The ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions

Edited by
Sujata Patel

The ISA
Handbook of

Diverse Sociological Traditions

The ISA
Handbook of

Diverse Sociological Traditions

Edited by

Sujata Patel

$SAGE

First published 2010

Contents

Figures and Tables

Preface and Acknowledgements

The idea of this *Handbook* emerged at a conference organized by the International Sociological Association (ISA) for various representatives of National Associations in August 2005 at Miami. Titled *Local, Regional, and Global Sociologies: Contexts, Perspectives, and Practices,* this was the first conference of the Council of National Associations after ISA installed a new Vice-President for National Associations, thereby acceding to the request to include voices of national traditions together with those of Research Committees – the other constituent of ISA. Some of the papers presented at this conference, together with new additional ones, are incorporated in this volume. I would like to thank Douglas Kincaid, Florida International University, University of Miami, American Sociological Association and ISA for organizational and financial help in making this conference a success. Since then, ISA and its officials have supported this project in many different ways and I thank them all.

For a long time, sociologists have debated the nature and scope of international sociology and have found it difficult to come to a consensus on this issue. Contemporary globalization has revived this debate and has placed challenges to frame ways to construct a sociology that can be both international and contain non-dominant universals. This *Handbook* hopes that it can continue the debate on the discussion and highlight the many practices that need to be reflected upon in this new context.

This *Handbook* does not purport to be a handbook of national sociologies. Rather, it presents diverse but universal voices that structure sociological thinking and elaborates the unique characteristics of the national and/or regional sociologies that need to be taken into account in discussing international sociology in the globalizing world. It asserts that every interpretation of this collective international experience of practicing sociology is equally privileged and legitimate.

Every handbook is difficult to arrange and assemble. But this one was particularly difficult because there was a desire to include many traditions whose experiences have not been documented in recent times. Fifteen of the twenty-nine papers have been written by authors whose first language is not English and who do not debate sociological ideas in this language. That we have been able to incorporate these after reconstructing the papers testifies to the need to transcend barriers of communication for practicing international sociology, and to the richness that one can expect once we move out from narrow horizons of language, culture and normative assertions. If this *Handbook* has been able to achieve this, it is also because of the commitment of the contributors, colleagues and friends – almost one hundred in number – who have helped in executing this project in various ways. Some have suggested names of authors, others have spent enumerable hours in reviewing and helping to modify the papers; yet others have supported the project by discussing how to 'think out' the principles of international sociology for a global audience. I would like to thank all of them for helping to realize this project. In addition,

About the Contributors

Syed Farid Alatas is Head of the Department of Malay Studies and Associate Professor of Sociology at the National University of Singapore. He obtained his PhD in Sociology from the Johns Hopkins University in 1991. His books include *Democracy and Authoritarianism: The Rise of the Post-Colonial State in Indonesia and Malaysia* (Macmillan, 1997) and *Alternative Discourse in Asian Social Science: Responses to Eurocentrism* (Sage, 2006). Among his recent articles are 'From Jami'ah to University: Multiculturalism and Christian–Muslim Dialogue', *Current Sociology* 2006, and 'The Historical Sociology of Muslim Societies: Khaldunian Application', *International Sociology* 2007.

Victor Azarya is Rose Isaacs Professor Emeritus of Sociology and a Fellow of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is also former President of the Israeli Sociological Society. He has published extensively on civil–military relations in Israel, Christian communities in Jerusalem, state–society relations in Africa, and globalization and marginality in contemporary societies. His publications appeared in such places as the University of Chicago Press, the University of California Press, Sage Publications, Westview, Lynne Rienner, Frank Cass, Ashgate, E.J. Brill, Curzon, Karthala as well as in leading journals of the field. As head of the professional association of Israeli sociologists from 2003–06 he also investigated the academic and professional status of sociology in Israeli society. The present chapter is the outcome of this recent work.

Fernanda Beigel is Adjunct Researcher at CONICET, and Director of PhD in Social Sciences at the National University of Cuyo (Mendoza, Argentina). She has published four books and has been awarded with Argentinian 'Bernardo Houssay' Scientific Prize in 2003. Among her recent articles are 'Life, death and resurrection of Dependency Analysis' (CLACSO International Contest of Essay, 2006), and 'The Chilean FLACSO and the regionalization of Latin American social sciences (1957-1973)', Revista Mexicana de Sociología, 2009. She is Head of a research team working on a comparison between Argentina and Chile's academic field of social sciences between 1957 and 1980 and is currently finishing a postdoctorate thesis at the Centre de Sociologie Européenne (EHESS, Paris).

Pepka Boyadjieva is a Professor at the Institute of Sociology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. In 1980 she received her PhD in Sociology of Education and gained the title Doctor of Sciences in 1999. Boyadjieva has been lecturing at the University of Sofia and the New Bulgarian University. She was awarded the Andrew Mellon Fellowship twice. In 2007, she was selected for Fulbright's New Century Scholar Program. Her research interests pertain to different models of relationship between university and society; education, science and modernization; and lifelong learning. Boyadjieva has published seven books and about 50 articles.

Roberto Briceño-León is a Professor of Sociology at the Central University of Venezuela and Director of the Social Science Laboratory (LACSO). He is coordinator of the 'Violence and Society Research Group' in the Latin American Council of Social Sciences and a member of the World Health Organization's Social, Economical and Behavioral Research Steering Committee. He served on the International Sociological Association (ISA) Executive Committee from 1994–98 and 1998–2000, and has been President of the Venezuelan Sociological Association and Global Secretary of the International Forum for Social Science and Health. He has published 18 books and more than 150 articles.

Michael Burawoy teaches sociology at the University of California, Berkeley. He is Vice-President of the International Sociological Association (ISA) for National Associations. After being an ethnographer of industrial work in different regions of the world, he has become an ethnographer of world sociologies.

Craig Calhoun is President of the Social Science Research Council. He is also University Professor of the Social Sciences at New York University where he directs the new Institute for Public Knowledge. Calhoun's most recent book is Nations Matter: Culture, History, and the Cosmopolitan Dream (Routledge 2007). He edited Sociology in America (Chicago 2007) on the occasion of the American Sociological Association Centennial. Knowledge Matters: The Public Mission of the University (edited with Diana Rhoten, Columbia University Press) is forthcoming.

Louis Chauvel (PhD in Sociology 1997 at the Université de Lille) is Professor of Sociology at Sciences-Po, Paris, and member of the Institute Universitaire de France. Having specialized in the comparative sociology of inequality and of generational changes (*Le Destin des Générations, Structures Sociale et Cohortes en France au XXe siècle* Presses universitaires de France, 1998 and 2002), in 2006, he renewed the French debate on middle-class dynamics with his book *Les Classes Moyennes à la Derive* (The Middle Classes Adrift) (Seuil, 2006). Author of 50 academic papers, he is involved also in many European and international research networks and was General Secretary of the European Sociological Association from 2005–07.

Raewyn Connell is University Professor at the University of Sydney, a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, and one of Australia's leading social scientists. Her most recent book is *Southern Theory* (Polity, 2007), a study of social thought beyond the global metropole. Her other books include *Masculinities* (Polity, 2005); *Making the Difference* (Allen & Unwin, 1982); *Schools and Social Justice* (Temple, 1993); *Ruling Class, Ruling Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1977); and *Gender and Power* (Polity, 1987). She has taught at several universities in Australia and the United States, in departments of sociology, political science, and education. A long-term participant in the labour movement and in peace movements, Raewyn has tried to make social science relevant to social justice. Current projects concern corporate masculinities, gender systems, intellectual labour, and the social dimensions of neoliberalism.

Charles Crothers is Professor of Sociology, Auckland University of Technology. He was previously Chair of Sociology at the University of Natal, Durban, with previous periods in the Departments of Sociology at the University of Auckland and Victoria University of Wellington, and the New Zealand Ministry of Works and Development. His interests lie particularly in the theory of social structure, its history and the sociology of its production, and its applicability in the analysis of settler societies, such as New Zealand and South Africa. Related writing is on Robert K. Merton and recent trends and traditions in sociology.

Ann Denis is Professor of Sociology in the Département de Sociologie et Anthropologie, Université d'Ottawa, Canada. Presently a member of the Executive Committee of ISA (2006–10), she was its Vice-President for Research (2002–06), and is an active member of Research Committees 5 and 32. Current and recent research interests include the effect of state policies on women (and their work) in the Commonwealth Caribbean and among immigrants in Canada; the use of the internet by minority young people in Barbados and francophone Ontario; and the effects of society-centred educational practices on women in engineering.

Troy Duster is Professor of Sociology at New York University, Chancellor's Professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and a past President of the American Sociological Association.

Tom Dwyer is Associate Professor at the Sociology Department of the University of Campinas (UNICAMP) in São Paulo state, and researcher in the Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq). He is President of the Brazilian Sociological Society (2005–09). Among his books are 'Life and Death at Work' (New York and London, Plenum, 1991).

Guo Yuhua is a Professor in the Department of Sociology, Tsinghua University. She has a PhD from Beijing Normal University (1990). She researches on the following: peasants' oral history, social memory, and social justice problems in the process of social transformation. Her recent publications include 'Psychological Collectivization: Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture in Jicun Village, Northern Shaanxi, as in the Memory of the Women', *Social Sciences in China,* Winter, 2003; 'Life Cycle and Social Security: A Sociological Exploration into the Life Course of Laid-off and Unemployed Workers', *Social Sciences in China,* 2005.

