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Redeeming
W.E.B. Du Bois

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Pluralism in Social
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Donatella della Porta

Sociology in the
Arab World

Sari Hanafi

Politics in the Middle East

- > The Lebanese Garbage Crisis
- > Normalizing Extreme Violence
- > Protecting Civilians

Sociology after Communism

- > On Being Human in an Inhuman World
- > The Genesis of a Chinese Public Sociologist

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- > Going Local, Going Public
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> Editorial

Sociology from the Margins

The most innovative sociology often comes from the margins of academia and sometimes even from outside academia altogether. A case in point is W.E.B. Du Bois, probably the most significant US sociologist to have walked the planet. He is the subject of Aldon Morris's new book, *The Scholar Denied*, featured in this issue. Morris shows that Du Bois, an African-American sociologist trained in Germany and Harvard, led and organized the Atlanta School of Sociology, every bit as scientific and rigorous as the hallowed Chicago School. Were it not for the racism of academia then and, indeed, now, Du Bois would have been recognized as the true founder of US sociology. Unappreciated and unrecognized he left academia to become an editor and commentator on public affairs, from where he authored some of the most significant books on race and class, the subjective experience of racism, Pan-Africanism, and US imperialism.

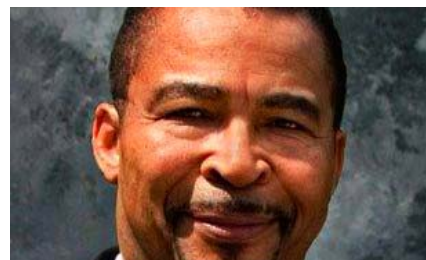
In this issue we have other representatives of sociology from the margins. Dmitri Shalin describes the courage and integrity with which Vladimir Yadov engaged the bureaucratic structures of the Soviet Union and the vision he carried forward into the post-Soviet period. Similarly, François Lachapelle describes how Shen Yuan's experience as a Marxist-Leninist and Red Guard led him to a critical sociology, becoming a charismatic figure who inspires the imagination of his students. Sari Hanafi, here interviewed by Mohammed El Idrissi, followed the difficult road from the Palestinian refugee camps of Syria to a sociology doctorate in France and lengthy periods in Cairo and Ramallah before settling in Beirut where he founded and edits the *Arab Journal of Sociology*, *Idafat*. Fearless in his critique of authorities he lives a precarious existence, giving energy to sociology in the Middle East.

Staying in the Middle East, Nisrine Chaer offers a fascinating analysis of the Lebanese garbage crisis and the social movements they generated, while Lisa Hajjar and Amitai Etzioni argue with one another about the legitimacy of the real and potential extension of Israeli violence against Lebanese civilians.

Finally we make the rounds of national associations. We have a series of articles from Austria – an introduction to the Third ISA Forum that will be held in Vienna, July 10-14, 2016, followed by four articles showcasing the exciting research of young Austrian sociologists. From the US, Riley Dunlap and Robert Brulle summarize their impressive collection on climate change that emerged from a Task Force of the American Sociological Association. We also reproduce statements by the ISA Executive Committee and by Indian sociologists condemning violence and threats to freedom of expression on Indian campuses. From Australia, Raewyn Connell culls together her long experience in teaching young sociologists how to write up their research. We end with introductions to *Global Dialogue*'s pioneering Kazakh team who have taken on the daunting challenge of translating sociology into their national language.

> **Global Dialogue can be found in 16 languages at the [ISA website](#)**

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



Aldon Morris, leading US sociologist, redeems African-American intellectual and politician, W.E.B. Du Bois, as the founding figure of US sociology.



Donatella della Porta, Italian sociologist, recounts how she became one of the leading scholars of social movements in the world today.



Sari Hanafi, Vice-President of the ISA and editor of the *Arab Journal of Sociology* talks about the challenges facing Arab sociology.



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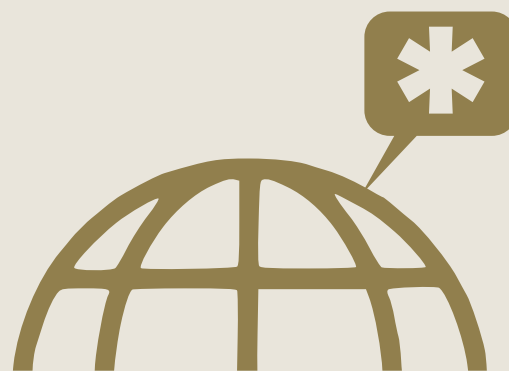
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> Redeeming W.E.B. Du Bois

by **Aldon Morris**, Northwestern University, Evanston, USA



Aldon Morris.

Aldon Morris is well known for his paradigm-changing research on social movements and in particular his prize-winning book, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* that emphasized the organizational and cultural basis of social protest. In this article he presents his new and long-awaited *The Scholar Denied* (University of California Press, 2015) that plots the early history of US sociology as an account of the ascendancy of the Chicago School and the marginalization of the Atlanta School, as represented by a contest between their two leading figures, Robert Park and the African-American W.E.B. Du Bois. Morris shows how Du Bois' Atlanta school developed a research program every bit as impressive as the Chicago School, although by no means as well known. Racism within the field of professional sociology shaped the rise of Chicago sociology and the evolution of sociology more generally. Today Du Bois continues to be an inspirational figure in social thought within and beyond sociology, while Robert Park has withered on the vine. In terms of his accomplishments W.E.B. Du Bois should rightly be considered the founder of US sociology.

W. E.B. Du Bois was a twentieth-century African-American historian, novelist, poet, public intellectual, journalist, activist/leader, and sociologist. Of all these, Du Bois is least known for his work as a pioneering sociologist. Rather, he is usually viewed as a radical public intellectual who became a leader of Black Americans because of his epic ideological struggles with the powerful conservative Black leader, Booker T. Washington.

Yet in my new book, *The Scholar Denied: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*, I argue that Du Bois developed America's first scientific school of sociology: the Du Bois-Atlanta School, which flowered in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Developed at Atlan-

ta University (now Clark Atlanta, a small, financially poor, Black university in Atlanta, Georgia), its members included Black scholars, undergraduate and graduate students, and community leaders. Born on the periphery of elite academies, the Du Bois-Atlanta School included professional and amateur researchers, whose empirical work and theoretical analyses gave rise to a scientific approach embedded in an oppressed community.

Du Bois' enterprise was insurgent in that it developed anti-hegemonic analyses of racial and social inequalities. During this era, social Darwinism, which justified American racial apartheid and European colonization of colored people worldwide, was the reigning sociological perspective, providing ideological support to white empires in Europe

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and America. Intense racism went hand in hand with a consensus throughout American social and natural sciences that Black people were biologically inferior. As a sociological scholar, Du Bois set out to disprove the claim that racial inequality resulted from biologically-determined racial traits. Rather, he theorized that racial inequality was driven by discrimination and oppression. Beginning with his *Philadelphia Negro*, published in 1899, and continuing through subsequent studies, Du Bois' School produced empirical evidence which systematically discredited "scientific" racism.

The Scholar Denied documents Du Bois' efforts to assemble a research team, producing an insurgent sociology under the auspices of the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory. In contrast to dominant armchair sociology, Du Bois' School employed multi-method approaches, using quantitative and qualitative research to overthrow claims of inherent Black inferiority. The School's innovations with respect to data-gathering were prompted by an urgent theoretical (and liberatory) project: to determine the scientific causes of racial inequality and, thereby, to discredit dominant sociological and popular doctrines, which held that Blacks were naturally inferior, forever stuck at the bottom of human civilization.

From these scientific efforts, Du Bois and his colleagues began to formulate a broader theoretical contribution, arguing that the color line – a durable global structure of white supremacy undergirded by similar economic, political, and ideological forces worldwide – had produced the race stratification which shaped the social world of the twentieth century. Races, in this view, were sociological creations, not biological entities. In the early twentieth century, American sociologists clung to biologically-driven arguments as explanations for sociological realities; in contrast, Du Bois privileged structural analyses, while recognizing that human agency impacted social structures – and could sometimes transform them. Moreover, Du Bois stressed that to explain social inequality, sociologists would have to examine interactions between class, race, and gender. Thus, the quest for human liberation must include simultaneous struggles to overthrow class and race oppressions.

In his early work, Du Bois developed the concept of "double consciousness," theorizing the self as a social product arising from social interaction and communication but significantly shaped by race and power; later, he argued that modernity was built upon the African slave trade and slavery, which made available the labor force and crucial commodities that would be exploited by western bourgeoisies to develop modern capitalism.

American sociology's long-accepted wisdom has traced scientific sociology to the University of Chicago, where an all-white male faculty is said to have developed a scientific

sociology, and then diffused this approach to America's other elite white universities. But *The Scholar Denied* shatters this mythological origin story, showing instead how the Du Bois-Atlanta School developed scientific sociology two decades earlier. Yet although Du Bois developed the first scientific school of American sociology, white sociologists, threatened by the School's radical ideas, especially pertaining to race, employed economic, political, and ideological power to suppress Du Bois' perspective for a century. *The Scholar Denied* demonstrates that Du Bois' School produced scholarship superior to that of Chicago sociologists and other white founders. Nevertheless, institutional discrimination delayed the integration of Du Bois' many contributions into the mainstream of US sociology for much of the twentieth century; even today, although many of his most influential ideas have been absorbed into the sociological canon, these insights have been misattributed to white sociologists.

The Du Bois-Atlanta School had to overcome tremendous odds. In stark contrast to white sociologists whose status quo agenda was lavishly supported by captains of industry who welcomed the legitimation provided by so-called "objective science," Du Bois was denied professorships at prestigious universities, and lacked resources those universities might have provided. At his financially-starved Black university, Du Bois was paid a paltry salary, denied adequate research funds, and his radical ideas were monitored and often rebuffed by prestigious publishing venues.

In *The Scholar Denied*, I document how Du Bois' School developed an indigenous sociological program challenging the scientific racism then widely-espoused throughout American universities. Du Bois anchored this School in the subjugated Black community, where he drew on the meager resources of the community's relatively-privileged members. These scholars, students, and community leaders received miserly wages for their scholarly work; some volunteered their labor to produce an insurgent sociology. Together with Du Bois, they believed scholarly research could serve as a weapon to debunk white supremacy, toiling voluntarily in the hope that their work would support freedom in the future.

Du Bois' School utilized liberation capital to execute an indigenous sociology. With community support, the Atlanta School generated a research program that Burawoy describes as one characterized by an "embedded autonomy of public sociology [which] allowed [Du Bois] and his African-American colleagues to create and sustain a distinctive sociology that was more scientific than Chicago sociology – that still retained strong influences of a speculative philosophy of history – and [was] also more critical of the status quo."

The Atlanta School did not generate aloof, detached, sociology. Rather, it engaged in a public sociology, seeking

to eradicate national and global inequalities. As early as 1900, Du Bois began organizing Pan African Congresses, assembling leaders and scholars of African ancestry from around the world to examine ideas that might help overthrow racist regimes of Jim Crow (laws enforcing racial segregation in the Southern US) and colonization. At home, Du Bois helped organize the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, both of which attacked white supremacy head-on. He founded *The Crisis Magazine*, a journal which analyzed, and thundered against, gender and class oppression and war. Throughout his long life, Du Bois was a fierce critic of the status quo, always seeking to expose social structures or cultural formations that blocked human freedom.

As Michael Burawoy has argued, sociology must return to its radical roots if it is to remain relevant. Critical analyses illuminating power and human domination can be found in indigenous sociologies, post-colonial sociologies, southern theory; even within Western bourgeois sociologies, radical strands which seek to boldly speak truth to power can be found. Du Bois' School offers what Burawoy terms a "paradigmatic forerunner of such challenges to dominant perspectives" – a contribution too often rendered invisible by the School's marginalization. Building on Du Bois' example, *The Scholar Denied* demonstrates that sociological scholarship needs to be political, engaged, and rigor-

ous, especially if it is to engage in public debates. Indeed, subaltern sociologies must be even more rigorous than those produced within the status quo, precisely because the stakes are so high. Sociologists continue to miss the significance of Du Bois' sociology because they believe he merely produced "Black empirical sociology," or addressed "Black issues" in his role as a towering public intellectual; but this view restricts Du Bois' insights to a narrow ghetto, applicable only to the sociology of Black people rather than contributing to broader theory or methodology. The evidence offered in *The Scholar Denied* should dispel these misleading claims, placing Du Bois and his School firmly in the pantheon of sociology, alongside Marx, Weber and Durkheim, where he belongs – allowing sociologists to inherit the wisdom of the Du Bois-Atlanta School, enriching their own sociological imaginations.

At the end of *The Scholar Denied*, I conclude with a final reflection on the import of the Du Bois School's contribution to sociology: if an innovative scientific school could take root in the worst of times, amid the terrorism of lynch mobs, attacks from elites within the community it sought to liberate, and discrimination from a racist society that withheld crucial resources, then perhaps there is hope for all who work to produce knowledge with the goal of understanding and transforming humanity. ■

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> The Pluralism of Social Movement Studies

by **Donatella della Porta**, Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence, Italy



| Donatella della Porta.

