or experimental scientists seeking to inform and protect their human subjects.

Debates on this topic were heated from the beginning – including in 2009, when Michael Burawoy gave a talk at the 3rd AFS Congress in Paris on his project *The Colour of Class on the Copper Mines: From African Advancement to Zambianization* (Manchester University Press, 1972). He explained that his research on racial discrimination in Zambia would have been impossible if he had been absolutely “transparent” about his objectives to the social actors in question. The talk reinforced the positions of those who opposed the adoption of a code of conduct to regulate the sociological profession.

Two years later, a final proposal for the code of conduct was presented and debated during the 4th AFS Congress in Grenoble (<http://www.afs-socio.fr/sites/default/files/congres09/FormCharte.html>). The proposal had two parts. The first part, which garnered broad support, focused on “best practices” for the profession, including the rights and re-

sponsibilities of doctoral students and their advisors; condemning plagiarism; alertness to exploitation, increased precariousness, harassment, and other forms of suffering at work that emerge both in higher education teaching and research. Nevertheless, there were also many criticisms regarding the low effectiveness of the code to settle disagreements. Would it be necessary to create some kind of disciplinary board for sociology? Who would be part of it and how would its legitimacy be ensured? What would it look like? What means would it have at its disposal to act and to exert punishment? Would the AFS dismiss a colleague judged “guilty” of a given “abuse”? These questions highlighted difficulties in reaching agreements both on the principles that would regulate the sociological profession as well on these potential disciplinary actions. Moreover, even if a code of conduct were adopted, it would have no means of legal enforcement.

The second part of the proposal – regarding a set of “best practices” for research in the social sciences – was more heavily criticized. In particular, the following paragraph set off many hesitations and disagreements:

“Sociologists have the responsibility of clearly explaining their research to the individuals who will participate in it. In order to fully understand why they are being asked to participate in a given project, individuals must be informed of the following: research topic; objective; who is responsible for the research project; who is conducting the research; who is funding it; how will results be shared and used. Sociologists cannot use data recording instruments (audio recorders, cameras, etc.) without the agreement of research participants. When they are to record or film a situation, they must tell research participants why they are doing so”.

Those who endorsed the rules stated above drew inspiration from disciplines such as medicine, biology or psychol-

“Freedom of sociological research was reaffirmed”

ogy. They called for greater transparency in sociological research and the protection of human subjects, particularly in terms of ensuring the correct use of their information or other data collected by sociologists. As praiseworthy as these principles may seem, they quickly sparked debates and controversies summed up in an edited volume by Sylvain Laurens and Frédéric Neyrat, *Enquêter : de quel droit ? Menaces sur l'enquête en sciences sociales* (Éditions du Croquant, 2010).

Those who opposed the adoption of a code of conduct focused on defending “covert research”: research where participants are fully or partially unaware of the purpose of a research project or a researcher’s status as a sociologist. Some of the most famous examples are classics in the social sciences. The work of Michael Burawoy cited above is one example, along with Donald Roy’s research on factory work; Paul Willis’s *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (Columbia University Press, 1977); or the controversial piece by Laud Humphreys on the “tea-rooming.” Many argued that this type of research should continue without the limitations that a code of conduct would bring, particularly if the code were to be implemented by Institutional Review Board members who are not sociologists. Instead, the freedom of sociologists should be preserved through exclusive peer evaluation of sociological work – in its methodological, theoretical and ethical dimensions. All of these points were raised as imperatives for sociological research.

In sum, as these questions were raised, answers became increasingly clear. Would we be able to conduct research on institutional discrimination, corruption in politics, economics or journalism, power as it plays out in a minister’s private office, among managers or in the secluded social worlds of elusive elites if we had to comply with the research constraints imposed by such a code of conduct? The response is obvious: no.

Despite the debates, the paragraph mentioned above was kept in the code proposal, raising increased hostility from French sociologists defending covert research. All agreed that ethical, deontological and epistemological questions should be raised. Nevertheless, the idea that the AFS might adopt a deontological code that could hinder research was seen as surrendering to inadmissible politico-administrative injunctions, as well as prompting an impasse for sociological work.

Hence, the code was rejected. Freedom of sociological research was reaffirmed. French sociologists reminded each other that part of their job is to unmask the multiple inequalities and forms of domination operating in the social world, through their research which will, in any case, need to be submitted for peer review before publication. ■

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> Where is Sociology?