Sari Hanafi, a sociologist with a PhD from EHESS-Paris (1994), is an Associate Professor at the American University at Beirut and former Director of Palestinian Refugee and Diaspora Centre, Shaml. He is the author of numerous journal articles and book chapters on economic sociology and the network analysis of the Palestinian diaspora; relationships between diaspora and the centre; political sociology and sociology of migration (mainly about Palestinian refugees); sociology of the new actors in international relations (NGOs and international NGOs). Among his books are *Here and Their: Toward a Deconstruction of the Relationship Palestinian Diaspora from Social and Political Perspective* (2001 [Arabic]); *Between Two Worlds: Palestinian Businessmen in the Diaspora and the Construction of a Palestinian Entity* (1997 [Arabic and French]); *La Syrie des ingénieurs. Perspective comparée avec l'Egypte* (1997). He is editing three books on Arab NGOs (2002, 2004) and *Palestinian Sociology of Return* (forthcoming). His latest book (with Linda Taber) is *The Emergence of Palestinian Globalized Elite. Donors, International Organizations and Local NGOs* (Ramallah: Institute of Jerusalem Studies and Muwatin, 2005 [English] and [Arabic]).

Mike F. Keen is Professor of Sociology at Indiana University South Bend. He is author of 'Stalking Sociologists: J. Edgar Hoover's FBI Surveillance of American Sociology', winner of the North Central Sociological Association's 2000 Outstanding Contributions to Scholarship Award. He is co-editor with Janusz Mucha of a trilogy on the recent history of sociology in Central and Eastern Europe, the final volume of which is *Autobiographies of Transformation. Lives in Central and Eastern Europe* (Routledge, 2006).

Ching Kwan Lee is a Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Los Angeles. She is author of *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt* (UC Press,

2007) and *Gender and the South China Miracle: Two Worlds of Factory Women* (UC Press, 1998). Her edited volumes include: *Reclaiming Chinese Society* (Routledge, forthcoming, with Youtien Hsing); *Re-envisioning the Chinese Revolution: Politics and Poetics of Collective Memories in Reform China* (with Guobin Yang) (Woodrow Wilson Press and Stanford University Press, 2007); and *Working in China: Ethnographies of Labor and Workplace Transformation* (Routledge, 2007).

Ali Akbar Mahdi is Professor of Sociology at Ohio Wesleyan University. His current research interests include women and students in Iranian civil society and Iranian immigrants in the United States. He has co-authored two books, *Culture and Customs of Iran* (Greenwood Press, 2006), and *Sociology in Iran* (Jahan Book Co., 1992). He is the author of *Teen Life in the Middle East* (Greenwood Press, 2003); *Iranian Culture, Civil Society, and Concern for Democracy*; and *Sociology of Iranian Family* as well as numerous articles and reviews on topics ranging from the sociology of knowledge to the political economy of Iran and Islam.

Janusz Mucha teaches sociology and social anthropology at AGH University of Science and Technology in Cracow, Poland. His main areas of interest are sociological and anthropological theory, minority relations, ethnicity, and Central and Eastern Europe. He is co-editor with Mike Keen of a trilogy on the recent history of sociology in Central and Eastern Europe, the final volume of which is *Autobiographies of Transformation. Lives in Central and Eastern Europe* (Routledge, 2006).

Dénes Némedi is a Professor at Eötvös University, Budapest, Hungary. His main research interests are classical and modern social theory. Some of his relevant publications are 'A Change in Ideas: Collective Consciousness, Morphology and Collective Representations', in W.S.F. Pickering (ed.) *Durkheim and Representations*, (Routledge, 2000); 'Nation, Europe, NATO', in A. Kovács and R. Wodak (eds) *NATO, Neutrality and National Identity: The Case of Austria and Hungary*, (Böhlau Verlag, 2003); 'The Kabyle Paradigm', *Review of Sociology* (Budapest) 2005; and *Klasszikus Szociológia* (Classical Sociology) *1890–1945* (Napvilág, 2005).

Jean-Bernard Ouedraogo is Professor of Sociology and Director of Groupe de Recherche sur les Local Initiatives (GRIL) at the University of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. He has written extensively on African Sociology, inter alia, *Violences et Communautés en Afrique Noire* (L'Harmattan, Logiques Sociales, 1997); *Arts Photographiques en Afrique. Technique et Esthétique dans la Photographie de Studio au Burkina Faso* (L'Harmattan, Logiques Sociales, 2003). He was editor for the French version of Nobert Elias, *Art Africain* (Kimé, 2002), and has served as Deputy Executive Secretary of CODESRIA 2002–08.

Sujata Patel is Professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad. She specializes in the areas of social theory, political sociology, and urban sociology. She has written on the themes of history of sociology, class formation and conflicts, caste and reservation, gender construction, communalism and the city formation in India. She is the series editor of *Studies in Contemporary Society* (Oxford) and *Cities and the Urban Imperative* (Routledge). She is currently writing a book titled *Framing Society. The Challenges to Indian Sociology,* and has edited a forthcoming publication titled, *Doing Sociology in India: Genealogies, Locations and Practices* (Oxford). She is also author of *The Making of Industrial Relations* (Oxford, 1987) and co-editor of five books, three of them on Bombay: *Bombay: Metaphor of Modern India* (Oxford, 1995); *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture* (Oxford, 1995); *Bombay*

and Mumbai: The City in Transition (Oxford, 2003); *Thinking Social Science in India* (Sage, 2002); *Urban Studies* (Oxford, 2006). She was Vice-President of the International Sociological Association (ISA) for National Associations (2002–06) and is corresponding editor of the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Studies*.

Diego Ezequiel Pereyra (PhD, University of Sussex in Brighton) is a Research Assistant funded by CONICET at the Instituto Gino Germani, University of Buenos Aires, and Director of the Working Group in History of Sociology, Professional Council of Sociology, Buenos Aires. He is interested in the history of sociology and the social sciences, the development of sociological theory, and the professional role of sociologists in Latin America. His doctoral research was on the role of international networks in the institutionalization of sociology in Argentina (1940–63).

Emma Porio is Professor and was Chair (1997–2002), Department of Sociology and Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University. She chairs the Technical Panel for Sociology–Anthropology, Commission on Higher Education of the Philippines; member, Executive Committee, International Sociological Association (ISA), and of the Board of Trustees of the Global Development Network (GDN). She was President of the Philippine Sociological Society (1999–2001) and Chair of the Philippine Social Science Council, Governing Council (2003–06). Among her books are: *Partnership with the Poor* (National Economic and Development Authority, 1990); *Pathways to Decentralization*; and *Urban Governance and Poverty Alleviation in Southeast Asia* (Ateneo de Manila University, 1997).

Maria Stela Grossi Porto is Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Brasilia (UnB) in Brazil and researcher for the Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq). She was President of the Brazilian Sociological Society (2003–05).

Karl-Siegbert Rehberg is Professor for Sociological Theory, History of Sociology and Sociology of Culture at the Dresden University of Technology since 1992. President of the German Sociology Association (DGS) 2003–07. Born 1943; studied sociology and political science in Cologne and Aachen; awarded PhD in 1973. Visiting Chair at the Rijksuniverstiteit te Leiden, 1991–92; visiting professor at the universities in Trent, Rome, Naples, Basle, Lausanne, and the École Pratiques des Hautes Études in Paris. In 1992, he was awarded the Friedrich-Wilhelm Award from Aachen University (RWTH). His research focuses on sociological theory (especially theory of institutions), philosophical anthropology, and sociology of culture, especially that of art, e.g. collections, museums, and arts in the GDR. He has edited Soziale Ungleichheit, kulturelle Unterschiede. Verhandlungen des 32. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in München 2004 (Social Inequality, Cultural Differences. Proceedings of the 32nd Congress of the German Sociological Association Munich 2004) (Campus, 2006), and Die Natur der Gesellschaft. Verhandlungen des 33. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Kassel 2006 (Nature and Society Proceedings of the 33nd Congress of the German Sociological Association Kassel 2004) (Campus, 2008).

Ebrima Sall is the Executive Secretary of Dakar-based Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, CODESRIA. Prior to this, he was a Senior Programme Officer and Head of Research at CODESRIA. He has also held senior positions in a number of other institutions, including Senior Fellow at the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, Sweden, where he coordinated a research programme on Post-conflict Transition in Africa (2001–04). His most recent

publications include: Citizenship and Political Violence in Cote d'Ivoire (co-edited with Jean-Bernard Ouedraogo) (CODESRIA, 2008); and 'The Social Sciences in Africa: Trends, Issues, Capacities and Constraints' (SSRC, Working Paper Series 8, 2002). He has guest-edited issues of the *African Sociological Review* and the *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*.

John Scott is Professor of Sociology at the University of Plymouth and previously taught at the Universities of Essex, Leicester and Strathclyde. He works mainly in the areas of economic sociology, social stratification, social network analysis and social theory. His recent publications include *Social Theory: Central Issues in Sociology* (Sage, 2006); *Sociology* (with James Fulcher, 3rd edn, 2006); *Power* (Polity Press, 2001). He has edited *Models and Methods in Social Network Analysis* (with P. Carrington and S. Wasserman, Cambridge University Press, 2005); *Sociology: The Key Concepts* (Routledge, 2006); *Fifty Key Sociologists: The Formative Theorists* and *Fifty Key Sociologists: The Contemporary Theorists* (Routledge, 2007).

Shen Yuan is a Professor and Deputy Director in the Department of Sociology, Tsinghua University, and holds a PhD (1998) from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He researches on labour studies, urban movements, and social transformation in China. His recent publications include 'Naissance d'un Marche etudes rurales' 2002, Paris; 'Social Transformation and the Reformation of Working Class', *Sociological Studies* 2006 'Production of Society', *Society* 2007.