Donatella della Porta is one of the internationally best known and most prolific scholars in the area of social movements. Her work spans many countries, but particularly Europe and Latin America, and bridges several disciplines, especially sociology and political science. A champion of a multi-method approach to research, she is the author or co-author of 38 books. Her recent research spans the area of political sociology: from political violence (*Clandestine Political Violence*, 2013), the policing of protest (*Can Democracy Be Saved?*, 2013), political corruption (*The Hidden Order of Corruption*, written with Alberto Vannucci, 2012), the relations of social movements to democracy (*Mobilizing for Democracy*, 2014), to responses to neoliberalism (*Social Movements in Times of Austerity*, 2015). She has long been devoted to young scholars from different countries, something she continues in her new position as Dean of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences at Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence where she also directs the Center on Social Movement Studies (Cosmos). In the following article she outlines her vision of and commitment to social movement studies.

My interest in social movements emerged through different routes. At the core, there was for sure a profound interest in protest, linked to my experiences of student activism, as well as frustration about what looked then like very tiny results for very big investments of resources and great hopes. There was, however, also contingency, which I think is always a causal factor in scholars' lives. In my case, engagement in this field of research emerged casually, after I had asked Alain Touraine, who had published works on dependent societies (a topic particularly congenial for a Southerner like myself) to supervise my master's thesis at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He answered that he was willing, but he had shifted his focus to social movements. And I thought, why not?

Several other fortunate contingencies brought me in contact with a growing and energetic network of scholars looking for new paradigms to explain social movements, including Sidney Tarrow, who commented on my very first article on social movements and has been a life-long mentor and friend. Writing my PhD in an international program at the European University Institute gave me not only language skills, but also, and especially, a taste for other cultures. Mentors there, from Philippe Schmitter to Alessandro Pizzorno, cultivated my curiosity that took me beyond disciplinary borders. After my PhD, academic nepotism in the Italian academia pushed me towards exciting experiences abroad, transforming a negative experience of migration into the very positive one of "deep-rooted cosmopolitanism." Very fortunate contingencies also gave me opportunities to develop collaborations with junior scholars, and to build nets and centers of research, including the founding of the Center of Social Movement Studies (Cosmos), now located at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence, Italy.

While exploring other topics in my research and teaching, I have remained most attached to social movement studies, for several reasons – cognitive, affective, and relational. First of all, I found most researchers who addressed this topic congenial as human beings, often moved by a sincere interest in improving the world. Their experiences of social and

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political commitment have often been criticized by scholars addressing more mainstream topics, but I found instead that they proved most fruitful in developing the subfield, as well as improving the affective climate among scholars in the field. Moreover, political circumstances also dictated constant theoretical innovation: a field in which unconventional politics had been considered marginal or pathological was deeply challenged by new waves of protest – protest that led to increasing social and scholarly acceptance of “another politics” outside the normal parliamentary terrain.

This broader definition of politics also explains why social movement studies tend to involve a propensity for theoretical cross-fertilization. Emerging through a bridging of different disciplinary approaches – from symbolic interactionism to organizational sociology, from sociological theory to political science – social movement scholars constructed a toolkit of concepts and hypotheses by combining inputs from different fields of knowledge. This trend broadened over time, from sociology to political science, extending to include geography, history, anthropology, normative theory, law and (even) economics, as each new burst of contentious politics brought new generations into social movement scholarship.

What I also appreciated (and hope I have contributed to) is a positive attitude towards empirical research. Theoretically eclectic, social movement studies have also been pluralist from the methodological point of view. Research on social movements has used very different methods, bridging qualitative and quantitative methodologies. While there has been criticism and self-criticism related to the planning and implementation of specific methods (from case studies to quantitative “event analysis”), no methodological war has erupted, and methodological pluralism has dominated the field. While, in many subfields of the social sciences, a common narrative pits positivist versus interpretive perspectives at the epistemological level, or debates contrast ontological assumptions about the existence of a real world, social movement scholars tend toward more nuanced views. Even researchers who lean to more neo-positivist assumptions have recognized the importance of the construction of concepts, while constructivists have not abandoned the search for inter-subjective knowledge. Most social movement research combines attention to structures and perceptions (e.g., political opportunities and the framing thereof), considering them intimately linked. Similarly, most researchers combine some skepticism about general laws with a desire to go beyond atheoretical case studies.

This inclusive view has stimulated cross-fertilization and a certain capacity for building common knowledge. Induc-

tive and deductive approaches have been combined in this process, as have qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Mixed-method strategies, with a triangulation of different methods, have been widely practiced. In fact, social movement studies have been pragmatic about the use of the various techniques available for data collection and data analysis. And, while few social movement scholars seem to believe either that social science is neutral, or that it should be subjected to political aims, the degree of political commitment promoted in scientific work ranges along a continuum, provoking interesting normative and ethical debates.

There are various explanations for this refreshing theoretical pluralism. Of course, given the lack of reliable databases of the sort that can be found, for instance, in studies of elections or social stratification, social movement scholars use various techniques to collect data. Existing surveys of an entire population are of little help for investigating active minorities, while social movement organizations rarely keep archives, or even lists of participants. Importing and adapting methods of data gathering and data analysis from other fields, as well as inventing new ones, have helped strengthen empirical analysis. There has also been normative pressure to create knowledge that is oriented not only towards scientific theorization, but also towards social intervention; co-research planned together with the object of the study has also prompted new methodological reflections.

Notwithstanding these positive trends, social movement studies are permanently at risk of becoming victims of their own success. Especially, while growing tremendously in the last decades, they retained a focus on the Global North, often finding it difficult to liaise with research on contentious politics in the Global South. The general trend towards internationalization in the social sciences has some very positive aspects – especially when internationalization is understood in terms of experiences in different countries, academic institutions, or cultures. Internationalization can make us aware of different approaches, methods, styles, practices, putting one’s own national experience in comparative perspective; it supports a critical gaze and intellectual pluralism. However, internationalization by attachment to a specific tradition (or evolution of that tradition) can be more problematic. Having had the great fortune to have supervised and mentored research on social movements by doctoral students and post-doctoral fellows from as many as 35 different countries, I have learned from them how much we gain in going beyond mainstream Anglo-Saxon approaches and other orthodoxies. My faith in this continuous stimulus coming from younger generations makes me optimistic about the capacity for self-reflexivity in social movement studies. ■

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> Sociology in the Arab World

An Interview with Sari Hanafi



| Sari Hanafi.

Sari Hanafi is currently a Professor of Sociology and Chair of the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Media Studies at the American University of Beirut. He is also the editor of *Idafat: the Arab Journal of Sociology* (in Arabic), and Vice-President of both the International Sociological Association and the Arab Council of Social Science. His research interests include the sociology of migration, the politics of scientific research, as well as civil society, elite formation, and transitional justice. His most recent book, *Knowledge Production in the Arab World: The Impossible Promise* was written with R. Arvanitis and published in both Arabic and English. Few have contributed more to the development of the sociology of the Arab World; few have made greater strides in mediating between Arab and Western sociologies than Sari Hanafi. He is interviewed by Mohammed El Idrissi, Professor of Sociology at El Jadida in Morocco.

MEI: *You grew up in the Palestinian refugee camp of Yarmouk in Damascus and originally enrolled in Civil Engineering before going into Sociology. Did your social background affect your decision to make that change?*

SH: Yes indeed! At that time, in the early 1980s, I was very politicized, I wanted to change the world! Of course, now I barely understand it. Then, two issues were preoccupying me: colonized Palestine and the authoritarianism in Syria; these issues drove me to Sociology. I was marked by my first arrest after a demonstration for the Day of Land in the Yarmouk refugee camp in Damascus where I grew up. An intelligence officer told me then: "All your group would fill less than one bus; you can easily be taken to prison!" Arab authoritarian states have always underestimated the importance of such "bus people" – whether defined as dissident intellectuals or more generally as an enlightened mid-

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dle class – in stirring protests. I took refuge in Foucault's analysis of the microphysics of power and bio-politics. I went to France to pursue his thinking. I wanted a scientific analysis of the state elite, but at the same time, my own activism helped me understand sociology not only as a professional and critical enterprise, in Burawoy's typology, but also as public engagement and policy advocacy.

MEI: What have been the challenges of combining professional and public sociology?

SH: In the Arab world, this has not been easy. Sociology, like all other social sciences, is best understood not as a martial art, disarming people of their common sense and ideologies, as Pierre Bourdieu proposes, but as a tool of the state in its modernization projects. Two forces seek to delegitimize the social sciences: the authoritarian political elite and some ideological groups, in particular certain religious authorities. Both emphasize the social sciences' problematic origins (their emergence during the colonial era) and their foreign funding. Nowadays I believe that the problem is not only with religious groups but also with what I call the Arab "illiberal" Left. Both are so arrogant that they tend to overlook changes on the ground and resist such universal values as democracy. Of course, the Arab uprisings revealed some positive cognitive developments, but social science has not had much impact in pushing for change and rationalizing debate – except in Tunisia, an exceptional case where academics have played an important role in fostering dialogue in society and collaborating with civil society. The 2015 Nobel Prize awarded to the National Dialogue Quartet was a significant symbolic victory.

MEI: Have sociologists contributed to such positive cognitive developments in post-Arab uprisings era?

SH: Most of the post-colonial studies in the region have been simplistic, incapable of comprehending changes in the Arab world. Many Arab uprisings so far have failed, not simply because of the imperialism and post-colonial domination but because of deeply-rooted and protracted authoritarianism, and because of the lack of trust on the part of people who are in the process of learning values such as pluralism, democracy, freedom, and social justice. The Arab world needs sociological tools to understand social movements along the lines described by Asef Bayat, that is, the silent, protracted but pervasive encroachment of ordinary people on the propertied and powerful in order to survive and improve their lives.

In my view, public sociology always seeks to provoke discussion about the capacity of social actors to transform their society. As a sociologist, my role is to show that there is no pure evil or pure good. Sociology, with its sociological imagination and focus on the agency of actors, reminds us of the complex nature of social phenomena. In other words, sociology reminds the public to think of people's

struggles, beyond the recurring explanations of conflicts as geopolitical (x and y states are providing the "opposition" with means of warfare) and beyond conflicts between ethnic groups (which is, alas, the way many scholars, media and lay persons understand conflict in countries like Syria or Bahrain). Sociology also reminds us to analyze alliances in terms of converging interests, not in terms of camps (camp of resistance vs. camp of imperialism, etc.); that it is not only the Islamic State (ISIS) that uses *takfir* (accusations of apostasy) to generate *homo sacer* (a human who can be killed without being judged and without due process), but also those who throw barrel bombs at civilians. Sociology reminds us that youth did not join ISIS simply because they have read specific books or followed certain ways of interpreting the Quran, but because they have been living in a context of political and social exclusion.

MEI: And what role has public sociology actually played in the Arab World?

SH: The Arab world has still to acknowledge the important role of social science in rationalizing societal debate and providing solutions to problems facing our modernity. In the Arab region, we rarely hear of a "white paper" written by social scientists at the request of public authorities and then debated in the public sphere. Even when the Tunisian dictator Zein Al-Dine Ben Ali used science as an ideological weapon in his ruthless struggle against the Tunisian Islamists during the 1990s, he did not refer to the social sciences but the hard sciences. Scientific meetings are treated like any other public meetings, and held under police surveillance. At the same time, sociologists haven't helped themselves: they have failed to constitute a scientific community that could develop an influential voice or protect those who are critical of power.

MEI: This is a very important point: Why is the scientific community so weak in the region?

SH: You need two processes to strengthen a scientific community: the profession must have a status, but that status must also be institutionalized through national associations. Both are missing in the Arab world. There are only three active sociological associations (Lebanon, Tunisia, Morocco), and interestingly, there is much less state repression in these three countries than in other Arab countries. Recently, the newly-established Arab Council for Social Science has been discussing how this organization might foster the emergence of such associations.

As I said before, the scientific community should be organized to face not only repressive states but also those forces that seek to delegitimize social science. Religious authorities have often felt threatened by social scientists as the two groups compete in public discourse. Once I watched a tense television debate involving a religious leader and an activist: the late Sheikh Mohamed Said Ramadan al-Bouti

(who argued that Islam is against any form of family planning) and an anti-clerical activist from the General Union of Syrian Women, a state-sponsored organization. While family planning falls squarely within the domain of sociology and demography, no social scientist was ever brought into these public debates. Another example comes from Qatar. The Qatari authorities protect themselves from conservative political and religious commissars by asking Qatari branches of foreign universities to teach the same curriculum as would be taught at their university headquarters. However, who would protect professors within these parachuting universities? In a recent interview, the President of Carnegie Mellon University in Qatar, in order to “protect himself,” insisted that the Qatari authorities are responsible for the university’s curriculum. So everyone tries to preempt debate, in a problematic context where the freedom of expression is very limited. The development of a “sphere for science” could become an extra-territorial space of exception, in the sense that local laws would not necessarily apply bestowing the freedom to criticize the surrounding society, but running the risk of being disconnected from societal needs.

MEI: As a Vice-President of the International Sociological Association (ISA), how can you foster the institutionalization of the sociological community?