Global Environmental Change and the Social Sciences

by **Stewart Lockie**, James Cook University, Australia and former President of ISA
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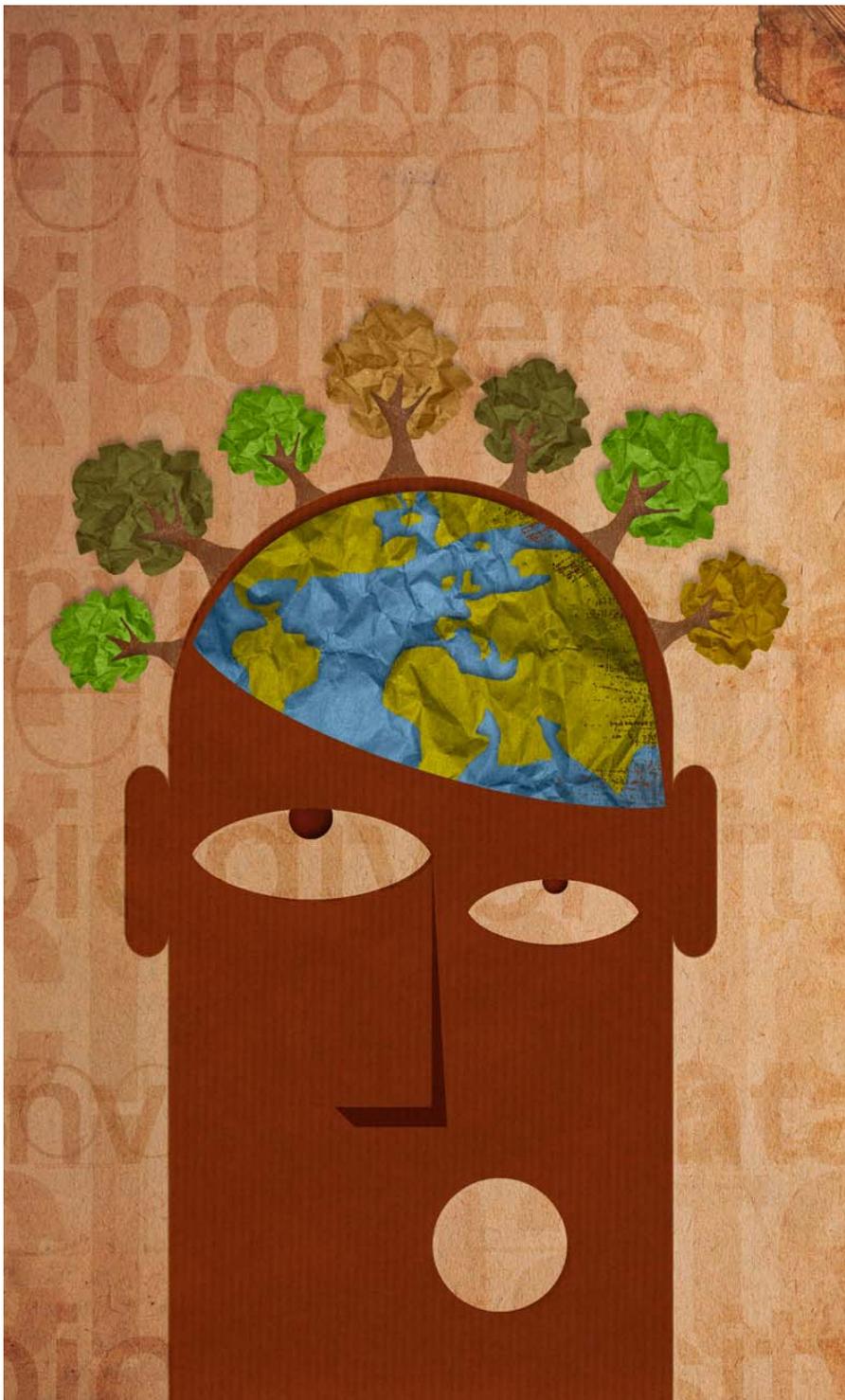
*Sociology's unrealized potential in the face of global environmental challenges.
Illustration by Arbu.*

Sociologists often complain that our potential contributions to environmental research and governance are ignored; that participation in key assessment and policy-making processes skews towards the natural sciences; and that, when we are consulted, it is usually to answer narrow questions about “social impacts” or “barriers to adoption.” Even more gallingly, we see non-social scientists – people like biologists and engineers – popularize frameworks for conceptualizing the social dimensions of environmental change lifted straight out of systems ecology and cybernetics.

How can we explain this apparent disregard for sociological expertise and insight? Disciplinary prejudice certainly explains some of this, but the inconvenient questions sociologists ask about power, inequality and democracy, I think, explain more. But how much of the explanation actually lies with us? With the knowledge we produce? The audiences we attempt to engage?