Piotr Sztompka is a Professor of Theoretical Sociology at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. He is internationally known for his books: *System and Function* (Academic Press, 1974); *Sociological Dilemmas* (Academic Press, 1979); *Society in Action* (Polity, 1991); *The Sociology of Social Change* (Blackwell, 1993); *Trust* (Cambridge University Press, 1999); *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (co-authored) (2006), as well as biographical publications on his teacher, Robert K. Merton. His articles were published in fourteen languages. Member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Academia Europaea and American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he also served from 2002–06 as an elected President of the International Sociological Association (ISA).

Anália Cardoso Torres has a PhD in Sociology, and is a Professor at the Department of Sociology of ISCTE and a researcher at CIES/ISCTE in Lisbon. She coordinates masters degrees in Family Sociology and Gender, research on family, gender, marriage, divorce, relations between work and family, childcare and child protection, poverty and drug addition, within national and international contexts. She is a member of several international research networks, and the first or only author of seven books. Her most recent publication in English is 'Time Use, Work Life Options and Preferences over the Life Course in Europe' (2007). She was President of the Portuguese Sociological Association (2002–06) and is a member of the Executive Committee of the European Sociological Association (2005–09).

Ming-Chang Tsai received his PhD from the State University of New York at Stony Brook. He is currently Professor of Sociology and Dean of College of Social Sciences, National Taipei University. He was President of the Taiwanese Sociological Association (2006–07). During 2003–04, he was editor of the *Taiwanese Journal of Sociology*, the official journal of the Association; and during 2005–07, editor of the *Journal of Taiwan Studies*. His recent publications include articles in the *American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Social Indicators Research*, and *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*.

Tina Uys is currently Professor of Sociology and Chair of the department at the University of Johannesburg. She has published on whistleblowing, group dynamics, HIV/Aids, South African sociology and developments in higher education. She is a past President of the South African Sociological Association (SASA) and of the International Sociological Association's (ISA) Research Committee on Social Psychology (RC42). She is a member of the Executive Committee of the ISA (2006–10).

Jonathan VanAntwerpen is a Research Fellow at the Social Science Research Council and a Visiting Scholar at New York University's Institute for Public Knowledge. He is author of "Resisting Sociology's Seductive Name: Frederick J. Teggart and Sociology at Berkeley" in *Diverse Histories of American Sociology*, edited by Anthony J. Blasi (Brill, 2005), co-author (with Craig Calhoun) of "Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and Hierarchy: 'Mainstream' Sociology and its Challengers," in *Sociology in America* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), co-editor (with Michael Burawoy) of an online volume entitled *Producing Public Sociology*, and founding editor of The Immanent Frame, an SSRC blog on secularism, religion, and the public sphere.

Koto Yousuke is a Professor, Faculty of Sociology, Kwansei Gakuin University in Japan, and also Professor Emeritus at Osaka University in Japan. His previous books include: *A Study on Max Weber's Sociological Theory* (1977); *Sociological Inquiry and Imagination* (1991); and *Sociology of Modernity* (2006). The focus of his research moved from a sociological study of Max Weber and Talcott Parsons, through a theoretical reconstruction of how we know society, to making theoretical and empirical investigations about the interrelation between postmodernization and globalization, from the viewpoint of Japanese experiences. He is currently interested in the rise and fall of 'the social' in western sociological thought during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Elena Zdravomyslova is a Professor at the European University of St. Petersburg, and Project Coordinator at CISR. She writes on gender transformation in Russia, the sociology of care and the sociology of biographies. Her publications include: *Russian Gender Order: A Sociological Approach* (St. Petersburg, EUSP, 2007, co-authored); *Biographical Research in Eastern Europe. Altered Lives and Broken Biographies* (Ashgate, 2003, co-authored); 'The Late Soviet Informal Public Realm, Social Networks and Trust' (edited by H. Schrader) *Trust and Social Transformation* (Muenster, LIT Verlag, 2004, co-authored).

Introduction: Diversities of Sociological Traditions

Sujata Patel

Since the seventies and particularly after the nineties the dynamics of the world have changed. Global integration has promoted a free flow of ideas, information and knowledge, goods, services, finance, technology and even diseases, drugs and arms. At one level the world has contracted. It has opened up possibilities of diverse kinds of transborder flows and movements: that of capital, labour and communication together with interdependence of finances, and has widened the arenas of likely projects of cooperation. But it has also created intense conflicts and increased militarization.

At another level, the contexts of the flow of capital and labour have changed; if these have encouraged voluntary migration, they have also encouraged human trafficking, displacement of populations and the making of refugees. Space is being reconstituted as sociabilities criss-cross within and between localities, regions, nation-states and global territories, in tune with the changing nature of work and enterprise. Each of these locations has become a significant site of scrutiny and analysis as sociabilities are being constituted within multiple locations.

Inequalities and hierarchies are being differently organized even though we all live in one global capitalist world with a dominant form of modernity. Lack of access to livelihoods, infrastructure and political citizenship now blends with exclusions relating to cultural and group identity in distinct spatial locations. This process is and has challenged the constitution of the agency of actors and groups of actors.

Today, the globe is awash with differential forms of collective and violent interventions, concurrently asserting diverse representations of cultural identities, together with livelihood deprivations as the defining characteristics of these collectivities. Fluidity of identities and its continuous expression in different manifestations demands a fresh perspective to assess and examine the world; it needs to be perceived through many prisms.

Are sociology and sociologists across the world ready to take the challenge that contemporary times pose for us? What kind of resources do they have to tackle the demands presented by contemporary dynamics? In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Europeans and later the Americans took up the

challenge to assess societal changes and evolve new perspectives. Since then, this legacy has been interrogated from distinct locations as the discipline has spread across the world. This inheritance has been assessed to be dominant – both over theories and practices – and explored as being uneven in its spread and distribution within nation-states and regions.

Each spatial location has evolved specific perspectives and resources to define its sociological knowledge and has institutionalized these in terms of its material and political capital. The European and the American emanated as reflections of local and *provincial* processes (Chakrabarty, 2000) and have been exported as universal processes elsewhere; some have become adaptations of imported external and/or dominant perspectives and yet others have evolved a critique of these dominant universal paradigms. The range of these perspectives and resources is extremely wide. Can these ideas, scholarships and practices of sociological knowledge help us to assess today's challenges?

The goal of this Handbook is to present and debate the various ways in which power has shaped and continues to shape the practices of sociological knowledge across the world. This is not a Handbook of national sociologies. There is also no attempt to make an exhaustive examination of sociological knowledge in all nation-states. Its objective is to create discussion on how to assess all aspects of the discipline organized and institutionalized across the globe: ideas and theories; scholars and scholarship; practices and traditions; and ruptures and continuities, through a globalizing perspective that examines the relationship between sociological knowledge and power.

It debates the processes that structure these in different nation-states organized within five different regions. It presents diverse ways of producing and reproducing sociological knowledge, that is, as theories, research and teaching practices in various nation-states, asserting that each of these interpretations of this collective experience is equally privileged and legitimate.

Together, these diversities cannot be placed in a single line and considered equal and neither is any one of these superior or inferior. Collectively, they are and remain both diverse and universal sociological traditions, because they present distinct and different perspectives to assess their own histories of sociological theories and practices. Each of these traditions has also evolved its own assessment of its relationship with other traditions, and the accumulation of sociological knowledge and power. In this sense these perspectives of tradition continue to remain and exist as being diverse and comparative.

An earlier publication of essays on national sociological traditions had defined traditions as being '. . . first, social relations associating the different aspects of sociology (knowledge complex, research activity and social institution) and its external social milieu; and second, the internal social relations in science organization itself' (Genov, 1989: 2).

Genov's text considered three issues as being particularly significant in defining national sociological traditions: technological development of research orientation; economic organization of society; and political factors. While recognizing differences between traditions of sociological theorizations, Genov also suggested that weak traditions remain locked in an analysis of 'given national and social context' while strong national traditions make major contributions to world sociology (Genov, 1989: 16).

This distinction between weak and strong is part of a debate within strands of European and American sociology regarding the necessity of crafting uniform sociological knowledge and has become once more significant in the context of a discussion on contemporary processes of globalization. Recently, Jurgen Habermas and Ulrich Beck have framed a new agenda for social theory by arguing for a need to evolve 'post-national' sociologies (Habermas, 2001) and trans-national social theory to embrace the new cosmopolitanism being ushered in by contemporary globalization (Beck, 2006).

Beck in particular advocates a need to move beyond 'methodological nationalism' – the study of sociology and social sciences through the prism of nation-states – and, as he says, 'we live and act in self-enclosed spaces of national states and their respective national societies' (Beck, 2000: 20). He suggests that today's task implies the invention of a new methodology which opens up the theoretical and research perspectives of the social sciences to trans-national interdependencies and connections of society which cannot be contained in perspectives that are restricted within the nation-state (Beck, 2006).

Within Europe and the USA, a discussion of sociological traditions has been generally restricted to debate regarding social theories, the development of a culture of professionalization and an affirmation of universalization of its perspectives and practices. However this universalization has been questioned since the late sixties as a consequence of the growth of protest movements, the reconstitution of Marxist theory and the interrogation of dominant positions of social theory from feminist and environmentalist perspectives, and by new interventions in identity theory. These 'silences' opened up the debate on European and American sociological knowledge to an assessment of its relationship with power from a non-elite and subaltern perspective.

By the late eighties, there was recognition that European and American social theory incorporated a multiplicity and diversity of approaches with no agreement regarding the fundamentals of what constitutes social theory (Giddens and Turner, 1987) and that there was a need for '. . . the explicit search for (new) models of inquiry and conceptual frames which can express the uniqueness of cultures' (Albrow, 1987: 9). Additionally, there was a demand for sociology to 'open' itself to incorporate the challenges from interdisciplinary social sciences such as gender studies, race and ethnicity studies, environment studies and cultural studies, along with trends incorporating new perspectives within Marxism.