SH: The ISA can play a major role in this regard. At the 2014 Yokohama World Congress I was elected to serve all National Associations for four years. I committed myself to five priorities: First, I would encourage more North-South collaboration at the level of individuals, institutions and collective sociological communities. Second, I hope to encourage sociologists from all over the world, but particularly South America, Africa and the Middle East, to join the Association, as the number of ISA members in these regions is still fairly small. Third, I will try to raise funds to subsidize the participation of sociologists from poorer countries (categories B and C) at ISA conferences. Fourth, I will encourage national associations in South America, Africa and the Middle East as well as Europe to become collective members of the ISA. Finally, I want the ISA to participate more effectively in supporting national scientific communities by paying more visits to their associations and encouraging regional networking. So my task ahead is colossal. ■

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> The Biopolitics of the Lebanese Garbage Crisis

by **Nisrine Chaer**, Utrecht University, The Netherlands



| Garbage piles up in Beirut.

In August 2015, Lebanon's protests, responding to a garbage crisis, transformed into a popular anti-corruption movement. The waste management crisis provides a lens into Lebanon's biopolitics, revealing the ways Lebanon's state and sectarian parties reflect and reinforce patterns of class and citizenship-based violence.

Beirut's garbage crisis started in July 2015, as waste began to accumulate on city streets. The government had ended a long-standing contract with the waste collection company Sukleen – a relationship considered typical of Lebanon's privatization patterns, in which government contracts have been shaped by elite political allegiances, corruption, and theft. The “You Stink” campaign,

composed of middle-class civil society and social media activists, reached out to a larger public, including civil society organizations, student groups, leftist, anti-sectarian, and feminist collectives, mobilizing protesters by speaking to larger issues: corruption, nepotism, lack of public space, the abolition of the sectarian regime, and the enforcement of accountability for police violence.

More than 70,000 people participated in a key protest on August, 29. But a turning point occurred a week before, when You Stink's organizers distanced themselves from protesters on the streets. The protests had taken a violent turn, and many were accused of being *Moundassin* – an Arabic word for thugs or infiltrators – and of sabotaging the nonviolent protest.

You Stink even called on the authorities to crack down on “infiltrators” and “clean the streets” of violent protesters, claiming that these protesting youths were “thugs” from the Amal political party. In the following days many demonstrators (mainly leftists) challenged You Stink with slogans like “I am a *Moundassin*” (“I’m an infiltrator”) and denounced the derogatory condescension inherent in the term *Moundassin* – prompting You Stink's leaders to issue an apology.

But the incident revealed a deep divide. In their use of *Moundassin* the Lebanese media, politicians and some activists reproduced a classist/racist discourse, dismissing protesters and emphasizing their “different physical appearance.” One Lebanese newspaper called them “dogs,” while



Followers of “You Stink” protest against Lebanese Government.

others have dismissed them as “men with naked chests,” and “men with masks.” Some media affiliated with Sunni and Christian political parties claimed that protestors come from working-class Shiite neighborhoods like Khanda’ El Ghamik, and linked them to the Hizbullah party; others claimed that the protestors were Syrian and Palestinian refugees.

The response to protestors was brutal: riot police deployed weapons to destroy and detain their bodies. Armed with the label of *Moundassin*, the technology of dehumanization justified the use of violence against protestors from low-income classes and non-Lebanese backgrounds. Within the Lebanese biopolitical system, the so-called *Moundassin* – working-class and non-citizen subjects – are criminalized and left to die, in contrast to the privileged elites whose bodies are considered worthy of life, and are allowed to live.

Protestors responded by organizing and practicing informal forms of care to protect participants from police violence. After each wave of arbitrary detentions, sit-ins were spontaneously initiated in front of prisons, and repeated and transformed into practices of resistance. Sarcastic and humorous banners criticized the demonization and the use of the term *Indiseis* (infiltration). Some had written “Je suis *Khanda*” (the name of

the region from which the *Moundassin* were said to come from), “We are the *Moundassin*,” “#*Indiseis*,” “This is the revolution of *Indiseis*,” “Come and *Indass* and see how soft I am,” while others ridiculed undercover police “infiltrators” in the crowd.

This kind of reclamation of *Moundassin* spread. When the head of Beirut’s Traders Association claimed that “communist” protesters (“that Russia vomited”) would destroy the economy and the country’s “civilized” face, protestors turned downtown Beirut into *Souk Abou Rakhousa*, “the market of the *cheapo*,” creating a big flea market in the illegally privatized, inaccessible, “fancy” space of downtown Beirut, attracting thousands of people collectively parodying the comments and entertaining themselves in the newly-reclaimed space.

What insights into Lebanese class system and citizenship can we glean from protests over city waste? Lebanon’s system of regulation allows political elites to benefit from bids on waste management; these elites are connected with the population through a complex web of capitalist-economic relationships reinforced by political sectarianism. Biopolitics in Lebanon involve a neoliberal state and sectarian actors who convert life and elite bodies into superior economic categories, while subjugating and controlling non-elite bodies.

Most landfills are located in marginalized areas. In fact, Sukleen’s contract ended just as residents of the Na’ameh region blocked a road into a major landfill which has posed serious health hazards and ecological damage to the area since its opening in 1998. Although the government had promised to close it in 2004, it was still in use in 2015. Those living near the landfill are exposed to dangerous environmental hazards, to toxins and carcinogens, illustrating the relationship between class and the garbage crisis; the government and sectarian parties control the bodies of people living near landfills, exposing them to a slow death.

The patterns of dehumanization and police brutality and the environmental violence resulting from landfills exemplify the architecture of the Lebanese order that has been ruled by the same corrupted leaders for several decades. The garbage crisis and the accumulation of waste on the streets not only made the corruption of the political authorities more visible, but it also revealed the class and racial dimensions of violence that are deeply inscribed in the sectarian nation-state and its policies. ■

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> Normalizing Extreme Violence: The Israeli Case

by **Lisa Hajjar**, University of California, Santa Barbara, USA



Smoke and fire from the explosion of an Israeli strike rise over Gaza City, July, 2014.

On February 15, 2016, Amitai Etzioni, sociologist and professor at George Washington University, published an op-ed in Israel's *Ha'aretz* titled "Should Israel Consider Using Devastating Weapons Against Hezbollah Missiles?"¹ Quoting, first, an unnamed Israeli offi-

cial who claimed that Hezbollah has 100,000 missiles which pose a major security threat, Etzioni asserts that most of these missiles are located in private homes, citing Israel's chief of staff. Sending Israeli ground forces to destroy the missiles "would very likely result in many Israeli casualties – as well as Lebanese civilians," Etzioni

suggests; another option he discusses involves using Fuel-Air Explosives (FAE) to “disperse an aerosol cloud of fuel which is ignited by a detonator, producing massive explosions... [capable of flattening] all buildings within a considerable range.” He concedes that even if people living in targeted areas were forewarned, civilian casualties would be inevitable. Therefore, he argues, because “Israel may be forced to use FAEs,” foreign military experts and public intellectuals, “who are not known to be hostile to Israel,” should fashion a response to these missiles’ impact – in the hope, Etzioni writes, of generating “a greater understanding, if not outright acceptance, of the use of these powerful weapons, given that nothing else will do.”

States have the right to defend themselves from security threats, but the use of armed force is governed by international humanitarian law (IHL) – premised, above all, on the obligations to distinguish between combatants and military targets on one hand, and civilians and civilian objects on the other. States may use force proportional to military targets, and necessary to achieve legitimate military objectives; but even if it were true that Hizbullah missiles are located in civilian homes, any scenario involving massively destructive weapons such as FAEs would violate basic humanitarian principles of distinction and proportionality.

In suggesting that foreign military experts and public intellectuals should assist in preemptively normalizing the extreme violence that would result from the use of FAEs, Etzioni’s suggestion parallels Israel’s approach to international humanitarian law. Unlike those states and militant groups that flagrantly disregard IHL, Israel has a long record of engaging in strategic reinterpretation, hoping to bring its own violence “into the law.” For example, in 2000, Israel became the first state to publicly assert a right to engage in extra-judicial execution as a secu-

rity policy option. As Daniel Reisner, former head of Israel’s Military Advocate General’s International Law Division, explained:

*What we are seeing now is a revision of international law [...] If you do something for long enough, the world will accept it. The whole of international law is now based on the notion that an act that is forbidden today becomes permissible if executed by enough countries [...] International law progresses through violations.*²

Etzioni’s scenario involving the use of FAEs builds on some specific developments in Israel’s recent militarized conflicts, and the rationales the government has put forward to justify its strategic shifts toward more non-discriminating and destructive violence. In September 2000, at the start of the second intifada, which officials described as an “armed conflict short of war,”³ Israel asserted that in self-defense, it had a right to attack what it called an “enemy entity” – that is, areas of the occupied West Bank and Gaza under the semi-autonomous control of the Palestinian Authority. In late March 2002, in response to a deadly suicide bombing by a Hamas operative in a Netanya hotel, Israel launched a massive military campaign in the West Bank. “Operation Defensive Shield” signaled a new strategy – termed “mowing the grass”⁴ – designed to inflict punishing levels of violence and destruction, with the aim of both debilitating present capacities and deterring future violence against Israel. On April 9, during the battle of Jenin (Israel’s largest military operation since the 1982 invasion of Lebanon), thirteen Israeli soldiers, all reservists, were killed in an ambush – generating intense political pressure within Israel to take the camp quickly, without further soldier casualties. Consequently, instead of sending soldiers into buildings to capture or kill fighters, some buildings were shelled first, and Palestinians were forced to act as hu-

man shields to precede and protect soldiers.⁵ At that time, the use of ground troops was considered more appropriately proportional than aerial bombing would have been, considering the military’s goals. But urban operations are tactically difficult and more dangerous to the state’s own forces. The use of human shields was a force-protecting strategy, but in a 2005 ruling, the Israel High Court of Justice prohibited the practice.

Together, these factors motivated a strategic shift toward greater violence projected from the air or from a distance. On July 22, 2002, in a targeted operation to kill Salah Shehadeh, a Hamas leader, an F-16 dropped a one-ton bomb in the densely populated Gaza neighborhood of al-Daraj. The bomb destroyed the apartment building where Shehadeh lived and eight nearby buildings, partially destroying nine others. In addition to Shehadeh and his guard, fourteen Palestinians, including eight children, were killed, and more than 150 people were injured. Public outcry about the size of the bomb and the targeting of a residential neighborhood prompted the Israeli military to conduct an investigation, which concluded that the military was justified in targeting Shehadeh as a perpetrator of terrorist violence – although it conceded that there had been “shortcomings in the information available,” namely the presence of “innocent civilians” in the vicinity of what was described as Shehadeh’s “operational hideout.”⁶

This rhetoric of “innocent civilians” amidst “legitimate targets” foreshadowed Israel’s reframing of “enemy civilians” as de facto human shields used by groups against whom Israel was waging war, in an effort to shift blame for the civilian casualties caused by Israeli strikes onto the organizations being targeted. In similar fashion, Israel’s strategic preference for aerial strikes over manned operations was framed as an “ethical” choice in an influential 2005 essay

co-authored by Asa Kashar, a Tel Aviv University professor and advisor to the Israeli military, and General Amos Yadlin. They wrote:

*Usually, the duty to minimize casualties among combatants during combat is the last on the list of priorities, or next to last, if terrorists are excluded from the category of noncombatants. We firmly reject such a conception because it is immoral. A combatant is a citizen in uniform. In Israel, quite often, he is a conscript or on reserve duty [...] The fact that persons involved in terror [...] reside and act in the vicinity of persons not involved in terror is not a reason for jeopardizing the combatant's life in their pursuit.*⁷

Such strategic reinterpretation to prioritize the safety of troops over civilians runs contrary to the principle of civilian immunity, and fabricates from whole cloth the “civilianization” of war-waging combatants. It also fundamentally contradicts the fact that IHL makes no room for distinguishing among civilians on the basis of national identity. Grégoire Chamayou describes this as “the principle of immunity for the imperial combatant,”⁸ arguing that “the project is nothing less than the dynamiting of the law of armed conflict as it was established in the second half of the twentieth century: an evisceration of the principles of international law in favor of a nationalism of self-preservation.”⁹

In 2005, Israel unilaterally withdrew its ground troops from Gaza and sealed off the region. Following the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, which were won by Hamas, and after the 2007 factional conflict which pushed the Palestinian Authority out of Gaza, the siege of the Strip intensified. This sequence of events bolstered Israel's claims that Gaza was a terrorist-controlled hostile entity populated by terrorist sympathizers, with civilians used by Hamas as human shields.¹⁰ This

official framing was comparable to Israel's rhetoric about Hizbullah-controlled areas of Lebanon, following Israel's unilateral withdrawal from occupied South Lebanon in 2000. Descriptions of Gaza as foreign, hostile, and attackable seemed to imply that Israel should not be held responsible for the safety of civilians – even during Israeli attacks. As Neve Gordon and Nicola Perugini explain, “The post-hoc framing is crucial to this process [of legitimizing bombing that kills large numbers of civilians] since it allows Israel to claim that violence was used in accordance with international law and is, as a consequence, ethical.”¹¹

During Israel's 2006 invasion of Lebanon, the military employed deliberately disproportionate force, under a strategy termed the “Dahiya doctrine,” in reference to the total destruction of a heavily Shi'ite southern Beirut suburb. In 2008, Major General Gadi Eizenkot, former head of Israel's Northern Command, stated, “What happened in the Dahiya quarter of Beirut in 2006 will happen in every village from which Israel is fired on [...] We will apply disproportionate force on it and cause great damage and destruction there. From our standpoint, these are not civilian villages, they are military bases [...] This is not a recommendation. This is a plan. And it has been approved.”¹² The strategic logic was further elaborated in October 2008 by Gabi Siboni, a retired colonel and strategic analyst, in the following terms:

The principle [is that] of a disproportionate strike against the enemy's weak points as a primary war effort, and operations to disable the enemy's missile launching capabilities as a secondary war effort [...] Such a response aims at inflicting damage and meting out punishment to an extent that will demand long and expensive reconstruction processes. The strike must be carried out as quickly as possible, and must prioritize damaging assets over seeking out each and every

*launcher [...] Such a response will create a lasting memory [...], thereby increasing Israeli deterrence and reducing the likelihood of hostilities against Israel for an extended period.*¹³

Indeed, two months after this new strategic doctrine of disproportionate force had been revealed, Israel launched “Operation Cast Lead” in Gaza. According to the report of a UN-authorized international fact-finding mission, both the Israeli military and Palestinian militants had committed war crimes and possible crimes against humanity. According to the report, Israel targeted “people of Gaza as a whole,” failing to distinguish between civilians and combatants; Israeli attacks on civilian infrastructure were deliberate, systematic, and part of a larger strategy.

