

GLOBAL DIALOGUE

8.1

3 issues a year in 17 languages

Talking Sociology with Virgínia Fontes

Guilherme Leite Gonçalves

XIX ISA World Congress in Toronto

Margaret Abraham
Rima Wilkes
Patrizia Albanese
François Lachapelle
Patrick John Burnett
Mitchell McIvor
Mickey Vallee
Elise Maiolino
Cary Wu

Gender and Violence

Maggie Walter
Joselynn Baltra-Ulloa
Jacob Prehn
Kammila Naidoo
Magdalena Grzyb
Sylvia Walby

Marx and Sociology Today

Gáspár Miklós Tamás
Erik Olin Wright
Alexandra Scheele
Stefanie Wöhl
Bob Jessop
Guilherme Leite Gonçalves
Satish Deshpande
Michelle Williams
Raju Das
David Fasenfest

Open Section

- > **Class Inequalities in China**
- > **Public and Private Universities in India**
- > **Introducing the New and Not-So-New Editors**

MAGAZINE



VOLUME 8 / ISSUE 1 / APRIL 2018
<http://globaldialogue.isa-sociology.org/>

GD

International
Sociological
Association
isa



> Editorial

“If the standpoint of economics is the market and its expansion, and the standpoint of political science is the state and the guarantee of political stability, then the standpoint of sociology is civil society and the defense of the social. In times of market tyranny and state despotism, sociology – and in particular its public face – defends the interests of humanity.”

Michael Burawoy, 2004, ASA presidential address

“There are [...] three challenges for global sociology. If the first challenge is to compose a sociology of society, and the second is to build a sociology in society, the third challenge is to construct a sociology for society, defending the very object – civil society – that was sociology’s original foundation.”

Michael Burawoy, 2014, ISA presidential address

By starting our first issue of *Global Dialogue* with two quotes from Michael Burawoy, we as its new editors are recognizing the rich history of this unique magazine of public and global sociology (see [his editorial in GD7.4](#)).

The first quote is from Michael’s programmatic speech as President of the ASA in which he makes a compelling case for strengthening public sociology. In the second quote, which is taken from his presidential address at the XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology, he develops the contours of a global sociology. “Going public – going global” is how Michael encapsulates the ten years between these two speeches. It was a decade in which his understanding of sociology and the question of what sociology as a discipline can and should accomplish were hotly debated internationally. Furthermore, it was a decade in which Michael – teaching and doing research in the United States and despite that (or therefore), viewing hegemonic sociologies critically – founded *Global Dialogue*. Within only seven years he – together with sociologists from all over the world – developed it into a flourishing magazine of public sociology. You don’t have to share Michael’s idea of sociology to acknowledge that he has managed to give it a voice beyond the discussions within the field, and to give sociologists from all over the world a forum for their research findings, statements concerning world affairs, and reflections on their shared discipline.

When Michael asked us if we would apply to succeed him as editors of *Global Dialogue*, we felt honored and pleased that he trusted us for this task. Anticipating the challenges that come with a project like this, we did not make this decision lightly. What convinced us as public sociologists who feel connected to the critical traditions of the discipline is the gruesome reality described in Michael’s speech about the “times of market tyranny and state despotism” and threatening to gain momentum in new ways.

Our societies have undergone processes of profound and far-reaching social transformation since the mid-1970s. These processes can be identified by distinct caesuras in both the global North and global South as well as in the East and West. They include the New Depression of the 1970s, the collapse of state socialism, finance-capitalist expansion and globalization, the rise of the BRICS countries, and the global financial crisis of 2008-09. Further critical historical breaks include the ongoing dismantling, restructuring, and reconfiguration of welfare states across different parts of the world since the 1980s; new protest movements; economically, politically, and religiously motivated wars over resources and hegemony; forced migration on an unprecedented scale; material impoverishment and social crisis across entire regions and countries as a result of ecological disasters; and a dramatic increase in social inequality. We are also witnessing the “conformist rebellion” (in Adorno’s terms) of a new right-wing populism, and a tendency towards authoritarian forms of state rule that necessarily collide with equally relevant democratization movements emerging in society.

These phenomena represent uneven developments caused by highly complex sets of economic, political, social, and cultural factors with – more importantly – dramatically varied consequences. At the same time, however, we observe inter- and transnational interrelations and converging tendencies, such as the market-centered reorganization of otherwise distinct capitalisms; simultaneously emerging populist currents in the United States, Europe, Asia, and Latin America; the renewed growth of class-specific inequalities in almost all OECD countries; and the forceful return of the axes of inequality related to gender and ethnicity/nationality.

Although sociological interpretations of these phenomena are deeply heterogeneous and even contradictory, there is a general agreement that these changes affect the very core of the discipline. In a post-truth world, a so-

cology devoted primarily to finding “the truth” forfeits its social relevance entirely. As a discipline that relies on a discourse free of domination in order to fulfill its obligations in terms of analyzing, reflecting upon, and criticizing social developments, it would be doomed. Therefore, all differences aside, sociologists must develop a shared interest in helping to force the dialogue between academic and non-academic publics through their contributions to and engagement in the common discussion. As new editors of *Global Dialogue* we aim to bring together sociological insights from around the world and to encourage a vivid discussion about societal developments as well as the advancement of our discipline.

The current issue opens with an interview with one of the most prominent theoreticians on dependency theory and Marxist thinkers in Latin America, Virgínia Fontes. She invites us to reflect on the history of these strands of theoretical research in Brazil, and on the relevance of the Marxist concept of expropriation for the critique of political economy and the understanding of developments since the parliamentary coup of 2016.

More than 5,000 sociologists are expected at the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology in Toronto, Canada to discuss their findings and the tasks of sociology in the face of the pressing issues of our time. ISA President Margaret Abraham explains why the Congress’s theme of “Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities” is so important. Patrizia Albanese, chair of the Local Organizing Committee, and Rima Wilkes, President of the Canadian Sociological Association, as well as young scholars from all over Canada give us some insights into Canada and Canadian sociology.

Violence and gender is often a taboo topic. Repeated efforts to bring it to public attention have been made

and the extent of the problem causes outrage. Invited by Margaret Abraham, authors from Poland, Great Britain, Australia, and South Africa write about developments in these countries.

Karl Marx’s 200th birthday provides an opportunity to reflect upon how his theories and ideas have been discussed in sociology. A number of scholars have been invited by us to contribute to a symposium which combines in-depth analysis of the history of sociology with insights into the international discussion of Marx’s theory and critiques of his oeuvre from different perspectives. Their instructive articles show how Marx can be a reference for the theory of society and for the discussion about alternative visions of societal development, or how he has been criticized from a feminist perspective, how his theory is used for analyzing contemporary capitalisms in general, and how the development of the state or the law can be understood from a Marxian perspective, and so much more. We learn about his international recognition following authors from different countries.

In the Open Section an article discusses the impact of marketization on the sociology curriculum in Indian universities. And we publish a piece about working conditions in China. Furthermore, the members of *Global Dialogue*’s new editorial team who have taken up and/or are continuing their work with us introduce themselves.

Michael Burawoy’s generous support, along with the warm welcome of the magazine’s global team and all the bodies of the ISA involved in *Global Dialogue* have made this new beginning easy. We would like to thank all of them, and with great confidence we look forward to our joint work on *Global Dialogue* and to new ideas and suggestions from around the world. ■

Brigitte Aulenbacher and **Klaus Dörre**,
incoming editors of *Global Dialogue*

> ***Global Dialogue* can be found in 17 languages at the [ISA website](http://isa-web.org).**

> **Submissions should be sent to globaldialogue.isa@gmail.com.**



**GLOBAL
DIALOGUE**



> Editorial Board

Editors: Brigitte Aulenbacher, Klaus Dörre.

Assistant Editors: Johanna Grubner, Christine Schickert.

Associate Editor: Aparna Sundar.

Managing Editors: Lola Busuttil, August Bagà.

Consultant: Michael Burawoy.

Media Consultant: Gustavo Taniguti.

Consulting Editors:

Margaret Abraham, Markus Schulz, Sari Hanafi, Vineeta Sinha, Benjamín Tejerina, Rosemary Barbarett, Izabela Barlinska, Dilek Cindoğlu, Filomin Gutierrez, John Holmwood, Guillermina Jasso, Kalpana Kannabiran, Marina Kurkchyan, Simon Mapadimeng, Abdul-mumin Sa'ad, Ayse Saktanber, Celi Scalón, Sawako Shirahase, Grazyna Skapska, Evangelia Tastsoglou, Chin-Chun Yi, Elena Zdravomyslova.

Regional Editors

Arab World: Sari Hanafi, Mounir Saidani.

Argentina: Juan Ignacio Piovani, Pilar Pi Puig, Martín Urtasun.

Bangladesh: Habibul Haque Khondker, Hasan Mahmud, Juwel Rana, US Rokeya Akhter, Toufica Sultana, Asif Bin Ali, Khairun Nahar, Kazi Fadia Esha, Helal Uddin, Muhaimin Chowdhury.

Brazil: Gustavo Taniguti, Andreza Galli, Lucas Amaral Oliveira, Benno Warken, Angelo Martins Junior, Dmitri Cerboncini Fernandes.

France/Spain: Lola Busuttil.

India: Rashmi Jain, Jyoti Sidana, Pragya Sharma, Nidhi Bansal, Pankaj Bhatnagar.

Indonesia: Kamanto Sunarto, Hari Nugroho, Lucia Ratih Kusumadewi, Fina Itriati, Indera Ratna Irawati Pattinasarany, Benedictus Hari Juliawan, Mohamad Shohibuddin, Dominggus Elcid Li, Antonius Ario Seto Hardjana.

Iran: Reyhaneh Javadi, Niayesh Dolati, Sina Bastani, Mitra Daneshvar, Vahid Lenjanzade.

Japan: Satomi Yamamoto, Masaki Yokota, Yuko Masui, Kota Nakano, Riho Tanaka, Masaki Tokumaru, Marie Yamamoto.

Kazakhstan: Aigul Zabirowa, Bayan Smagambet, Adil Rodionov, Almash Tlespayeva, Kuanysh Tel.

Poland: Jakub Barszczewski, Iwona Bojadziewicz, Katarzyna Dębska, Paulina Domagalska, Łukasz Dulniak, Krzysztof Gubański, Sara Herczyńska, Justyna Kościńska, Karolina Mikołajewska-Zajac, Adam Müller, Zofia Penza-Gabler, Aleksandra Senn, Anna Wandzel, Jacek Zych.

Romania: Cosima Rughiniș, Raisa-Gabriela Zamfirescu, Maria-Loredana Arsene, Timea Barabasz, Denisa Dan, Diana Alexandra Dumitrescu, Radu Dumitrescu, Iulian Gabor, Alina Hoară, Alecsandra Irimie-Ana, Cristiana Lotrea, Anda-Olivia Marin, Bianca Mihăilă, Rareș-Mihai Mușat, Oana-Elena Negrea, Mioara Paraschiv, Codruț Pînzaru, Adriana Sohodoleanu, Elena Tudor.

Russia: Anastasia Daur, Andrei Sinelnikov, Elena Zdravomyslova.

Taiwan: Jing-Mao Ho.

Turkey: Gül Çorbacioğlu, Irmak Evren.



Virginia Fontes, leading Marxist theoretician in Latin America reflects on the importance of the Marxist concept of expropriation for the critique of political economy and its application to understand developments in Brazil since the parliamentary coup of 2016.



The XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology in July 2018 takes place in Toronto, Canada. Patrizia Albanese, Chair of the Local Organizing Committee and five young scholars give us an insight into current Canadian sociology.



In the year of Marx's 200th birthday, sociologists from all over the world reflect on the continuing relevance of Marxist theory for understanding contemporary developments in fields ranging from state and law to racism and feminism.



Global Dialogue is made possible by a generous grant from **SAGE Publications**.

English edition: ISSN 2519-8688

> In This Issue

Editorial 2

> TALKING SOCIOLOGY

On Capital-Imperialism: An Interview with Virgínia Fontes
by **Guilherme Leite Gonçalves, Brazil** 6

> XIX ISA WORLD CONGRESS IN TORONTO

Power, Violence, and Justice
by **Margaret Abraham, USA** 10

Canadian Sociology and the World Congress
by **Rima Wilkes, Canada** 12

An Opportunity to Commit Sociology, Together, in Canada
by **Patrizia Albanese, Canada** 14

Canadian Universities, Between Domesticity and Globality
by **François Lachapelle and Patrick John Burnett, Canada** 16

The Effects of Student Debt on New Canadian Graduates
by **Mitchell McIvor, Canada** 17

Becoming a Citizen Scientist
by **Mickey Vallee, Canada** 18

Identity Work and Political Leaders in Canada
by **Elise Maiolino, Canada** 20

Do Immigrants Gain Trust in High Trust Canada?
by **Cary Wu, Canada** 21

> GENDER AND VIOLENCE

Intersectionality, Indigeneity, Gender, and Violence
by **Maggie Walter, Joselynn Baltra-Ulloa and Jacob Prehn, Australia** 23

Sexual Violence and "Corrective Rape" in South Africa
by **Kammila Naidoo, South Africa** 25

Making Domestic Violence Visible in Poland
by **Magdalena Grzyb, Poland** 27

Towards Zero Violence?
by **Sylvia Walby, UK** 29

> MARX AND SOCIOLOGY TODAY

200 Years of Marx 31

Marx and Sociology, 2018
by **G.M. Tamás, Hungary** 32

The Continuing Relevance of the Marxist Tradition
for Transcending Capitalism
by **Erik Olin Wright, USA** 34

Feminism Confronts Marxism
by **Alexandra Scheele, Germany, and Stefanie Wöhl, Austria** 36

Marx and the State
by **Bob Jessop, UK** 38

Capitalist *Landnahme*. A New Marxist Approach to Law
by **Guilherme Leite Gonçalves, Brazil** 40

Marx and Sociology in India
by **Satish Deshpande, India** 42

Marx in the Twenty-First Century
by **Michelle Williams, South Africa** 44

Marx and the Global South
by **Raju Das, Canada, and David Fasenfest, USA** 46

> OPEN SECTION

Class Inequalities and Social Struggles in China
by **Jenny Chan, Hong Kong** 48

A Comparative Study of Public and Private Universities
in India
by **Niharika Jaiswal, India** 50

Introducing the New and Not-So-New Editorial Team 52

“In this difficult phase of history, we sociologists cannot afford to maintain an apathetic distance from the conflicts and contestations of our time, for otherwise we run the risk of becoming irrelevant to civil society.”

Margaret Abraham

> On Capital-Imperialism

An Interview with Virgínia Fontes



Virgínia Fontes.

Virgínia Fontes is one of today's most distinguished Marxist thinkers in Latin America. She was Professor of Social History at the Fluminense Federal University (UFF) and Senior Researcher at the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fiocruz) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. In her book *Reflexões im-pertinentes: História e capitalismo contemporâneo* published in 2005, she examined the development of capitalism and its new forms of commodification through a combination of theoretical reflection and empirical analysis. Based on the concept of expropriation, her research reflects a recovery of the critique of political economy in social theory. The widely acclaimed 2010 publication of *O Brasil e o capital-imperialismo. Teoria e história* marked the high point of her reflection. In a critical dialogue with one of the most important authors of the Marxist Theory of Dependency, Ruy Mauro Marini, she proposed a new theory of imperialism which was able to move Latin American Marxism beyond the theses of the 1960s. Here she is interviewed by **Guilherme Leite Gonçalves**, Professor of Sociology of Law at the Rio de Janeiro State University (UERJ). We are especially grateful to Allan Hillani, Bruna Coelho, Cesar Barreira, Clay Johnson, Mozart Pereira, Rhayza Ruas and Thayná Carneiro for their work on the translation of this interview from Portuguese into English.

Guilherme Leite Gonçalves: *In the production and circulation of knowledge, dependency theory exemplarily overcomes the intellectual subalternity that haunts Latin American thought. Globally, it has spread into various fields of study. Is it possible to explain this recognition in the light of its potential to describe and criticize the structures of capitalist society?*

Virgínia Fontes: There is a serious theoretical effort to separate the Marxist Theory of Dependency (MTD) from approaches with "adaptive" rather than anti-capitalist outcomes. W.W. Rostow's book, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960), became the mantra of international institutions, imposing steps that "underdeveloped" countries should take to "develop them-

>>

selves.” Numerous analyses have proved them false. UN entities – such as ECLAC / CEPAL – showed that the expansion of capitalism blocked the development of the late-comers as “unequal exchange” drained the wealth these countries produced, hindering their industrialization. Others considered underdevelopment the form of capitalist development in peripheral countries. Despite criticism, such theories remained entangled within “capitalist development.”

MTD went beyond these approaches. Analyzing the expansion of capitalism as the exacerbation of inequalities, it both addressed the *whole* of capitalist relations and analyzed, through value theory, the specific forms by which capitalism *expanded* itself in the peripheries. It made a huge theoretical and practical leap in reiterating the need to overcome capitalism itself – and not merely its underdevelopment or its various forms of dependence.

GLG: In your work, there is critical acknowledgement of Ruy Mauro Marini's thesis on peripheral capitalism. For Marini, the dependency of the Latin American bourgeoisie would lead to a deformed capitalist development in the region, based on the restrained functioning of the law of value due to the super-exploitation of labor. That is, by converting the necessary funds for workers' consumption into funds for the accumulation of capital, the peripheral bourgeoisie manages to both keep for itself part of the surplus value and hand over part of it to the capitalist center. What are the obstacles faced by this thesis?

VF: Marini is a fundamental thinker with a double perspective on this subject. For him, the role played by a given peripheral country is not definitively traced. There are variables related to imperialism, local capitalist accumulation, social struggles, the state, and so on. His analysis is brimming with historicity as it dismisses a fixed and rigid hierarchy of countries and other sorts of reductionisms, which enabled him to grasp Brazilian sub-imperialism in a context of changes in international capitalism. Furthermore, he developed a structural approach to the law of value under imperialism: the super-exploitation of workers in peripheral countries and the split between the cycles of production and consumption explained the transfer of value to capitalist centers. Thus, Marini kept in sight the contradiction between imperialism and the universality of Marx's theory of value, and between national particularities and imperialist tensions.

These bold statements require constant reinterpretation since they simultaneously address both the expansion of capitalist relations and the processes of uneven reestablishment of dependency. They allow us to infer that dependency does not produce fixed relations between countries nor does it come down to a constant sub-cycle within capitalism. Instead it represents an intensification of its contradictions. I have analyzed the expansion of capital-

ist social relations in Brazil in a period after an intense process of expropriation of peasants. With the reduction of the peasants' “reserve,” the tendency of the law of value to expand has been strengthened – not hindered – due to the sociohistorical requirements for the reproduction of labor-power. Through intense struggle, workers obtained minor improvements in their situation, but these were soon followed by an aggressive cycle of *secondary expropriations* promoted by capital. These secondary expropriations also affect the central countries, which is why Marini's thesis of super-exploitation must be continuously investigated in the light of the international situation.