However, these discussions remained limited to an assessment of theories (and did not particularly discuss practices), an assessment that accepted diversities of perspectives but postulated the imperative of a uniform culture of science, limiting its discussions within itself rather than evaluating its organic relationship with the 'other', that is, it ignored the impact of global distribution of power on the production and reproduction of conservative, radical and reflexive sociological knowledge across the world. As a result, scholars in the rest of the world have argued that the universalization of European and American perspectives (what Alatas (1974) calls the 'captive mind'), provided one grand vision and a 'truth' of assessing changes taking place in the world (Wallerstein, 2006).

From the forties to seventies, as many nations of the world became states, sociologists in these countries advocated the use of indigenous philosophies, epistemologies and methodologies to conceptualize, understand and examine 'local' and national cultures and structures (Mukerjee, 1955; Mukerji, 1958; Alatas, 1974; Akiwowo, 1989, 1990). This perspective also affirmed the need for the nation-state to remain a critical locale for the classification and assessment of a range of sociological practices including social theories.

Indigenous positions have suggested that European and American perspectives were ethnocentric, and obfuscated the analysis of specific contexts and processes, refracted and misrepresented and simultaneously defined one particular way of evaluating them (Alatas, 1974; Mukerji and Sengupta, 2004). This was not only true of conservative and positivist theories but also radical theories, such as Marxism, and those representing subaltern and excluded voices, such as feminism (Mohanty, 1988; Mani, 1990) and environmentalism. As these were exported to other countries, they too have become dominant universal models.

Sociologists also argued that such domination organized an array of sociological practices, including those that dealt with teaching,

such as import of syllabi and textbooks, and research (what to study, how to study and what is considered best practice in research, including the evaluation of research projects and the protocols of writing and presenting empirical and theoretical articles in journals) (Alatas, 1974). Also, these issues together with a discussion on who funds research and who defines its agenda opened up for debate the way social theory and its practices are embedded in the uneven distribution of global power – an issue of significance in the context of contemporary globalization.

In recent interventions, Latin American dependency theorists have reiterated this position, arguing that this universalization is part of the geopolitics of knowledge, and have suggested that there is a need to examine sociological knowledge as a discourse of power, particularly in the context of contemporary developments. They argue that both classical and contemporary European theories, and now American social theory, represent a discourse on power. They contend that it is premised on assessing itself, the 'I' (the West), rather than the 'other' (the rest of the world), which was and remains the object of its control, even after the formal demise of colonialism and imperialism. Universalism implies legitimating the knowledge of the 'I' regarding 'society' (Mignolo, 2002).

European and American social theories, they argue, incorporate a set of axioms to frame knowledge of society and consist of several features, which come together in terms of binaries to become a matrix of power and a principle and strategy of control and domination. These scholars contend that this discourse has universalized the precepts of European and American modernity (as part of the imperialist project) disallowing legitimacy for new ways of thinking, of assessing processes in the rest of the world and unearthing its tradition(s) of philosophies and epistemologies together with its specific practices. They argue for a need to study not only sociological theories but the entire range of practices of production and reproduction of sociological knowledge within nation-states and regions. These have to be examined in terms of their organic link with the dominant discourse, with each of such reflections indicating diverse universal ways of understanding these symbiotic linkages (Quijano, 2000; Lander, 2002; Mignolo, 2002).

Critical and reflexive sociology has been the first to initiate a discussion on the symbiotic relationship between knowledge and power, including its own. This question becomes significant because globalization is also reorganizing knowledge and its institutions in new and seminal ways. Can we delineate the way this process is affecting the nature of sociological knowledge? How is power and domination in its complex, colonial, neocolonial, patriarchal, discursive and material manifestations affecting epistemology, its claim to truth and its strategies of representation? Whose ideas and perspectives is it reflecting when it enumerates the nature and content of consequences of globalization? What is the relationship between national, regional and global knowledge?

Given that the relationship between knowledge and power may be structured in distinct ways across the world and within nation-states, it is argued in this Handbook that there is a need to assess sociological traditions at three levels. First, while the papers agree that the disciplinary traditions need to be studied from multiple spatial locations: within localities, within nation-states, within regions and the globe, they assert that the nation-state is a key element in fashioning the traditions of the discipline. The nation-state defines sociological traditions in many ways.

It does so directly. Whether it is democratic, authoritarian, fascist, socialist or theocratic, plays a critical role in legitimizing the needs of the discipline and framing its function for society. The papers indicate that democracies have generally encouraged the teaching of sociology; this is not so for states that have propagated fascism, communism, theocracy, apartheid and military dictatorships. These have instead barred it and/or controlled its teaching.

In countries where the subject is not proscribed, the nation-state can intervene in a myriad of ways including when private institutions play a direct role. This it does by determining the content of knowledge to be transmitted to learners, and through a gamut of policies and regulations on higher education which both encourage and constrain the development of the discipline. These policies determine the protocols and practices of teaching and learning processes, establishment and practices of research within research institutes, distribution of grants for research, language of reflection, organization of the profession and definitions of scholars and scholarship.

Second, traditions need to be discussed in terms of their sociological moorings in distinct philosophies, epistemologies, and theoretical frames, cultures of science and languages of reflection. Papers in this Handbook have analysed how at various points of time in the history of the discipline, new perspectives on understanding social life have emerged by questioning dominant universalized and colonized sociological ideas. Papers present arguments of how the discipline has evolved to incorporate the subaltern voices and use these voices in order to understand, assess and comprehend evolving sociabilities. They also highlight how external and dominant processes, together with colonialism and neocolonialism, have reframed knowledge, and assert a need to excavate new endogenous and/or autonomous ways of thinking and of practising sociology.

Third, the intellectual moorings of sociological practices are extensive. The papers discuss the diverse and comparative sites of knowledge production and its transmission. These range from campaigns, movements and advocacies; classrooms and departments; syllabi formulations and protocols of evaluating journal articles and books. These involve activists, scholars and communities in assessing, reflecting and elucidating immediate events and issues that intervene to define the research process together with organizing and systematizing knowledge

of the discipline in long-term institutionalized procedures for organizing the teaching process.

The papers in the Handbook discuss the nature and structure of sociological traditions in different nation-states. These are examined in terms of five spatial regions, classified according to the historically constructed global distribution of power as it emerged with the spread of European modernity in the late nineteenth century. It includes old and new regions, such as Europe and the USA, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa, Middle East/West Asia, South Asia and the Far East/Asia Pacific. The papers interrogate this classification of the world as they debate its role in devising universal and diverse knowledge and state new ways of 'reading' these.

THE DEBATE: ONE SOCIOLOGY OR MANY SOCIOLOGIES

The four papers in this section have different entry points to assess and debate the perspectives that govern sociological tradition(s). There are fundamental differences among the authors about defining and assessing the themes. Are there many traditions or are there variations within one tradition? Is sociology a universal science or does it have a plural tradition of many particulars? These papers acknowledge that the project of universalism is a political one with some emphasizing its relation with the global division of knowledge. Some situate the problem historically and analyse whether the question of universalism was related to colonialism, while all ask whether contemporary globalization demands one or many sociologies. The papers provide various ways to reconstitute universalisms and thereby internationalize the discipline.

Piotr Sztompka's paper argues that, historically, sociology has organized itself as 'national sociologies'. These sociologies differed from each other in terms of their

emphasis on the defining characteristics of their nation-states, theories and concepts, use of methods and methodologies, recognition of scholars, link with other disciplines, use of language, together with the assumptions governing the formation of the discipline, and its institutional embeddedness.

He suggests that today we need to go beyond national sociologies, because there is on the one hand a globalization of society and on the other internationalization of sociology. Henceforth, he asserts that we need to combine the received formulae of 'one sociology for many worlds' and 'many sociologies for one world'. Sociology needs to maintain universal global standards, uniform conceptual frameworks, models, orientations, theories and methods while studying local problems. Sztompka calls for the universalization of one sociology that recognizes diversity in societies and analyses these differences.

Syed Farid Alatas's search for a new way to universalize sociology was a consequence of an assessment of European sociological traditions. These claimed to be universal, but were in fact Eurocentric in their orientations. These sociological traditions represented Europeans as the sole originators of ideas, universalized European categories and concepts and created the binary of the subject (West) and the object (East). According to Alatas, for sociology to universalize itself, it has to incorporate the sociological theories of non-western thinkers.

His paper stresses the need for developing autonomous sociological traditions based on alternative sociological tradition(s) that can recast concepts and theories from non-European contexts. He cites the works of two such thinkers, José Rizal and Ibn KhaldÉn to assess new perspectives. They allow us to interrogate commonsensical language regarding the colonized, redefine new research agendas outside the interests of international powers and reframe the subject–object binary in order to construct new hypotheses in autonomous terms. Alatas would like sociology to be made universal in this manner.

Raewyn Connell follows the logic of colonialism and its impact on sociological theory to construct a global sociology. She divides sociological traditions historically into two phases. In the first, she argues that there was an organic relationship between the metropole and the periphery leading to museumization of the periphery. In the second phase, this aspect, though silenced, remained embedded in the way sociology was envisioned and institutionally developed. To change this received inequality of domination–subordination in the knowledge structure, Connell maps a new programme.

This includes a sensitivity to assess and empirically examine ways of living and doing in the periphery, encouraging contested theoretical frames regarding evaluations of processes in the periphery, incorporating knowledge about this in teaching and learning practices in the metropole, together with the introduction of participatory and critical pedagogies. She asserts the need for continuous theorizations of ways of examining the relationship between knowledge and the unequal distribution of global resources. This implies changing the assumptions of thinking sociologically.