The 2014 war on Gaza was by far the most violent and destructive episode to date. “Operation Pillar of Defense” included more than 6,000 air attacks, and the firing of about 50,000 artillery and tank shells – an estimated 21 kilotons of high explosives. The weapons included drones, Apache helicopters firing Hellfire missiles, and F-16s carrying 2000-pound bombs.¹⁴ Targets included a vast array of infrastructure – including desalination plants, electrical grids, hospitals, schools and universities, high-rise apartment buildings and shopping centers – as well as every structure identified with or alleged to be associated with Hamas. By the end of the war, more than 2,100 Palestinians had been killed and more than 11,000 injured, the vast majority of whom were civilians. Whole families were wiped out, and whole neighborhoods were razed.¹⁵

Interpretations of what is lawful in war – especially in this century when warring has changed so dramatically – is shaped in part by the practices of states, especially powerful states. Israel's use of extreme

violence and its deliberate disregard for foreign civilian immunity is certainly going to tempt other states engaged in asymmetric conflicts to assert similar justifications. Indeed, Etzioni's proposal that foreign military experts and public intellectuals should be recruited to preemptively

justify the future use of FAEs is an invitation to legitimize extreme violence. This scenario conversely suggests the role that can be played by social scientists who are knowledgeable about the relationship between law and war and are committed to international consensus-

based interpretations of IHL. This role involves efforts to deploy our expertise to maintain the illegitimacy of disproportionate force and non-discriminating weapons. ■

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¹ The title actually changed twice before settling on this version. See Ben Norton, "Prominent American Professor Proposes that Israel 'Flatten Beirut' – a 1 million-person city it previously decimated," *Salon*, February 18, 2016.

² Yotam Feldman and Uri Blau, "Consent and Advise," *Haaretz*, January 29, 2009, available at <http://www.haaretz.com/consent-and-advise-1.269127>.

³ See Asher Maoz, "War and Peace: An Israeli Perspective," *Constitutional Forum* 14 (2) (Winter 2005): 35-76.

⁴ Efraim Inbar and Eitan Shamir, "'Mowing the Grass': Israel's Strategy for Protracted Intractable Conflict," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37(1) (2014): 65-90.

⁵ Yael Stein, *Human Shields: Use of Palestinian Civilians as Human Shields in Violation of High Court of Justice Order* (Jerusalem: B'tselem, 2002).

⁶ IDF Spokesperson, "Findings of the inquiry into the death of Salah Shehadeh," August 2, 2002, available at <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/government/com-muniques/2002/findings+of+the+inquiry+into+the+death+of+salah+sh.htm>.

⁷ Kashar and Yadin, "Assassination and Preventive Killing," *SAIS Review*, 25(1) (Winter-Spring 2005): 50-51.

⁸ Grégoire Chamayou, *A Theory of the Drone*, trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: The New Press, 2015): 130.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.134.

¹⁰ See Neve Gordon and Nicola Perugini, "The Politics of Human Shielding: On the Resignification of Space and the Constitution of Civilians as Shields in Liberal Wars," *Society and Space*, 34(1) (2016): 168-187.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² "Israel Warns Hizbullah War Would Invite Destruction," *Ynet*, October 3, 2008, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3604893,00.html>.

¹³ Gabi Siboni, "Disproportionate Force: Israel's Concept of Response in Light of the Second Lebanon War," *INSS Insight*, 74 (October 2, 2008), <http://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4538&articleid=1964>.

¹⁴ Rashid Khalidi, "The Dahiya Doctrine, Proportionality, and War Crimes," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 44(1) (2014-15): 5.

¹⁵ See "50 Days of Death and Destruction: Israel's 'Operation Protective Edge'," Institute for Middle East Understanding, September 10, 2014, <http://imeu.org/article/50-days-of-death-destruction-israels-operation-protective-edge>.

> Protecting Civilians

Response to Hajjar

by **Amitai Etzioni**, George Washington University, Washington D.C., USA

Lisa Hajjar has positioned an op-ed I wrote as a next step in a multifaceted Israeli campaign to bring “its violence into the law.” In response, I first outline the motivation for the op-ed, and then try to address – within the space given – what I see as the underlying issue, and how it might be addressed.

I lost most of my friends and witnessed a great deal of killing and sorrow, of both Jews and Arabs, during the 1948-50 war. This formative experience (I turned 20 in the middle of the war) left me with a profound sense that all wars – whether or not they meet the criteria of just war – are tragic, and that we should go a long way to avoid them. I dedicated two books to seeking ways to avoid nuclear war (*The Hard Way to Peace and Winning without War*); demonstrated in Trafalgar Square against nukes; and nearly lost my job at Columbia University over my activism. I then became one of the first activists against the war in Vietnam (both experiences are described in *My Brother's Keeper: A Memoir and a Message*). I opposed the US invasion of Iraq. In *Security First*, I argue based on extensive academic research that a detailed examination of Islamic religious texts reveals that Islam *per se* does not legitimate violence. Most recently, I wrote over a score of articles and op-eds warning that the US and China were sliding toward war, and organized Chinese and American public intellectuals into a group supporting Mutually Assured Restraint. In short, although no one has a very good reading of their own work, much of my life since 1950 has been dedicated to curbing violence and to delimiting it.

Regrettably, I have been unable to find many concrete ways to contribute toward moving Israel and Palestine to a two-state solution, which I strongly favor. Together with Shibley Telhami, a Palestinian scholar, I suggested that moving forward might be possible if we stop focusing on the past, focusing on where we can go from here instead of asking who is to blame for our current tragic condition.

(Once we have two states, we wrote, there would be ample time to establish a Truth and Justice Commission to study the past).¹ And I pointed out that the land contains ample room for both people – in contrast to those who argue that one side needs to throw the other side either into the Mediterranean or into Jordan.² I grant you these short statements amount to very little. If only for the sake of my four grandchildren in Israel and their parents, I wish I could have done much more.

Now as to my recent op-ed. Hajjar believes the article seeks to bring violence into the law. Far from that, it seeks to avoid bloodshed. I do take it as factually incontestable that Hezbollah has amassed some 100,000 missiles, and that it seeks to destroy Israel. It has never sought to hide its intentions or powers. Hezbollah surely did not hesitate to rain missiles on Israel in 2006, despite the fact that – as even the UN, hardly biased in favor of Israel, found – Israel lived up to all its international obligations towards Lebanon after withdrawing its forces from Lebanon (where Israel had no right to be in the first place). Moreover, I believe that there is evidence that most of Hezbollah's missiles are placed in private homes. Surely it is fully legitimate to ask what should be done if this is where they are positioned.

I thus urged in my short op-ed, that before these missiles are once again unleashed, we should ask the ethical and legal and pragmatic question: how should Israel respond to such an attack? The goal is not to legalize violence, but to prevent it. If Israeli troops were to go from house to house to destroy these missiles, I pointed out, there would be a large number of casualties on *both sides* – and hence this should be avoided. In the past, I noted, the US targeted civilian populations in Tokyo and Dresden; Israel is said to have done the same in 2006 in Beirut. *I argued against this response.*³ I then reported that two American military experts suggested that high-power conventional explosives could be used – after the civilian population was given time

“The goal is not to legalize violence, but to prevent it”

to evacuate areas in which missiles are concentrated. I acknowledge that whatever precautions are taken, tragically there will be some collateral damage – damage which is found in all armed conflicts, whatever means of warfare are used. Such collateral damage is one of the major reasons all sides should seek to avoid war. I closed with the suggestion that outsiders should be asked to participate in war games, to see if they could come up with better ways to deter Hezbollah’s use of missiles, as well as suggesting better responses if missiles should be launched.

I am not in a position to evaluate either the suggestions of various Israelis quoted by Hajjar, or what effects their statements had. I can point out, however, that this is hardly an Israeli issue alone; treating it as such leads to the wrong conclusions. It is an issue the US and its allies face all over the Middle East (widely understood), a region in which terrorists regularly violate the rule of distinction – the most important rule of armed conflict. They store ammunition in mosques; deliver suicide vests in ambulances;

snipe from private homes; position artillery in schools, and use civilians as human shields.

Those who seek to counter terrorists are left with basically two options: either suffer a great number of casualties and be driven out of the area, leaving the likes of ISIS to brutalize the population, or hit civilian targets and cause massive casualties. *Neither is acceptable*. My op-ed urged readers to consider how this tragic dilemma might be addressed – an exercise about which Hajjar’s extensive statement is all-too silent. ■

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¹ Etzioni, A. and Telhami, S. “Mideast: Focus on the Possible.” *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 17, 2002

² Etzioni, A. “Israel and Palestine: There’s Still Room at the Inn.” *The National Interest*, April 9, 2014 <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/israel-palestine-theres-still-room-the-inn-10212>.

³ Etzioni, A. “Should Israel Consider Using Devastating Weapons Against Hezbollah Missiles?” *Haaretz*, February 15, 2016 <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.703486>

> On Being Human in an Inhuman World

Remembering Vladimir Yadov

by **Dmitri N. Shalin**, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, USA



Vladimir Yadov in 2009, on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

In the 1960s, the Laboratory of Concrete Social Research in Leningrad was a hotbed of newfangled sociological science, fighting to secure a niche in the ideologically implacable discipline known as “historical materialism.” Would-be sociologists sold empirical research to Soviet authorities on the premise that sociology’s tools could investigate progress toward communism, enabling observers to spot and publicize trends consistent with the predictions of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Vladimir Yadov was among the discipline’s brightest stars, spearheading the revival of Russian sociology, which had been decimated by the Bolshevik revolution and Stalin’s purges. Yadov’s pioneering study *Man and His Work*, published with colleagues, and his solo monograph on the *Methodology and Methods of Sociological Investigation* propelled him to the forefront of the emergent scholarly field.

I was a third-year student at Leningrad State University when my mentor, Igor Kon, brought me to Yadov’s laboratory in 1968. For the next eight years I participated in its seminar, first as an undergraduate, then as a PhD candidate and research associate. Intellectual hothouses, such seminars sprang up around the country in big cities, led by the likes of Yuri Levada, Igor Kon, Georgy Shchedrovitsky, and other pioneers of sociological research; their liberal views, familiarity with foreign literature, and open-door policy attracted budding intellectuals and

made an indelible impression on a generation of young social scientists.

Yadov stood out among his colleagues for his unselfconscious manners, and his indifference to the privileges of rank. His willingness to look beyond official dogma was refreshing; it made no difference whether he was talking to a third-year student or an established scholar. I remember him explaining some nuance of personality theory to me while his office mates patiently waited for a turn to address the luminary. What mattered was the contribution to the common cause, which at the time encompassed the study of value orientation and attitudes toward work among Soviet laborers and engineers. These attitudes didn’t always accord with theoretical predictions: workers evinced little enthusiasm for party exhortations to work selflessly for the bright future — but much interest in the material rewards of their jobs. By the end of the sixties, the spirit of empirical sociology began to grate on Communist Party ideologues, and after the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia in a bid to extinguish the Prague Spring, Soviet sociology and its liberal aspirations fell on hard times. Yadov labored to save his team and research division, then part of the Russian Academy of Sciences, but eventually he was driven out and his group disbanded. At all times, Yadov bore himself with dignity, refusing to denounce his colleagues despite mounting pressure, or to ditch his humanism under inhuman conditions.¹

In 1975, I emigrated from Russia and settled in the United States. My contacts with Yadov were not restored until 1987, when Mikhail Gorbachev embarked on a reform campaign. Those were heady days for Russian social scientists straining to make up for lost time.² Soon, Gorbachev called for glasnost and perestroika, and previously-purged sociologists were brought back to lead newly-formed research organizations such as the Institutes of Sociology and the National Center for Study of Public Opinion. Yadov, who by that time had moved to Moscow, quickly emerged as an acknowledged leader,³ and his colleagues elected him president of the Russian Sociological Association and director of the Institute of Sociology at the Academy of Sciences. In recognition of his contributions to the sociology of labor, Yadov was chosen to serve as vice-president of the International Sociological Association.