There have also been changes regarding the split between production and consumption. In the 1960s, Brazilian industry produced luxury goods that were mainly intended for the consumption of small-scale social strata or for exportation. However, from 1970 onwards, consumer credit expanded access to such goods, transforming the gap between production and consumption, but also exacerbating inequalities. Marini asserted that Brazilian sub-imperialism was defined by the exportation of commodities (caused by the resulting underconsumption of the super-exploited working class) and by the relative autonomy of the state. In this sense, I have pointed out since the 1990s that the displacement of Brazilian companies to other peripheral countries and the establishment of Brazilian multinationals that directly export capital or exploit labor-power and natural resources in other countries are evidence of this sub-imperialism. I don't see in Marini's work the hypothesis of a “deformed” capitalism in peripheral countries, for this idea implies that this previous stage could have developed into a “normalized capitalism,” which is a false premise.

GLG: What is the difference between Marini's concept of sub-imperialism and your concept of capital-imperialism? Why “capital-imperialism”?

VF: Several decades separate our analyses. While Marini emphasizes the structural process of value transfer, I seek to correlate the social production of humans available for labor (expropriations), specific forms of concentration and property internationalization, new modes of value extraction, and the redesign of states and politics (departing from Gramsci). The exacerbation of social contradictions increasingly responds to the opposition between capital and labor, even when *displaced* into inter-capitalist-imperialist tensions.

I called capital-imperialist expansion a new scale of capitalism, *in which concentrated and competing capitals act in consortium*. The internal domination of capital requires external expansion via markets, exports, capital circulation, and boosts expropriations of land, rights, and existential conditions of the environment and biology of entire populations. Social relations that are fundamental for capital are generalized based on intense anti-communism. New

fractions of the bourgeoisie and some peripheral states are strengthened, but the diversity of their political organization is reduced to a nominally “democratic” frame. The scale of the centralization and concentration of capital in the center and in some peripheries results in the predominance of a pornographic fusion of “pure property,” increasingly “abstract” and “social.” A handful of big owners of capital rushes to valorize capital and pushes “functioning capitalists” into the most diverse, even brutal, modes of value extraction. The private property of the *social resources of production* (the ability to gather the means of production and labor-power for the extraction of value) becomes absolute. Multiple expropriations are intensified, impelling new and terrible forms of labor through the industrialization of every human activity and the exacerbation of competition among workers.

I tried to avoid the terms neoliberalism and crisis. Neoliberalism is not the downfall of “civilized” capitalism because it results from the *expansion* of that capital-imperialism, not from its crisis. We are living under its dramatic expansion: crises affect growing masses of workers without even touching “pure” property. The spatial expansion of capital corresponds contradictorily to the political encapsulation of the working masses in the national space. A great part of humanity integrates the process of production and/or circulation, renewing inequalities. The representative-electoral format is disseminated, but democracy is reduced to a wealth-based autocratic model. Political action becomes bipolar: internationalized for capital and fragmented for labor. There is intense bourgeois activism, either through official international entities (UN, WTO, IMF), informal politics (dissemination of non-profit-making entities), or formal politics within states. Through expert commissions and constitutional blockades, the bourgeoisie tries to prevent any popular attempt to overcome capitalism. A capital-financed bureaucracy dominates the public administration within states, reducing democratic aspects and the margin of action of the subaltern. Capital-imperialist expansion – not crisis – leads to new national and international tensions between social classes and capital-imperialist countries.

GLG: At the root of the notion of capital-imperialism lies the discussion about expropriations, which refers to Marx’s reflection on so-called primitive accumulation. There is a long tradition of this debate going back to Rosa Luxemburg. How do you fit into this tradition? What does expropriation mean and what is its relation to the extraction of surplus value?

VF: Marx insists that expropriations integrate capitalist social dynamics. They are not only its “previous moment.” The existence of free workers constitutes the *social basis* for the expansion of its *crucial social relationship*, embedding capital and labor for value extraction (valorization of value). Nowadays, this massive disposability tends to reach the whole population, converting singular beings

into a bare necessity, a compulsory disposal for the sale of labor-power under any conditions. Massive expropriation is the initial social condition and result of capitalist expansion.

Until recently, the vast majority of the world’s population lived in the countryside, under pre-capitalist conditions. The rural world appeared as an effective exteriority vis-à-vis urban capitalism, but this has changed. Rosa Luxemburg believed that the expansion of capital required non-capitalist frontiers because of the impossibility of mercantile achievement within the strict limits of capitalist societies. David Harvey modified the formulation asserting that, today, capitalism produces such externalities (the “dispossession” that portrays a further unfolding of “normalized” capitalism). I disagree: there has never been a “normalized” capitalism, and the countries in which that seemed to happen, employed barbaric and imperialist forms of value extraction. These are suggestive propositions, but we must insist that the basic social relation, internal (not external) to capital, is the production of necessities and the first of them is the production of social beings who need to provide their own subsistence through markets. Rosa Luxemburg reminds us of the overwhelming role of the continuous expansion of capitalist social relations.

GLG: To what extent is the concept of expropriation fundamental to understanding Marxist analysis as a critique of political economy?

VF: It is no longer possible to ignore expropriations. While [the old] land expropriation still goes on in rural zones, new kinds of expropriation have attacked urbanized populations for centuries. I call the latter *secondary expropriations*. They do not represent a loss of property over the means of production, like land. Currently, secondary expropriations act in two ways: 1) similar to the English parliamentary expropriations of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, as an ongoing withdrawal of rights, including those associated with labor contracts, suppressing the contract itself in many cases; privatization of public enterprises; and the opening of large sectors of activity to the extraction of value, especially in education and health; 2) expropriations of natural resources, such as water and forests, which used to be for social use and whose monopolized ownership would have been unimaginable decades ago. Indeed, the conditions of life reproduction are being monopolized by means of patents of biological and human life and the use of *terminator* transgenic seeds.

Showing the correlation between the concentration of social resources of production and the expropriations highlights how capitalism cannot exist without labor and value extraction. It assumes multiple and associated forms, from the most barbaric to the most “innovative,” of increasing international competition imposed on workers deprived of international means of confrontation. It is not enough to

speak of “financialization,” as if there were good (productive) and bad (financial) capitalists: They are united and act together in almost all sectors of the economy, and both depend on the extraction of value from workers.

GLG: How do you explain the Brazilian parliamentary coup of 2016?

VF: Brazil is a capitalist country because of prevailing social relations (massive primary and secondary expropriations, and concentration of capital, with multiple forms of value extraction) and an industrialization process directly connected with the expansion of capital-imperialism. The Brazilian bourgeoisie has had an active role in the defense of capital-imperialism; they benefited from a sustained growth achieved through privatizations and capital donations in Cardoso’s (PSDB) government. The following government, led by the Workers’ Party (PT), also expropriated rights, but in a subtler way. During those years, Brazilian bourgeois fractions implemented official (through electoral campaign financing) and extra-official forms of political action. Through non-profit organizations they tried to neutralize the efforts of the working classes by means of co-optation, scarcity of resources, and criminalization.

The 2016 coup was motivated by an economic crisis that started in 2013-14 and disorganized the prevailing arrangement. Corruption was under national exposure, en-

couraging weaker bourgeois fractions to denounce each other. Some Brazilian companies became multinational, which aggravated tensions inside and out. Their local arrangements were reported by foreign competitors. And judicial persecution showed that internal and external rearrangements were needed. The unification of these dominant classes was based on the acceleration and aggravation of brutal secondary expropriations of workers.

Recent Brazilian democracy under capital-imperialism presupposed the conciliation of the population while assuring support for the internationalization of Brazilian capital. This is how a pro-capitalist left (PT) was admitted to secure the process. However, this increased electoral competition and its costs. Brazilian groups, with the support of their far-right American counterparts, financed an intense anti-communist campaign criminalizing the PT and aiming to block *any consistent left* from reaching political prominence. The monopoly over television broadcasting imposed a unilateral *diktat*, escorted by extreme police and paramilitary violence against the recalcitrant sectors of the population in general. All of this happened under the rule of bourgeois institutions and their checks and balances. We are seeing an accelerated *constitutionalization* of the interests of capital, assuring expropriations and unruly forms of value extraction, including the revenues of the owners (native or not) of the public debt. The Constitution is enforced when it matches the interests of capitalists (Brazilian or foreign). ■

Direct all correspondence to:

Guilherme Leite Gonçalves <guilherme.leite@uerj.br>

Virgínia Fontes <virginia.fontes@gmail.com>

> Power, Violence, and Justice

by **Margaret Abraham**, Hofstra University, USA, ISA President and Program Committee Chair of the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology



Metro Toronto Convention Center will be the venue for the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology, July 15-21, 2018.

It is hard to imagine that we are just a few months away from the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology in Toronto, Canada. Since the start of the discipline, sociologists have been preoccupied with power, violence, and justice and their imprint on society. Current social, economic, and political challenges enhance the relevance of these sociological preoccupations. The times we live in require us to reengage with these issues with greater urgency. This Congress, with its theme “Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities,” provides an important platform for sociologists and other social scientists to dialogue, debate, and consider ways to address these key concerns that impact our lives in multiple ways.

Approximately 1,200 sessions have been organized and over 10,000 abstracts submitted for this Congress. We anticipate that more than 5,000 participants from across the globe will come to Toronto, Canada, from July 15 to 21, 2018, to share knowledge, exchange ideas, and reflect and provide a spectrum of perspectives on the issues raised on the Congress theme. The XIX ISA World Congress theme refers to the power – political, social, cultural, and economic – that is the dominant force molding and changing society. The spectrum of topics covered points to the challenges we confront but also to our determination to find solutions to the violence and injustice that impact our world.

> Key concerns of sociology and society

We know that a key concern of sociologists is to critically study social behavior and social institutions. However, it is not enough to understand why things are the way they are. We also need to harness our sociological knowledge to change the world for the better. In this pursuit, we have to address the issues that impact social structures, social relations, and social behavior and engage with the public on the key challenges of our time. This necessarily implies mobilizing sociology to interrogate power and the powerful; to investigate and critique, for example, colonial histories and contemporary land appropriations; to reflect on the structures and cultural processes that perpetuate violence against indigenous people and minorities; to revisit patriarchy and the continuing violence and discrimination against women; to study the violence of wars and post-war conflicts, poverty, racism, gender and intersectional violence, and forced migration and dispossession with the ultimate purpose of creating a more just world. In this context, “power,” “violence,” and “justice” are telling terms that encapsulate the key concerns in today’s world that we need to address and therefore together make a timely and appropriate theme for this XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology.

We are in the midst of a cauldron of violence, wars, conflict, and hate and also in a time where existing systems are in turmoil, once-revered institutions are being dismantled, and democracy itself is in crisis. In many parts of the world, the state as an institution is seen as an instrument encouraging hyper-nationalism and xenophobic impulses, and abusing its power to persecute minorities and dissenting, non-conformist groups. There are hegemonic oligarchies venting unbridled violence against smaller vulnerable nations even as organizations meant to maintain international order watch helplessly or are ineffective. Egalitarian ideals have been transformed into malleable instruments to serve the powerful, with entire nations being devastated in the name of “promoting democracy.” The “war on terror” is being used as the perfect alibi to curtail individual freedoms and rights. What has this meant for freedom, justice, and democracy? At the heart of the violence, hatred, and anger that rack our world are the glaring injustices and inequality spawned by a neoliberal economic regime with a single-minded focus on the market and profitability. Alongside, state power is being routinely used to protect the hegemony of the power elite across nations and maintain the status quo. Neither the predominance of the state nor the power of the market has been successful in creating a better world. In this violent, contentious world, our responsibility as sociologists is to probe and question the dominant institutions, beliefs, ideologies, and practices that seem to exacerbate inequality and injustice.

Amidst the gloom, a glimmer of hope is provided by groups, non-violent movements, humanitarian interventions, and peace processes that have empowered communities, reduced violence, and promoted justice. Protest movements that have revolved around opposition to tyranny, the chasm between the privileged and the rest, environmental damage, unemployment, and other injustices have challenged the power brokers. However, when the resistance dies down or movements are not sustained to ensure the process of institutional transformation, then there is an almost inevitable return of the power elite and the status quo, often accompanied by an intensification of repression. The trajectory of citizens’ protests is a grim reminder that the pursuit of social justice is an endless, often frustrating, quest, but that we must not give up! By raising issues seminal to the common good, this Congress represents the interests of civil society.

The theme of this Congress is an emphatic assertion that in this difficult phase of history, we sociologists cannot afford to maintain an apathetic distance from the conflicts and contestations of our time, for otherwise we run the risk of becoming irrelevant to civil society, the main stakeholders. This, in turn, means offering an unabashed contextual global public sociology that engages proactively in addressing the complex issues of our deeply troubled world. Such a large gathering of sociologists, fellow social scientists, journalists, and activists cannot ignore the swirling political, economic, and social currents that impact civil society. Issues of violence and social justice relating to inequality, ethnocentrism, hyper-nationalism, xenophobia, and human rights have necessarily to be at the core of our deliberations.

Sociology integrates insights from other disciplines and is therefore uniquely situated to make a meaningful and significant contribution to the search for answers to the most pressing concerns of society. Our theme of “Power, Violence and Justice” is important across disciplines such as political science, economics, anthropology, psychology, and history which provide different perspectives on our world and are crucial partners in this never-ending struggle for social justice. In this global endeavor to generate and share knowledge, and engage in collective action for social change, the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology will provide a platform for sociologists and speakers from diverse disciplines to share their perspectives on the topics covered by the wide array of sessions. I look forward to seeing you in Toronto! I am hopeful that together we will deepen our understanding of the complex social, economic, and political challenges of our troubled world and find effective ways of countering the forces perpetrating violence and subverting equality and justice. ■

Direct all correspondence to Margaret Abraham
<Margaret.Abraham@Hofstra.edu>

> Canadian Sociology

and the World Congress

CSA

Canadian Sociological Association
La Société canadienne de sociologie

SCS



Committing Sociology
Since 1964

www.csa-scs.ca

by **Rima Wilkes**, University of British Columbia, President of the Canadian Sociological Association, Program Coordinator of ISA Research Committee on Logic and Methodology (RC33) and member of the Local Organizing Committee of the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology

Canadian sociologists and members of the Canadian Sociological Association (<http://www.csa-scs.ca/>) are very excited about hosting the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology. The Congress will take place in Toronto, Ontario, Canada from July 15 to July 21, 2018. As a result, delegates will be meeting on the lands of the Wendat, the Anishinabek Nation, and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, together comprising the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant which is an agreement to peaceably share and protect the Great Lakes region, as well as the lands of the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation.

As territorial acknowledgments are becoming an increasingly common part of public events in Canada they deserve explication. The roots of the acknowledgment include long-standing Indigenous activism and, more recently, attention generated by the 2008 to 2015 Indian Residential School Truth and Reconciliation Commission. While acknowledgment is not a panacea for past and present harms, the

Canada's sociologists are looking forward to welcoming scholars from all over the world.

issues that this practice raises fits well within the theme of the World Congress of Sociology – “Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities.” In the Canadian context acknowledgment is sometimes used to express appreciation and gratitude as well as to show an awareness of people and territorial history. Acknowledgment is also a political practice, providing a stark reminder – particularly to non-Indigenous people – about settler colonialism, about treaty obligations, and about Canada’s failure to uphold them.

The ISA World Congress will provide an unparalleled opportunity to listen, learn, and dialogue about pressing issues that practices such as acknowledgment raise, and many more, with thousands of scholars from around the world. While some participants will be joining the ISA for the first time, others will have decades of experience. Involvement in the ISA, and with the World Congress in particular, brings us together in ways that would not have been possible without this unique chance to meet.

The Congress also offers Canadian sociologists an opportunity to engage the world. Among the many strengths of Ca-

nadian sociology is a real and genuine commitment to theoretical and methodological pluralism. Canadian sociologists, like their counterparts from other countries, are open to an ever-changing and diverse empirical reality. As such, the Association’s 1,000 members belong to more than 28 research clusters ranging from applied sociology, to social theory, relational sociology, or sociology of science, technology and knowledge. Some of the strongest contributions members and research clusters offer the discipline are published in the *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* <https://www.csa-scs.ca/canadian-review/>, the flagship journal of the Canadian Sociological Association.

In reading the journal and meeting people at the ISA meetings, you will see that Canadian sociologists are also deeply concerned with social justice, with making practical policy-relevant contributions, and to taking on the role of public sociologists. That said, there is clearly much work that remains. The World Congress will be a chance for sociologists from around the world to explore both the differences and the similarities in our experiences of and responses to power, violence, and justice. We are very much looking forward to your arrival this summer! ■

Direct all correspondence to Rima Wilkes <wilkesr@mail.ubc.ca>

> An Opportunity to Commit Sociology, Together, in Canada

by **Patrizia Albanese**, Ryerson University, Canada and Chair of the Local Organizing Committee of the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology



On July 1, 2017, Canada celebrated its sesquicentennial. For the entire year, Canadians were encouraged to make merry of the fact that they were Canadian and living in what by many measures – GDP, literacy rates, women’s labor force participation, proportion of the population pursuing post-secondary education, etc. – has been identified as one of the best countries in the world in which to live. While there is much to celebrate, however, there is even more to criticize.

> Canada’s paradox

There is no denying the impressiveness of our aggregate measures and global standing; unless of course, you are a recent immigrant to Canada, someone living with a disability, Indigenous, a single mother raising children, a member of a racialized group, someone living in Canada’s north, or a head of a household trying to juggle multiple part-time jobs to make ends meet and feed your family. If so, discrimination, precariousness, poverty, and resilience are more likely to characterize your life.

Taken together, the five pieces featured in this issue of *Global Dialogue* from some of Canadian sociology’s rising scholars, paint Canada as a paradox. For example, Wu

notes that Canada is a place of “high trust” of others, yet McIvor reminds us of significant inequalities and high student debt loads. It is a place where, as Maiolino shows, we vote into office a young and nominally progressive Justin Trudeau, but see a minority woman mayoral candidate – Olivia Chow, in one of Canada’s most racially diverse cities, Toronto – continue to be forced to negotiate and mobilize identity in ways that are different from her white male opponents. We perennially attempt to distinguish ourselves from the US, but as Lachapelle and Burnett note, we study and work in universities that remain places where US scientific capital reigns. Vallee’s work vividly reminds us of Canada’s natural beauty, but also of its endangered species and strained environment.