This section ends with a paper by Michael Burawoy who urges us to rethink global sociology from a bottom-up approach. Sociologies are of four kinds – professional, policy, critical and public, with the last being most relevant because it relates to the concerns of people. He argues that for too long we have been concerned with national sociologies. Rather, we should now be oriented to regional sociologies which are sensitive to their national histories and relate these in terms of the global division of sociology.

He divides the world into four regions constituted in terms of contemporary social change – transitions from colonialism, authoritarianism (military dictatorship), socialism and industrialism. Burawoy argues that post-industrial countries have fashioned professional sociology and dominate the world of sociology and its practices. This has to be

countered by the project of global public sociology.

These papers assess the critical history of sociology and debate ways to examine the problem of universalism on the one hand, and diversities on the other. All the authors agree on the need for an inclusive perspective in the contemporary context of globalization, although the solutions they present are varied. In the course of the debate they discuss the politics of assessing contexts and milieus, theories and concepts, methods and methodologies, teaching and learning, scholars and academy and the profession and its audience. Many of the issues that they raise, together with the perspectives they have outlined, are debated in the following chapters.

BEYOND THE CLASSICAL THEORISTS: EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY TODAY

The five papers in this section explore the traditions of sociology in Europe where the discipline originated and in the USA where it spread and became dominant in the twentieth century. On one level, the papers question the commonsensical myth that there was one sociological tradition in Europe and that the same was true later in the USA. On another level the papers indicate that in some European countries sociology is a new discipline and was only institutionalized after democracy was consolidated within the region (between the fifties and the eighties), suggesting a symbiotic relationship between sociology and democracy.

Over the course of the last hundred years the discipline in the various nation-states has had many ups and downs, related to resources invested in academia, the nature of demand from the market and the strength of its culture of professionalism. In spite of these trends, the singularity of this tradition is in its investment in theorizations regarding modernity, and in contesting and refashioning the classical theoretical frameworks from new perspectives. These papers highlight how universalized sociological theories have reflected on local processes in their early history and how these tended to become generalized with the growing convergence between nation-states over issues such as rising inequalities, and as Europe and the USA become part of one region – the North Atlantic.

We begin with a paper that elaborates the way in which the specific tradition(s) of sociology were mapped out in France since Durkheim. Louis Chauvel discusses the creative tensions between the themes of holism and individualism, suggesting that theorizations in France are distinct from those practised in the Anglo-Saxon sociological language and work. He explores the relationship between holism and individualism over three periods, late nineteenth century, post seventies and in the present.

Chauvel argues that the French notion of the individual combines many aspects – the role, its significance, centrality, autonomy and imagination, with 'self expression, subjective identity, and self determination'. This conceptualization allows the discipline to raise issues regarding the individual without collapsing the concept into structure/society. He suggests that this localized perspective may have enormous significance in visualizing a new global sociology.

Most students of sociology believed in the myth that German sociology has had a long history of institutionalized production of knowledge. This is contested by Karl-Siegbert Rehberg, who explores the implications of its limited institutionalization in the first part of the twentieth century. He argues that developments after the Second World War allowed sociology to grow across West Germany. In East Germany its presence can be documented only recently, after the unification of the two Germanies.

Despite the lack of significant state support in the earlier part of its history, the individual scholar's contribution in developing new theories and perspectives has been impressive. Interestingly, the German contributions of Max Weber and Norbert Elias were

rediscovered by German sociologists after World War II. German sociology has developed rich and diverse traditions, which range from culturist theories to action-oriented theories with anthropological perspectives, to the analysis of forms and social systems, to Marxist theories together with new interpretations of modernity. Rehberg discusses the need for sociology to emphasize these diversities but simultaneously wishes to ensure that such trends do not lead to negation of disciplinary boundaries.

John Scott narrates a distinct history of sociological theory in the UK. He highlights the initial contribution of such theorists as Herbert Spencer and later, Patrick Geddes, and indicates how the discipline came into its own after its integration with radical alternatives in the post-seventies period. Scott also suggests that from the fifties sociology found its identity through perspectives imported from the USA. However, British empirical work was able to conceptualize changes in the class structures of that period, which was and remains its major contribution to sociology. Post-seventies sociology has evolved to become plural and diverse as it has interacted with other disciplines, new sociological approaches from France and Germany and with new social movements such as the new left and feminism.

The Portuguese experience has been distinctive in many ways. First, its history of fascism did not create conditions for the growth of sociology until the mid seventies. Portugal was cut off from intellectual ideas within Europe and from the rest of the Portuguese speaking countries as well. Anália Torres describes how a certain culture of sociology was maintained despite the oppressive Salazar regime and this came into its own in the post-seventies decades, after democracy was restored and when research and teaching was expanding.

Second, she suggests that the unique aspect of Portuguese sociological tradition(s) as against other European countries is its diversity of approaches and perspectives, combining the work of European scholars with that of Latin Americans. Third, she argues that sociology in Portugal was for a long time oriented to public and policy issues, and thus the profession in Portugal is not restricted to universities and research centres but has a presence in various professions, including the civil service, the media, advocacy organizations and trade unions. These characteristics make Portuguese sociology distinctive in Europe and in the world.

Craig Calhoun, Troy Duster and Jonathan Van Antwerpen argue that the history of American sociology is not that of a homogenous unified whole, but represents competing theoretical and methodological traditions, continuous professional conflicts, constant engagement with public issues (such as class, race and gender) and continuous dialogue with European tradition(s).

The paper narrates the hundred-year history of the professionalization of the discipline, and suggests that since the seventies there has been an inclusive tendency in its tradition(s) as new specializations have developed due to its interface with growing social movements, the market, and with changing university and research agendas. Despite these trends the American tradition also has a history of being 'ethnocentric' and continues to have selective engagement with groups that identify themselves as ethnic and first nations. The paper argues that there remains a creative tension in American sociological tradition and this allows it to be responsive and imaginative.

Papers in this section attest to a long tradition of making and remaking of sociology as it has incorporated new issues, perspectives and methodologies. In the process it has explored domination and subordination in its society to make the discipline inclusive. However, there is a silence on one matter: the relationship of domination that exists between sociologies from Europe and the USA and the sociologies of the rest of the world. This issue becomes a key theme in a discussion of sociological tradition(s) in the following four regions.

LOCAL TRADITIONS AND UNIVERSAL SOCIOLOGIES: THE DILEMMAS OF POST-COMMUNIST STATES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

This section introduces us to the state of sociology in former socialist countries where the Party and the Communist state controlled the nature and growth of the discipline. The papers argue that this development displaced earlier sociological tradition(s) in some nation-states. They suggest that Party control led to substituting these with a standard, uniform and universal perspective of assessing new 'socialist societies', though there remained differences in the way the discipline was perceived in each of these countries. This undermined the development of critical perspectives within sociology and its professionalization, with some sociologists, critical of the regimes, being either forced into exile or imprisoned.

After the demise of communism and the establishment of democracy, the region was integrated with European and US interests, once again bringing to the fore the relationship between the discipline and politics. There was a sudden expansion of university education and existing sociological frames were replaced with North Atlantic perspectives. Research dominated by public opinion polls using quantitative methods gained popularity. There also emerged, as a reaction, a culturist perspective to assess contemporary society in some countries, wherein conflicts regarding nation and ethnicity took precedence over other subjects. Sociological perspectives in Central and Eastern Europe continue to examine the relationship between ideology and theory in order to resolve questions regarding the framing of new relevant sociologies.

This section starts with a general introduction to the changes that took place in the region from the forties onwards, presenting specific developments in each of the nation-states. Janusz Mucha and Mike F. Keen assess the changes in the late eighties with the interrogation of Marxism, the resultant developments with the expansion of teaching and research and new specializations. They argue that this institutionalization will help to study the changing nature of modernity within the region, and professionalize sociology in Central and Eastern Europe to become a model for the rest of the world.

Elena Zdravomyslova assesses the Russian case by exploring the four visions of sociology in the Soviet Union and later in Russia. The paper argues that these visions compete with each other for a critical political space to define the tradition of sociology. This space is vested with enormous significance because it defines sociological knowledge in the context of the expansive institutionalization of sociology. The first vision was articulated by sociologists during the Khrushchev years. They presented the sociology of the micro, the use of quantitative methods and positivistic perspective, and ignored the earlier history of sociology of the pre-revolutionary period, which assessed the Russian processes of modernity as part of a pattern occurring in Europe.

The second vision emphasizes the pre-Soviet sociological trends, while the third highlights Russian values and wishes to develop a nationalist sociology. The last vision is that of liberal scholars who wish to use international perspectives to examine the particular Russian context. Zdravomyslova argues that the scholars and the profession are divided politically between the need to profess a nationalist and culturist sociology against a need to accept an internationalist professional vision that explores the specificity of social conditions in Russia today and that involves civil society in its reframing.

As against the experience of Russia, Dénes Némedi maps out the rich traditions of sociology in Hungary since the late-nineteenth century. The Hungarian sociological tradition, he argues, is characterized by a creative tension between 'external' (North Atlantic) and 'internal' theoretical frames.

In spite of the influence and control by the Party, the Hungarian sociological tradition has debated Marxist concepts such as alienation, bureaucratization and emergence of classes within socialism. There is also an attempt to theorize what constitutes the nature of 'socialist structure'.

These theorizations were possible because sociology was located within research centres and more concerned with 'urgent problems' than the systemization that comes with university education. Némedi argues that the debates with official Marxism notwithstanding, sociologists in Hungary could not develop a general theory of socialist transformation with an understanding of its structure and its classes during and after the collapse of the Communist regime. A possible answer to this lacuna may relate to the history of Hungarian sociology – of not engaging with 'internal' theoretical frames.