The Professional Code of Ethics adopted in 1988 by reform-minded scholars affirmed the right to free inquiry and unfettered debate as vital to social science. Urging sociologists to cultivate “tolerance and respect” toward opponents, show “courage of conviction,” shun “ideological labels,” and avoid appeals to “authorities” in settling scientific disputes, it also encouraged sociologists to reflect on their past, unleashing a period of soul-searching among Russian intellectuals.⁴

In the spiritual perestroika that followed, some claimed to have always been closet dissidents, many hastened to renounce the Soviet past, and most conspicuously ditched their communist party cards. Not Vladimir Yadov! While he suffered grievously during Soviet campaigns against liberal intellectuals, he didn’t join the stampede. Yadov saved his party card and to the end remained committed to the ideals of Euro-Communism espoused by Palmiro Togliatti, and to social democracy, which he considered the most humane political and economic system. He urged his colleagues to take society’s problems as their own, setting a personal example of how to harness knowledge for social reform. “We shall not fulfill our duty as sociologists if we confine ourselves to writing books. We need to do our best to influence the permutation of social planets,” wrote Yadov. “Fighting corruption, setting up independent courts, establishing a progressive tax system, and more – this is what the situation and people demand.”

The wheels of history turned once again when Vladimir Putin ascended to power. He was slow to reveal his agenda, but a few years into his first term as Russia’s president it became clear that Putin had little regard for civil society or its institutions. Sociologists who settled comfortably into post-Soviet routines discovered that it was no longer safe to criticize the government. Those who engaged in public protests and insisted on exercising their constitutional rights faced reprisals.

In 2010, ultra-nationalist intellectuals established a rival sociological association, challenging the organization led by Yadov and his colleagues.⁵ After Yadov stood up to Genady Osipov, an ardent proponent of Russian nationalism and a mastermind of the competing professional association, Yadov was forced to defend himself in court against charges of slandering his opponents as proto-fascists. Hobbled by reactionary policies, old age and illness, Yadov felt increasingly marginalized.

In 2009, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, students and friends who stood by the man published a festschrift, bearing witness to Yadov’s weighty contribution to Russian sociology. Volodia, as his friends called him, had not lost his optimism regarding the country’s long-term prospects. He continued to take part in debates and show great interest in research, his own and that of his younger colleagues. But his mood darkened, as he grew bitter about curtailments of civil rights and the rise of a virulent nationalist strain in Russian sociology.

My contacts with Yadov intensified in 2006 when my colleague Boris Doktorov and I started the project “International Biography Initiative” – an online venture documenting the revival of sociology after World War II. With help from sympathetic scholars, we collected interviews with Russian sociologists, conducted online forums, and promoted biographical methods in social research.⁶ Yadov took a keen interest in the project. He wrote memoirs, sat down for interviews, supplied rare documents pertaining to the formative years of Soviet sociology, its evolution after the demise of Khrushchev’s Thaw and its transformation under perestroika.

Vladimir Yadov died on July 2, 2015. A few years before his death, he and I began an intense online dialogue about the fate of Russian sociology and the situation in the country. We agreed to challenge each other to the utmost while discussing the compromises scholars were forced to make to survive under the Soviet regime, ethical dilemmas faced by intellectuals who chose to emigrate, the moral cost of staying in a country devastated by repression, the transformation of Soviet sociology following the Gorbachev revolution, the evisceration of free speech under Putin, the waning prospects for political reform, and the future of public sociology in a country where conducting oppositional research and speaking truth to power could cost intellectuals their livelihood, freedom, or even lives.

With poignant frankness, Volodia recalls in our exchanges his bewilderment about a relative who faced purges in the terror campaign of 1937, his uneasiness about his Jewish roots and the desire to conceal his ethnic identity in a country riddled with antisemitism. He confesses that some past compromises make him cringe today: he acted “cowardly when he failed to travel to Moscow and defend [Yuri] Levada at the jaw-boning [ideological] ses-

sion;" he "remained silent" at some party meetings where colleagues faced a ritual degradation ceremony.

Volodia talks about the qualities that helped him assemble a team of committed scholars: "I am choleric by temperament," "an extrovert with explosive character," someone who has "hard time protecting confidential information." But these very qualities, he goes on to say, "facilitated friendly communications" and "helped [him] build a research team where the regalia mattered little and the contribution to the common cause was paramount."

"Truly, Jesus was... the first socialist!" Yadov avers, when challenged to define his political creed. "I was and remain a proponent of socialism," he told me proudly. "I am convinced that social arrangements are just only when democratically-elected representatives strive to bridge the glaring income gap between social strata."

Ruminating about colleagues who chose to emigrate, Yadov explains, "I completely understood them. At the same time, I sensed they were driven by quite different motives." Fascinatingly, he explains how in the heyday of perestroika, as director of the Institute of Sociology, he went about selecting young scholars for the study abroad program, waiting anxiously to see "who will return and who will not – the British Council stipulated that everybody must come back."

Yadov bristles at his colleagues who embrace an ultra-patriotic creed and long for the restoration of the Soviet empire. "In the Soviet era, Osipov, Dobrenkov, Zhukov belonged to 'nomenklatura' and they retain this status today. Above all else they value the tokens of 'Tsar's favor.' [...] For as long as I knew Osipov, he was a man devoid of principles who told lies to your face, schemed prodigiously and intrigued against rivals." He offers forthright observations on servile scholars and administrators who stuck to their insidious habits through all the changes. The stories about their exploits and betrayals Yadov recounts in these dialogues will someday raise eyebrows among sociology's practitioners in his homeland – and so will the judgment he passes on today's political regime and its enforcers.

The full measure of Yadov's alienation from the current state of affairs is evident in a letter he wrote to me on June 25, 2011: "Toward Putin I feel nothing but loathing. Cruel and cynical man who craves power and feels contempt for his people, he longs for wealth and luxury. What did he say when asked about liberal politicians? He said, 'All they want is power and money!' Yet his personal wealth is ensured by his control over the oil pipeline. No doubt this man can blackmail every single person in his entourage, including [President Dmitri] Medvedev. You can imagine how much well-deserved scorn will be poured on this man in 30 years."

In time, my dialogues with Yadov will find their way to Russia and reveal the grave concern Volodia felt in his last years about the cause he fought for his entire life.⁷

Whether you elect to stay on the sidelines of history, find yourself drafted to fight its battles against your will, or enlist voluntarily, you face moral dilemmas and incur material costs.⁸ At the end of his days, Yadov considered himself "a very lucky man," telling my associate Boris Doktorov, that he had led "an uncommonly happy life." Some key reasons for that, I believe, are the battles he chose to wage and the brawls he avoided. Vladimir Yadov exemplifies an emotionally intelligent being in the world: he managed to keep his emotions intelligent and his intelligence emotionally sane. He struck compromises and made mistakes, he saw his dreams come true and crushed again, yet he didn't give up hope, soldiering on when resistance seemed futile.

Today we remember Vladimir Yadov, a man of humility and courage. We celebrate the life of a public intellectual who aided history willingly, altered the trajectory of several institutions, and left lasting memories. The world is a better place because people like Yadov are found in our midst. ■

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¹ See Shalin, D. (1978) "[The Development of Soviet Sociology, 1956-1976](#)," *Annual Review of Sociology* 4: 171-91; (1979) "[Between the Ethos of Science and the Ethos of Ideology](#)," *Sociological Focus* 12(4): 175-93; (1980) "[Marxist Paradigm and Academic Freedom](#)," *Social Research* 47: 361-82; Firsov, B. (2012) *History of Soviet Sociology, 1950s-1980s* (in Russian). St. Petersburg: European University of St. Petersburg.

² Shalin, D. (1990) "[Sociology for the Glasnost Era: Institutional and Substantive Change in Recent Soviet Sociology](#)," *Social Forces* 68(4): 1-21. Doktorov, B. (2014) [Contemporary Russian Sociology. Historical and Biographical Investigations](#) (in Russian). Moscow.

³ (2009) *Vivat Yadov! On His Eightieth Birthday* (in Russian). Moscow: Institute of Sociology RAN.

⁴ Firsov, B. (2010) *Dissent in USSR and Russia, 1945-2008* (in Russian). St. Petersburg: European University of St. Petersburg (2010); Alekseev, A. (2003) *Dramatic Sociology and Sociology of Auto-reflexivity*. Vols. 1-4 (in Russian), St. Petersburg: Norma. See also Shalin, D. (1989) "[Settling Old Accounts](#)," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 29; and (1990) "Ethics of Survival," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 4; (1987) "[Reforms in the USSR: Muckraking, Soviet Style](#)," *Chicago Tribune*, February 16.

⁵ Yadov, V. (2011) "A Sordid Story" (in Russian). *Trotsky Bulletin*, December 6; Shalin, D. (2011) "Becoming a Public Intellectual: Advocacy, National Sociology, and Paradigm Pluralism," pp. 331-371 in D. Shalin, [Pragmatism and Democracy: Studies in History, Social Theory and Progressive Politics](#). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

⁶ *International Biography Initiative*. UNLV Center for Democratic Culture, <http://cdclv.unlv.edu/programs/bios.html>.

⁷ (2015) "From Dialogues of Vladimir Yadov and Dmitri Shalin" (in Russian). *Public Opinion Herald*, No. 3-4, pp. 194-219, http://cdclv.unlv.edu/archives/articles/vy_ds_dialogues.pdf.

⁸ Shalin, D. (1993) "[Emotional Barriers to Democracy Are Daunting](#)," *Los Angeles Times*, October 27; (2007) "[Vladimir Putin: Instead of Communism, He Embraces KGB Capitalism](#)," *Las Vegas Review Journal*, October 24.

> The Genesis of a Chinese Public Sociologist

by **François Lachapelle**, University of British Columbia, Canada¹



| Shen Yuan.

Sitting behind his office desk, smiling slightly, Shen Yuan appeared somewhat entertained to be the subject of a Canadian sociologist's study. Before I could even ask him my first question, the Chinese scholar inquired, "Why are you researching Chinese intellectuals?" – only to interrupt himself by observing: "you should not study me. If you want to study any of us you should study Sun Liping".² Pointing towards his well-known colleague's office, Shen continued, "he is the most brilliant of all of us. Or you could study us as a group who has worked together for over a decade." Later in the interview, Shen identified Li Qiang and Guo Yuhua along with himself and Sun Liping as the other members of this group, all of whom were also founding members of the Tsinghua Department of Sociology in 2000.

"Where society comes from is an extremely important question. Because you [Westerners] are born in a country with a society, [the very concept of society] is taken for granted. This is completely different for us. We have to start anew."

Interview with Shen Yuan, 2012,
Tsinghua University, Beijing.

Born in 1954 in China's capital of Beijing, Shen Yuan is part of a generation known in China as *zhìqīng* – educated youth. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Mao Zedong abruptly interrupted the formal schooling of nearly 17 million Chinese youth by sending them to the countryside for radical "re-education". By thus learning from and being transformed by the revolutionary wisdom of the rural masses, they were to become the next generation of Chinese revolutionaries. Like so many other displaced youth, Shen was sent away for a number of years. After the death of Mao in 1976 and the re-establishment of China's educational system over the following two years, only a small fraction (2.3%) of Shen's generation had the privilege of entering university to resume their education. He was one of them.

Shen graduated in 1983 from the capital's People's University (Renda) with a bachelor's degree in philosophy. Then, in 1986, he defended a master's thesis on the leader of the 1917 Soviet Revolution entitled *The Exploration and Contribution of Lenin to Dialectical Epistemology*. Although Shen saw himself as resolutely Marxist, after seven years of intense immersion in Maoist-Marxist-Soviet philosophy his enthusiasm for that most vaunted of disciplines had waned. As he explained, "At this point [in 1986], I felt philosophy was very abstract. The philosophy from that time was not able to solve [concrete/social] problems."

Thus, shortly after leaving Renda, Shen switched to sociology, still a relatively sensitive discipline that had been rehabilitated just eight years before, in 1978. A dangerous

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endeavor, certainly, but sociology was also something new, an uncharted realm of knowledge offering the possibility of intellectual exploration beyond the holy trinity of Maoism-Marxism-Leninism. More importantly, both state leaders and *zhiquing* intellectuals such as Shen Yuan saw sociology as the best means of facing and performing the daunting task of national modernization.

Therefore, inside the walls of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) at the Institute of Sociology, Shen worked as a full-time researcher between 1988 and 1998. Established in 1977, CASS – China’s most powerful state-run think-tank – quickly became, in the early Deng Xiaoping era, the main brain trust of the Central Committee and the State Council, supplying the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP’s) most powerful organs with the social scientific data and knowledge needed to formulate policy (e.g., in regard to unions, private enterprises, migration, and unemployment).

In the 1990s, after the massacre of the Tiananmen Square, Shen remained at CASS but, as was also the case for so many other Chinese intellectuals, his relationship with sociology and the state began to change. While still playing key roles at the Institute of Sociology in some of the major sociological research projects of the reform era, Shen was increasingly drawn towards intellectual circles outside CASS. In the early 1990s, he befriended Guo Yuhua and Sun Liping (the latter regarded as the most brilliant sociologist of his generation) and collaborated with them on Sun’s oral history of the Chinese experience of Communism. Then in 1997, at the age of 43, Shen completed his PhD on the topic of New Economic Sociology and post-1978 market reforms. That same year he became the editor-in-chief at *Sociological Research*, one of the main sociology journals in Mainland China. During his tenure as editor there, Shen actively worked not only to improve the quality of articles published in the journal but also to carve out, at least, a limited autonomy for the discipline vis-à-vis the CCP.