According to the International Social Sciences Council (ISSC), the answer is “quite a bit.” Every three years, the ISSC publishes a state-of-the-art report on critical challenges and trends in the social sciences. The World So-

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cial Science Report 2013, *Changing Global Environments*, summarizes the engagements of various social science disciplines with global environmental change, and articulates an agenda for ramping up social science contributions to the challenges presented by environmental change.¹

Changing Global Environments includes contributions from discipline-based organizations such as the ISA and cross-disciplinary social research initiatives such as the International Human Dimensions of Environmental Change Program. Superficially, the number and breadth of activities mentioned throughout the report is impressive. But while global environmental change is deeply implicated in numerous political and economic crises, it has failed to capture mainstream social scientific attention.

Bibliometric analysis is used in *Changing Global Environments* to argue that sociologists have essentially gone missing in relation to environmental change research. A search for articles using the terms “climate change,” “climate policy,” “environmental change,” “sustainable development,” “biodiversity” etc. in the Thompson Reuters Web of Science™ database suggests that while an increasing number of articles refer to global environmental change, these remain a small percentage of total sociological research output.

I believe, however, that bibliometric analyses systematically underestimate the extent to which sociologists – as researchers, teachers and, importantly, as citizens – address environmental and sustainability issues. A brief look at the relevant ISA Research Committees and Groups reveals thriving communities of scholars contributing to all manner of projects, debates, policy processes and, for that matter, social movement organizations and community groups; sociologists contribute regularly to and take leading roles in multidisciplinary journals such as *Global Environmental Change* and *Local Environment*.

Further, many experiments in multi-disciplinary, participatory and action research – particularly in the Global South – never make it past the filters of peer review and journal impact factors governing access to the so-called Web of Science™ – a problem ISA's Research Committee on Environment and Society is hoping to address with the development of its new journal, *Environmental Sociology*, to be launched in early 2015.

Nevertheless, *Changing Global Environments* offers useful propositions for expanding the influence of the social sciences.² These “transformative cornerstones” – that is, key social scientific questions that must be answered in order to drive ethical and equitable transitions to sustainability – include:

1. Historical and contextual complexity: how are contemporary processes of global environmental change driven by specific political economies? How do they intersect with other processes such as migration and conflict? How do experiences of environmental change differ across space, time, class, gender, ethnicity, faith, etc.?

2. Consequences: how does global and environmental change impact people and communities? How are these impacts distributed? How do people cope with, adapt to, and innovate in response to environmental change?

3. Conditions and visions for change: what drives individual and collective change? What is the relationship between social change, policy intervention and democratic processes? How can social sciences contribute to consensus building about socially desirable change?

4. Interpretation and subjective sense-making: how do people make sense of environmental change and what prospects exist to enhance social learning? What are the assumptions and blind spots underlying

ing people's choices and behaviors? Conversely, what drives indifference, skepticism and resistance to transformative change?

5. Responsibilities: who should bear the cost of action to address environmental change? How can vulnerable populations be assisted both to contribute to, and benefit from, responses to environmental change?

6. Governance and decision-making: how are decisions made in the face of uncertainty? How can different framings of environmental processes and problems assist political agreement? What sorts of institutional arrangements facilitate dialogue between policy-makers, scientists and others?

The goal here is not to develop a modest applied agenda for policy-relevant social science, but to make the social sciences “bolder, better, bigger and different.” What is envisaged are social sciences capable of: reframing environmental change as a social process; influencing policy agendas and participating in real-world problem-solving; engaging social scientists in the challenges of global environmental change; and ensuring reflexivity in the practice of social science.³

This is not a vision lacking theoretical reflection and innovation, but one in which conceptual work responds to questions posed by transformation and through interaction with other disciplines and stakeholders. Many sociologists and colleagues across the social sciences are already doing exactly this – as *Changing Global Environments* and other examples demonstrate.⁴ Karen O'Brien, for example, advocates the development of deeper perspectives on global environmental change, integrating Earth systems science with more sophisticated understandings of human agency as reflexive and non-linear.⁵ John Urry examines the possibilities embodied in reflexive consumption behavior for stimulating innovation and reversing the intensification of material and energy use.⁶ At the

other end of the social scale, Alberto Martinelli proposes a model of global governance in which democratic states, supranational organizations, responsible corporations, NGOs and collective movements work with scientific and research communities to ensure democratic, theoretically and empirically robust decision-making.⁷ Several authors look at the dynamics of collective learning in relation to environmental and social justice.⁸

These examples stand in stark contrast to what I call “self-referential sociology,” that is, theoretical work with no meaningful points of reference other than similar writings in social theory. Obtuse language and complex abstraction often belie what, on closer inspection, are simplistic and unfounded empirical assumptions. Moving beyond self-referential sociology requires us – collectively if not always individually – to “get our hands dirty.” It requires us to collaborate with others, to co-create knowledge and to contribute to positive social change. This is not simply a matter of ethics (as important as these are), but of validity. Multidisciplinarity, integration and collaboration are epistemically necessary if sociological research is to inform dynamic processes of social and environmental transformation.