Canada has strengths, but the lives of many of its inhabitants are intricately ensnared in a web of inequities. While not without its faults, Canadian sociology has often attempted to call out these inequities. This did not go unnoticed by the former (conservative) Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper.

> Committing sociology in Canada and beyond

In 2013, in response to questions about a foiled terrorist attack on a commuter train, then Canadian Prime Minis-

ter, Stephen Harper, declared that it was not the time to “commit sociology.” Similarly, in the fall of 2017, US Chief Justice John Roberts was said to be feuding with the entire discipline of sociology when he dismissed an argument by calling it “sociological gobbledygook.” Such hits are not surprising given that we sociologists often challenge authority when we tackle issues of power, violence and (in) justice through our research, teaching, and social action.

So, in response to Harper’s “now’s not the time to commit sociology,” we respectfully beg to differ! Given the tumultuous socio-political climate and environmental uncertainties that plague the planet, now is precisely the time. The International Sociological Association (ISA) and the Canadian Sociological Association (CSA) believe that we are well positioned to do so on a global scale, as we welcome you and thousands of other delegates to the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology, in Toronto in July 2018.

The XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology, with its theme “Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities,” selected by the ISA’s inspirational and incredibly hardworking president, Dr. Margaret Abraham, offers sociologists from around the world a venue to propose action and seek change in these particularly turbulent times. This event and its timely theme provide an opportunity to network and exchange research, theories, policy recommendations, and social action with activists and scholars from around the world.

> Canadian sociology at the XIX ISA World Congress

The XIX ISA World Congress also offers Canadian sociologists the unique opportunity to co-host and showcase Canadian scholarship and collaborations. In addition to the hundreds of Canadian sociologists who will actively participate in the World Congress, the ISA has provided the CSA with four prominent time slots on the World Congress program for *Canadian Thematic Sessions*. These sessions are the result of a Canada-wide call for proposals and a competitive review process. They were select-

ed on the basis of their timeliness and relevance, their speakers’ pan-Canadian reach, and their social and historical value. They feature the work of over twenty prominent and emerging Canadian scholars who we believe will give ISA World Congress delegates a “taste” of Canadian sociology. Please join us at one or more of the following Canadian Thematic Sessions:

- What can sociology teach us about resettlement of refugee children and youth?
- How the state shapes social movements.
- Canadian sociology in uncertain times: Reflecting on the past/ confronting the future.
- Missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada: What can sociology bring to the table?

The pan-Canadian Local Organizing Committee – made up of Sherry Fox, CSA Administrator; Dr. Jim Conley, Trent University; Dr. Evie Tastsoglou, Saint Mary’s University; Margaret Bancarz, PhD candidate, Ryerson University; Dr. Mark Stoddart, Memorial University; Dr. Simon Langlois, Université Laval; Dr. Susan McDaniel, University of Lethbridge; Dr. Rima Wilkes, University of British Columbia; and Dr. Myrna Dawson, University of Guelph – believed it was important to highlight the power, violence, and injustice that is manifested in the struggles and collective mobilizing of Indigenous peoples in our country. We worked to capture this powerful theme through the World Congress logo, sketched by Indigenous Canadian artist Lydia Prince. The World Congress provides an important platform to highlight the work of Canadian scholars and activists who are charting a path towards reconciliation and a better future.

The XIX ISA World Congress is an opportunity to come together to share ideas and responses to disempowerment, violence, and injustice that have empowered communities, reduced violence, and promoted justice. It is a time to debate, brainstorm, network, and plan the next steps towards building more just societies. It is a time to celebrate who we are and what we do as sociologists. Join us! We eagerly await your arrival in Toronto in July. ■

Direct all correspondence to Patrizia Albanese <palbanes@soc.ryerson.ca>

> Canadian Universities, Between Domesticity and Globality

by **François Lachapelle** and **Patrick John Burnett**, University of British Columbia, Canada



Networks of PhD Exchange. For more see <http://www.relational-academia.ca/canada-network.html>.

Picture by Relational-Academia.

In recent years, global university rankings have praised the international outlook of Canada's top research universities while top schools in the country have proudly announced their worldwide quest to hire the best qualified candidates. Following recent political instabilities in the US and the UK, Canadian universities have been ready to embrace the influx of Trump and Brexit dodgers and further their ambition for global reputation and excellence.

The Relational Academia project (www.relational-academia.ca) investigates the shift in what it means to be a "good" university between the late 1960s and today in Canada. During the late 1960s through to the mid-1990s – a period of rising nationalism and perceived American domination in Canada – a "good" university was committed to employing Canadian instructors and teaching Canadian content for the economic, moral, and civil benefit of its citizenry (i.e., the Canadianization Movement). In contrast, over the last two decades, the mission of the "good" university has changed. It is now about increasing international engagement from students, staff, faculty, and alumni, and increased international presence and prestige. To document the nature of this shift from domesticity to globality, we collected the educational credentials of 4,934 social scientists working at Canada's top fifteen research-intensive universities (the U15 group) between 1977 and 2017.

Examining the national origin of the faculty's doctoral credentials, our results illustrate substantial increases to the proportions of Canadian-trained hires at lower- and middle-tier English-speaking U15 schools over the past 40 years, effectively Canadianizing – or de-Americanizing – their social science faculty. During this time, however, the University of Toronto, McGill University, and the Univer-

sity of British Columbia have remained heavily dominated by faculty trained in the US (over 70%). Between 1997 and 2017, three English-speaking nations – Canada, the US, and the UK – accounted for more than 90% of national origin of the PhDs of all faculty, with Global South schools – led by two former British colonies, South Africa (six placements) and India (four placements) – placing only nineteen PhDs (less than 0.5%) at U15 schools.

Beyond the changing political economy of the Global North's research-intensive universities eager to increase their proportion of international students, can one really talk about "international faculty" at Canada's U15 schools? The national origin of faculty's first degree reveals that over the last twenty years, the proportion of scholars at higher-tier universities who earned a bachelor degree outside Anglo-American countries has doubled from 9% to 18%. In 2017, half of these were faculty from 34 Global South countries who earned their PhD from an American university.

In the higher echelons of Canadian academia, internationalization can be two things: either another word for Americanization or US-mediated internationalization. Our research highlights America's central position in the asymmetrical circulation of knowledge, students, and scholars across the globe. But more importantly for the national context, it also showcases Canadian schools' *dominated dominant position* that contributes to the English-language *dominance* in the global field of social science, while at the same time being subject to a *dominated* domestic condition where US scientific capital reigns. ■

Direct all correspondence to:
François Lachapelle <f.lachapelle@alumni.ubc.ca>
Patrick John Burnett <pjb@sociologix.ca>

> The Effects of Student Debt on New Canadian Graduates

by **Mitchell McIvor**, University of Toronto, Canada



Photo by Quinn Dombrowski, 2017,
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/quinnanya/37230366906>.
 CC BY-SA 2.0.

In many nations, post-secondary education has become synonymous with labor market prosperity and higher education has been hailed as the great equalizer in class mobility. While higher education is as important as ever to prosperity, however, rising tuition rates have led to an exponential increase in student debt. This trend is well documented, but researchers have lagged behind in determining how student debt affects new university graduates. In particular, one question begs to be answered: how does student debt affect new graduates' transition to the labor market? Using nationally representative Canadian data on 2010 university graduates collected three years after graduation, this question, along with whether the effects of student debt are moderated by socio-economic background, is the focus of my dissertation research.

First-generation university students are at a disadvantage in financial, social, and cultural capital compared to second-generation students. They have fewer social network connections to find relevant employment after graduation, less knowledge of resume building and navigating the university field, and less financial support from family leading to greater reliance on student debt. Thus, it is

not surprising to find that student debt adversely affects the labor force transition of first-generation compared to second-generation university graduates. Using advanced regression techniques, I find that high levels of student debt are associated with first-generation graduates reporting that they could not wait for the job they wanted after graduation, that their current job is not what they had hoped for, and that they had to move cities or countries to find employment. Further, compared to second-generation students, indebted first-generation graduates have a higher probability of temporary employment status, have had a greater number of employers in the three years since graduation, have fewer job benefits, and lower incomes both two and three years after graduation. Not surprisingly, given their greater desperation in finding employment after graduation and their experiencing greater precarity in the labor market, I also find that indebted first-generation students report lower job satisfaction, lower life satisfaction, and are significantly less likely to say they would do their degree again if they could go back in time compared to both first-generation students without debt and second-generation students with and without debt. These findings have significant implications for modern evaluations of university as the great equalizer.

These findings suggest that when student debt is used to provide access to higher education it exacerbates inequality and renders the equalizing effects of university null. Student debt creates desperation in the job searches of first-generation university students and the consequences of this desperation is greater job precarity which leads to reduced job quality and income. The finding that indebted first-generation graduates report that they would not do the same education if they could go back in time is particularly alarming. In sum, this research provides support for government policy to shift away from student debt as the means of providing access to higher education and to instead provide access through grants and reduced tuition. ■

Direct all correspondence to Mitchell McIvor
[<mitchell.mcivor@mail.utoronto.ca>](mailto:mitchell.mcivor@mail.utoronto.ca)

> Becoming a Citizen Scientist

by **Mickey Vallee**, Athabasca University, Canada

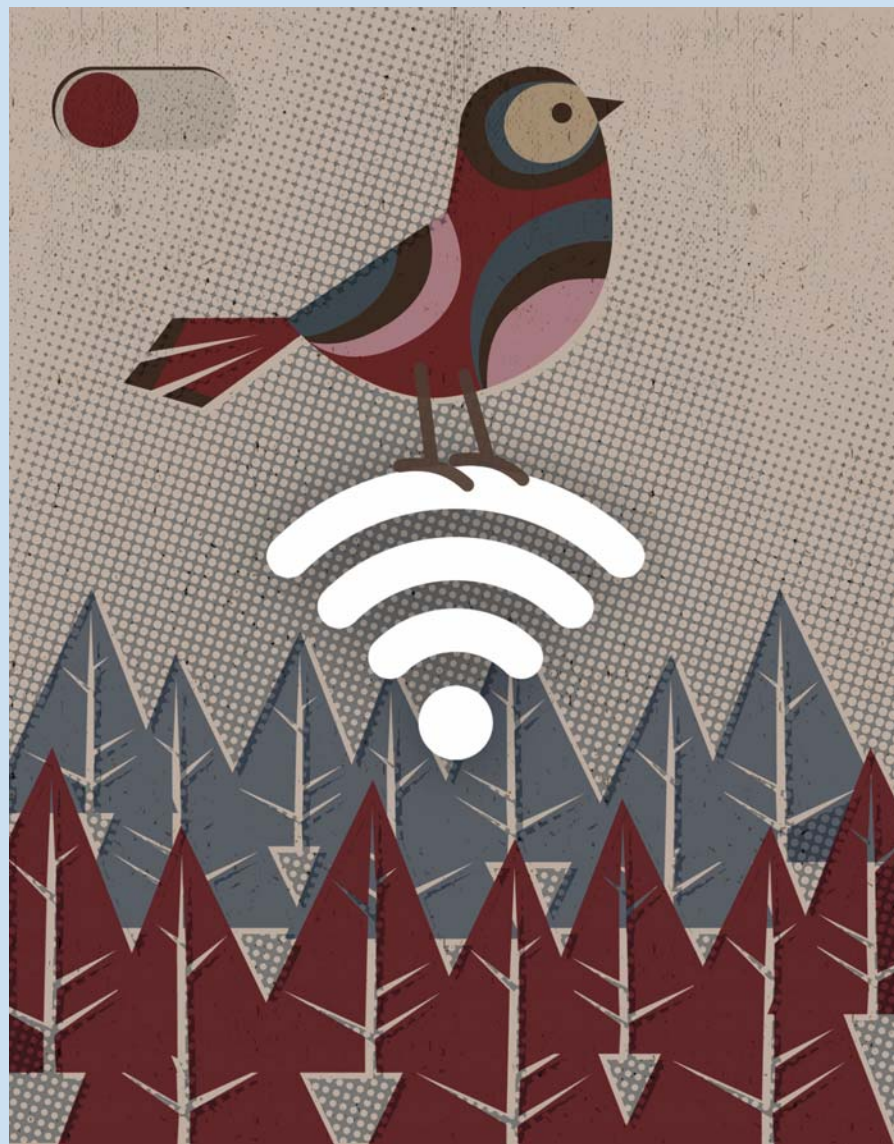


Illustration by Arbu.

When I'm stuck in my writing, I go for a hike. I live in a remote area of Canada, within walking distance from creeks, rivers, mountains, and wildlife. I like to listen to birds on these hikes. Red-winged black birds, nightjars, ravens, crows, and yellow warblers fire their calls and their songs through the trees, more audible than visible. Intent on capturing some of these mobile serenades, I recently downloaded an app for my iPhone, *Song Sleuth*, which records and automatically identifies birdcalls. It is designed by Wildlife Acoustics, based in Boston, Massachusetts. Using this app, I can record birds, identify them, and send those recorded sounds (including a GPS coordinate) to others on email or messaging, connecting these embodied and highly personal experiences to a global network of bioacoustics researchers and amateur bird listeners like myself.

The app uses simple bioacoustics technology, an efficient detection tool for giving early warnings about species in need of conservationist intervention. Tracking the sounds of birds makes it easier for global researchers to get a “big picture” of populations at risk, migratory patterns, and mate selection behavior. Thus, the simple acts of listening, being still, and taking account of the sounds around you, can have an immediate and long-lasting impact on professional scientific research.

Academic and professional research teams in bioacoustics consist of many funded researchers, who collect and analyze data, and disseminate their research findings. However, citizen scientists like myself who upload data recorded during leisure hours are now seen as key players in widening research teams on a global scale. Research teams that make considerable use of data from citizen science, such as Cor-

nell University’s Macaulay Library, corroborate that research data from public contributions arrive at a much faster rate than ever before.

Regardless of their scientific contributions, citizen scientists also experience significant health benefits: they hike in the great outdoors and enjoy the privilege of seeing, hearing, and recording organisms whose survival is under threat and whose presence is not readily apparent in everyday life. Children, especially, experience enriched connections with nature, and adults spend more of their leisure hours being physically active. Citizen science thus contributes to a non-sedentary lifestyle.

Aside from good health, some researchers praise citizen science for contributing to a growing sense of awareness about environmental problems. Other researchers argue that while awareness is certainly an ideal outcome of citizen science, it is para-

doxically a challenging one to measure. Various studies have, however, proven that sound-based methods of empirical exploration, such as bioacoustics, are linked with a meaningful awareness of space. Thus, including citizen scientists in bioacoustics research is a practical and cost-efficient means of including global and local populations in a method that contributes to spatial (and, by extension, environmental) awareness.

Are we contributing to the cessation of biodiversity loss on our hikes? Are we aware of what our smartphones are capable of containing and sharing? Or, in our slippery relationship to the organisms of nature, are we reluctant to assume such a responsibility? This is just one of many new possibilities for using the sociological imagination in our everyday life, for finding the opportunity to effect change at the intersection of biography, history, social structure, and technology. ■

Direct all correspondence to Mickey Vallee
<mjvallee@gmail.com>

> Identity Work and Political Leaders in Canada

by **Elise Maiolino**, University of Toronto, Canada

The political climate of the last five years has been a fitting time to study identity politicking and new candidacies in Canadian politics. During this period, three of Canada's most notable politicians, running for three of the country's most notable political offices, were involved in electoral scenarios that required complex negotiations of their public identities. While many of the dynamics displayed are sociologically familiar, the scale and scope of the identity performances witnessed generate new insights for sociologists, in Canada and abroad.

On his path to becoming Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau threw more than his hat into the ring. Only months before becoming leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, Justin Trudeau fought a conservative senator in a boxing match. His masculinity was put on trial. Through a discourse analysis of 222 newspaper articles published on the match, my research argues that Justin Trudeau transitioned from *precariously masculine* to *sufficiently masculine*, which transformed his perceived leadership suitability. Trudeau's case generates the concept *recuperative gender strategies* and illustrates how political leaders work to restore their public gender identities.

A year after Trudeau's demonstration of grit and manliness, Kathleen Wynne asked Ontarians whether they were ready for a gay premier. She made history when she became the first woman and openly lesbian premier of Ontario. Based on interviews with governmental actors and social movement organizers in feminist and LGBTQ communities, my research reveals that even in the case of

breakthrough political leaders, a politician's identity and speech acts do not guarantee grassroots approval. Rather, social movements also place heavy emphasis on a politician's ability to deliver consistent and concrete policy results. I offer a *typology of words and deeds* to argue that social movement actors' evaluations of politicians' alliance and allegiance messaging are dependent on identity, speech acts, and deeds.

At the same time that Premier Wynne was breaking through her own glass ceiling, Olivia Chow, a seasoned progressive politician, suffered a somewhat surprising and spectacular defeat in her quest to become the first visible minority woman to lead Canada's largest city. After leaving her seat in federal politics to run for mayor of Toronto, Chow challenged former Mayor Rob Ford's conservative agenda and was met with significant obstacles, blatant racism, and sexism on the campaign trail. Based on participant observation of twenty mayoral debates, my research highlights the challenge of identity work on the campaign trail, arguing that Chow as a minority candidate was required to negotiate and mobilize identity in ways that were different from her white male opponents.

The emergence of diverse candidates and a growing political and public consciousness of diverse identities have generated a plethora of identity performances that can impact governance and electoral outcomes. My research hopes to illuminate the obstacles for those seeking high office, but also to provide the beginnings of a blueprint for on-the-ground actors seeking to turn obstacles into opportunity. ■

Direct all correspondence to Elise Maiolino <elise.maiolino@mail.utoronto.ca>

> Do Immigrants Gain Trust in High Trust Canada?

by **Cary Wu**, University of British Columbia, Canada

Trust among immigrant and native-born populations in Canada

(CGSS 2013, N=25,686, weighted percentages)

□ Can strangers be trusted? □ Can most people be trusted?

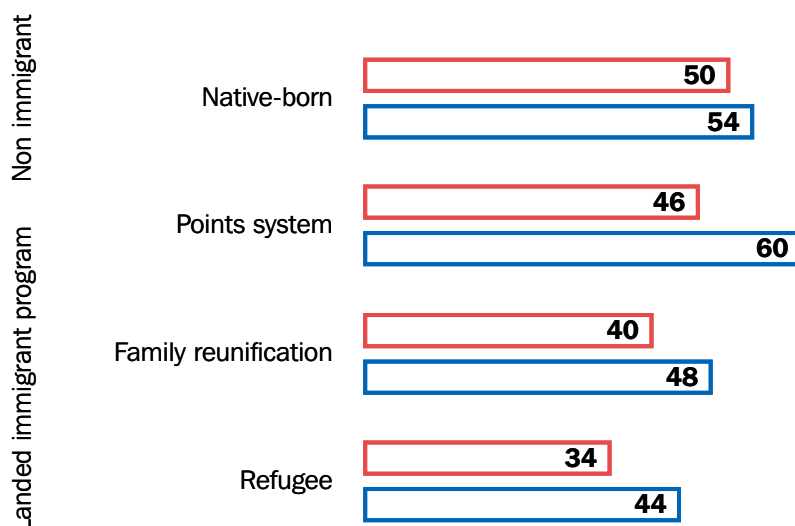


Figure 1.