Then, after leaving CASS in May 2000, Shen Yuan and half a dozen other sociologists established the Department of Sociology at Tsinghua University, Beijing. The initial paradigm of the Tsinghua School was based on Sun’s sociology of the Chinese Communist civilization, what Claude Dubar called “Chinese sociology’s Copernican revolution.” In less than 20 years, the rehabilitated discipline was transformed from a social policy agent for the state – a tame socialist sociology – into a discipline able to formulate a reflexive and “independent” research paradigm focusing on the study of the Chinese people’s experience of CCP rule and of Chinese power itself after 1949.

During his first two years at Tsinghua, Shen’s previous statist interest in economic sociology merged with his Marxist interest in labor sociology as he studied social actors and their abilities to act and resist the advancing market forces.

Between 2002 and 2004, Shen undertook a project called *The Construction of Baigou Migrant Worker’s Night School* with the goal of co-researching, teaching, and helping to organize that group of migrant workers. Building on Alain Touraine’s idea of *sociological intervention*, Shen would theorize such praxis in his article “Strong and Weak Intervention: Two Pathways for Sociological Intervention,”³ his most important sociological contribution to the field. By this point, Shen had definitely left behind statist concerns about the birth of the market in favor of an academic and activist focus almost exclusively on “the production of society,” that is a society capable to defend itself against both the state and the market.

It was during this early period of Shen’s career that Michael Burawoy coined the idea of *public sociology*. When asked how he reacted to first hearing about Burawoy’s public sociology, Shen told us: “Already our paper published in 1998 had the orientation of public sociology. Then, when we had the opportunity, we came to Tsinghua to found the Department of Sociology. From the very beginning we [our department] retained a tradition of public sociology. [Although] at that time Michael Burawoy had not yet coined this idea, we had [already] thought that sociology had to intervene.”

In Shen’s view, he and his colleagues were public sociologists *avant la lettre*. But for the Chinese intellectual, public sociology did much more than accurately capture his sociological *doing*; Burawoy’s theory also provided Shen with an intellectual self-concept, an identity accurately naming his sociological *being*.

The effects of Shen’s new identity on his intellectual life have been quite powerful. Since his conversion to public sociology, Shen has wholeheartedly acted on the view that the mission of sociology is to participate or intervene in the production of society so as “to help resist pressures from the state and the market on the one hand, and assist society to emerge and grow on the other.”. On the academic front, over the last ten years virtually all of Shen’s publications have been markedly influenced by Burawoy and Touraine. The title of one of his latest co-publications “Worker-Intellectual Unity: Trans-Border Sociological Intervention in Foxconn,” epitomizes the energy with which Shen has undertaken this work. But more importantly, on the public front, Shen’s social endeavors with labor NGOs, various media and Internet platforms, policy-makers, and union workers actively embody the spirit of public sociology. ■

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¹ This essay is drawn from my MA Thesis, *From Nameless Marxist to Public Sociologist: The Intellectual Trajectory of Shen Yuan in Contemporary China* (University of British Columbia, 2014).

² See *Global Dialogue* 2(4), May 2012, for an interview with Sun Liping.

³ Yuan, S. (2008) “Strong and Weak Intervention: Two Pathways for Sociological Intervention.” *Current Sociology* 56 (3): 399-404.

> Going Local, Going Global

by **Brigitte Aulenbacher**, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Austria, member of ISA Research Committees on Economy and Society (RC02), Poverty, Social Welfare and Social Policy (RC19), Sociology of Work (RC30), and Women in Society (RC32) and Vice-Chair of the Local Organizing Committee (LOC) of the Third ISA Forum of Sociology, Vienna 2016; **Rudolf Richter**, University of Vienna, Austria, member and former president of ISA Research Committee on Family Research (RC06) and Chair of the LOC of the Third ISA Forum of Sociology; **Ida Seljeskog**, University of Vienna, LOC of the Third ISA Forum of Sociology



Inside Court of the University of Vienna.
Photo by University of Vienna.

The Local Organizing Committee welcomes sociologists from around the world to the 3rd ISA Forum of Sociology in Vienna.

Next month, we, the Local Organizing Committee will be welcoming you, the global community of the ISA, to the Third ISA Forum in Vienna. Besides inviting you to visit our [website](#), we would like to highlight some of the ways in which the local and global will be interwoven at the Forum.

> Going local: Insights into Austria's everyday life and the history of sociology

We are honored and delighted to host the Third ISA Forum of Sociology at the University of Vienna, a university with strong traditions in philosophy and social science. For more than two years, the Local Organizing Committee has

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University of Vienna from the outside.
Photo by University of Vienna.

been preparing to make the Forum a success, aided by collaborating Austrian universities and sociological institutes in Innsbruck, Graz, Linz, Salzburg, Vienna, and our colleagues in Hungary.

We would like to welcome you to “go local” with us, to meet, to talk, and to be inspired by Vienna’s international atmosphere. In addition to the Forum’s official program, we encourage our guests to get to know each other and the hosting city and country better through an array of tourist and sociological tours and get-togethers.

Join us in visiting a traditional Viennese wine tavern or in a walking tour of the city as part of our tourism activities. Among the highlights of our sociological tours will be two guided visits of the Marienthal museum in the nearby village of Gramatneusiedl – site of path-breaking research on *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* or “Marienthal: The sociography of an unemployed community,” in which Marie Jahoda, Paul Lazarsfeld and Hans Zei-

sel, back in the early 1930s, showed how unemployment destroys individuals and social life. Their findings and their method-mix have inspired a great deal of research, and are still impressive today.¹

The sociological legacy of Vienna and Austria can only be understood within its greater historical and societal context. On the one hand we have the “Red Vienna” of the early decades of the last century. But on the other hand, later, hundreds of Austrian sociologists, including the abovementioned, were forced to flee Austria during the Nazi regime. Several posts reflecting on the history of fascism and its effect on Austrian sociology and society can be found on our [ISA Forum blog](#).

> Going global: The struggles for a better world

As sociologists hosting the Forum in Vienna, Austria and Europe, the ISA’s theme “Global Sociology and the

Struggles for a Better World” and its agenda to build up a global sociology prompt us to reflect on the global and the local from our local perspective.

A profoundly international city, Vienna is located in the center of Europe; strong influences from neighboring countries can be found in the city’s culture, cuisine, and language. The city hosts several international institutions, including the House of the European Union and the Viennese UNO-City, supporting the Forum as a site for international discourse. Nevertheless, the theme of the ISA’s 2014 World Congress in Yokohama, “Facing an Unequal World”, still hasn’t lost its significance: as we invite sociologists from around the world to come together in Vienna, we must acknowledge the current challenges faced by Austria and Europe in assuming responsibility for equality, freedom, justice, democracy, and human rights. The war in Syria, catastrophes and poverty in large parts of the world – and the colonial and

post-colonial capitalist history behind such developments – are again forcing people to escape and migrate.

Many Europeans have struggled for a better world through intensified protest and to support initiatives against violence and inequalities. But another path, conceptualizing Austria and Europe as a closed society, has been characterized by politics of exclusion, seeking to enforce boundaries and inequalities. The Forum will come to Vienna at a historic moment, when issues such as asylum, forced migration, and politics of integration challenge Europe's societies, and right-wing movements are once again growing, linking up in their attempt to create a Europe closed to "non-Europeans" – a chilling parallel to an all-too-recent history.

Austria's sociology is facing all of these issues and Austrian sociologists are strongly connected globally. These challenges and links are

reflected in our plenaries, in which speakers from around the world will explore themes like "Facing the Multiple Crises in Europe and Beyond," "Overcoming Boundaries and Polarizations between Centers and Peripheries," and "Sociological Thought and the Struggle for a Better World."

Last but not least the ISA and the Local Organizing Committee have invited local and international publishers to present their books in the exhibition hall and to organize a publishers' lounge, where authors of books of special sociological and public interest will discuss their work. The exhibition hall will also display information about the Austrian institutes of sociology, research foundations, and fellowship programs.

> Come together at the ISA Forum

Over the last decade, ISA discussions have emphasized the need for

sensitivity toward the interrelations of the global and the local. And, indeed, many contemporary local struggles are caused by global tendencies like the marketization of labor and nature, the transnationalization of work and politics, and far-reaching changes in statehood within dictatorships and democracies. When we will meet in Vienna in July all these issues will be on the agenda, and – following the example set by sociologists around the world – will be discussed in their global and local manifestations. The Forum offers the next opportunity to come together and to continue this global dialogue. Therefore: We welcome you from around the world to Vienna, Austria, Europe and to the Third ISA Forum of Sociology! ■

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¹ See Richter, R. "The Austrian Legacy of Public Sociology." *Global Dialogue* 5(4), December 2015, <http://isa-global-dialogue.net/the-austrian-legacy-of-public-sociology/>

> Inequality, Poverty and Prosperity in Austria

by **Cornelia Dlabaja**, University of Vienna, Austria, **Julia Hofmann**, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Austria, and **Alban Knecht**, Johannes Kepler University Linz

Austria has long been known for its high standard of living. Its gross national product per capita is USD 51,300, putting Austria thirteenth in a 2014 worldwide ranking (World Bank 2015), while Vienna, Austria's capital, topped global quality of living rankings in 2015 and 2016. With a long tradition of municipal housing, Vienna has achieved a certain social stability until now. However, this does not mean that everyone is rich or well-situated in Vienna, or in Austria.

A closer look at specific social groups reveals a rather segmented and increasingly polarized social structure: while about 12% of Austrian nationals are at risk of poverty, about 33% of non-national migrants face that risk. While income inequality is less pronounced than in some OECD-countries, since the 1990s the poorest segments of Austrian society have lost ground: Between 1990 and 2011 the income share of the poorest 20% declined by 47%, while the income share of the top 1% rose by 16%. As a whole, Austria is marked by high inequality in the distribution of wealth and property, with a Gini coefficient for gross financial assets of 0.75.

What explains such stark segmentation in such a rich country? The Austrian education system contributes to an exceptional intergenerational transfer of social status: Children of university graduates have a probability of starting university 2.5 times higher than the children of parents who have not attended university. Then, as in many societies, levels of education determine income: Each additional year of education increases income by about 5.4%. Migrants are especially disadvantaged in the educational system (in part because foreign qualifications may not be recognized).

Gender differences are also marked. Young Austrian women are now better educated than men, but women still earn 23.4% less per hour than their male colleagues. Austrian women also own less than men: Female single households hold 40% less private wealth than male single households. This gender inequality is linked to the Austrian welfare model, which can be described as "conservative," fostering a traditional gendered division of labor through reliance on cash transfers. A lack of child care centers and traditional family norms place much of the burden of reconciling work and family life on women.

“Everything bad comes to Austria, but a few years later than the rest of the world”

Austria's labor market policy increasingly fosters flexibilization and workfare, which has strengthened existing social inequalities: Migrants and women are more likely to be found in low-paid and precarious jobs. A low but growing unemployment rate has especially impacted low-skilled people and migrants.

A closer look thus shows that despite its apparent stability, Austria's social structure is increasingly polarized and segmented along gender and ethnic lines, with a tendency toward slowly-growing social inequality. As a popular saying puts it, everything bad comes to Austria, but a few years later than the rest of the world. ■

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> Social Inequalities, Refugees, and the “European Dream”

by **Ruth Abramowski, Benjamin Gröschl, Alan Schink, and Désirée Wilke**, Paris Lodron University of Salzburg, Austria



Behind the rhetoric of human sympathy lies the sordid reality of restrictions, fences and refugee camps. Illustration by Arbu.

Streams of refugees are an actual phenomenon in Europe, sometimes labeled new “mass migration” (*Völkerwanderung*) in the German-speaking media. In absolute numbers Germany receives the highest number of applications for political asylum, but in relation to its population, Germany is in fifth place in Europe (Eurostat). Hungary receives the most applications per capita, Sweden comes second, Austria third, and Finland fourth.

Austria finds itself caught, literally, in the middle of the stream. The German-Austrian border region, especially the passage between Salzburg and Freilassing, has become a bottleneck for refugees arriving in Central Europe, creating real tensions in Austrian society. On the one hand, despite complaints about the European migrant crisis and demands for tightened border controls, many still view transnational mobility as part of a European dream they hope to preserve. On the other hand, fears and complaints about refugees derive from prejudices and the assumption that refugees and migrants are being pulled by Europe's attractions, rather than pushed by war or despair.

According to the UNHCR, in 2015 60 million people worldwide took flight from their homes. Most refugees are prompted to leave their homes by proxy wars, poverty and hunger resulting from economic and social inequality, exacerbated by post-colonial politics. But fewer than three percent flee to Europe; most stay in neighboring countries.

In 2015, "only" 50,000 persons applied for asylum in Austria (UNHCR-Austria, extrapolation in September 2015) – a rate of 332 people per 100,000 habitants. Of these, 11,000 are recognized as refugees, receiving material basic services (827€/month). While they wait for the decision on their applications – an average of three to six months – they will live in quarters or camps, receive three meals a day (although often this does not include even one hot meal a day) and a bed in a dormitory. Additionally

they receive a daily allowance of 1.30€. When they look after themselves they get 120€ in month for rent (going up to 240€ for families) and 200€ as a subsistence allowance (90€ per child). Importantly, they are not allowed to work for wages while awaiting the decision (Art. 15a B-VG, BKA-Austria).