Pathways to meaningful participation in social and environmental change or in related research programs are not always obvious. Some pathways present professional and personal risks. Some are inaccessible. *Changing Global Environments* highlights some pathways that have emerged for greater social scientific involvement, including, notably, Future Earth, a ten-year initiative developed through ISSC, the International Council for Science (ICSU), UNESCO, the Belmont Group, and others.⁹ I strongly encourage anyone interested in global environmental change research subscribe to the Future Earth newsletter, comment on proposals and consider participating in – or indeed initiating – allied activities. As *Changing Global Environments* argues, realizing the potential of collaborative ventures like Future Earth requires social scientists to ask questions about power, inequality and democracy in sophisticated and constructive ways. I may not agree that sociologists have gone missing in global environmental change research, but I could not agree more that we must nonetheless develop sociologies that are bolder, better, bigger and, perhaps, even different. ■

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¹ ISSC and UNESCO (2013) *World Social Science Report 2013: Changing Global Environments*. OECD Publishing and UNESCO Publishing, Paris. Available at http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/world-social-science-report-2013_9789264203419-en

² These propositions were first explored in: Hackmann, H. and St. Clair, A. (2012) *Transformative Cornerstones of Social Science Research for Global Change*. International Social Science Council, Paris. Available at http://www.igfagr.org/images/pdf/issc_transformative_cornerstones_report.pdf

³ See especially Moser, Hackmann and Caillods, Chapter 2, “Global environmental change changes everything: Key messages and recommendations.”

⁴ See for example, Lockie, S., Sonnenfeld, D. and Fisher, D. (eds) (2014) *The Routledge International Handbook of Social and Environmental Change*. Routledge, London.

⁵ Chapter 4, “What’s the problem? Putting global environmental change into perspective.”

⁶ Chapter 53, “Are increasing greenhouse gas emissions inevitable?”

⁷ Chapter 83, “Global governance and sustainable development.”

⁸ For example, J. David Tàbara (Chapter 11, “A new vision of open knowledge systems for sustainability: Opportunities for social scientists”), Witchuda Srangiam (Chapter 76, “Social learning and climate change adaptation in Thailand”), and Godwin Odok (Chapter 79, “The need for indigenous knowledge in adaptation to climate change in Nigeria”).

⁹ <http://www.futureearth.info/> and <http://www.icsu.org/future-earth/>

> Copper, Water, and Land

Mining in Piedra Alta, Peru

by **Sandra Portocarrero**, National University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru



Peru's indigenous communities march in protest: "No more mining, enough theft, enough pollution".

In recent years, the Peruvian economy has made significant progress, with dynamic rates of GDP growth and low inflation and debt, while maintaining stable exchange rates. According to the International Monetary Fund, Peru is a *rising star*, as an emerging market noted for its strong growth and low vulnerability.

But, when and why do the rural poor become politically active in a country with outstanding macroeconomic indicators? Peru has the second largest known copper reserves in the world, and mining plays a dominant role in the Peruvian economy, as the sector attracts large foreign investment. Peru's real GDP growth rate is expected to be 5.3% by the end of 2014, and this growth is forecast to remain firm at an annual average rate of 5% between 2014 and 2017. Yet, surprisingly, the main factor threatening to slow growth is social unrest in reaction to mining projects: delays in projects could result in reduced business confidence, which could in turn threaten the expected investment of US\$ 53.4 billion in the mining sector over the next ten years.

For the past six months, I have been working as a sociologist in the second largest copper mining company in Peru. Located in Peru's most arid region, in the department of Tacna, the company, currently owned and run by Mexicans, started operating in southern Peru in the early 1960s. I live in a secluded mining camp about two hours' drive from the closest urban center, in a comfortable two-

bedroom apartment with air conditioning, warm water, Wi-Fi, and cable TV. I have access to a golf club, a heated swimming pool, tennis courts, gym, and recreation centers. Mine workers who work in the operations division are not allowed to use these facilities, as these are kept for the privileged administrative workers, like myself.