Trust reflects a person's perception of goodwill and benign intent from others. People trusting each other is essential not only for individual well-being, but also for social cohesion, economic growth, and democracy. Trust is especially important for immigrants and for societies with large foreign-born populations due to its role in promoting social integration.

Canada is a relatively high trust country. Data from Statistics Canada's 2003, 2008, and 2013 General Social Surveys (GSS) consistently show that more than half of Canadians believe that "most people can be trusted." In contrast, when the same question is asked globally, only 37% have the same faith in others (World Values Survey 2010-2014).

Canada is also a country of immigrants. Foreign-born individuals make up about one in five, or 21% of Canada's total population. While Canada's points system helps select a group of very trusting immigrants, many of those who come through refugee and family reunification programs tend to have lower trust than the native-born (see Figure 1).

If immigrants start out with lower trust, do they gain trust after living in Canada, where people are relatively more trusting? When it comes to the origins of trust, there are two theoretical arguments: the cultural perspective and the experiential perspective. Scholars of the cultural perspective believe that people learn trust from primary socialization early in life, and that learned trust changes very little in adulthood and throughout life. From the experien-

Figure 2A & 2B: Predicting trust gap (odds ratio) between child/adolescent immigrants and adult immigrants

(GSS 2014; weighted data, bootstrap statistics)

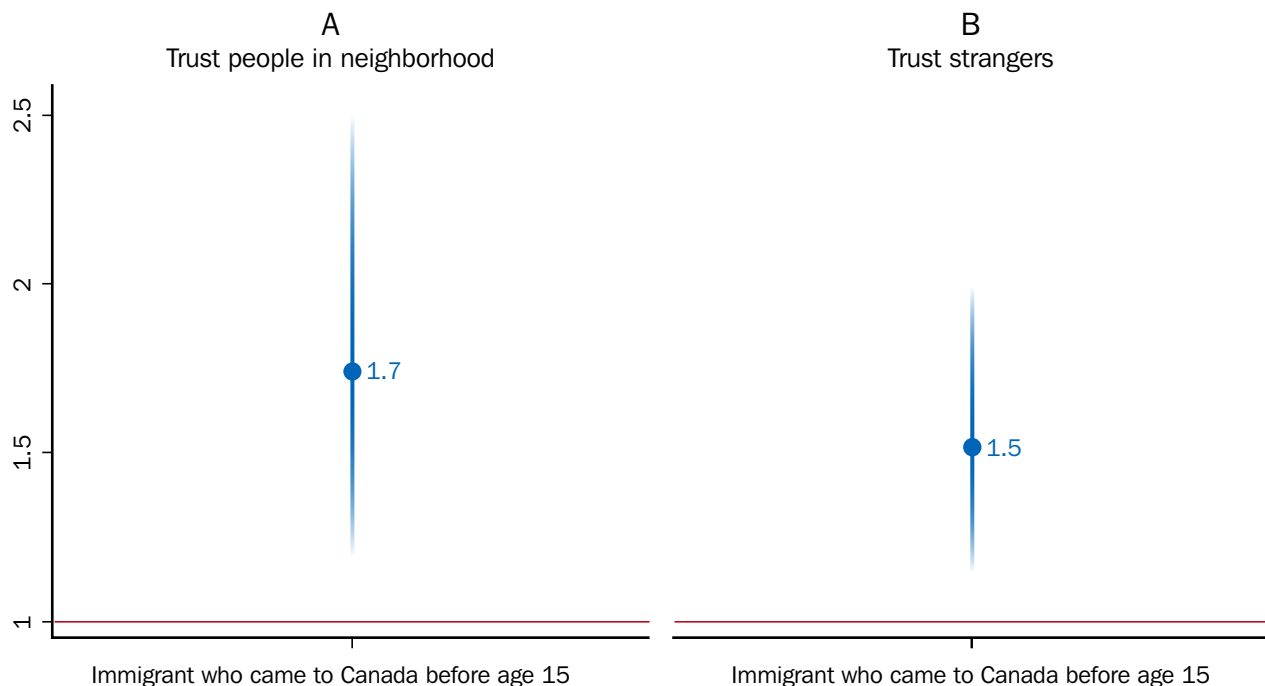


Figure 2A, 2B.

tial perspective, scholars argue that people make trust decisions based directly on social experiences and therefore trust changes in response to different social situations. At the heart of this debate is the question of when people learn trust, and whether learned trust changes from one situation to another.

Accordingly, to determine whether Canada's high trust culture has any influence on immigrants, there is a need to make a distinction between immigrants who landed as adults and those who landed as children or adolescents and therefore are still undergoing primary socialization. If trust is cultural, we would expect that immigrants who came at a younger age and who were socialized within Canada's high trust culture would be more trusting, while only those who came at an older age and had already finished their primary socialization outside Canada would have lower trust, reflecting the cultural footprints of their

country of origin. If trust is experiential, then immigrants are expected to respond to the Canadian experience similarly, regardless of the age when they came to live permanently. Therefore, the trust gap is less likely to exist.

Analyzing data from Statistics Canada's 2014 GSS, I find that immigrants who came before age fifteen have 70% greater odds of trusting people in the neighborhood and 50% greater odds of trusting strangers than those who came at age fifteen or after, controlling for other demographic factors (see Figure 2A & 2B).

Taken together, the significant gaps demonstrate that there is a positive effect of Canada's high trust culture, but this effect is limited only to child and adolescent immigrants who came to Canada during their primary socialization period. The overall result lends strong support for the cultural theory of trust. ■

Direct all correspondence to Cary Wu <carywooruc@gmail.com>

> Intersectionality, Indigeneity, Gender, and Violence

by **Maggie Walter**, Pro Vice-Chancellor of Aboriginal Research and Leadership at the University of Tasmania, **Joselynn Baltra-Ulloa**, University of Tasmania and **Jacob Prehn**, Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor Aboriginal Research and Leadership, University of Tasmania, Australia

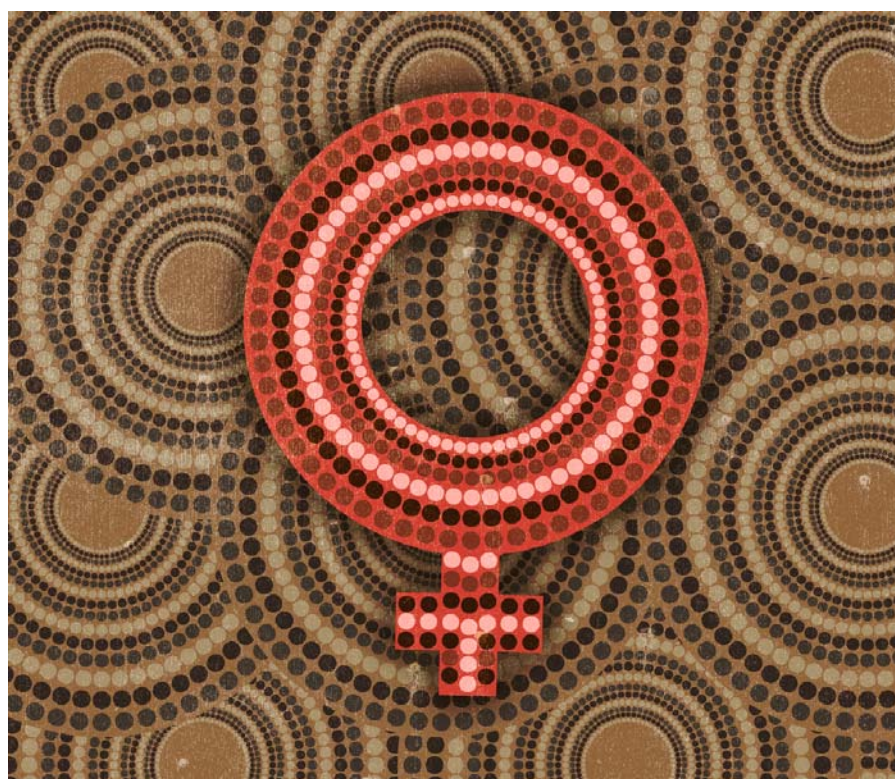


Illustration by Arbu.

The gendered violence statistics relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women in Australia make for grim reading. Nationally, Indigenous women and girls are 31 times more likely to be hospitalized due to family violence-related assaults than their non-Indigenous counterparts and over half of the homicides of Aboriginal women occur in domestic violence settings. The extent of this violent lived reality is confirmed in studies that find that around a quarter of all Aboriginal women report experiencing physical or sexual violence

in the previous twelve months. State- and territory-based statistics echo this appalling national story. Up to 95 percent of Aboriginal children living in Victoria were placed in out-of-home care because of family violence; Aboriginal women in Western Australia are over seventeen times more likely to be a homicide victim than non-Indigenous women. It is our argument that the intersection of Indigeneity and gender inherent in this violence is neither neutral, ahistorical, politically or culturally un-situated, nor racially detached.

Their heavy over-representation within gendered violence statistics is a familiar one to Indigenous women in other Anglo colonized nation-states. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the United States, and Canada, Indigenous women are far more likely to be the victims of gendered violence than non-Indigenous women. This shared positioning indicates that the major explanator does not lie within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, Maori, Native American, and First Nation people themselves. The British weren't just unlucky enough to colonize four distinct geographic regions with four distinctive peoples who all happened to be naturally more violent toward women than other peoples. Nor are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women only at risk of gendered violence at the hands of Indigenous men: with high rates of out-partner-

“Around a quarter of all Aboriginal women report experiencing physical or sexual violence in the previous twelve months”

ing, a substantial proportion of perpetrators are non-Indigenous. Rather, the statistical over-representation is a socio-cultural artefact of Indigenous women's twin positioning within gendered and racial hierarchies. Race relations of power, bordered by and defined through Anglo settler colonialism, intersect with gender relations of power to produce a dual violence of the everyday for Indigenous women.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women have always been at the forefront of colonizing violence. During the frontier wars of dispossession, women were prominent among victims of massacres. Other women, such as the Tasmanian Walyer, led resistance efforts against the invading forces. As the colonial dispossession progressed, women were increasingly exposed to sexual as well as physical violence. In the Furneaux Islands of Bass Strait, for example, women were systematically kidnapped by European sealers from 1800 onwards and kept as concubines and workers; the Aboriginal clans in the coastal district were quickly denuded of women of child-bearing age.

Once the continent of Australia was colonially possessed, gendered violence – sexual and physical – did not end; it merely changed shape.

During most of the twentieth century, lighter-skinned children of Aboriginal women, frequently themselves the victims of sexual violence, were forcibly taken and placed into harsh state care. The government policies sanctioning the removal of Aboriginal children, known as the “Stolen Generations,” aimed to assimilate Aboriginal people into White society. Children were forbidden to practice their culture, have contact with their families, or speak their native languages. It is estimated that as many as one in ten Aboriginal children were removed between 1910 and 1970. The impacts of these policies ripple into the present. Families with a history of family member removal are more likely than other Indigenous families to have their own children taken into state care. And across the nation, the ongoing legacy of colonial violence is intergenerational poverty and social, political, and cultural marginalization. The resultant family dysfunction plays out through an intersectional space of jeopardy for the physical and emotional safety of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.

So how does Australian society, inclusive of Australian sociology, respond to patterns of gendered violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women? Unfortunately,

largely with indifference. Just as Australian society still reflects its colonial, largely Anglo heritage, so does Australian sociology. There is no body of Australian sociological literature addressing gendered violence against Aboriginal women; in fact there is little Indigenous sociology at all. There is little incentive, it seems, for the beneficiaries of colonialism and its incumbent race and gender power relations to sociologically investigate them. Within the uncomfortable legacy of Australia's origins, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, dispossessed of the lands the nation-state now occupies and from which it draws its wealth and identity, remain a disconcerting presence. At the structural level, this overarching antipathy interacts with the power relations of gender to produce a pejoratively different understanding of, and response to, violence toward Indigenous women. Normalized discursively as just another Indigenous problem, the phenomenon remains largely unexplored sociologically. ■

Direct all correspondence to:
Maggie Walter
<Margaret.Walter@utas.edu.au>
Joselynn Baltra-Ulloa
<Joselynn.BaltraUlloa@utas.edu.au>
Jacob Prehn
<jacob.prehn@utas.edu.au>

> Sexual Violence and “Corrective Rape” in South Africa

by **Kammila Naidoo**, University of Johannesburg, South Africa and member of ISA Research Committees on Women in Society (RC32), Biography and Society (RC38), and Clinical Sociology (RC46)



Illustration by Arbu.

> Remembering Khwezi's Story

In 2005, a lesbian woman, Fezekile Ntsukela Kuzwayo (best known by her pseudonym, Khwezi), accused Jacob Zuma, the man who was later to become South Africa's third post-apartheid president, of rape. Rather than destroying Zuma's chances of

ever becoming president, the 2006 rape trial that later ensued created a platform for Zuma to popularize essentialized versions of Zulu customs and traditional masculinities. In his testimony he claimed that in terms of his cultural understanding, Khwezi's way of dressing was an invitation to sex. Khwezi's attempt to charge and bring to justice the man she accused of violating her resulted in her vilification, with her sexual history, sexual orientation, lifestyle, and previous experiences of abuse becoming the focus of courtroom theatrics and intense public and media scrutiny. Outside the court, supporters of Zuma unleashed anti-gay, misogynistic, and anti-feminist sentiments, often coming into conflict with Khwezi's supporters who included a women's group called One-in-Nine. Apart from lending support, this group highlighted that one in nine South African women are likely to be raped in their lifetimes. For many, the outcome of the court case was painfully disappointing: Zuma was acquitted and Khwezi had to flee the country and go into exile after receiving numerous death threats. After years of living in hiding and seclusion, she passed away in 2016.

Khwezi's story reveals a number of problematic realities that include: the difficulties that rape victims face when attempting to bring (especially powerful and politically connected) perpetrators to book; homophobic

discourses shaping attitudes towards the rape of lesbians; and the perpetuation of a masculinist, heteronormative culture despite a progressive constitution and more than twenty years of celebration of human rights and gender equality in South Africa. In all readings of rape and violence against women, intersectional approaches alert us to the influences of various identities and to the multiple disadvantages of women in particular contexts – in the South African case, to race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, body, class, and political position. This reflection thus is shared in the context of ISA President Margaret Abraham's initiative to build multiple perspectives from various parts of the globe on gendered and intersectional violence.

> Violent masculinities

In South Africa, arrests of perpetrators are not frequent and conviction rates are generally very low. The South African Police Service's crime statistics of 2016 revealed about 43,000 rapes reported at South African police stations in the 2015-2016 period. Although very high, some analysts suggest that only about one in thirteen South African women raped by a non-partner, and one in 25 raped by a partner, report the case. For victims of rape observing the rough treatment of Khwezi at the hands of the judge and Zuma's lawyers, the message is clear: taking on an abuser means you will be put on trial with the perpetrator and all aspects of your personal and public history will be scrutinized and interrogated. State institutions are thus complicit in promoting non-reporting within the framework of an entrenched masculinist culture, and this is backed by normalization of rape in media and societal discourses. It is not surprising then to

see large numbers of men admit in surveys that they were at some point complicit in acts of rape.

South African scholarship tends to explain the predominance of violent masculinities as reflective of a crisis in masculinity, but concentrates mainly on working-class men as perpetrators. In this view, traditional masculine ideals and norms have been disrupted by changing political economies and historical legacies as well as institutions upholding gender equality which have undermined men's statuses and accentuated (for them) a gender identity crisis. Public and socio-economic marginalization has contributed to gang formation, sporadic acts of brutality, and the reassertion of sustained violence on the part of various categories of emasculated men who seek to restore the status quo. Against this background, women's bodies are believed to be instruments through which masculine power and control can be regained. This argument has found renewed credence in the current era as gays and lesbians struggle to address homophobic violence. Specifically, "corrective rape," an odd concept originating in South Africa to refer to the rape of lesbians, has gained notoriety.

> "Corrective" rape

Since 2000 there have been close to 40 lesbian women murdered and on average about ten lesbians are raped each week by men who subscribe to the view that they are "correcting" the women's sexual orientations. Qualitative studies have revealed perpetrators' claims that rape will "cure" lesbians (of their lesbianism) and make them heterosexual. Additionally, some male participants in studies have stated that rape represents the defensive actions

of men who attack women "who try to be like men," and that the actions of men are justified because they are defending their "authenticity." These emerging sentiments suggesting toleration of the rapes of lesbians over the past two decades are out of sync with the spirit of South Africa's liberation movements of the past which incorporated demands for women's emancipation. South Africa's post-apartheid constitution was the first in the world to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. South Africa was also the first African country to permit same-sex marriage. Thus views held by some men, including powerful men in the state, that there are "transgressive" sexualities and femininities that threaten their sense of authority and are in need of correction, serve as reminders of the intense homophobic and anti-feminist backlashes facing women today.

> Conclusion

Paradoxically, rape and other gender-based crimes and acts of violence are occurring in a South African context in which gender empowerment and gender equity are firmly on the state's public agenda. In fact, powerful lobby groups recently heralded the prospect of a woman president in 2019. To bring sexual violence under control, however, would require concerted efforts to mobilize and organize; it would also necessitate acts of bravery as exemplified by the four women who in 2016 disrupted President Zuma's speech with a silent protest and placards that read "Remember Khwezi." It would require the renewal and re-emergence of a critical and strong feminist leadership within academic institutions, state structures, and civil society. ■

Direct all correspondence to Kammila Naidoo
<kammilan@uj.ac.za>

> Making Domestic Violence Visible in Poland

by **Magdalena Grzyb**, Jagiellonian University, Poland

> The Piasecki case

The Polish public was outraged when, in April 2017, a recording was published on YouTube by the wife of a local politician of the ruling Law and Justice Party. The recording showed one incident of the domestic abuse that the politician from Bydgoszcz, Rafał Piasecki, had been inflicting on his wife Karolina throughout their marriage. Rafał and Karolina met as teenagers at church – both were devoted Catholics. In pictures they look like a model Polish family, young and happy, with two lovely daughters. Karolina Piasecka reported domestic abuse from her husband in 2013, but police officers did not act on it; later, convinced by Rafał, she withdrew charges.