We spoke with about 30 refugees in reception and transit centers for asylum-seekers. Most have other dreams for their future: They dream about being a part of our society, having a job, working hard for their families, maybe buying a flat or a house one day – simply living a life without existential fear.

Given the aging population and the low fertility-rate in almost all of Europe's wealthier countries, refugees could be seen as offering new hope for aging societies: young and with a higher fertility rate than most European populations, many are highly-skilled workers or craftsmen (UN World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision). In the long term, they could preserve our national pension and social systems, while in the short term, they could well strengthen Europe's domestic economies – especially if they get the chance to work, earn money, and pay taxes.

From a more pragmatic point of view we could therefore ask: Why is there a debate about whether refugees should be deported, instead of negotiations for their integration? ■

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> Gender Equity and the Austrian University

by **Kristina Binner**, Johannes Kepler University Linz, Austria and member of ISA Research Committees on Poverty, Social Welfare and Social Policy (RC19) and Women in Society (RC32), and **Susanne Kink**, Karl-Franzens-University of Graz, Austria

Women and men have long been unequally represented at Austria's universities: while the proportion of men and women is somewhat balanced in the student body as a whole (57% female; 43% male), this is not the case for scientists. Among professors, merely 22% were female in 2013. Does the recent reform of the Austrian university system offer opportunities to change this gender inequality?

> The entrepreneurial and managerial university in Austria

Since the University Act was implemented in 2002, new public management tools have been introduced to reorganize the relationship between university and government. Now universities are called upon to perform like companies in an entrepreneurial and managerial way. While the government retreats from its former role involving detailed steering, universities have to compete against each other for financial and symbolic resources. Vice-chancellors have been given stronger decision-making competencies, while external stakeholders such as expert committees and university councils have gained importance. These shifts aim to create universities with strong leadership and specialized profiles – but do the reforms also seek to strengthen gender-equitable and family-friendly politics?

“recent changes could offer chances for more social equality”

> Gender-equitable?

As “autonomous organizations” under the 2002 University Act, Austria's universities were obligated to introduce Gender Mainstreaming measures, including creating coordination centers, to ensure equal opportunities, setting up working groups for equal opportunities and arbitration boards, and setting a 40% quota for women on all collegial bodies.

It is not clear how gender equality measures will be supported under the universities' new budget models: although each university is responsible for realizing the new gender equality requirements, financial resources for gender equality work and support from the leadership may differ. Overall, however, the re-organization of universities and the new Gender Mainstreaming instruments seem capable of improving opportunities for gender equity, especially in science.

> Family-friendly?

Family demands have been identified as an important barrier for fe-

male scientists, so Austrian universities have implemented strategic management tools like the “university and family” audit, supported by the government. Offering good childcare facilities is becoming a way for universities to distinguish themselves from other universities as attractive places for studying and working. At the same time, conservative images of parenthood persist, as university administrators tend to focus mainly on child care, predominantly addressing women as parents, and reproducing the image of heterosexual families.

Austrian universities' recent changes reflect a complex interplay between economization tendencies, gender equality and family-friendly policies which could offer chances for more social equality. Importantly, however, while these measures may have some impact at the organizational level, scientific cultures and norms involved gendered assumptions. For example, the assumption that scientists prioritize work above all else; the idea that scientists must always be available, flexible and focused on academic work reflects male norms about working time; as potential caregivers, women often find it harder to fulfill this norm than their male colleagues. ■

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> Working Time and the Struggle for a Better Life

by **Carina Altreiter**, **Franz Astleithner** and **Theresa Fibich**, University of Vienna, Austria

The struggle over working time is historically linked to the struggle of workers to limit the exploitation of their labor power. The eight-hour-day was the proclaimed demand of the labor movement, and until the 1980s most Western industrialized nations gradually reduced length of the work day and work week.

Since then, except for France, no significant advances can be observed, even though productivity has increased substantially. But the recent global economic crisis has put debates about the unequal distribution of work back on the agenda. Using Eurostat data, we discuss current working time developments in the European Union, and their relevance for challenging social inequalities.

> Working time and inequality

On the one hand, some people in the EU work long hours, with 32% working longer than 10 hours per day more than once a month in 2010. Others work part-time (20% in 2014) or have no job at all (9.5% unemployed in August 2015). Intensification of work, physical and psychological damage and disease due to long working hours on the one side, and frustration and devaluation on

the other side, are just some of the consequences of the polarization of working time that threaten the foundations of our society.

On the other hand, men and women continue to experience a persistently unequal distribution of working time. Firstly, working full-time and long hours is still a “man’s thing,” while more and more women work part-time. Even though men’s part-time rates increased to 8.8% by 2014 in most EU-28 countries, the average female part-time employment rate remains more than three times higher (32.5%). Secondly, women spent almost two hours per day more than men on unpaid work (e.g. housework and child care). These dynamics add up to multiple disadvantages for women, with reduced career prospects and pension entitlements, resulting in a higher risk of poverty at older ages.

> Does reducing working time reduce social inequalities?

Changing the standard length of the work day would meet the needs of many employees: Research shows that more than 30% of employees in Europe would prefer to work less, while many part-time workers (10 million workers in 2014) would prefer to

work more hours. Reducing standard working hours for all employees would reduce the gap between full-time and part-time workers, and could encourage a more equitable distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women. Further, by reducing the number of underemployed workers, shortening the work week might increase the bargaining power of workers, perhaps helping to address rising income inequality.

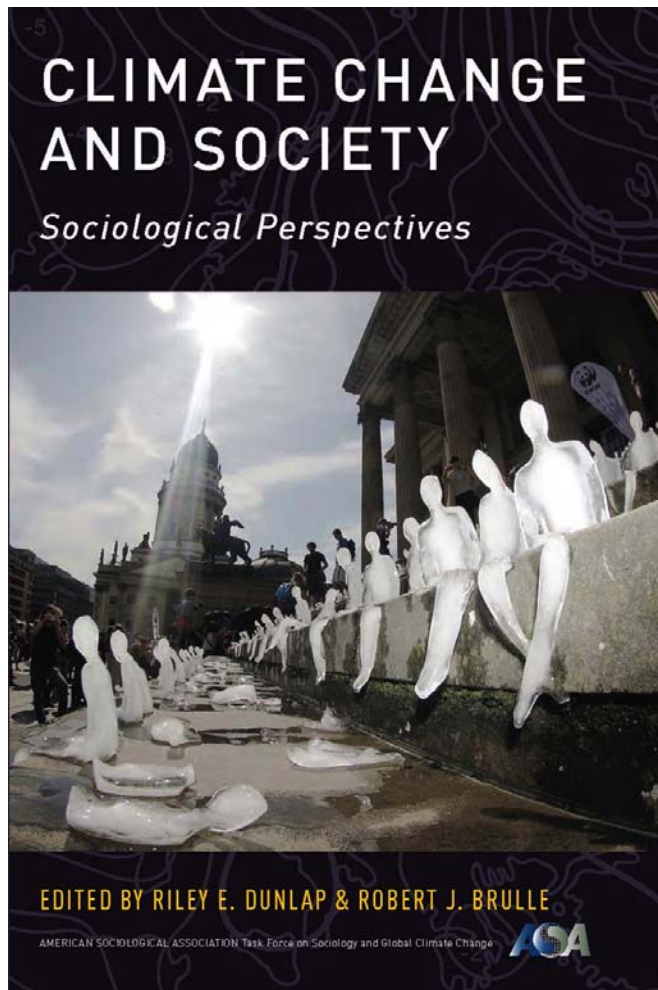
“men and women continue to experience unequal working time”

However, reducing paid working time does not automatically yield positive redistributive effects. If working time reduction is to contribute to an emancipatory project, policies would need to consider challenges like intensification of work and the deregulation of industrial relations, along with programs to ensure the redistribution of unpaid work. ■

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> Sociology and Climate Change

by **Riley E. Dunlap**, Oklahoma State University, USA, former President of ISA Research Committee on Environment and Society (RC24) and **Robert J. Brulle**, Drexel University, USA



Riley Dunlap and **Robert Brulle** are both distinguished environmental sociologists. They were Chair and Associate Chair of the American Sociological Association's Task Force on Sociology and Global Climate Change, whose report recently appeared as a book: Dunlap and Brulle (editors), *Climate Change and Society: Sociological Perspectives* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Their pioneering work shows how national sociology associations can promote collaborative research into pressing social and political issues.

Human-caused climate change is one of the major problems of our time, and represents an existential threat to our species in the long term. Natural scientists have led the way in documenting global warming, as the “greenhouse effect” was understood over a century ago. By the 1990s climate science had become a well-established field, producing ever-stronger evidence that the world is warming due in large part to human activities (especially carbon emissions), with increasingly negative impacts on both natural and social systems – as documented periodically by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

In the face of woefully inadequate societal response to growing evidence of global warming, especially in terms of reducing carbon emissions, natural scientists have recognized that climate change is a “people problem”: it is caused by human behaviors, it poses real threats to humans, and it requires collective action for its amelioration. Consequently, the IPCC, US National Research Council and other major scientific bodies such as the International Social Science Council and its International Human Dimensions Program on Global Environmental Change (succeeded by the Future Earth Project) have called for greater involvement of social science in climate change research.

Such calls typically invite “social scientists” to contribute to multidisciplinary research agendas set by natural scientists and major funding bodies (such as the Belmont

Forum), with little regard for, or consultation with, specific social science disciplines. Social scientists are urged to contribute to on-going research programs (often framed as “coupled human and natural systems” research) addressing questions largely framed by natural scientists. While valuable, such work typically ignores major social and political conflicts stemming from inequities in the use of natural systems as well as in the consequences of degrading those systems, and seldom employs critical political-economic perspectives.

Similarly, these calls suggest that social scientists can help “educate the public” about global warming, in the naive hope that increased public understanding will lead to policy change. Lacking a sociological perspective, these efforts treat individuals as the primary agents producing carbon emissions, overlooking sociological insights about the extent to which individual actions are embedded in social structure – thereby ignoring how attempts to reduce carbon emissions are constrained by social, economic, and political dynamics.

More generally, existing efforts to incorporate more social science into climate change research typically adopt a “post-political” stance, as reports and agendas tend to depoliticize climate change. The IPCC, for example, considers climate change primarily as a physical phenomenon, solvable with a mix of scientific evidence, technological advances and managerial skills, requiring no fundamental changes in the socio-economic order – and thus, not a subject of serious political contention.

In this context, the American Sociological Association established a Task Force on Sociology and Global Climate Change, charged with demonstrating the value of sociological analyses of climate change. The task force leadership felt that we should do more than write a report for ASA, as we had an opportunity to demonstrate the value of sociological perspectives on climate change not only to fellow sociologists but to a much broader audience. Our volume, *Climate Change and Society: Sociological Perspectives*, was published by Oxford University Press last August as an official ASA publication.

Climate Change and Society summarizes and synthesizes sociological and other social science research on

key aspects of climate change. Thirteen chapters written by 37 contributors describe the driving forces of climate change (with special attention to market organizations and consumption); the major impacts of climate change and efforts to deal with it (especially inequitable impacts); and societal processes – civil society, public perceptions and organized denial – that affect societal responses to these challenges. Chapters exploring theoretical perspectives and methodological innovations for sociological research into climate change round out the volume.

The volume responds to calls for increased social science engagement with climate change, and demonstrates the unique value of *sociological* analyses. Since the primary driving forces of global climate change are embedded in social structure and institutions, cultural values and ideologies, and social practices, efforts to ameliorate and adapt to global warming require analyses of these social processes at various scales, from the global to the local – all within the domain of our discipline. A secondary goal of the volume is to stimulate further sociological research into these topics: sociology can help understand climate change not only by contributing to existing agendas and programs, but also by posing new research questions derived from sociological theories and perspectives.

Sociology’s role can also include offering a social critique. Existing analyses of climate change are often limited by near-hegemonic beliefs; for example, in this neoliberal era, it is widely assumed that only market-based policies offer feasible options for reducing carbon emissions. These blind spots limit the range of conceivable actions, and sociology can play a vital role, going beyond one-dimensional, post-political thinking to question common assumptions framing current policy debates.

This kind of public sociology on climate change involves documenting the difficulty (if not impossibility) of achieving significant reductions in carbon emissions while maintaining traditional patterns of economic growth – sociological findings that can broaden public debates over climate policy. Creating intellectual space for more critical perspectives on climate change should be a crucial contribution of our discipline, and we hope that sociologists worldwide will join the ASA Task Force in this effort. ■

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> Freedom and Violence in India



Congress Party Vice-President Rahul Gandhi with students at the University of Hyderabad during a protest over Rohith Vemula's death in Hyderabad, January 2016.

Below we publish a statement by the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association and a letter from over 200 Indian sociologists addressed to the President of India on March 6, 2016. They were written in protest against the violence and loss of academic freedom on Indian campuses earlier this year. Even if they are overtaken by events the letters are of historic importance as an expression of sociologists' deep concern for freedom of expression on campuses and beyond.

We support the view that the Constitution of India sets out a plural framework and refuses any scope to define the country in religious terms.

In an environment of anti-intellectualism, and majoritarian attacks on individual and collective attempts at informed debate and social critique both within and outside institutions of higher education, our responsibility as members of a professional association is especially grave. As sociologists we believe that allowing the untrammelled use of the charge of sedition to quell dissent and freedom of expression, amounts, to reiterate Amartya Sen's words, to be too tolerant of intolerance.