I work six days a week for about twelve hours a day, in an industry considered by many to be Peru's ticket out of poverty. My job allows me to visit areas of direct and indirect influence. The areas of direct influence are the localities where mining operations are geographically located; the environment of these areas is directly affected by project installations and activities. Areas of indirect influence are the geographic areas outside the operations but are environmentally affected by the mining project.

My job has allowed me to become aware of the fact that the wealth mining operations have brought to national and to local governments has not been evenly distributed to all affected stakeholders, particularly not to local farmers. One of the many questions that have emerged from my time in the field is how do poor communities – sometimes living just fifty miles away from multi-million-dollar mining projects – respond to Peru's changing landscape? The community I will call Piedra Alta offers yet another demonstration that displacement is the underside of Peru's dynamic economic growth. The lack of water in the

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arid coastal southern region of Peru has driven thousands of agricultural families to occupy areas where they can access water to grow their crops, although these occupations are often illegal. Piedra Alta is one such community.

In 2001, with the help of political activists and after repetitive clashes with the police, a group of approximately 600 agricultural families occupied about 10,000 acres of state land, hoping to benefit from water filtration from a tailings dam created for mining waste. The families of Piedra Alta came from the highlands of Tacna and from arid neighboring provinces such as Arequipa, Cusco, Moquegua, and Puno.

Initially, most of the families occupied this land for agricultural purposes only, working the land three times a month. Because getting to Piedra Alta could take up to five days, and because the police raids to evict the peasants took place on random days, the families decided to stay permanently, turning Piedra Alta into their new home. In interviews, many residents described the occupation of this land as a mark of their “entrepreneurial talents,” because they are not only using water that would otherwise be dumped into the ocean, but also investing in infrastructure. Soon after occupying the land, these families organized and financed a six-mile irrigation canal, which allows the flow of up to 1,000 liters of water per second. The Ministry of Health of Peru considers this water safe for the irrigation of crops.

Ironically, tailing dams are often the most significant environmental liability for a mining company, but this tailing dam has become the only option of survival for these peasants. After trying different crops over many years, with unsuccessful results because of the high soil and water sa-

linity levels, the dwellers of Piedra Alta have mastered the cultivation of oregano, which occupies 70% of the land, tara (a native small leguminous tree), and olives.

This agricultural success has gone hand in hand with a tedious process of legalization. Given the complicated legal framework, the legal proceedings involved in the official expropriation of this land took over a decade. On October 2013, the Municipality of Cerro Colorado, which is the province where Piedra Alta is located, declared Piedra Alta an official community. This means that the community can now legally organize, elect their major, and get a percentage of the mining royalties assigned to each region.

The biggest challenges, however, are still to come. The mining company will soon expand its main concentrator plant, doubling the production of copper and using far more water. The environmental plan presented to Peruvian state authorities confirms that the mine will not use more fresh water from river basins. Instead, water from the tailings dam will be recycled. This is good news for environmental activists, but not for Piedra Alta dwellers. What will happen when the treated water stops flowing, because the water is being reused for mining operations? Although they are an official community now, Peruvian laws wash their hands of all responsibility when it comes to water rights. As a result, many Peruvian social conflicts around the mining industry are specifically related to water resources. Furthermore, widespread corruption in Peru’s regional government, including this region, undermines peasants’ confidence: nothing guarantees these people the right to live and work on this land for the next decade. ■

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> Internationalization and Audit Culture

The Case of Czech Sociology

by **Martin Hájek**, Charles University, Czech Republic



Jiří Musil (1928-2012), internationally recognized urban sociologist speaking in front of a portrait of T.G. Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's first president.

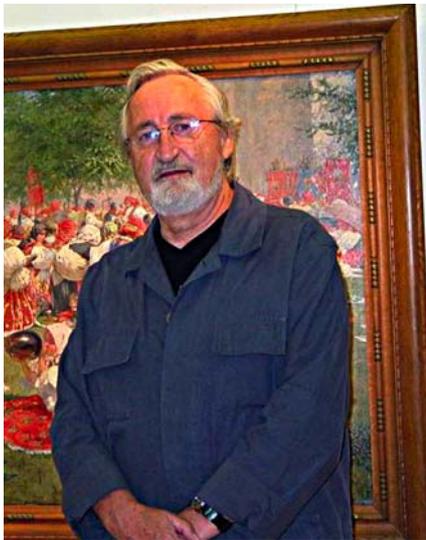
The audit culture and stress on competitiveness affect universities and scientific institutions in many countries, including the Czech Republic. The implications for academic careers, for scientific disciplines, and for publication strategies have repeatedly been analyzed.¹ However, the impact of audit culture on small sociological communities using local national languages is less well understood. It is not only because they are relatively marginal to sociology at large, but also because the consequences of auditing are not always straightforward. Auditing can have both enabling and disabling effects. A positive consequence may be that it encourages scientists to enter the international community, freed from local limitations. On the downside, however, these processes may devalue local scientific communities and local sociology in general. It is this tension that creates both ardent supporters and opponents of the audit culture within academia – including in the Czech Republic.