The public coming-out of Karolina Piasecka has been groundbreaking in two ways. First, her testimony on the abuse and torture she suffered at the hands of her beloved husband had a huge impact not only in raising awareness about domestic violence and its prevalence in Polish society, but also in challenging the common assumption that domestic abuse confines itself to physical violence, and happens only in poor and dysfunctional families from disadvantaged social groups. Second, it sharply demonstrated the hypocrisy of the ultra-conservative right-wing politics of the Law and Justice Party and the true face of its blatantly misogynist politics.

> Back to the past: Women's rights over the last decade

There has been a pronounced public backlash in women's rights and gender equality issues since the Law and Justice party came to power in 2015 (see [Julia Kubisa's article in GD7.1](#)). Even before it came to power, the party strongly opposed the ratification of the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence; from 2012 on, it joined campaigns initiated by the Polish Catholic Church against the "gender ideology," which was deemed a threat to the Polish family, traditional values, and national identity. The underlying assumption was that the statement in the Istanbul Convention on the structural causes of violence against women, and therefore the state's obligation to eradicate harmful gender stereotypes that lead to violence against women, would be detrimental to Polish culture and deny parents their right to raise children according to their own values. Law and Justice Party politicians deny the magnitude of domestic violence in Poland and claim that Polish men treat women like ladies, and that Polish law protects women from domestic abuse. They argue that such abuse happens rarely and only when men are under the influence of alcohol. In 2015, the government cut funding to NGOs helping women victims of domestic violence, alleging

that their service was discriminatory in providing help only to women. And in February 2017, the current President, Andrzej Duda, declared publicly that the Istanbul Convention would not apply to public institutions.

Poland has a strong Catholic tradition, and the Catholic Church has been a major ideological influence within politics since the collapse of communism. Despite the gender equality of the communist era of 1945-1989, when women were granted access to labor, education, and reproductive rights, traditional gender roles – particularly within family relations and intimate relations – have persisted and women continue to occupy an inferior position vis-à-vis men. "Gender ideology," a concept introduced by the hierarches of the Catholic Church in 2012 as a backlash to equality politics, was in fact aimed at diverting public attention from pedophilia scandals by priests and the resulting demands to hold the Catholic Church institutionally accountable.

It was in such a political climate that Karolina Piasecka decided to go public with her own story and challenge the public denial of the problem. Once the recording was published, Rafał Piasecki denied beating his wife and said he was raised in a traditional family, shared Christian values, and believed in traditional gender roles in the family, justifying his behavior and maltreatment of his wife by suggest-

“The case broke the strong social taboo against speaking out”

ing that she was not adequately fulfilling the traditional gender role of a good wife.

> The impact of the Piasecki case in Poland

The Piasecki case has become the first high-profile case of domestic violence in Poland. Most compelling was the fact that Piasecki was a prominent politician of the Law and Justice Party who was known for his advocacy of family values and his homophobic statements. This case was also a breakthrough one in terms of raising awareness about the seriousness of psychological abuse and its impact on victims. In general, psychological abuse has been disregarded as a form of violence both by public institutions and the courts. Although Piasecki's behavior was extreme, many women found such behavior familiar in their own families and did not necessarily acknowledge it as something abnormal or unacceptable.

The case received high media coverage (in the independent media and social media) and sparked indignation and debate around the failure of the public responses to help victims of domestic violence. It also broke the strong social taboo against speaking out. Karolina Piasecka explained that her decision to go public was based on a desire to help other women suffering abuse to come out of the closet, encourage them to leave abusive

relationships, and show that domestic violence is not confined to families from an underclass.

> Not an isolated case: Domestic abuse and the Law and Justice Party

Although the Piasecki case did not spark a political storm within the ruling party, the real political ramifications are yet to emerge. Despite the fact that Piasecki was expelled from the Law and Justice Party, and in May 2017 had charges placed against him, the party's politicians continue to belittle the problem. The Law and Justice spokesperson, Beata Mazurek, said that abusing/overusing (*sic*) violence against the family is unacceptable, as if any use of violence is not! Party colleagues condemned domestic violence but also stated that a family drama was being used in a political struggle. The case of Rafał Piasecki, although very stark, was not the first and only case of a politician of the Law and Justice Party beating and torturing his wife. In 2016, an MP, Łukasz Zbonikowski, was also accused by his wife of abuse, though the case did not receive as much public attention. Later in 2017, another MP, Waldemar Bonkowski, was accused by his wife of abuse, threats, and so-called “gaslighting” – he kept saying that she was mentally ill. When an ultra-conservative, traditionalist, and pro-Church political party downplays the gravity of the situation and

in fact tolerates in its ranks people who severely abuse their families, it jeopardizes claims to moral superiority and legitimacy to rule the country. It reveals the cynicism and true face of conservative and right-wing politics that serve only to uphold patriarchal power and masculine privilege.

Although laws counteracting domestic abuse have existed since 2005, domestic violence is implicitly legitimized within the prevailing discourse on the protection of family values. The Law and Justice Party does not legitimize domestic violence itself, but it does enforce, via the legal system and official discourse, the traditional patriarchal family structure and women's confinement to the private sphere.

Given the greater social awareness on the subject that the Karolina Piasecka case has undeniably achieved, the stance of the ruling party toward domestic violence, combined with its other openly anti-women politics (such as around access to reproductive rights), may in the long run discredit the party and, even more, its patriarchal and narrow ideology. This case demonstrates the need for sociologists to interrogate and critique the fault lines inherent in family structures as they stand today and the linkages between the public and the private. ■

Direct all correspondence to Magdalena Grzyb
<magdalenaagryzb@gmail.com>

> Towards Zero Violence?

by **Sylvia Walby**, UNESCO Chair of Gender Research, Lancaster University, UK, board member and former President (2006-2010) of ISA Research Committee on Economy and Society (RC02)



| Million Women Rise rally in London, 2014.

The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for 2030 include Target 16.1: “significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates” and 5.2: “end all forms of violence against women and girls.”

Are these goals utopian? Is the world going in the opposite direction? There is a vision of a world, from a multiplicity of national, international, and global civil society groups, on which these UN SDGs draw. Developing the knowledge base to support the achievement of this vision of a world free from violence is a task in which sociology is engaged.

The realization of this vision requires the building of a theory of change. This requires a theory of violence in society and of gender and society. It

requires robust conceptualization and measurement of violence to investigate and test these theories.

> What increases or decreases violence?

Does economic development make a difference? Rates of violence appear to be higher for the economically disadvantaged. Increases in gender equality aid women’s resilience to violence. How is gender equality improved? Economic development may or may not lead to this, depending on whether it takes a more neoliberal or more social democratic form.

What difference do targeted interventions and support services make? Feminists have innovated multiple interventions from refuges and

help lines, to specialist advisers and courts. Increased services are linked to less violence as they increase the resilience of victims and potential victims. But they are expensive, and resources for them are linked to wider gender inequalities.

How important is the criminal justice system? Changes in law to criminalize violence against women have spread around the world. But women have not necessarily experienced greater justice as a result of more law.

How important is democracy? My own work, in *Globalization and Inequalities*, found that the rate of femicide is lower in countries where there is a higher proportion of women in parliament. The depth of gendered democracy makes a difference: increased gender democracy is linked to less

>>

violence against women. Changes in gendered political equality matter, not only gendered economic equality.

The recent financial and economic crisis centered on the Global North has led to increases in gendered economic inequality and to austerity politics that have reduced the provision of general and specialized welfare services. Potentially, this period is a test of the thesis that higher gender inequality and austerity, and reduced service provision increase gender-based violence.

To investigate such theories, it is necessary to know whether violence is going up or down and how the rate of violence varies across place and social group. This requires robust measurement of the rate of violence, including its gender dimension, which is sorely lacking.

> How to measure violence?

Measurement matters. Violence against women has been nearly invisible in official statistics, despite the activities of civil society. The new International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes developed by the UN Office of Drugs and Crime does not make data collection on the sex of the victim of violence mandatory, treating gender as a secondary and optional tag. In addition, most victims of gender-based violence do not report their experiences to the police. Crime surveys have been developed to address this issue: victims of violence are more likely to disclose their experiences to surveys than to the police. While the sex of the victim is routinely collected by such surveys, the number of repetitions of violent events are not always recorded, or even if recorded, are not always fully counted in official estimates of violence.

Historically, most national crime surveys, including in the US and UK,

capped the number of crimes reported to them that were included in the national estimates. This creates a gender bias in the statistics, since domestic violence, which is disproportionately committed against women, is a repeat crime. Reexamining the raw data in the Crime Survey for England and Wales, we (Jude Towers, Brian Francis, and I) found that when the cap was removed and all reported crimes were included in the estimates, not only was the overall rate of violent crime 60% higher, but violence against women increased by 70% and violence by domestic relations also increased by 70%.

Using this new methodology, we found that violent crime increased in England and Wales after the economic crisis starting in 2008. Violence against women increased, but not violence against men. This was linked to the increase in domestic violence, which is disproportionately against women. These changes cannot be seen when using the old methodology, which disproportionately reduces the significance of repeated violence. When repeated violent crimes (disproportionately against women) are made visible, an increase in violent crime is found; when the old methodology – which systematically under-counts repeated violent crimes against the same victim – is used, no increase is found. Changes in violence cannot be understood without including the gender dimension. These findings from the UK support those theories that link the economy to violence, when that link is gendered.

Developing a robust measurement framework for comparing variations in the rate of violence over time, place, and social group requires a consistent definition of violence and its measurement categories, as well as consistent data collection methods using these categories. There have been two contrasting approaches

(which are illustrated in SDGs 16 and 5), neither of which systematically collect data on the gender dimension of violence: one collects data on violence, but not on whether the victim is a woman or a man, nor on the relationship between the perpetrator and victim; the other collects data on violence against women only (not women and men). It is time to include the gender dimension (sex of the victim, sex of the perpetrator, relationship between perpetrator and victim, whether there is a sexual element to the violence) in mainstream data collection. Our recent work with a team of a dozen scholars has offered a new measurement framework for violence against women and men, which would support this development and thereby facilitate comparative analysis with robust data.

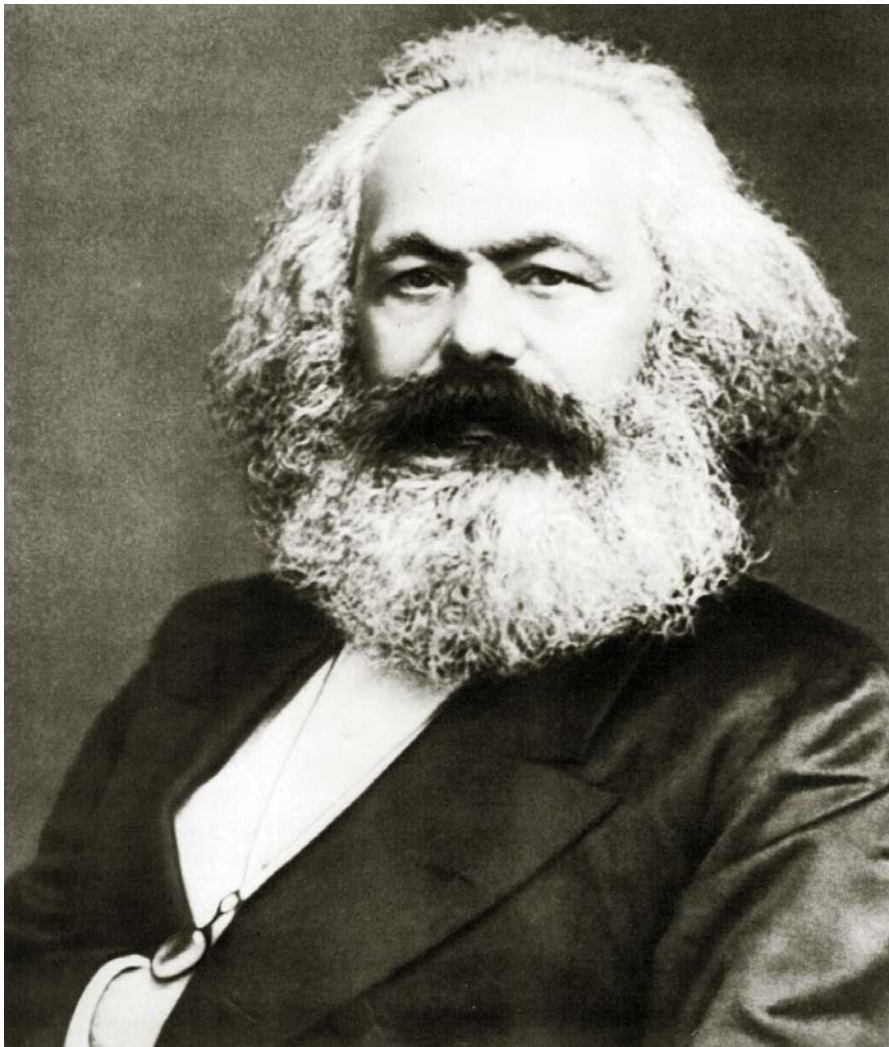
> The crisis and the increase in violence against women

The crisis in the UK has cascaded from finance to the economy to the fiscal to austerity; it is now cascading into violence. This increase in violence is not general, but specifically against women, linked to the repetition of violent crime by known perpetrators. The economic crisis is gendered, its fiscal impact is gendered, and so are the implications for violence.

A new critical social science is challenging what is meant by security; the inclusion of violence against women within security is important. This means including violence at the heart of sociological theory and substantially revising how it is measured. This is sociology as a social science for a public purpose and the way in which sociology can contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals of reducing all forms of violence. ■

Direct all correspondence to Sylvia Walby
<s.walby@lancaster.ac.uk>

> 200 Years of Marx



Karl Marx in 1875. Wikimedia Commons / Public domain.

In some parts of the world the 2008/9 crisis of finance already sparked renewed interest in the oeuvre of Karl Marx and his congenial partner Friedrich Engels. In particular, *The Capital* seemed to be custom-made to understand and explain the crisis-ridden development of capitalism and shed light on the contemporary capitalist economy and its effects like the global increase of social inequalities, increasing unemployment, precarity, and poverty as well as ecological catastrophes. But while such pressing issues make sociologists as well as the media or wider parts of society re-discover their analysis of capitalism, Marxian theory remains contested and there is a rich body of research on Marx worldwide. Karl Marx's 200th birthday has stimulated *Global Dialogue* to invite colleagues from around the world to contribute to this symposium with reflections on Marx, Marxism and Marxian sociology, the traditions behind, and their relevance for today. The symposium starts with a look back at the philosophical roots, before moving forward through reflections and controversies on how to work with Marxian theory or what is missing in it. It shows what we can see through the lenses of Marx about labor, the state, the law, social inequalities and other issues. ■

> Marx and Sociology, 2018

by **G.M. Tamás**, Central European University, Hungary



| A statue of Marx in Karlovy Vary, Czech Republic.

Max Weber in his *General Economic History* (1919-20) established that capitalism as a comprehensive system of satisfying everyday human needs was specific to the West, that its preconditions were rational calculation of capital (customarily, double-entry bookkeeping) as a norm in the case of all greater enterprises, and especially that:

1. all means of production should be distributed among independent private enterprises as freely disposable property;
2. there is need of a free market without "irrational" limitations such as caste (*Stände*) differences;
3. there is also need of rational, that is, thoroughly calculable, mechanized technology in the case of production, trade and transport;
4. there must exist a rational legal system, predictable and transparent;
- and 5. free labor must be available, that is, persons who are legally entitled to sell their labor force and also forced to sell it on the market, coerced by economic considerations.

Marcel Mauss (in an encyclopedia article written with Paul Fauconnet in 1901) similarly established that nobody,

for instance no individual worker or trader, could invent the forms of social life which are external to their minds, such as credit, interest, wage, exchange, or money. Even elements of social and economic life like diligence, thrift, a taste for luxury or adventure, fear of indigence, and "spirit of enterprise" are not wholly subjective, in spite of personal variations, but in general "objective" products of the "social culture," itself a feature of the social system of Western capitalism.

There is not much in all this a contemporary Marxist (or, for that matter, Marx himself) would disagree with, quite apart from the fact that sociology, being posterior to Marx, bears his imprint, although it is directed – in part – against his legacy.

> "Bourgeois" or Marxian analysis of modern society?

What, then, is the fundamental difference between "bourgeois" sociology (and all the branches of social inquiry from empirical social research to political philosophy) and the Marxian analysis of modern society? What is the explanation of this protracted quarrel, probably as important historically as the contest of Enlightenment with metaphysics and theology?

To simplify: Enlightenment turned from Aristotelian, Augustinian and Thomist cosmic objectivity to a material subjectivity inaugurating the sovereignty of will as the principle of liberty. What in France had been called *sciences morales et politiques* are the consequences of the final, Kantian form of the critique of the grandiose arc of the old dogmatics that had dominated "Western" (including Byzantine, Jewish, and Islamic) thought since the Greeks.

Both Spinozist and Kantian moral philosophy, regardless of their considerable differences, would recognize human beings as natural beings, subject to the causal determinations they share with rocks and fish, and their minds – limited by passions and particularly by the *conatus sese conservandi* – free in regard of moral choice but incapable of total, objective, impartial, and comprehensive knowledge and understanding, the obstacles being both logical and psychological. If the knowledge, deemed to be essential, of God is subjective – the gospels call this *faith* – then

the “moral sciences” are bound to be subjective too. The common insight of the Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment might be that the criterion of both knowledge and freedom is subjectivity examined by reason, this latter ultimately shaped by logic and mathematics.

The hidden belief behind this was, of course, that the “reality” thus surveyed was available to intuition, subsequently re-examined by reason and expounded dialectically, that is, by demonstrating its contradictions.

The historical role of Hegel was to show that what had been held to be subjective, “the spirit,” was in fact objective, that the mind creating concepts (rather than deducing them from the external world) described by Kant was not our subjective faculty limited by epistemological constraints and condemned to ignorance in the most decisive respect, but was – on the contrary – *really* the very source (or substance or substrate) of both knowledge and freedom.

To complicate matters further, Hegel also proposed that objectivity came in two guises: the “objective spirit” proper – what we would call today “institutions” – which is another name for what he called, when young, *positivity*: “false objectivity” (to simplify again: reason without freedom) and the “absolute spirit” (reason as freedom: philosophy).

It is this “objective spirit” that the true founder of sociology, Émile Durkheim called “society,” in other words, a human world totally alien to human intentions, choices, desires, etc., a world of structures yielding repetitive or permanent results, as all human aspirations reflect or express institutional structures, rather than molding them. These structures – called “facts” – are monads with no windows, their transformations are fortuitous, owing to unforeseen combinations or to external events.