> Statement of the International Sociological Association

We, the members of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association, express solidarity with students, teachers, writers, creative artists and activists in India fighting for the rights to freedom of expression, life and liberty, in the context of increasingly virulent attacks and mob violence against all opposition to right-wing fundamentalist violence and discrimination. We are particularly concerned about mob attacks on minorities and the curtailment of food

freedoms (falsely posited as a "beef ban") in India. The conversion of a large section of the electronic media into propaganda machines in support of right-wing majoritarian nationalism and the systematic and violent targeting of intellectuals, students and advocates through unethical reporting and profiling is unprecedented and particularly worrying. The position of students from vulnerable social groups – especially dalit-bahujan and minority students – is a matter of immediate concern.

We endorse the [following] petition submitted by over 200 sociologists across India to the President of India, protesting against the attacks on sociologists, Professors Vivek Kumar and Rajesh Misra, by students belonging to the student wing of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party.

Universities are meant to provide a space for free and informed debate and mutual learning. The growing turbulence on university campuses and the shrinking space for open and free debate, especially intolerance of opposition to the agendas of Hindutva

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are a matter of serious concern to the international community of sociologists committed to fundamental freedoms and free speech.

The suicide of Rohith Vemula, a doctoral scholar in the School of Social Sciences in the University of Hyderabad in January 2016 (the ninth case of suicide by a doctoral scholar belonging to a dalit-bahujan social group in this university), after being evicted from his hostel along with four others and facing social boycott within the university campus, is a sign of how deep-rooted systemic discrimination is and the tragic toll it has taken. While there has been a growing disquiet on university campuses across the country for a few years consequent on the growing presence of students from socially vulnerable groups in higher education, the death of Rohith Vemula has triggered an unprecedented protest within the

country and abroad, most importantly among students, especially dalit-bahujan students, who bear a disproportionate burden of the weight of the most insidious forms of discrimination within the education system.

We commend and support the efforts of teachers and students in several small colleges and in universities across India to question caste discrimination and majoritarianism by promoting an understanding of anti-caste philosophies and lifeworlds both within academic institutions and outside in the face of virulent attacks from the right. The experience of noted Tamil writer Perumal Murugan, a college teacher, who was forced to leave his town and move to the state capital is but one example. We also celebrate the eloquence and deep understanding with which young research scholars like Rohith and several like him have developed sustained

critiques of Hindutva politics and its far-reaching consequences, fashioning a new tradition of protest drawing creatively from the rich array of resistance in the sub-continent.

We extend our support to the struggles of the students and teachers of Jawaharlal Nehru University and commend their efforts to sustain a public debate on the complex question of nationalism through open lectures. We place on record our appreciation of their commitment to building upon the struggles of Rohith Vemula and students and scholars like him from campuses across the country – putting in place new signposts for a transformative sociology that interrogates disciplinary boundaries and exclusions within institutions of higher education thereby building bridges between the academy and the world outside. ■

> Letter from Indian Sociologists to the President of India

4 March 2016

Shri Pranab Mukherjee
President of India
Rastrapati Niwas
New Delhi

Dear Shri Pranab Mukherjee:

We the undersigned sociologists, including serving and retired teachers and researchers from universities and institutes across India, are deeply disturbed by ongoing events in the country and feel the urgent need to make the following public statement:

The Constitution of India guarantees to all citizens the right to their beliefs and to the peaceful expression of these beliefs. We strongly affirm the autonomy of the university and the academy as vitally important places for the exercise of this right. We are therefore deeply concerned at the growing attacks on students, faculty and staff of various universities by organisations which seem to have the backing of the authorities and the police. Students and faculty are being abused, attacked and threatened for their ideas and positions while the attackers appear to enjoy immunity from the law.

In particular, we write in support of our colleagues Prof. Vivek Kumar (JNU) and Prof. Rajesh Misra (Lucknow University). Prof. Kumar's talk as an invited speaker on 21st February at an event at Gwalior University was violently disrupted by the ABVP. Prof. Misra was also threatened by the ABVP for merely posting on his Facebook page on 23rd February an article published in a newspaper, and the university authorities have asked him for an explanation rather than those issuing the threats.

We firmly believe that scholars must have the freedom to speak, write and reflect on social issues and their voice should not be muzzled. Curbing scholarly freedom is against the national interest as it undermines our collective ability to analyse and understand our diverse society. We also reiterate our faith in the strong academic traditions that have nurtured a variety of critical scholarly perspectives which have enriched the nationalist movement as well as public discourse in independent India. ■

> Writing for Research: Logic and Practice

by **Raewyn Connell**, University of Sydney, Australia, and member of ISA Research Committees on Women and Society (RC32) and Conceptual and Terminological Analysis (RC35)



St. Matthew writing his gospel under the inspiration of an angel.

alone with a pen or computer and agonizing over their ideas. Increasingly, writing for research is published through a competitive and commercialized industry.

But both myths distort the reality of writing, in dangerous ways. Both treat as individual genius or achievement what is actually a highly social process. Both ignore the fundamental fact that writing is about communication. Both miss the fact that writing for research, in any discipline, is part of a *collective* process of making and circulating knowledge.

Writing matters, in sociology or any other discipline, precisely because it is central to that collective process. Many features of writing for research that seem arbitrary to young researchers make sense only when we consider the social dimensions of knowledge making.

The politics of writing can only be understood by thinking about the social institutions and structures involved. That includes the impact of “league tables” and the commercialization of journals; the problem of precarious labor among intellectual workers; global hierarchies of recognition, prestige and resources; the uses and risks of the Internet; and the task of democratizing processes of knowledge formation and circulation.

> An approach to writing

The key lies in recognizing writing as a form of social labor. It is work – and we can show that it is, even in the most brilliant literary texts. It is useful to apply ideas from industrial sociology to thinking about writing. Among other things, this encourages us to think about the *workforce* involved: its composition, wages and conditions of employment, technologies and other resources, supervision and autonomy.

Of course writing is a specialized form of labor. It is specifically communicative work, so it is useful to apply ideas from the sociology of communication, too. Among

> Myths and Realities

Two great myths distort our picture of writing – one old, one new. The old myth views writing as simply a matter of genius and inspiration. Someone blessed with the gift sits down on a fine morning with pen in hand, the ghostly Muse whispers in his or her ear, and a brilliant text springs forth. No one understands how. All we can do is gasp in admiration, and hope the Muse will whisper in our ear, next time.

The new myth is less poetic. It arose in the brains of neoliberal managers, reflecting their obsession with competition. In this myth, writing is no more than a marketable product, which dedicated individuals manufacture and sell in their competitive struggle for achievement. The best profits, in terms of prestige and promotion, come from targeting highly-cited journals.

Both myths reflect enough reality to seem plausible – at times. Much writing is actually done by someone sitting

other things, this encourages us to think of the audience for any piece of writing, how that audience is reached, and what the writing does for its readers. It is very important for researchers to think about who they are writing to, as that awareness shapes the writing itself.

Writing for research is a specific form of communication, and that too needs attention. It is part of a collective process of making knowledge, so it is also helpful to apply ideas from the sociology of intellectuals and the sociology of knowledge (as that field is being re-shaped in postcolonial times). A writer's relations with previous and future workers in the same domain are important; so are the epistemes and knowledge frameworks to which the work relates.

With that background, we can look at writing for research not as a great mystery but as an understandable labor process. Different genres within this labor process involve different audiences and styles. Like other forms of labor, writing involves skills that can be learned and refined. Like other forms of labor, it involves a creative and purposive element, which is all the better for reflection and discussion.

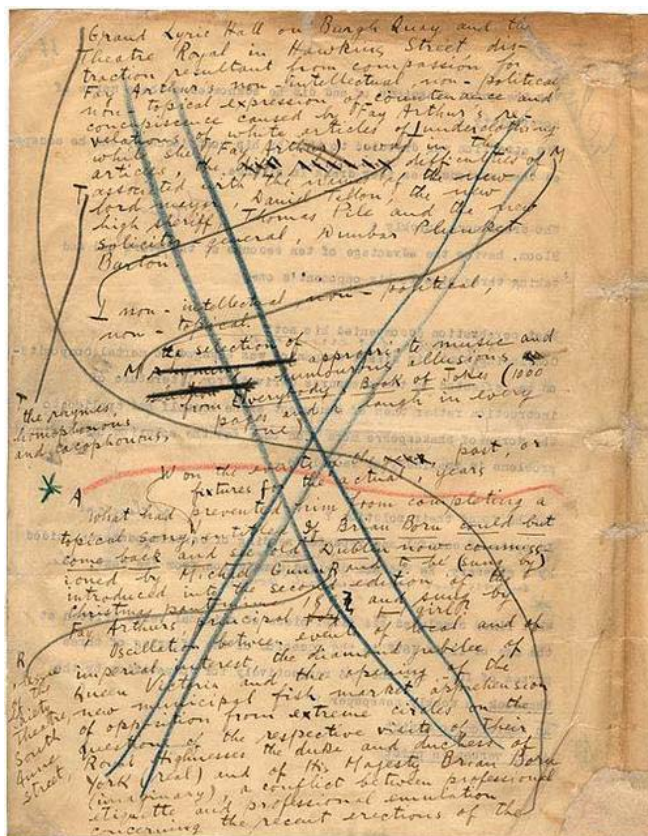
For the last twelve years, I have been running free face-to-face workshops on writing, in many universities and conferences. These are not the kind of workshops that instruct participants How to Deliver A Competitive Product & Target Top Journals. Almost the opposite! The workshops are built on the ideas just outlined: that the making of organized knowledge is an inherently social, cooperative process, and that writing is central to this larger undertaking.

> A short guide to writing for research

In the last few months, I have crystallized the ideas from these workshops into a series of blog posts, which I have now re-arranged and published as an e-booklet under a Creative Commons license.

Called *Writing for Research: Advice on Principles and Practice*, the booklet is 42 pages long (including dramatic illustrations), and can be downloaded free from my website, <http://www.raewynconnell.net/p/writing-for-research.html>. You are welcome to download this text, and circulate it to anyone who can use it; it is free to reproduce for non-commercial purposes.

The e-booklet discusses background issues about writing and its genres; the practicalities of writing a journal article,



Manuscript fragment of James Joyce's *Ulysses*.

drawing on my own practice as a writer; and key issues in the politics of writing. Here is the table of contents in outline:

Part One: About writing

1. The nature of writing
2. Research communication, the social reality
3. The genres in writing for research

Part Two: How to write a journal article – practical steps

Epitome; argument-outline; first draft; revision; presentation; publication

Part Three: The Big Picture

1. Writing programs
2. Why do it? What makes it worthwhile?
3. Some resources

I encourage other experienced researchers to circulate their practices and reflections, to help build our understanding of the trade, and I welcome feedback on this text! ■

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> Introducing the Kazakh Team

Global Dialogue's Kazakh team was launched in 2015 under the inspiration and direction of Aigul Zabirowa. With amazing determination they disseminate Global Dialogue throughout Kazakhstan, overcoming all the challenges of translation into the Kazakh language.



Aigul Zabirowa is a Professor of Sociology and founding chair of the Sociology Department at the L.M. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan. She studied in Moscow and obtained her doctorate in sociology from the Institute of Sociology at the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, 2004). Her current research focuses on socioeconomic situation of private households in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan; she is co-author of the book entitled *When Salary is not Enough... Private Households in Central Asia* (Verlag, May 2015).

Aigul teaches a variety of courses on urban sociology and social theory; her research and writing focus primarily on identity politics in post-Soviet space, and urbanization and migration in Central Asia. She has received several international awards and scholarships from the MacArthur Foundation (2000-01, 2002-03), INTAS (2005-07), TACIS (2007), Volkswagen Foundation (2011-13), Open Society Institute (2001-03), Central European University (2001, 2008) as well as local scholarships and awards from the Kazakh Ministry of Science. She has been Research Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, UK (2011), Lund University, Sweden (2008), Warwick University, UK (2007), Indiana University, USA (2002). She is a member of the International Sociological Association since 2010.



Bayan Smagambet is an Associate Professor in the Sociology Department at the Eurasian National University. She studied in Almaty and received her Candidate of Sciences in sociology from the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University in 1998. She teaches classes on the history of sociology and economic sociology. Her research interests are social inequality and labor market. She has published several textbooks in Kazakh – *History of Sociology*, *Economic Sociology*, *Social History* – and about 20 research articles.



Adil Rodionov is a senior lecturer of the Department of Sociology at the Eurasian National University. He also works in one of the Kazakhstani think tanks “Institute of Eurasian Integration.” He earned his PhD in sociology from the Eurasian National University (2009). He has been Research Fellow at the Central European University (Budapest, Hungary, 2013-14). His research interests are in the fields of social networks, civil society, and the history of social science(s). His current research project focuses on networks of Kazakhstani nongovernmental organizations. A synopsis of this project can be found here: http://e-valuation.kz/social_capital_en.html.



Gani Madi is a teacher in the Department of Sociology at the Eurasian National University where he received his MA in sociology in 2010. He teaches such subjects as theoretical sociology, structure and stratification of society, economic sociology, elitology, sociology of migration and introduction to sociology. He is currently interested in power dynamics in the workplace and different forms of managerial control of labor as well as Marxist theory.