In small countries like the Czech Republic, which has ten million inhabitants, supporters of strict auditing and competition usually claim that only the international community can impartially judge what constitutes a good sociological production and what does not. By necessity, they argue, a local scientific community of only about a hundred persons must be parochial and is likely to be divided into warring cliques and tempo-

rary coalitions competing for limited resources. Advocates of international standards claim that such conditions complicate any form of nationally-based peer-review quality assessment, since, rather than promoting scientific quality, such assessment simply reproduces the power structure of the local disciplinary field.

In contrast, opponents of internationalization and standardization of evaluation criteria emphasize the importance of the local context in the development of the field, arguing that a shift to international publishers and reviewers privileges global issues over local ones. They claim that for a local issue to become internationally recognized, its very formulation has to be transformed into a globally comprehensible one, often changing cultural meanings or sometimes even losing sight of the very phenomenon in question. What may hold true for the natural sciences – which, with few exceptions, do not specify local issues – cannot be applied in the social sciences, where local issues predominate (or, at least, have done so until recently).

As in many ardent disputes, both parties are right, and both aspects – national and international – should be considered in assessing research quality. In large disciplinary communities which communicate using one of the world's main languages, this balanced model is reasonably practical because local and global dimensions



Miloslav Petrušek (1936-2012), famous Czech sociologist who focused on “local” issues.

of doing sociology are sufficiently interwoven. But in small minority-language academic communities, promoting international standardized measures as the main – or even the only – criteria may undermine the use of native languages as a medium of communication. Why? Because authors who aim to contribute to the discipline not only in the international arena but also within the local community (e.g. Czech Republic) are obliged to write texts in two modes – in English and in Czech, respectively. The Czech texts are read only by Czech-speaking colleagues, so their impact remains entirely local. In English-written texts, on the other hand, authors must adapt their work for international audiences, often reducing the interest for the Czech sociological community. This creates a dual mode of writing, which can be labelled *locally directed* and *globally directed* sociologies, respectively. Although the issue can seem simply a matter of language or translation, it is not; it has a deeper significance because it affects local academics’ choice of research topics as well as publication strategies.

I suppose some readers will shake their heads, muttering “There’s nothing new here. This double pathway,

national and international, has always existed.” I agree. Nonetheless, until recently this question concerned only a part of the sociological community – and individual sociologists could choose their preferred direction. For instance, Miloslav Petrušek (1936-2012), the recently deceased prominent Czech sociologist, was a typical representative of locally-directed sociology. Although he was intimately acquainted with world sociology and its trends (he read and spoke several languages), he wrote almost exclusively in Czech (and sometimes in Polish or Russian). His academic activities had strong impact within Czech academia, and since his texts influenced public perception of the discipline, they also influenced sociology’s position in wider society. On the other hand, Jiří Musil (1928-2012), an internationally renowned urban sociologist, had more influence on the international than on the local community, serving in 1998-2001 as the Chairman of the European Sociological Association.²

But what was once a matter of personal preference or a fateful choice is no longer so today. The culture of audit and competition knows only one kind of sociology: the globally directed one. Everything directed toward local debates is considered mediocre. Representatives of locally directed sociology rarely get funds for their research and do not achieve academic positions due to insufficient international impact. Thus, it is irrational for sociologists in the Czech Republic to write a good textbook in Czech; far from strengthening their reputation, such a move would be taken as a sign that the author has abandoned an international research career. As a consequence, Czech students learn from global textbooks like that of Giddens, which focus on how society functions in the UK and the US; these societies serve as templates for understanding all local situations. New sociological terms are introduced into the local community

by translators, not by scholars in the field. The local public, too, gains their understanding of sociology – and of today’s society – from translations of global authors, whose books cover the local situation only marginally, if at all.

The culture of audit and competition privileges globally directed research over locally directed sociology. If scientific excellence is defined as recognition by a global academic community, most scholars will focus exclusively on publications in the English language, which is exactly what most of the Czech Republic’s ambitious young social scientists do today: their best work is published in English in global journals.