With Marx, stepping forward from Hegel, but also back to Kant, the duality of the empirical and of the transcendental reappears. What is presented as a “fact,” a “structure,” or a “thing” is an appearance, behind which subjectivity is hidden, most famously, labor (human productive activity) behind value (the guiding principle of the capital process); it is also labor that is petrified in the fetish “commodity.” *Not things, but human subjective activities.*

The thing, the institutional “objective spirit” is a *façade*, hence the whole institutional logic of society (wherein the economy, the state, and “civil society” are no longer separated) is a *façade* too. But from the viewpoint of objectivity and subjectivity, even labor is split: concrete labor and abstract labor are not the same. Whatever appears *directly*, is a mirage always, whatever is essential is – as essences

should be – concealed (in capitalism, false appearance wears the accoutrements of objectivity). It ought to be uncovered (conceptually destroyed) by theory (critical political economy, philosophy, whatever) in order to recapture the naturalness of subjective human activity where needs are not governed by value.

Observed from the classical sociological perspective, the main point seems to be: how does the “absolute spirit” steer the “objective spirit,” i.e., what kind of social institutions appear as a result of what value does, or, what are the origin, the history, and the function of *classes*? Because sociology treats human groups as “things” (permanent or at least durable abstractions), it is interested in how human groups are shaped and distributed, what is their place on the larger canvas of the total society, and what is their relation to the state, the locus of intentional social-political change.

> Marxian perspectives: class and exploitation

Characteristically, Marx does not respond. In contradistinction to the early *Communist Manifesto*, he – and, in his footsteps, what is called “Western Marxism” – does not think that there are classes before and after capitalism. (Class is historical.) Class is an epiphenomenon of value and capital: “class cultures,” “class lifestyles,” and “class organizations” are epiphenomena of that epiphenomenon.

The only class important to Marx is the proletariat which, in true Hegelian fashion, is constructed as a class that is not a part of (its own?) society. (A part which is not a part of the whole.) This is a denial of this class which is outside of the processes that are supposed to happen within society described by “bourgeois” social science (economy, politics) as interactions between people sharing a common humanity. But reification does not allow this.

For it is the main activity of the proletarian that makes him or her into a thing, so this is not an interaction between classes but a quality of capital. Exploitation is not something the bourgeois are intentionally doing: surplus value is being appropriated to accumulate capital, not to harm workers. Exploitation is not something any state can suppress or remedy, so it is not a “political problem” as social democrats are wont to think. It is not inequality.

Inequality is a sociological problem, but exploitation is not. Transforming reification, commodity fetishism, exploitation into inequality (hence, into a “political problem” capable of gradual improvement) is, for a Marxist, absurd. This is why, usually, sociological questions cannot be answered by Marxian theory, and vice versa. ■

Direct all correspondence to G.M. Tamás <gmtamas@gmail.com>

> The continuing relevance of the Marxist tradition for transcending capitalism

by **Erik Olin Wright**, University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA



Looking to answers from Marx 200 years after his birth. Photo by Marco Gomes, São Paulo, Brazil.

No idea is more closely associated with the work of Marx than the claim that the intrinsic dynamics of capitalism contain deep contradictions that ultimately lead to its self-destruction, and what is more, that these dynamics simultaneously create conditions favorable to the creation of an alternative form of society much more conducive to human flourishing. The first part of the argument constitutes a strong prediction about the destiny of capitalism: in the long term, capitalism is an unsustainable social order and will inevitably come to an end. The second part is less deterministic: the dynamics that destroy capitalism open up new historic possibilities (especially because of the development of the forces of production and human productivity) and, at the same time, create a collective agent – the working class – capable of taking advantage of those possibilities to construct an emancipatory alternative

through revolution. Whether or not this capability will actually result in the realization of this alternative depends on a range of more contingent processes: the dissemination of revolutionary ideology, the emergence of robust solidarities, the development of forms of political organization able to give coherence to struggles, and so on. Taken as a whole, therefore, the theory embodies the interplay of deterministic claims about the inevitable demise of capitalism with nondeterministic claims about the future beyond capitalism.

This duality of deterministic and nondeterministic claims is part of what made Marx's theoretical ideas such a compelling basis for political movements. The nondeterministic elements validate the importance of purpose-filled collective agency and the willingness of individuals to join in the struggle for a better world. The deterministic elements give reasons for optimism: even when the obstacles to revo-

>>

lution seem daunting, anti-capitalist forces could believe that “history is on our side” and eventually the conditions will be “ripe” for a revolutionary breakthrough.

We now live in a world very different from the one in which Marx formulated his theoretical ideas. Some of Marx’s predictions have been spot-on: capitalism has become a global system, reaching the far corners of the world; the forces of production have developed in astonishing ways; capitalist markets deeply penetrate most facets of life; severe economic crises are a persistent feature of capitalist societies. But other predictions, crucial for the overarching aspiration of transcending capitalism, have not been borne out: rather than becoming steadily more homogeneous, the working class has become increasingly fragmented and heterogeneous in all sorts of ways, impeding the solidarity needed for sustained collective action against capitalism; capitalism has proven much more resilient in responding to crises, with new modes of accumulation; the capitalist state has proven much more flexible in absorbing popular demands, while resorting to effective repression when needed; and finally, the tragic history of the attempts at constructing an alternative to capitalism in the aftermath of socialist revolutions has undermined the optimism that crises create the opportunity for revolutionary political forces to build a just and humane alternative.

In the twenty-first century, therefore, it is no longer plausible to see the “laws of motion of capitalism” as inevitably destroying the viability of capitalism while simultaneously creating favorable conditions for its emancipatory transcendence. This does not mean, however, that the Marxist tradition has lost its relevance. In particular, four central propositions of the Marxist tradition remain essential for both the scientific understanding of contemporary society and the efforts to create a better world:

1. Capitalism obstructs the fullest possible realization of conditions for human flourishing. The sharpest indicator of this is persistent poverty in the midst of plenty, but the harms of capitalism extend beyond material deprivation to other values important for human flourishing: equality, democracy, freedom, and community. The source of these harms of capitalism is above all its class structure. The class relations of capitalism create harms through a variety of mechanisms: exploitation; domination; the conversion of economic power into political power; destructive forms of competition; and the expansion of markets in ways that undermine community and reciprocity. A great

deal of ongoing research in the Marxist tradition documents these harms.

2. Capitalism’s dynamics are intrinsically contradictory. Capitalism cannot achieve a stable equilibrium in which everything fits together into a functionally integrated whole. Even if there is no inherent tendency for capitalist contradictions to reach such an intensity as to make capitalism unsustainable, they repeatedly open spaces for new possibilities and transformative struggles.

3. Another world is possible. Perhaps the most fundamental idea of the Marxist tradition is that an emancipatory alternative to capitalism is possible in the form of an economic system in which capitalist class control of investments and production is displaced by radical economic democracy. This is what changes Marxism from simply a critique of capitalism into an emancipatory social science. To say that an emancipatory alternative is “possible” is to say more than simply that an alternative is imaginable; the alternative must be *desirable*, *viable*, and *achievable*. The Marxist claim is thus that radical economic democracy would more fully realize emancipatory values than capitalism; that if it were instituted, it would be sustainable; and that there are plausible historical circumstances in which it would be achievable.

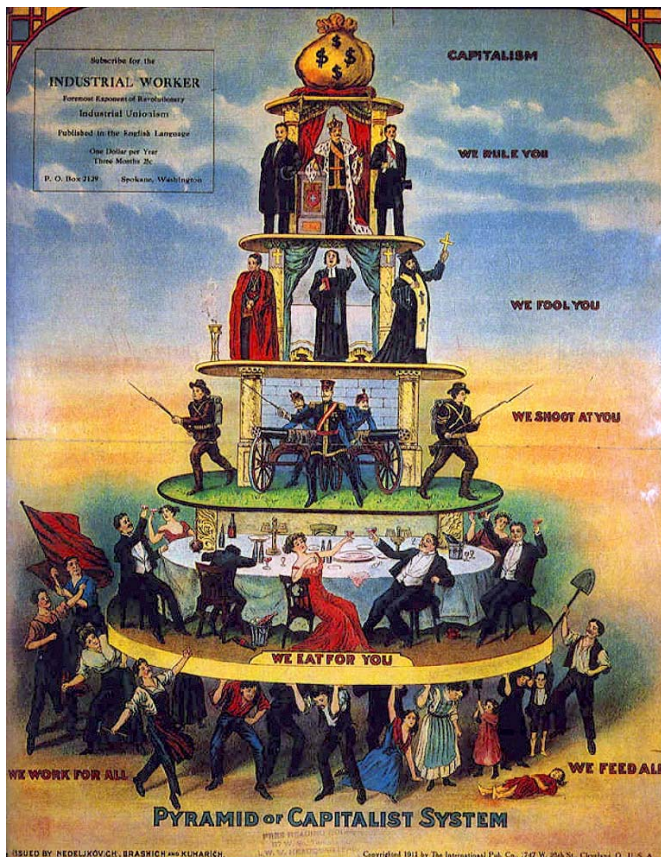
4. Transformation requires class struggles of construction, not just resistance. Transforming capitalism into economic democracy requires collective action and mobilization from below. While elite allies may be crucial, emancipatory social transformation will not simply be the result of the initiatives of enlightened elites. Emancipatory transformation also requires more than simply opposing the harms of capitalism; it requires building new institutions that embody the emancipatory ideals. In Marx’s original theoretical formulation, transformations of construction were thought to mainly occur after a revolutionary rupture with capitalism: the working class, once in power, would build the new society. In the twenty-first century, this is no longer a plausible strategic vision. If radical economic democracy is to be a future beyond capitalism, the task of building it needs to begin inside of societies still dominated by capitalism.

These four propositions anchor the ongoing development of the Marxist tradition of emancipatory social science in the 21st century. ■

Direct all correspondence to Erik Olin Wright <wright@ssc.wisc.edu>

> Feminism Confronts Marxism

by **Alexandra Scheele**, University of Bielefeld, Germany and **Stefanie Wöhl**, University of Applied Sciences BFI Vienna, Austria



Pyramid of Capitalist System.

For several years now, the media in Germany and elsewhere have talked of a “Marx renaissance,” meaning that the work of Karl Marx might have been right in analyzing capitalism and financial crises. This is often explained by the fact that the 2008 financial and economic crisis showed that the global triumph of capitalism is associated with social upheaval, ecological crises, and a tendency for the economic system to self-destruct. Against this background, Marx’s analyses appear up-to-date again.

> Closing the feminist gap in the Marx renaissance

However, the renewed public interest in Marx and his critique of the political economy makes little or no reference

to the feminist reception of Marx. These feminist analyses were never genuinely part of left-wing discussions about Marx, for they are not situated on either side of the debate. On the one hand, feminist Marxists wanted to develop a critical perspective that grasps the social question and does not detach it from gender issues; a perspective that analyzes the capitalist exploitation of resources and the associated destruction of livelihoods in their global effects; and a perspective that not only analyzes the processes of power and domination as accumulation regimes, but also identifies their patriarchal foundations. On the other hand, feminist-Marxist perspectives were critical of the previous and current reception of Marx that aimed to change all conditions of inequality and exploitation, but rarely acknowledged that gender relations were part of these conditions. Further, the separation into production and reproduction, and the sexual division of labor – which was at least mentioned by Marx – were hardly subject to further analysis, but rather disregarded.

> Feminist positions

This double criticism also remains current on the occasion of the 200th birthday of Karl Marx: What is the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism? To what extent is the capitalist mode of production not only a gendered system, but also a racial system? How do cultural-symbolic forms of oppression interact with other forms of oppression in politics and economics? In what follows, we try to summarize the current evolution of these debates.

> Production and reproduction

The relationship between production and reproduction remains central to the feminist debate in particular. Women still do most of the unpaid work at home and caring work worldwide. Classifying the gendered division of labor as a “natural” division of labor obscures the fact that it is a constitutive part of capitalist production which is nevertheless systematically devalued and split off. The global division of labor with the exploitation of labor and natural resources is also an important reference point of the feminist debate. Postcolonial and societal feminist critiques of global oppression and exploitation focus on the specific subaltern positioning of women in the Global South and criticize their inte-



Women's Trade Union League.
Photo by Kheel Center, Cornell University.

gration into global production and care chains. In addition, surrogate motherhoods are seen not only as new forms of reproductive technologies but as forms of the international division of labor and exploitation. In this context, feminist perspectives also analyze how the state contributes to the maintenance of structural power relations in the area of work and sexuality while also structuring the conditions of social reproduction. They point to the fact that social reproduction must be considered in its global context as it is closely interwoven with the dynamics of the global market, financial, and migration regimes. Thus, global economic crises and the associated financialization processes affect the conditions under which social reproduction services are provided; this happened, for example, when families lost access to social infrastructure or had to fight against forced evictions across Europe and the USA in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. With Nancy Fraser, we assume that the “crisis” that characterizes the current capitalist situation is essentially determined by three unsolved problems: first, the relationship between productive and reproductive labor; secondly, the exploitation of nature; and, thirdly, the changes in state power in global capitalism. In addition to these conflicts regarding the transformation of state capacities, the ideological dimension of subjectification in capitalism becomes a relevant subject for queer-feminist analyses. In this context, the question of how and whether generativity and social reproduction are conceptualized as heteronormative has to be discussed further.

> Alternatives and remaining challenges

Controversial questions, however, remain: How can alternatives be developed? Who is or will be the “revolutionary subject” (unless such a concept should be abandoned), and where does the emancipatory potential come from? For example, it is worth considering whether the concepts that characterize Marxist theory are still suitable to grasp current problems. Do we perhaps need, as Ingrid Kurz-

Scherf suggests, a close understanding of capitalism on the one hand and a broad understanding of political economy on the other, to make spheres of non-commodified work visible? Finally these spheres beyond capitalist logic might have the potential to bring the exploitation of the environment and human labor to an end. The “Care Revolution” approach pursued by Gabriele Winker and others aims to organize the care sector collectively, thereby removing the capitalist logic and eliminating the division between paid and unpaid work.

Postcolonial and feminist perspectives further call for a more comprehensive subject perspective, since the white, western, male class subject Marx emphasized, can no longer be the bearer of a transforming perspective.

> Criticism and neoliberalism in academia

However, the conditions for critical knowledge production in general and feminist critique in particular have become more difficult in times of neoliberal knowledge production, which is also influencing academia. In the process of neoliberal individualization, it is increasingly questionable how various subjects can recognize a collective will for transformation (or even revolution). At universities, feminist criticism has continuously had to deal with androcentrism and is now – as are other sciences – exposed to criteria of usability and profitability.

Against this background, the challenge is to further develop feminist-Marxist perspectives. The pluralist criticism on which it has been founded is at the same time a source for further marginalization. This can be observed in academia as well as in a left reception of Marx, which have not reflected upon their androcentric bias. ■

Direct all correspondence to:
Alexandra Scheele <alexandra.scheele@uni-bielefeld.de>
Stefanie Wöhl <stefanie.woehl@fh-vie.ac.at>

> Marx and the State

by **Bob Jessop**, Lancaster University, UK



Marx did not write a comprehensive critique of the state as an organ of class domination and the exercise of state power as a political process. Moreover, although his project was as much political as theoretical, he provided no extended or coherent analyses of topics such as political parties as an organizational form; nations, nationalism and national states; revolutionary strategy and tactics (including the scope for a parliamentary road to socialism); the form of a “dictatorship of the proletariat”; or how the state might “wither away.”

This does not mean that Marx (or his lifelong collaborator, Engels) neglected such issues. On the contrary, they explored the state in many ways. These included critiques of political theory analogous to Marx’s critique of economic categories in classical and vulgar political economy; historical analyses of the development, changing architecture, and class character of specific states; conjunctural analyses of particular political periods and/or significant events; analyses of the form of the capitalist type of state, albeit primarily in terms of its correspondence with the form and logic of accumulation; historical analyses of the state (or analogous forms of domination) in pre-capitalist class-based modes of production and of state forms in contemporary societies beyond Europe and the USA; and more strategically oriented, politically motivated accounts of changing conjunctures that should shape political debates in the labour movement. Their analyses also extended to

inter-state relations, colonialism, the international balance of forces, and the politics of war and peace.

To simplify matters in a brief comment, we can identify three main accounts of the state in Marx’s work. A propagandistic reading sees the state as an instrument of class rule wielded more or less successfully by the economically dominant class to maintain its economic exploitation and political control. This view is expressed notoriously – but for immediate propagandistic and strategic effect – in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which declares that the executive apparatus is a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. Apart from its propagandistic value, this claim makes sense in the light of the limited franchise in Europe and North America at the time. The extension of the franchise in the 1870s would complicate matters and put a parliamentary road to socialism on the agenda. A more historical reading sees the state as a potentially autonomous authority that could regulate the class struggle in the public interest or even manipulate it to the private advantage of the political stratum. This view appears most famously – and inspiringly – in Marx’s analyses of France in the 1850s under Louis Bonaparte. Indeed, he once suggested that Bonaparte had established a praetorian state, in which the army led by Bonaparte III, started to represent itself against society rather than acting for one part of society against other parts. Some commentators have suggested that the first view typifies normal periods of class struggle and the latter characterizes “exceptional”

periods when class struggle is stalemated and/or threatens a social catastrophe. This suggestion (mis)takes a propagandistic account for a serious theoretical analysis that must then be reconciled with the historical analyses.

The problem in this suggestion can be seen in a third reading that is rooted in Marx's earliest critiques of Hegel, was reworked throughout Marx's life, and is most clearly restated in his remarks on the 1871 Paris Commune. Here the state is an alienated form of political organization that is based on the separation of rulers and ruled. This separation takes different forms in different class-based modes of production, different periods of capitalist development, and different types of capitalist formation. Nonetheless, as Marx wrote in the second draft of the *Civil War in France* (1871), state power is "always the power to maintain order, i.e., the existing social order and therefore the subordination and exploitation of the producing classes by the appropriating class." However, as argued in *Capital III*, the form of sovereignty and political domination is linked to the form of exploitation. In the capitalist mode of production, this involves the impersonal domination of a sovereign state over the population: it does not entail direct rule by the dominant classes. This type of state is possible because exploitation is mediated through formally free exchange in the labour market (despite despotism in the labour process) so that classes are determined through relations of production free from extra-economic coercion or obligatory social bonds. This enables the institutional separation of the economic and political moments of exploitation and domination with economic class struggle taking place within the limits of market relations and political

class struggle within the limits of the constitutional state.