Like Némedi, Pepka Boyadjieva explores the specific developments that occurred in Bulgarian sociology after World War II and relates it to post-1989 trends. She confronts the problems regarding professionalization of the discipline and asks how sociology can produce socially relevant and objectively valid knowledge given its history in ideological positions. In this context she discusses the way sociologists have assessed the relationship between ideology and the discipline.

She argues that these two trends are symbiotically related to each other and that a possible way is to move beyond a one-dimensional relationship between the discipline and politics, and accept competing and plural paradigms. This pluralism should be part of the university structure as well as the professional community. It can help sociology to assess the many risks facing contemporary society in the region as a result of the transition from socialism to capitalism.

Sociology in Eastern and Central Europe faces the challenge of its modernity – to make a critique of its earlier 'internal' tradition(s) and its heritage classified as official knowledge during the socialist years. Its challenge is to find an identity that can be political without being ideological and wherein it can combine social commitment to academic practices.

AUTHORITARIANISM AND CHALLENGES TO SOCIOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA

Although sociology as a discipline may have struck roots in Latin America a hundred years ago, its institutionalization in various nation-states has been weak and uneven. Lack of resources for teaching and research, and intermittent closure of universities with the imposition of authoritarian regimes made a smooth development of the discipline impossible. Scholars retreated into contemplative rather than empirical research.

In the early twentieth century its theories were imported from Europe and later the USA, while radical reflection on contemporary conditions including its own weakness in assessing the moot problems of its society found expression outside academia – within agitation, protests and social movements. Ultimately these reflections, based on a critical reading of Marxism, led to the development of the dependency theory in the sixties in Allende's Chile. Today the sociology of this region is searching for its own distinctive identity.

The dependency theory examined the economic, political and cultural dependence of the Latin American region on the USA. It questioned the universalism built into theoretical frames, assumptions of linearity of history and progress, and political conservatism of the European and American sociological traditions. It asserted a need to study the unequal relationships that structure the region in terms of global distribution of resources, power and knowledge. Today most, if not all, nation-states of the region have become democratic and are trying to develop sociological tradition(s) in debate with the dependency paradigm, outside the ideological narratives of orthodox Marxism

and received conservative US theorizations. The debate on diversity in Latin America is principally about theorizing sociology in terms of the politics of location and in the context of unequal global knowledge production.

Roberto Briceño-León introduces the history of sociology in the region by posing the five dilemmas that define the culture of sociology within Latin America. These dilemmas affect the discipline across the world but are differentially constituted in this region in terms of its history. The first dilemma relates to sociological practice: Should it emphasize its philosophical or its empirical and scientific procedures? The second dilemma relates to the distinction between the universal and the particular. The third relates to the different methods of logic – induction or deduction. The fourth relates to presentation of analysis: Should it be as an essay or based on scientific methodologies?

Lastly, should sociology emphasize micro- or macro-processes? Briceño-León argues for a need to evolve new sociological tradition(s) based on empirical (assessment of social processes and everyday lives of individuals), eclectic (engagement with multiple positions) and committed (to the excluded and the poor) features. This would help to create a new regional sociology for Latin America and a global model for others to follow.

The next paper examines the sociological conditions that led to the growth of the dependency theory. Fernanda Beigel discusses its diverse approaches as manifested in research centres and in various universities in Santiago de Chile. These approaches encouraged the need to diagnose underdevelopment from an interdisciplinary perspective. Dependence was a historical condition of the region, combining national and international processes of the global structure of underdevelopment.

The focus of the dependency theory group of intellectuals was to examine the relationship between core and periphery and not to focus only on national societies, thereby questioning and displacing European

assumptions of sociological theorizing. The paper also examines the lively exchange of ideas and thoughts within formal and informal sites of knowledge production aided by a socialist democratic state of Chile (this experience being in contrast with the situation in Eastern and Central Europe). Finally, she asks whether dependency theory can be termed as an endogenous perspective, thereby repositioning the debate of diversities of sociological traditions in a novel way.

While a socialist state offered a platform for the development of dependency theory in Chile in the sixties, the imperatives of having a civil service sponsored the initial development of sociology in Brazil. No wonder this sociology was framed within conservative demands and the discipline understood its focus to be on an analysis of classes, rationalization and secularization and production of solidarities.

Maria Stela Grossi Porto and Tom Dwyer argue that focus changed in the eighties and nineties with the decline of military power, the return of exiled scholars and the growth of social movements. The authors suggest that today, the professional association has played a major role in institutionalizing sociological practices and made them relevant to contemporary issues of growing inequalities. As a result, there is growth of empirical research, promotion of new specializations and use of combinations of methods to study in detail almost all aspects of Brazilian society. Unlike Beigal, who suggests the need for an endogenous theorization, Porto and Dwyer argue for a need of Brazilian sociology to engage with the European and US traditions.

While Brazilian sociology has developed an institutionalized strength over the last three decades, this is not true across all the nation-states in Latin America. Some states in Latin America have been and remain weak, and neither its elite nor alternative social movements have been able to organize a cohesive agenda for the formation of nationhood. This fragility of the nation has affected the ideas and lives of individual

scholars, university systems and investment into knowledge production, and thereby the nature of research and teaching.

Diego Ezequiel Pereyra examines such a case and explores the weak professionalization of the discipline in Argentina, and its reduction to conflicts and confrontations between individual scholars rather than emphasizing perspectives. The cyclical crisis of legitimacy of the regime and institutions has led many to doubt whether there is hope for sociology in Argentina with scholars interacting within regional frames and not in terms of the nation-state.

These papers bear out that differences between sociological tradition(s) relate to the nature of unequal experience of modernity in each nation-state and region. It also indicates that sociological knowledge is dependent on regimes and their legitimacy, the strength of institutions, investments in the history of writing and thinking, support for research and professionalization, together with engagement with those who are on the margins.

In Latin America, it is the latter that provided the wherewithal for theorizing a new sociology and has become a model for assessing modernity for the globe. The Latin American experience suggests that there is a different definition for professionalization than that institutionalized in the USA. The concerns of the profession here are similar to those in Central and Eastern Europe – sociologists here affirm the necessity for politics that is however autonomous from ideology.

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE AND ITS SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITIONS: AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST/WEST ASIA, SOUTH ASIA AND THE CARIBBEAN

This section and the next bring together fragmented and uneven histories of sociological tradition(s) within different continents and nation-states. The papers draw attention to the weaknesses characterizing the state

structures as a result of colonialism that in some cases have been carried forward after independence. This has resulted in discontinuous institutionalization of universities, irregular and uneven access to research grants and a weak culture of scholarship.

The papers also interrogate the nature of the sociological theories across these continents and argue that these are characterized by dominant discourses of race, ethnicity, religion or caste. Thus they claim the need for an integration of voices of the various subalterns in the construction of new sociologies. The papers debate the ways in which new perspectives and concepts can be evolved to interface with various identities in these ex-colonial and highly internally diverse countries across continents.

We start this section with a discussion of sociological tradition(s) in two parts of Africa – one a region, that of Western Africa, comprising many poor nation-states with as many as eight currencies and colonized by the French; and one an economically powerful nation-state, South Africa, colonized by the British. Ebrima Sall and Jean-Bernard Ouedraogo argue that the tradition(s) of the discipline in West Africa have to be perceived in terms of a discourse of power.

This discourse has been dialectically constructed through an interface between Western theorizations, 'endogenous' perspectives and contemporary interventions by nongovernmental organizations and development agencies, that define the discipline and take it in an applied direction. The journey for locating new endogenous perspectives in West Africa, the authors suggest, needs to engage in double reflexivity, that is, to create a sociology that represents the voices of the subalterns, simultaneously examining these subjectivities as part of 'dominant normative models'.

Tina Uys narrates the contradictory and contesting history of South African sociology that has been structured by race and class and which can be narrated in three phases. Its early history in the beginning of the twentieth century was related to university

education with major contributions in research and teaching, emerging from the work on assessing the sociology of white peoples. From the mid-twentieth century, with the introduction of apartheid and the division within universities in terms of race and ethnicity, the culture binding this small sociological community was divided between those who wanted to retain a racist isolation and others who wished to displace it. This weakened both the profession and the community.

A new history of the discipline was inaugurated when it became organically linked with the movement against apartheid. This is when it identified with subaltern concerns. A third history can be seen in the post-apartheid phase with the community organizing itself as an inclusive professional body and redefining its agenda for the challenges faced by the discipline in the new post-apartheid nation-state. Today, South African sociology needs to combine the criticality of its earlier phase that led to the growth of various subaltern perspectives with institutionalized professionalism. Can it take on this challenge?

The next three papers explore the sociological traditions in Israel, Palestine and Iran. All three highlight the differential interventions made by geopolitics in the way their sociological traditions have been constructed. Israel, being a stronger state, has a longer institutionalized tradition of higher education and its sociology is symbiotically related to that of the USA. Victor Azarya assesses various cultural practices institutionalized within the profession for progress in an academic career.

These practices are related to the orientation of scholars addressing an international audience, linked to a need to publish in internationally accredited journals, having 'universal' protocols for judging standard publishable articles leading to papers being focused on theories rather than on empirical analyses. Azarya suggests that these practices enhance a singular definition of academic excellence that is embedded in one conception

of professionalization. This deflects efforts to conduct empirically relevant research that is related to the deeply divided Israeli society, tearing up the nation-state caught in everyday violence. Sociologists do not assess the nature of Israeli modernity but have remained detached and disconnected from their own society.