I am not suggesting that locally directed or national sociology is more valuable than globally directed (or international) research. In many cases (dare I say in most?), locally directed research and publications are of average quality. Nonetheless, they are the means through which a linguistically small academic community reflects the local situation and communicates ideas to students and the general public. In the context of pressures to publish globally, academic sociology’s effort to engage with the local public tends to be downgraded to the status of mere “dissemination of results,” an activity not considered as “doing science.” Globally directed sociology perpetuates the idea that global society transcends the local, leading locally occurring phenomena to be considered as nothing more than instances of global processes. ■

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¹ See, for example, Holmwood, J. (2010) “Sociology’s misfortune: disciplines, interdisciplinarity and the impact of audit culture.” *The British Journal of Sociology*, 61(4), 639-658.

² Looking at Czech society from a more general perspective, the great scientific, artistic or political figures of the past were also often either locally or globally directed. A well known pair of Czech music composers, Bedřich Smetana (1824-1884) and Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904), come to mind; the former cherished mainly in the Czech lands, the latter appreciated globally.

> The Precarity of Sociology

Notes from the Czech Lands

by **Filip Vostal**, Charles University and Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic



Sociology's balancing act – tied up but still able to walk, if precariously.

The word precarious often describes a condition that is “not strong, safe or steady.” All three moments contained in the term precarious aptly convey significant characteristics of contemporary sociology. First, sociology’s precarity reflects the way broader *societal-technological trends* reshape the production of sociological knowledge. Second, considering the transformation of academia under neoliberal hegemony, sociology is increasingly a *precarious discipline*. Third, the term could be used to describe sociology’s *object of analysis*: a social world that is unsteady and extraordinary. While international debates may note these aspects of the discipline, local, regional and “provincial” manifestations and tensions are often neglected. This essay, therefore, discusses some broader global developments in relation to the Czech context.

Let’s begin with sociology’s internal dimension. Undoubtedly one of the fundamental challenges for 21st century sociology will involve new methods of data collection, and sociology’s responses to new computer, digital and software infrastructures. Traditional empirical methods (such as survey and interview) are now challenged by

the ability of actors (often private) to quickly aggregate, sort and analyze immense sets of transactional data. Datasets unprecedented in scope and size (big data), digital techniques of data collection and tracking of social media and associated intensification challenge not only methodological instruments, but may also affect sociological theorizing. Can we still consider “the social” an all-purpose explanatory category? Must theorizing make room both for the digital and the biological/human? For the religious and the secular? For the universal and the singular/particular dimensions of social life? Sociology now scrutinizes relatively stable social structures and divisions as well as “states of exception,” fluid spheres and mutating networks; alongside traditional categories of class, gender, nationality and ethnicity, social theorizing presently accommodates emergencies, accidents, risks, assemblages and affects. Traditionally, sociology requires temporal and spatial distance from society in order to understand it, but some contemporary theoretical currents also mirror – perhaps embody and embrace – wider, even epochal, trends of 21st century social life: volatility, “messiness,” and acceleration.

Sociology’s precarity sometimes manifests itself as a conflict between the digital challenge and the local – often non-digital – sociological practices operating in different tempos and rhythms. Some modalities (empirical and theoretical) resist the digital challenge; for instance sociology’s local/regional embeddedness, a feature frequently characterized by idiosyncratic intellectual path-dependencies and the situated histories of national sociologies. Michael Saward suggests that “slow” theories involve “close consideration and mindfulness of the particularities and culture, pausing over situated and customary values, and taking account of a range of opinions and judgments,” embracing “production of *situated knowledges*.” Situated and arguably “slower” (in a sense that they *take time*), ethnographic and anthropological observations might be at odds with the digitalization-

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cum-acceleration imperative. Czech sociology, like many local sociologies, will probably remain caught between its internal “distinctiveness of locality” and historically conditioned development, on the one hand, and intellectual influences coming from elsewhere as well as digital developments and infrastructural trends of a supranational character on the other.

But perhaps the most pressing precarity that sociology faces nowadays stems from the external conditions co-shaping its reproduction. Market ideology, commodification and corporate governance cripple academic life across the world. Those realities have troublesome, yet unequally distributed, implications for individual academics: increasing stress, burnout, and psychological discomfort. Observers everywhere note shifts in academic time – and in its cultural, structural and experiential dimensions – as well as pressures on critical thought within sociology. Anglo-American contexts remain important “laboratories” for exploring the impact of neoliberal changes on the temporal structure of academia, but the gradual shift towards an accelerating managerial “knowledge factory” is indeed apparent in the other parts of the world too (including Czech academia).