This is nonetheless a fragile relation and depends on the institutionalization of a specific class compromise. Indeed, writing in *Class Struggles in France, 1848–1850*, Marx identified a comprehensive contradiction in the democratic constitution. While it gives universal suffrage to the proletariat, peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie whose social slavery the constitution is to perpetuate, it sustains the social power of the bourgeoisie by guaranteeing private property rights. Political stability requires that subaltern classes should not seek to move from political to social emancipation; and that the bourgeoisie should not insist on political restoration. The institutional separation of the economic and the political and its resulting contradiction explain why Marx rarely resorts to directly economic arguments to explain the development of specific political regimes or the content of specific state policies. For these depend on a specific dynamic of political struggles rather than immediate economic circumstances. Accordingly, although he explored economic circumstances, crises, and contradictions, Marx's more concrete analyses also carefully considered state forms, political regimes, political discourses, the balance of political forces, and so on.

Marx's second and third approaches are mutually consistent and most useful for current research and political analysis. Obviously, a longer article would need to include specific cases as well as Marx's remarks on growing world market integration. But the preceding remarks are enough to show how to advance Marx's analyses. ■

Direct all correspondence to Bob Jessop <b.jessop@lancaster.ac.uk>

> Capitalist Landnahme

A New Marxist Approach to Law

by **Guilherme Leite Gonçalves**, Rio de Janeiro State University (UERJ), Brazil



Original artwork (water colour on 20 x 30 illustration board, 2011) by Filipino painter Boy Dominguez. "Green Grabbing", JPS Special Issue 39(2), April 2012. Edited by James Fairhead, Melissa Leach and Ian Scoones.

> Marxism and law

Much of what we know about the Marxist notion of law is rooted in Evgeny B. Pashukanis' critique of legal form. Its starting point is Marx's argument that in capitalist society sociability acquires the form of value, implying that concrete labor is realized through the exchange of commodities. This assumes the autonomous and equal will of each of the commodities' owners. Such will only exists as a legal form. The legal form in turn creates an abstract equality between different forms of concrete labor, masking the self-reproduction of inequality. Law acquires, thus, a fetish character.

The traditional critique of the legal form analyzes the structure of law only when money is transformed into capital and surplus value is produced. It explains why domination acquires the form of abstract domination, how the appropriation of the immediate producer's labor is made invisible, and how exchange between equals reproduces inequality. *But does capitalism reduce itself to this cycle?*

> Accumulation and Landnahme

In order to keep on being capital, capital must always be valorized. It requires more labor than is necessary, producing surplus labor and capital. This unmeasured process has to deal with the possible social conditions for the realization of the created value. There is, then, an overaccumulation that undermines profitability. At this stage, capital must seize other social spaces to allow surplus value to flow, opening a new cycle of valorization. These dynamics

do not correspond to the principle of exchange of equivalents, but rather to the capacity to seize such spaces according to the pressure of (re)valorization. It is a form of ongoing primitive accumulation.

In Marx's work, primitive accumulation is understood as the starting point for the capitalist mode of production. It is this process that separates the producer from their means of production, resulting in a violent expropriation of social groups, and the creation of people who are free to sell their labor power. Rosa Luxemburg argues that this is a factor of capitalism's own development; as only a limited part of surplus value can be appropriated at the site of production, the system must always turn to a non-capitalist *Outside* to realize it in full. Such a process is marked by explicit violence. David Harvey goes further, analyzing how capital overcomes crises of overaccumulation through accumulation by dispossession. From this argument, Klaus Dörre has developed the theorem of *Landnahme*: capitalist expansion as the permanent and violent commodification of a yet non-commodified *Outside*.

In the *Landnahme* phase, law has a different character to that described by Pashukanis. As Luxemburg states, in the exchange of equivalents, "peace, property and equality, as forms, rule," which means that "the appropriation of another's property turns into a right to property; exploitation, into exchange of commodities; and class domination, into equality." Alternatively, in the expropriation of non-capitalist spaces, Luxemburg affirms that "colonial policy, the international loan system, private interest policy and war rule. This is where violence, fraud, oppression and plunder become evident." In short: law works

as explicit legal violence and an express prescription of inequality.

Landnahme is thus developed through the state in order to provoke a violent transformation of existing property relations. This model is a result of legal reforms that aim to replace collective and common property relations with private ones.

Furthermore, *Landnahme* implies a spatial restructuring: local populations are expelled and, once removed from their common or public space, become “free” wage laborers and are disciplined into their new role in the productive chain. Thus, in addition to the instruments of expropriation of public and common space, law also facilitates the control of the expropriated.

> **Landnahme and law**

The social-legal reproduction of *Landnahme* takes place in three phases:

1) Legal othering

Legal othering is a symbolic process, implying the discursive characterization of the non-capitalist *Outside* as a deviant and inferior *Other*. The main instrument is human rights.

The universal character of human rights presupposes the existence of values intrinsic to human nature, claiming that all people should be treated equally and that the legal protection of human values is universal. Thus, if it is true that individuals carry humanity within themselves, but their acts are contingent and can oppose human rights themselves, it is the duty of human rights to combat the deviant. This is the premise for the setting of a criterion of justice, which is used to judge social practices.

In global capitalism, this discourse builds a spatial hierarchy: on the one side, civilized spaces with modern rationalization; on the other, pockets of injustice and irrational norms. But this difference reflects, in fact, existing power relations in society. In that sense, the criterion of justice is the universalization of the worldview of the ruling class, who uses it to impose its particular interests. The humanist discourse thus becomes a motor of external interventions and colonization.

2) Legal instruments of privatization

Once the *Outside* is characterized as an *Other*, commodification can occur. To push this process, law develops

instruments enabling the transfer of public, collective, or common property to private actors. These instruments facilitate deregulation, privatization, and the opening of a given sector to the global market. They appear under different institutional designs: sales of assets, public companies, or areas; public-private partnerships; transfer of property or the administration of a public service to private companies; etc. All these designs work as legal theft, in which the state, under the justification of utility promotion, removes people from their lands and restructures territory for the creation of value.

3) Use of criminal law

In his analysis of the “bloody legislation,” Marx described the use of criminal law as operating parallel to the expropriation of peasants from their lands. As peasants were expelled and became free to sell their labor force to the capitalists, they were not fully absorbed by the industrial economy. These peasants, socialized in other practices, did not correspond to the new patterns of labor and way of life. They were forced to adjust to the discipline of the new situation through the repressive legislations against vagrancy.

This functional pattern of criminal law repeats itself in processes of *Landnahme*. Legal techniques are frequently utilized to facilitate the privatization of spaces, and the breaking of the collective and communality of social groups and local populations – freeing them to sell their labor power. Once they are “free,” criminal law is used to discipline the workforce. In the present context, this means a disciplining of precarious and flexible work relations. It takes place through methods of criminalization of poverty, forcing people to enter into a precarious system of wage labor.

> **Conclusion**

There are two entangled aspects in the social-legal reproduction of capitalism. In the exchange of equivalents’ cycle law works as the form of abstract equality and freedom, which is linked to the fetishism of commodities. In the expansionist cycle of capitalism it appears as explicit legal violence, as the three above-mentioned phases. Considering that the exchange of equivalents’ cycle tends to the formation of overaccumulation, it always reaches a neuralgic point, which demands the activation of new expropriations over a yet non-commodified *Outside*. Thus, the social-legal reproduction of capitalism materializes through the continuous alternation between fetishist legal form and explicit legal violence. ■

Direct all correspondence to Guilherme Leite Gonçalves
<guilherme.leite@uerj.br>

> Marx and Sociology in India

by **Satish Deshpande**, University of Delhi, India

Since roughly the middle of the twentieth century, it is only in the Anglo-American West that academic Marxism has loomed larger than political Marxism. In most of the world (and not just Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union), Marxism has been far more important as a political ideology than as an academic persuasion. That is why, when writing about places outside the West, discussions on “Marx and sociology” need to be placed within a larger societal context.

Established between 1920 and 1925, the Communist Party of India (CPI) was the second largest party in the first three national elections held in 1952, 1957 and 1962, although it won less than 30 seats against the 360-plus won by the Indian National Congress. However, the CPI had the distinction of forming the world’s first democratically elected communist government in 1957 in the southern state of Kerala (current population 33 million). The CPI-Marxist, or CPM (formed after a split in 1964) was re-elected continuously for 34 years (from 1977 to 2011) in the eastern state of West Bengal (population 91 million). But the electoral importance of communism has declined and today its major impact is felt through the ongoing armed conflict between the Indian state and a coalition of Maoist groups based among tribal peoples in the forested regions of central India, mainly in the state of Chhattisgarh (population 26 million). A more limited source of influence is through student organizations with allegiance to Marxist parties or movements.

Marxism has also been significant in the Indian academy, but its influence is greater in history, economics, and political science than in sociology. Within sociology three scholars have had the most impact; all of them served as presidents of the Indian Sociological Society (or its predecessors).

The earliest of these was Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji (1894-1961), an influential intellectual who taught at the joint department of economics and sociology at Lucknow University from 1922 to 1954. Mukerji was mainly interested in the Marxist method, which was the subject of his book *On Indian History: A Study in Method* (1945). He called himself a “Marxologist” rather than a Marxist because of his reservations about Marxism and its doctrinaire tendencies that prevented it from addressing the specificities of the Indian context.

Akshay Ramanlal Desai (1915-1994) was arguably the scholar who did the most for the development of Marxist sociology in India. He entered academics relatively late, after having worked as a full-time organizer for nationalist, Marxist, and finally Trotskyist political organizations (in which he retained lifelong membership). His doctoral thesis in sociology submitted to Bombay University was published in 1948 as *The Social Background of Indian Nationalism* and remains a perennial classic today, after twelve reprints, six editions, and numerous Indian-language translations. The book uses the “materialist conception of history” to connect the economic transformations triggered by colonialism to the sociocultural and political changes that ultimately produced nationalism. Desai’s argument that capitalist development had already begun in the colonial period ran counter to the party line of the CPI and the CPM who asserted that Indian society was still “semi-feudal.” Apart from nationalism, he also published books on peasant and agrarian struggles in India as well as book-length discussions on human rights and their violation by the state. Desai joined the department of sociology in Bombay in 1951 and went on to head it in 1969. His overall contribution is in having made an explicit attempt to develop a Marxist sociology in India

“In most of the world, Marxism has been far more important as a political ideology than as an academic persuasion”

and in promoting this approach among his students and other scholars he mentored.

Dattatreya Narayan Dhanagare (1936-2017) studied with the British Marxist sociologist Tom Bottomore at the University of Sussex and spent most of his career teaching at the University of Pune, India. Dhanagare's best known works are on social movements, notably *Peasant Movements in India* (1983) and *Populism and Power* (2015). Through his writings and his graduate students, Dhanagare made a significant contribution towards promoting class analysis in Indian sociology.

Marxist perspectives have been more prominent in history (where they are dominant) and economics (where they are a significant minority). Internationally acclaimed examples of Marxist scholarship in these disciplines are to be found in the so-called “mode of production debate” and the work of the Subaltern Studies school.

From the late 1960s to the early 1980s, an entire generation of scholars (mostly economists) engaged in a wide-ranging effort to characterize the mode of production of agrarian India since the colonial period. Taking its cue from the Maurice Dobb–Paul Sweezy debate on the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe, the Indian mode of production debate focused on the specifics of transition in a feudal-colonial agrarian system. It raised the question of defining capitalism in agriculture to new

levels of theoretical sophistication by addressing in rich empirical detail themes such as: waged versus family labor; productive versus unproductive uses of surpluses; the role of extra-economic coercion in the capital-labor relation; the feasibility of a “colonial mode of production”; and the implications of Marx's distinction between the formal and real subsumption of labor by capital.

The group of scholars working under the rubric of Subaltern Studies from the early 1980s to the 2000s came together in an attempt to critique existing versions of Marxist historiography and especially its treatment of Indian nationalism. Arguing that this history focused on the elite and ignored the subaltern classes, this collective produced a Gramscian interpretation of elite nationalism as a regime of “dominance without hegemony” marked by “the failure of the Indian bourgeoisie to speak for the nation” as well as the weakness of the subaltern mobilizations. The subaltern historians emphasized social and cultural history and folk forms of resistance and mobilization. The collective has since been disbanded though its members remain active academics and intellectuals.

Finally, Marxism is a routine part of the social science curriculum in Indian universities (except, lately, in economics). Marxist perspectives retain their significance in India today, but tend to be more diffuse and hybrid, reflecting broader global trends. ■

Direct all correspondence to Satish Deshpande <sdeshpande7@gmail.com>

> Marx in the Twenty-First Century

by **Michelle Williams**¹, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, and member of ISA Research Committees on Economy and Society (RC02) and Labor Movements (RC44)



Re-thinking the intersection between race and class within Marxist theory?

Marx's ideas about the emancipatory and oppressive dimensions of capitalism have inspired scholars, politicians, and activists across the globe for over 150 years and have led to an entire intellectual tradition known as Marxism. Few intellectuals and radical actors have had such an impact on the world except perhaps Adam Smith, Charles Darwin, Mahatma Gandhi, Jesus Christ, the Prophet Mohammed and the Buddha.

Marxism has simultaneously sought to *understand* and *explain* capitalism and also to *resist* it and *change* the world. In other words, Marxism's contribution is twofold: (1) as a set of analytical ideas about the dynamics of capitalism; and (2) as an ideology and guide to political movements. The twentieth century was replete with Marxist movements, groups, and states, covering vast areas of the world.

> The impact of Marx's ideas

Let me start with the impact of Marx's ideas. His ideas have influenced modern social theory, where he pioneered social enquiry about the nature of capitalist modernity. His influence extends across the social sciences, including so-

ciology, politics, economics, media, philosophy, anthropology, and international relations, as well as in the natural and hard sciences (including geography and information technology) and humanities (the arts, rhetoric and literary studies, and education). After the 2008 economic crisis, even mainstream economists publicly acknowledged that Marx's analysis of capitalism has much to teach us. Marx offers one of the most sophisticated analyses of capitalism, but it is not just the analysis of capitalism that has captured the left imagination. Marx's concepts and implicit suggestions about a future post-capitalist order have inspired some of the most prolific and theoretically sophisticated thinking about socialism in the twentieth century and continue to inspire thinking about twenty-first century socialism, for instance in Latin America.

The other side of Marx's influence is the impact of his ideas on political movements. Most of the twentieth-century alternatives to capitalism found their inspiration from Marx's ideas about a future post-capitalist order. History is littered with examples of Marxist-inspired movements, but unfortunately many of these experiments have inglorious histories of authoritarianism, oppression, exploitation, and even genocide. Marxism in practice also has histories of sexism, racism, and upholding colonial relations. Today we

also see China and Vietnam move to market capitalism in the name of “state socialism.” We cannot ignore or deny these histories.

Yet, Marx and Marxism have also inspired extraordinary movements and brought peoples from across the world together. The soviets in the Russian revolution, anti-colonial movements, and Cuba’s solidarity with the South African liberation movement and their brutal and deadly battle with the apartheid regime in Angola are such examples. Marx’s legacy is most profoundly represented in the way in which his ideas have inspired and galvanized people to think about and fight for a post-capitalist world – a world that is more egalitarian, just, peaceful, and free from exploitation and all forms of oppression.

Today, the rise of postmodernism with its anti-Marxist conceptions of power, social alienation, precariousness, inequality, and marginalization has re-ignited the importance of Marxist analysis. The recent revival of Marxism is not simply a return to nineteenth- and twentieth-century understandings of Marxism. For Marxism to endure, texts cannot be read in dogmatic and purist ways, and political practices have to move beyond vanguardism. Marx’s legacy endures through our continual renewal and reformulation of theory so that it can continue to help shed light on the world we inhabit. Just like feminism took on Marxism in the 1970s and theorized ideas such as social reproduction, intersectionality, and multiple forms of oppression, we need to engage the ideas of Marx and Marxists around contemporary issues of race, gender, sexual orientation, the importance of democracy for an emancipatory project, and the ecological limits and the global crisis of capitalism.

> The case of South Africa

In South Africa, one of our biggest challenges is to bring Marxism into productive engagements around race and racism after apartheid. Marxism’s failure to address issues of race stems from the fact that early Marxists tended to view race as a social construction and a reflection of false consciousness. The issue of race repeatedly arose

throughout the twentieth century within the national question debates in contexts such as the demise of the British Empire, the Russian revolution, decolonization, and the struggle against apartheid. As Marxists began to take up the issue of race, they tended to focus on the relationship between race and class, often reducing race to class and racism to its functionality within capitalist accumulation. Marxists have argued that racism divides the working class and needs to be challenged through a politics of solidarity among the working class. Marxism sees the universality in working class identity trumping the particularity of racism.

More sophisticated theoretical analyses examined the intersection of race and class by highlighting historical contingency as well as articulations between pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of production. In South Africa, the articulation between race and class took on a particular urgency with the apartheid state’s systemic race-based political oppression that converged with capitalist exploitation. However, despite the end of apartheid, patterns of racial oppression have continued in contemporary South Africa through a capitalism that has *both eroded and reproduced* forms of racial oppression. To understand the continuation of racial oppression within global capitalism, in South Africa and in many other places around the world, requires a new Marxist analysis, which is starting to emerge.

> Conclusion

The ideas of Marx and Marxists will only continue to resonate in the twenty-first century if we are bold enough to engage, transform, and re-formulate them for our current times. New anti-capitalist movements are already doing this through bringing together post-vanguard Marxism with other anti-capitalist traditions such as feminism, ecology, anarchism, anti-racism, and democratic and indigenous traditions. These movements are not looking for a coherent ideological blueprint or a vanguard elite to lead them, but rather share the belief that “another world is possible” through democratic, egalitarian, ecological, and systemic alternatives to capitalism, built by ordinary people. This is in the spirit of Marx’s own inquiry! ■

¹ These reflections draw on two articles: Satgar, V. and Williams M. (forthcoming 2017) “Marxism and Class” in Kathleen Korgen (ed.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Williams, M. (2013) “Introduction” in Michelle Williams and Vishwas Satgar (eds.) *Marxisms in the 21st Century: Crisis, Critique & Struggle*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Direct all correspondence to Michelle Williams <michelle.williams@wits.ac.za>

> Marx and the Global South

by **Raju Das**, York University, Canada and member of ISA Research Committee on Economy and Society (RC02) and **David Fasenfest**, Wayne State University, USA, treasurer of ISA Committee on Economy and Society (RC02)

Karl Marx lived in Europe 150 years ago, where he engaged in politics and wrote about Europe. Of the thousands of pages that he wrote, scholars have calculated that only about 400 pages dealt with non-European societies – for the most part journalistic writings on India, China, and the Ottoman Empire from the standpoint of British domestic policies. How, then, are his ideas relevant to the contemporary Global South (henceforward, South), the home of most of the world's population in countries much less developed economically than those in Europe and the industrial North?