The Palestine tradition of sociology is starkly dissimilar. Its nation is fragmented and it is at war. Its people are settled as refugees across the West Bank and Gaza strip, and other parts of the Arab world. Though the Palestinians have opportunities to study in universities, their everyday existence is controlled by violence and curfews, and conflicts with Israel and political interventions by international actors and their various agencies.

Since the Oslo accord of 1993, some of these international agencies have promoted sociological research. Sari Hanafi makes a study of these interventions and argues that non-governmental organization aid has controlled the structure and organization of research to create some negative practices. While the small community of sociologists competes with each other for limited resources, there is very little space to critically theorize on the Palestine situation. The extremely fragile sociological traditions in Palestine remain caught in the paradigm of identity constructed by the West – the problems and issues of a refugee community.

In the paper on Iran, Ali Akbar Mahdi traces the intermittent and conflict-ridden history of sociology as it embraced at first, western American frames, later, Marxist theories and much later, Islamic perspectives. The story of the discipline in Iran is also of the close connection of state and religion and thus of dismissals, exiles and in some cases, imprisonment of sociologists. In the initial years after the Islamic revolution there was strict control by Muslim clerics on sociological knowledge and its transmission. The close association of social sciences and western modernity promoted a discourse that posited Islam against modernity.

Since then, political conditions have not allowed sociologists to fully discover how Islam can also explore ways to assess science, methodology and ethics, and create its own language of social science. Some spaces were carved out when in periods of peace Islam and sociology were engaged with each other. However, the constant swings between liberal and conservative Islam structured much of these openings and defined the nature of theorizations and dictated the closures. This broken and irregular history has institutionalized a culture of inadequate solidarity within the sociological community, insufficient reflection on the conditions and processes of modernity along with insignificant investment in research, with scholars finding it easier to translate rather than create new texts.

The paper on India explores the three themes that have been considered seminal in assessing the history of the discipline of sociology in India. The first is the role played by colonialism, its discourse and its institutions in framing the discipline's identity and perspectives as anthropology, leading to the growth of indigenous perspectives. The second phase was inaugurated in mid century, when India became independent, wherein the nation was identified by the elite as an upper-caste group. In this phase, sociology continued to be seen as the study of 'tradition' – that of institutions of caste, family and marriage through social anthropological perspectives.

From the sixties onwards there was an expansion of university education and standardization of the identity of the discipline as doing 'field view' (ethnography). Since the late seventies, Sujata Patel argues, the discipline is confronting a segmentation that has emerged in disciplinary practices as a result of contradictions arising due to the rapid expansion of the higher education system. It is also facing the demands of incorporating regional aspirations and the voices of various oppressed groups in the country and is unsure about relating its identity to global and/or national issues, or to regional and local ones or – Should it combine all four?

As in the countries of the continents discussed above, Caribbean society is characterized by the interface and interaction of many subaltern identities that structure exclusions in a mix of race, ethnicity and gender. Ann Denis explores the sociological language that can articulate these relations in context with the institutionalization of power and authority within the nation-state and that of global division of power. She suggests that sociology needs to assess contemporary processes in terms of the concept of inter-sectionalism that explores the multiple interconnecting sources of subordination in a dynamic spatial and temporal context. Globalization has challenged contemporary sociology to theorize on ways to assess fluidity of domination–subordination of identities, as a way forward.

LOCAL OR UNIVERSAL: IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE FAR EAST

In the context of contemporary globalization, the Far East (now known as the Asia Pacific) encompasses nation-states that are large and small, economically powerful and weak, having both capitalist and socialist political systems. The process of modernity in each of these countries is distinctive and relates to specific 'local–national' aspects – and yet its sociological language is dominated by western conceptualizations. The sociological tradition of each country is debating these tensions as they find the means to articulate their specific processes of modernity.

The first paper on China continues the debate flagged up earlier by papers on Central and Eastern Europe regarding ways to analyse socialist transformations. Given that sociology theorized on capitalist modernity, it asks what conceptual language we now need to assess socialism and particularly that which is occurring in China. Guo Yuhua and Shen Yuan suggest that we must recognize that the Chinese transformation is

civilizational and has defined a 'special route to modernity'. While countries in Central and Eastern Europe underwent political liberalization, this has not occurred in China, which thus needs its own concepts to assess its distinctive institutions and changes.

The authors identify Chinese society as being segmented and polarized. They present their specific sociological perspective relating to labour studies and the use of oral history to record the nature of transformations in China, and argue for the need of a sociology of practice. As they say: 'If sociologists do not attend to practices, there is no way to understand the real nature of society and social transformation'.

The Taiwanese experience of the discipline explored by Ming-Chang Tsai shows how its professional practices of evaluation have universalized the US model of competence to distribute grants and evaluate performances of scholars rather than evolve one that is related to local needs. The paper assesses the role played by the state in codifying these protocols of evaluation and the distribution of grants. It also makes an empirical investigation of the criteria that allowed more than a hundred sociologists to access these grants. It argues that the state has enormous control in defining all levels of practices of the discipline and has given enormous authority to peer reviewers. The displacement of these structures alone can help to make sociology accountable to the local public and orient it to social commitment.

The third paper, on Japan, examines how Japanese sociology is engaged with local conditions while accepting western theoretical positions. Koto Yousuke assesses three phases of sociological thought since the Second World War. In all these phases Japanese sociologists attempted to present new sociological concepts and theories to identify specific processes. Koto also argues that post-modernist perspectives had a long history in Japan and thus contemporary interventions by Japanese scholars add to the repertoire of concepts and language on this perspective. Koto suggests that the concept of individuality in Japan

is perceived to be constituted in 'play' and 'feelings', and that these perceptions help us to redefine human nature and thus the universal sociological language. Contemporary processes of globalization have emphasized a need for universalism. But does that mean that the social specific no longer exists?

Emma Porio, in a paper reminiscent of earlier ones investigating the negative role of colonialism, explores how the global tradition has affected the constitution of local sociological traditions in the case of the Philippines. The initial theoretical interventions made by Jose Rizal and others who followed him, she argues, were sidestepped as sociology and higher education institutions came to be dominated by the USA in the beginning of the twentieth century. This is the moment when the discipline slowly institutionalized. In the seventies, sociology connected with radical movements including Marxism and reframed its quest in terms of people's perspectives.

However, in the last two decades sociological practices have been influenced by the decline of universities and increasing privatization and commodification of knowledge with the growth of non-governmental organization supported action-oriented research. Theoretical frames continue to be plural and borrow from western theorizations and yet the demand for local assessments and autonomous and indigenous sociology continues. The sociological tradition in the Philippines swings from domination of western thought to an assertion of 'local' identity.

Charles Crothers assesses the local and the universal through the concepts of periphery and the metropole when he analyses the sociological tradition in Australia and New Zealand. These two countries, although being part of the metropole, are in the periphery geographically. This paper explores the various interstices that have been used by scholars to define Australasian sociology. The formal structures of sociological traditions evoked British and later American theories such as Weberian perspectives and positivism. But research has intervened to

define new interdisciplinary perspectives such as migration studies, cultural studies and gender studies, and has engaged with Marxism in an innovative way. In spite of these creative spaces, the sociological tradition of Australasia remains 'locked' into the metropole frame.

DIVERSITIES, UNIVERSALITIES AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

What kinds of insights do the compilation of these histories present to us in terms of practising sociology? The first relates to the several ways to assess the many sociological traditions. These can be explored at three levels – that of space: within localities, regions, nation-states and the globe; that of intellectual and praxiological sites: agitations, campaigns and movements; classrooms, departments and research institutes, and communities that define best practices relating to the transmission of cultures of teaching and research; and that relate to: ideas, theories, perspectives and discourses.

These different traditions are best understood if perceived as being organized within the nation-state after the Second World War – though there exist also traditions in terms of language communities. However, the former provides the most significant spatial and political locale to assess this history together with the evaluation of the many contradictions and contestations that have defined the organic linkages between these tradition(s). Sociological knowledge, it is argued in the Handbook, is imbricated in the identity of the nation-state and within its politics.

Thus, within each nation-state, one can assess the many starting points, many achievements and many failures, and many continuities and discontinuities. These ups and downs dealing with the organization, consolidation and institutionalization of sociological traditions involve confrontations between dominant universal traditions and newly emerging

subaltern ones. In this sense there is and will be diversity of sociological traditions within nation-states.

These diversities exist not only within nation-states but between them. Because the histories of sociological traditions in nation-states are differently constituted, the collective experience of growth and spread of sociological traditions across the world is and remains diverse and unevenly organized. This unevenness is related to the relationship of each tradition with that of Europe and later of the USA, and relates to the way these traditions came to be universalized across the world.

Universalization of the North Atlantic tradition(s) is associated with the global distribution of power (Wallerstein, 2006). In this sense, the Handbook attempts to move beyond the binaries of universalism versus relativism/particularism to posit a third position that suggests sociological traditions are both universal and diverse. It argues that the claims of each of the traditions of sociological knowledge are distinct and universal, but together these are not equivalent or plural or multiple or hybrid nor relative-positing claims based on criteria internal to each of these tradition(s) (Chakrabarty, 2008).

These are diverse because each tradition makes its own assessment and perspective of how it is structured within the global distribution of ideas, scholars and scholarship (whether these are adapted from imports or are stated to be indigenous/endogenous/ local/national/provincial), how these relate to its contexts including the culture of teaching and research, institutions, the state and the economy. While these claims are universal, the interpretations of how these are interconnected to the North Atlantic traditions(s) and with each other remain different for each nation-state. Or to put it in other words, what is distinct is how each tradition has contested with the claims of those from the North Atlantic and evolved its own internal assessment of this relationship. In this sense collectively sociological traditions can be stated to be diversely universal or incorporating 'diversality' (Mignolo, 2002: 89).