Yet when I talk to colleagues in the UK, for instance, the current situation – both in terms of labor conditions and relative time and space for reading, writing and researching – still seems different from Czech academia. Indeed, although some notorious rhetoric – excellence, innovations, global competitiveness, knowledge-based economy – plagues the policy space of Czech academia, our system still remains relatively distant from the academic reality depicted in American or British campus novels like *Fight for Your Long Day* or *Crump*. Despite the *über*-neoliberal model adopted by the Czech political class, and despite repeated attempts to “tame” Czech academia and apply the principles of commodification and marketization, Czech academia still resists the relentless managerial and business ideology that structures its counterparts elsewhere. Austrian philosopher Konrad P. Liessmann’s harsh criticisms of current shifts, in

academia and humanities have been widely echoed by Czech academics and academic managers, and when historian Howard Hotson, a leading critic of Britain’s university reforms, spoke to Czech audiences, his conclusions were unreservedly endorsed by representatives of Czech universities and the Academy of Sciences. A brave new commodified-marketized academia might face challenges here in Central Europe (at least for the moment).

Even with local resistance, of course, the neoliberal trends enveloping academies worldwide may reshape local and regional sociologies. Yet these pressures come precisely in a moment when the social world of the 21st century has acquired levels of complexity and fragmentation that call for new theories as well as rigorous analyses of how cataclysms of “global capitalist modernity” happen locally (and vice-versa, i.e. how local issues “go global”). In the present conjuncture we need a kind of sociology to describe, explain and *do* something about that modernity.

The third kind of precarity may yet assist sociology to meet that challenge. Perpetual questioning and interrogation of social reality remain pivotal prerequisites of any interpretative or “positive” mode of inquiry. Moreover, social phenomena, processes, ideologies, institutions and relations must be continually rendered unnatural, as objects for explanation and critique. Czech sociologist Miloslav Petrušek (1936-2012) paid particular attention to the connection between literature, art and sociology, suggesting that literature can serve as distinctive testimony about society. Sociology remains compelling as an inherently interdisciplinary enterprise, meshing with humanities and literature; and, at the same time, sociology is *also* a “normal science” with its paradigms and institutional grounding. It is this in-between instability that has always characterized sociology as a unique discipline illuminating the surprises and riddles that fill the social world. ■

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> Global Dialogue's Arabic Team

by **Mounir Saidani**, El Manar University, Tunisia

At the end of February, 2011, Sari Hanafi emailed me asking if I can help him find translators for the Arab version of *Global Dialogue*. I saw this as one of the happy consequences of the Tunisian Revolution, only some weeks after the fall of Zein Al-Dine Ben Ali. Nevertheless, I wondered whether my English was good enough to do it personally. My attempts to find translators failed, so I decided to do it myself, yet via the French version which was already on the ISA website. For the next issue, three months later, I decided to do the job, translating directly from English into Arabic, which I've been doing ever since, with the friendly help of Sari. On my Facebook page I announce every issue so that Arab sociologists become aware of *Global Dialogue* in Arabic. My English gets better and better, and translation quenches my thirst for sociological knowledge, through this access to a wide range of texts and references from all over the world. Translating field experiences from all over the world, learning about new theoretical approaches as well as the latest sociological research, has been very instructive. So I learn a lot as I translate *Global Dialogue* into Arabic. The meeting of National Associations of Sociology in Ankara in 2013 was a great opportunity to meet with some of *Global Dialogue's* translators from other countries. Being part of this wonderful experience is a source of great pride. And now it is encouraging me to publish more of my work in English, just another gift I received from our journal. ■

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Sari Hanafi is currently a Professor of Sociology at the American University of Beirut and editor of the Arabic language journal, *Idafat: the Arab Journal of Sociology*. At the ISA World Congress of 2014 in Yokohama he was elected ISA Vice-President for National Associations. He is also a member of the Arab Council for Social Sciences. He is the author of numerous journal articles and book chapters on the Palestinian diaspora and refugees; sociology of migration; politics of scientific research; civil society and elite formation and transitional justice. Among his recent books are: *UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees: From Relief and Works to Human Development* (edited with L. Takkenberg and L. Hilal, 2014); *The Power of Inclusive Exclusion: Anatomy of Israeli Rule in The Occupied Palestinian Territories* (edited with A. Ophir and M. Givoni, 2009, in English and Arabic). His forthcoming book is *Arab Research and Knowledge Society: The Impossible Promise* (with Rigas Arvanitis).