Setting aside questions of when Marx wrote, or the geographic focus of capitalist development, we will argue for a more nuanced dialectical view of Marx's relevance to the South. But first, there is a need to avoid two dangers: world-regional exceptionalism (absolutizing the specificity of the South), and Eurocentric universalism (mechanically applying his ideas as if regions of the South are a warmer Europe or simply a "late Europe"). We reject the claim that Marx's relevance is limited to his own time and place, and therefore not significant in the South – a view taken by postcolonial and postmodern theorists who maintain that regions of the South are very different from Europe. Clearly, not everything in Marx is relevant to the South, but much of it is.

Marx's analysis focused on Europe as the site where capitalism, as a system, took root, rather than conveying any sense that European experiences were somehow privileged or unique. We can safely say that Marx's analyses and writings were more fully embraced and practically advanced in Asia and throughout the Third World.

Marx's ideas can be classified based on social relations and geography. In the first instance, his abstract ideas are about all forms of class society, whether it is the capitalist form of class society or society under advanced forms of capitalism. In the second, while some of his ideas are specific to advanced capitalism as it emerged in nine-

teenth-century Europe, to the extent that capitalist relations develop in the South, ideas about advanced capitalism in Europe may have some relevance.

The totality of Marx's ideas as a body of intellectual work reflects, and seeks to promote, radical-democratic and anti-capitalist social change of all forms of class society, including changing society's deeply-held prejudices and material practices against oppressed groups such as women and racialized minorities. Marx's political economy of capitalist society considers its economy, state, culture, and ecological transformation, and contains ideas about revolutionary political practice.

Marx's focus on the materiality of life is relevant to the Global South, where the needs of most people remain unmet. His dialectical materialist perspective allows one to see the South in terms of its stark material problems (lack of food, shelter, clothing, etc.), of its various contradictions, of its internal relations to the imperialist system, and so on. To the extent that the study of the South has been shaped by postcolonialism/postmodernism, and that these perspectives are skeptical of Marx, a counter-critique of the postcolonial perception of the South can and must be based in Marx's own philosophical ideas. For Marx, human beings, as a part of nature, have material needs as well as cultural needs. To satisfy these needs, humans must interact with nature and with one another. They combine their labor with the means of production, ultimately derived from nature, in the context of social relations of production, to produce things to satisfy their needs. As productive forces develop, a surplus is produced and, with it, the potential for class inequality and class struggle over this surplus. In a class society, whether in the South or the North, the majority of free or unfree workers perform surplus labor. As Marx notes in Volume I of *Capital*:

"Wherever a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the worker, free or unfree, must add to the labour-time necessary for his own

“We reject the claim that Marx’s relevance is limited to his own time and place, and therefore not significant in the South”

maintenance an extra quantity of labour-time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owner of the means of production, whether this proprietor be [...] a slave owner, [...] or a modern landlord or a capitalist.”
(Marx, Vintage Press, 1977: 344)

Although Marx’s empirical examples came from Europe, his approach to capitalism was basically global or internationalist. World commerce was the presupposition of capitalism, when Marx points out that commodity production and circulation – at first and as it becomes more developed – form the basis for international commerce and trade. The modern history of capital dates from this creation of a world-embracing commerce and a world-embracing market. In effect, the world-geography of trade is a precondition for capitalism, which in turn makes capitalism a global phenomenon.

Countries of the South must be fundamentally seen in terms of class in the Marxian sense as countries that have suffered from aborted democratic revolutions or agrarian revolutions against feudal relations, aborted nation-

al (or anti-imperialist) revolutions, and aborted or failed anti-capitalist revolutions. The capitalism of the South is deeply impacted by imperialism and coexists with a social formation which may contain remnants of feudalism and commodity production based in relations other than wage labor to include indigenous-collective traditions.

In closing, Marx’s ideas have been further developed from different perspectives in the Global South, post-Soviet societies and other emerging market economies, in opposition to a Eurocentric understanding of social change and resistance to capitalism. The fact that there are varieties of regional Marxism – African Marxism, Asian Marxism, Latin American Marxism, Indian Marxism, and Chinese Marxism (which is now being promoted in various schools of Marxism in China’s major universities) – and that Marxist studies on international development, imperialism, agrarian change, etc. are flourishing, suggests that Marx is relevant to the issues that concern the South. This is also indicated by the institutionalization of Marxist ideas in the form of Marxist journals published in the South or more generally dealing with the South. ■

Direct all correspondence to:
David Fasenfest <david.fasenfest@wayne.edu>
Raju Das <rajudas@yorku.ca>

> Class Inequalities

and Social Struggles in China

by **Jenny Chan**, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, and member of ISA Research Committee on Labor Movements (RC44)



Working in the parcel delivery service in China. Photo by Jenny Chan.

On the night of November 18, 2017, a fire on the southern outskirts of Beijing took nineteen lives, eight of them children. The two-story building, with a basement, was divided into tiny rooms and cramped with tenants for cheap rent. Instead of providing emergency aid to the victims and survivors, the government began to chase away tens of thousands of “low-end” people – as described in the official derogatory terminology – from China’s capital. The deadly fire sparked a city-wide safety inspection campaign and demolition of illegal structures of rented apartments, factories, warehouses, wholesale markets, schools, restaurants, and shops, disrupting the lives of marginalized individuals and families. The mass eviction, which was not the first and probably won’t be the last, ignited an outcry from the civil society, although the voices of protestors were quickly suppressed from mainstream national media.

With the rise of global China, low-income citizens continue to struggle for better working and living conditions on the margins of the “high-end” city. And the Chinese state will inevitably be scrutinized for its rhetoric and relentless pursuit of “the Chinese dream” against the pain inflicted on its people.

> Production and social reproduction of Chinese rural migrants

China’s rapid capital accumulation was spurred in part by its heavy reliance on a rural-to-urban migratory workforce over the past four decades. By official reckoning some 282 million rural migrants have been drawn into the manufacturing, service, and construction sectors in towns and cities all across the country, an increase of more than 50 million following the economic recovery since 2009, and accounting for one-fifth of China’s to-



On-the-ground logistics in China.
Photo by Jenny Chan.

tal population. City governments have adopted a “points system” granting certain rural migrants, particularly big entrepreneurs, an urban household registration based on criteria such as their ability to buy a house, specialized job skills, and educational attainments. However, even after years of working in the city, the great majority of moderately educated migrants and their children remain second-class citizens, retaining rural residential status and lacking equal access to public education, subsidized health care, and retirement benefits, making possible the suppression of labor costs.

Low-paid migrant workers are often housed in dormitories, which are cost-effective for the employer and conducive to ensuring that workers spend most of their off-hours preparing for the next shift. The socio-spatial boundary between work and life is blurred, helping to ensure that production deadlines are met by facilitating overtime work. The all-in-one, multi-functional architecture of production workshops, warehouses, and residential places was typical of early industrial districts, and is still common in contemporary cities where migrant settlers are concentrated.

In the search for limited personal freedom over their private lives, workers leave the management-dominated collective dormitory to rent private apartments as soon as they can afford to. These are often inexpensive rental rooms with no windows, or only a small window, which are at least a link to the outside world. Some complexes are infested with mosquitoes, rats, and cockroaches. Utilities and property management fees vary widely. As private housing prices have reached sky-high in megacities, workers’ earnings have been eaten up by the landlords.

Blue-collar migrants are selling their labor in food delivery, package delivery, car-hailing and home cleaning services, to name only a few examples, fueling the growth of China’s GDP and the shift from manufacturing to service work. With the continued expansion of the digital economy, tens of millions of new “flexible” jobs mediated by platforms and apps are created. As independent contractors, however, they are not adequately protected by the national

labor law; their job security and income stability are minimal. With the shutdown of unlicensed workplaces and unregistered dormitories after the deadly fire, the vulnerability of informal service workers, and their children, as well as many working people from other sectors, came to the fore. Some of them had to pay higher rent for a temporary housing to withstand the freezing cold, while the others had no choice but to leave.

Chinese internal migrants have long been targets in urban governments’ “clean out” efforts. From the city to the countryside, under the accelerated pace of “development” and economic transformation, encroachment of cities on rural farm land and villages has been intensified. Scores of villagers have been displaced, bereft of the ability to return home to till the land. Landless laborers, who have lost their access to household plots in their natal villages, face an added burden: employers are reluctant to hire villagers who have lost the contracted land that supported subsistence, thus requiring employers to increase wages. Rural project contractors, particularly in the construction industry organized through localistic networks, refuse to hire dispossessed peasant workers because they have to pay up-front to maintain the basic livelihood of these workers before they are paid for work, which typically occurs at the completion of the project. Among the jobless, landless migrants are the lowest of the low.

> Towards cross-class alliances for system change?

Both nature and labor are at the root of capital accumulation: the faster the pace of capital accumulation, the more extensive the scale of expropriation of nature and subsumption of labor. Land dispossession and proletarianization go hand in hand with the advent of capital in Beijing and far beyond. Under the auspices of the provincial and lower-level states, powerful transnational corporations have utilized more agricultural land and rural as well as urban labor to make profits. Grassroots labor struggles, while rooted in local terrains, have to simultaneously confront forces of global capital and the Chinese state at all levels.

The current period of short-lived protest in localized and dispersed sites of resistance across coastal and interior China needs to develop further along intra- and inter-class lines and across the urban-rural divide, building a more broadly based social movement. As scholars and activists, we need to foster stronger unity with the precarious working class and other social classes to fight for labor rights and social justice. A safe workplace and a decent home will not be given but fought for very hard. ■

Direct all correspondence to Jenny Chan <jenny.wl.chan@polyu.edu.hk>

> A Comparative Study of Public and Private Universities in India

by **Niharika Jaiswal**, New Delhi, India



The marketization of universities hurts public education in India and all over the world.

In India with the advent of neoliberal policies, the growth of knowledge economies, and the inclusion of private education providers, global networks and the private sector are empowered to dictate what qualifies as “relevant knowledge.” The idea of education as a “public good” is replaced by the idea of education as a “private commodity.” Universities are marketed as “brands” that advocate “marketable courses.” This discourse has labeled liberal arts as “unproductive,” forcing disciplines like sociology to reinvent themselves to ensure their survival.

While this broad trend towards marketization is widely acknowledged, what is less known is that both public and private universities are converging towards similar practices. This convergence questions the meaning of the “public” in a liberalized, privatized, and globalized democratic society. My argument is supported by a comparative analysis of the structure and content of the undergraduate sociology curriculum taught in two public universities – Delhi University (DU) and Ambedkar University (AUD) – and a private university, Shiv Nadar University (SNU), located in Delhi.

DU was founded in 1922. Significantly, since 2012 it has repeatedly revised its academic program from the annual mode, to the semester system, to the Four Year Undergraduate Program (FYUP), and finally to the Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) in 2015. AUD is a state university established in 2010 exclusively for the humanities and social sciences, while SNU began functioning in 2011. Though the three universities were established at different times, with purportedly different academic agendas, their practices appear to be similar.

First, all three universities are developing integrated programs of study based on values of “novelty,” “choice,” and better employment opportunities. In FYUP and CBCS, increased choice is presented in the form of “Electives” which offer courses on popular themes like development, media, environment, visual cultures, etc. “Applied Courses” in Delhi University’s FYUP scheme, or “Ability Enhancing courses and Skill Enhancing courses” in its CBCS scheme, or the option of doing a minor along with a major in both AUD and SNU, all directly cater to the student’s employability and entrepreneurial skills.

Second, the interdisciplinarity and contemporary relevance of courses is highlighted. In Delhi University’s FYUP and CBCS, and in AUD’s sociology program, interdisciplinarity is introduced by the option of selecting courses from other departments. SNU’s option of pursuing a “minor” course and “independent study groups” suggests a similar orientation. Interdisciplinarity is instated by the inclusion of courses from history, political science, or literature as “Electives” or “Foundational Courses.” However, the presence of other disciplinary perspectives within the main sociology courses has only been accommodated in AUD through course readings. The contemporary relevance of the programs is also made evident through readings and themes of research. The “Electives” or “Foundational Courses” in the CBCS and FYUP have introduced several new themes like “sociology of war,” “ethnographic film making,” etc. Moreover, the literature published after the 1990s clearly dominates the reading lists of most courses. For instance, 30 out of the 35 readings in AUD’s course on “Gender and Society” were published after the 1990s. Thus, an attempt has been made to incorporate new themes of study, sources of knowledge and scholarship, as well as interdisciplinary interaction to increase a student’s knowledge base and skill set.

Third, the university–industry link has been strengthened in all programs. In the CBCS, the credit system standardizes the assessment for the employers. Courses such as “Organization Exposure” or “Workshop on Expressions” at AUD, and “Research, Experiential, and Applied Learning” at SNU, expose the student to various NGOs and research organizations. Further, the emphasis on reading ethnogra-

phies, substantive research, writing dissertations, or field studies at the undergraduate level and the diminishing interest in sociological theory encourages applied research rather than “academic” studies.

Fourth, the universities are establishing global partnerships with foreign universities as a marketing strategy. For instance, AUD and SNU have collaborated with Yale, Sciences Po, Stanford, Berkeley, etc. to increase their standing amongst the students.

Thus, sociology and other social sciences are packaged as interdisciplinary, contemporary, and integrated disciplines, offering better life chances and a global reach for their students. However, the essence of social science – its criticality and creativity – stands compromised.

The similarities between DU, AUD and SNU suggest that they are responding to a common paradigm of knowledge production dictated by neoliberal principles. This change impacts the role and position of public universities because as public institutions they have a responsibility to uphold education as a means to advancing social welfare. But the growing need to establish a university in the global market undermines this. Can market-driven education sustain itself as a “public good”? Do we identify the practitioners’ role as “learners” or “consumers”?

The issue at stake is the philosophical reconceptualization of the “public” pressed by the neoliberal paradigm of education. The debate around the role of public universities is not rooted in the change of ownership; instead it stems from the change in the meaning of public space, public role, values, and motivations. The uniqueness of the public sphere is the equality between its members, the criticality of its discourse, its inclusiveness of all opinions, and its legal association with the domain of constitutional rights and citizenship. Thus, the social welfare state ensures access to education, water, roads, or employment as part of a public life secured by public institutions.

In the new conceptualization, the appeal to merge all differences between “public” and “private” universities to create a “global university” diminishes the values of equality, critical thinking, and accessibility that were carved out by the historical trajectories of nations and democracies. The adoption of market-driven academic and administrative mandates by public universities in India hollows out the public sphere. In conclusion, while universities may have succeeded in competing globally by honoring the “global” parameters of what is being seen as “quality education,” the neglect of specific power politics in different contexts and rendering the “public” empty of its democratic content lead to emptying out the essence of public universities. ■

Direct all correspondence to Niharika Jaiswal <niharika.27.j@gmail.com>

> Global Dialogue's

New and Not-So-New Editorial Team

Starting with this issue, *Global Dialogue's* editorship has changed. Brigitte Aulenbacher and Klaus Dörre have taken over the editing duties from Michael Burawoy who created this magazine with enthusiasm. Prepared by a team of collaborators from many countries and translated into seventeen languages, *Global Dialogue* publishes contributions from sociologists from all over the world for a global academic and non-academic audience. It is an honor and a challenge to join such a wide network of authors, translators, and supporters. The new and not-so-new team strives to strengthen this important magazine connecting so many sociologists all over the globe.

Brigitte Aulenbacher is a Professor of Sociology, chairs the Department for the Theory of Society and Social Analyses at the Johannes Kepler University in Linz, Austria, and as vice-chair of the Local Organizing Committee co-organized the Third ISA Forum of Sociology in Vienna in 2016. Her fields of research include sociological theory, gender and intersectionality studies, and sociology of work and care, with current empirical studies on 24-hour care and the marketization of universities.

Klaus Dörre is a Professor of Sociology at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, Germany, where he chairs the Department of Labor, Industrial and Economic Sociology. His areas of research include the theory of capitalism, finance capitalism, flexible and precarious employment, labor relations and strategic unionism, among others. He is currently the co-director (together with Hartmut Rosa) of the Research Group on Post-Growth Societies, funded by the German Research Foundation.

Incoming editors are supported by a new associate editor, Aparna Sundar, as well as two assistant editors, Johanna Grubner and Christine Schickert. **Aparna Sundar** received her PhD in Political Science from the University of Toronto, Canada; she has worked as Assistant Professor at Ryerson University in Toronto and until 2016 as Associate Professor at Azim Premji University in Bangalore, India, where she is still a member of the Visiting Faculty. **Johanna Grubner** holds a master's degree in Sociology. She is a researcher at the Johannes Kepler University in Linz, Austria, and her fields of research include feminist theory and gender studies with a focus on the body and qualitative methods. Her PhD project focusses on gender equality in universities.



| Brigitte Aulenbacher.



| Klaus Dörre.



| Christine Schickert.



| Johanna Grubner.



| Aparna Sundar.



| Lola Busuttil.



| August Bagà (aka Arbu).



Christine Schickert holds an MA in American Studies with a minor in Sociology. She works as the administrative director of the Research Group on Post-Growth Societies at the Department of Sociology of the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, Germany.

Fortunately, *Global Dialogue* can also rely on long-time collaborators: Based in Barcelona, Spain, *Global Dialogue*'s managing editors **Lola Busuttil** and **August Bagà** (aka Arbu) will continue their work, as will also do the regional editors and translation teams across the globe. Lola and Arbu started their collaboration with Michael since the very first issue launched in 2010. A professional translator and editor, Lola oversees the overall quality of each issue. A professional graphic designer and illustrator, Arbu is responsible for the design of *Global Dialogue*.

While all regional editors and translation teams will continue their collaboration with this new and not-so-new team, Michael will remain as a very supportive consultant, guaranteeing a smooth transition and helping to ensure *Global Dialogue*'s success into the future. Last but not least, we will continue the fruitful collaboration with

the ISA's Publication Committee and, as consultant editors, with the members of the Executive Committee, as well as ISA Executive Secretary Izabela Barlinska and her team in Madrid, whose engagement makes an endeavor like *Global Dialogue* possible.

Working as an editorial team with seven people based in four different countries and collaborating with the regional editors and translation teams of students, young scholars, and senior scientists from more than seventeen countries is both a challenge and an exciting venture. It allows us to deal with *Global Dialogue* as a means of giving a voice to a broad variety of sociological perspectives as well as presenting local viewpoints; providing the space for lively controversies and productive debates over social and scientific developments; offering a platform for both established and young scholars alike; and thereby organizing a global network of sociologists writing about and discussing the pressing issues of our time.

As a team, we very much look forward to getting in touch with all of you who are interested in a common global dialogue. ■