Second, following from the above, we can suggest that sociology was globalized from the moment of its birth with the assertion of the singularity of the process of modernity through the universalization of European and later the American *provincial* experience(s) (Chakrabarty, 2000). A discourse of power structured universalization of knowledge regarding sociabilities. In this sense while globalization has been debated to be a recent process, globalization of sociological knowledge has had a longer history.

This globalization has sometimes erased earlier histories of modernities, reinterpreted these and displaced ways of thinking, being and living. As a result some traditions have not evolved perspectives and theories to assess their relationships with dominant universalized traditions, although these have been recognized. Others have adapted to external and dominant ones; yet others have made a critique of the legacy of dependence and domination to assess and to reflect on their own modernities. If globalization of sociological knowledge has 'silenced' the formation of many voices, it has also challenged it by asking new questions and providing novel answers, as Alatas in this Handbook has argued in his paper. Working from the margins of all borders has helped to provide a new identity. These are the resources available to us and the most significant legacy of global sociological tradition(s).

Third, it implies that not only do we recognize that we have inherited diverse legacies but we also need to develop interfaces between them in order to create a 'communicative' dialogue between and within them. These claims are differently presented by authors in this Handbook. While Sztompka argues for the need to combine the binary of one sociology versus many sociologies, Connell suggests that this dialogue needs to be initiated from the 'core', that is, from the North Atlantic traditions. The latter may have recognized internal diversities but have not interrogated the relationship of domination–subordination between their tradition(s) and those of other nation-states and regions.

Burawoy argues that, in addition, this dialogue also needs to be structured within and across nation-states and within economic and political regions. Obviously, what is needed are dialogues at multiple levels which can transcend barriers of 'capitivity' structured by dominant universal knowledge on the one hand, and relate with the experience of culture and language constructed at local and/or provincial spatial and intellectual sites, on the other.

As we globalize and as our students do comparative research between and within countries of the world, we need to acquaint them with different ways to do sociology across the world. This Handbook introduces these trends to the students and elaborates a perspective on how to perceive sociological tradition(s) of various nation-states in tandem with global developmental changes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The attempt here is to create a 'communicative' dialogue to formulate an internationalist perspective of sociology. Hopefully, this will allow more bridges to be built to foster institutionalized dialogue from which 'we learn from each other' and construct diverse reflexive sociologies.

REFERENCES

Akiwowo, A. (1989) 'Building National Sociological Tradition in an African Subregion', in N. Genov (ed.) *National Traditions in Sociology*, pp. 151–66. London: Sage.

Akiwowo, A. (1990) 'Contributions to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Oral Poetry', in M. Albrow and E. King (eds) *Globalisation, Knowledge and Society: Readings from International Sociology*, pp. 103–18. London: Sage.

Alatas, S.H. (1974) 'The Captive Mind and Creative Development', *International Social Science Journal* 36(4): 691–9.

Albrow, M. (1987) 'Sociology for One World', *International Sociology* 2(1): 1–12.

Beck, U. (2000) *What is Globalisation?* Cambridge: Polity.

Beck, U. (2006) *Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge: Polity.

Chakrabarty, D. (2000) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Chakrabarty, D. (2008) 'In Defense of *Provincialising Europe*: A Response to Carola Dietze', *History and Theory* 47 (February): 85–96.

Genov, N. (ed.) (1989) *National Sociological Traditions and the Internationalization of Sociology*, in N. Genov (ed.) *National Traditions in Sociology,* pp. 1–17. London: Sage.

Giddens, A. and Turner, J. (1987) (eds) *Social Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Habermas, J. (2001) *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*. Cambridge: Polity.

Lander, E. (2002) 'Eurocentrism, Modern Knowledges, and the "Natural" Order of Global Capital', *Nepantla: Views from South* 3(2): 249–68.

Mani, L. (1990) 'Multiple Mediations: Feminist Scholarship in the Age of Multinational Reception', *Feminist Review* 35(Summer): 24–41.

Mignolo, W.D. (2002) 'The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101(1) (Winter): 57–96.

Mohanty, C. (1988) 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', *Feminist Review* 30(Autumn): 61–88.

Mukerjee, R. (1955) 'A General Theory of Society', in B. Singh (ed.) *The Frontiers of Social Science: In Honour of Radhakamal Mukerjee*. London: Macmillan.

Mukerji, D.P. (1958) *Diversities: Essays in Economics, Sociology and Other Social Problems*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House.

Mukherji P.N. and Sengupta, C. (2004) (eds) *Indigeneity and Universality in Social Science: A South Asian Response*. Sage: New Delhi.

Quijano, A. (2000) 'Coloniality of Power, Eurocentricism and Latin America', *Nepantla: Views from South* 1: 553–800.

Wallerstein, I. (2006) *European Universalism: The Rhetoric of Power*. New York: The New Press.

The Debate: One Sociology or Many Sociologies

1

One Sociology or Many?

Piotr Sztompka

The question of whether there is Spanish physics, or Polish chemistry, or Danish astronomy does not make sense (except in the trivial geographical meaning, namely that science, like all other human activities, is practised somewhere). The arguments for specificity of Soviet mathematics put forward in the days of Stalinism sound today like a bad joke. This is because in the natural sciences there is only one universal subject matter, the natural world, functioning in the same manner in Spain, Poland, Denmark and Stalinist Russia; and there is one universal method, common standards of research that are acceptable at least as long as a certain paradigm is accepted (Kuhn, 1970). On the other hand, we do not hesitate to speak about German music, French art, Italian architecture, Latin American literature. Art is not like science; it is rooted in particular histories, local traditions, intellectual climates; one is even tempted to say it reflects a 'national character' (if this notion is not treated in any genetic, but rather in the purely historical sense). Where do the social sciences or humanities fit, in between the natural sciences on the one hand or art on the other?

Precisely in the middle, is the answer. Some disciplines lean more towards art, and therefore it is quite normal to speak of British, or German, or French philosophy. Others lean more toward science, and therefore it is not usual to refer to Swedish experimental psychology or Greek microeconomics. More generally, humanities are closer to art than the behavioural sciences, which are closer to sciences proper. Some sociologists have recognized this intermediate position of sociology as part science and part art. Neil Smelser treats it as an asset when he says, 'the benefit is living in a field that refuses to seal itself into a closed paradigm and threatens to exhaust itself, but, rather, retains the qualities of intellectual openness and imagination' (Smelser, 1994: 8). And precisely this intermediate status is the reason why the question, 'One sociology or many sociologies?' is raised yet again.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PLURALISM

Sociology is a pluralistic discipline in two senses. First, there is a theoretical and methodological pluralism. Sociology has always

been a multi-paradigmatic discipline. Of course there were periods when certain paradigms became dominant. Sometimes it was due to spontaneous, widespread acceptance of certain influential models or methods, as was the case of structural functionalism in the middle of the twentieth century. Sometimes it was due to intellectual fashion, as in the case of post-modernism at the close of the century. Sometimes it was imposed from above by political and ideological pressures, as was the case with Marxism–Leninism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. But even in the latter case, there survived different perspectives and the ruling doctrine never attained complete domination.

Thus in sociology we have always witnessed a number of different theoretical and methodological orientations, various approaches to the study of society – as described in the textbooks of history of sociology or contemporary sociological theory. The recognition and evaluation of this fact leads to two extreme views. At one extreme there is dogmatism, which treats plurality as a liability and argues for the valuation of one orientation only, or attempts to synthesize various orientations leading to a single unifying and the only valid theory. At the other extreme there is theoretical anarchism, which considers all theories as equal, and does not allow any distinction to be made between different theories or to establish hierarchies. One may argue, for the middle of the road position between these two extremes. This is the advice given by Robert Merton when he spoke about 'disciplined eclecticism' (Sztompka, 1986: 115–18). In Merton's view pluralism should be considered an asset rather than a liability and sociologists should draw from all available theories the concepts and models relevant to understanding a concrete sociological problem. The research problem is the ultimate criterion of selection. Sociological inquiry is not theoretically closed but rather problem driven. So if the alternative 'many sociologies or one sociology' is read 'many theories or one theory', the solution is, 'all available theories bearing on a concrete research problem'. The same is true of sociological methods and research techniques, which should be treated as an open toolkit to be used according to the research question.

LOCAL PLURALISM – NATIONAL, REGIONAL, CIVILIZATIONAL

But this is not the sense of pluralism with which we are mainly concerned in the present debate. There is another type of pluralism: localized pluralism of national sociologies, regional sociologies, or sociologies linked with particular civilizations. This is what is meant when we speak of Polish sociology, British sociology, African sociology, Western sociology. Let us try to unpack what we may possibly have in mind? There are ten grounds on which such specificity of distinct sociologies may rest.

1. For a long time, the idea of society was considered as *parallel with a nation-state*. Ulrich Beck calls it the assumption of 'methodological nationalism', based on the 'national prison theory of human existence' (Beck, 2006: 12). Beck claims that:

    Until now it has been dominant in sociology and other social sciences on the assumption that they are nationally structured. The result was a system of nation-states and corresponding national sociologies that define their specific societies in terms of concepts associated with the nation state. For the national outlook, the nation-state creates and control the "container' of society, and thereby at the same time prescribes the limits of sociology.

    (Beck, 2006: 2)

Sociologists conceived their subject matter as populations, groups of people, institutions, organizations and cultures, circumscribed by the borders of a state. And obviously they were most often concerned with their own society. In this sense, French sociology meant simply: research about French society; Italian sociology: the study of Italy; American sociology: the study of the United

States. This meaning is akin to the concept of 'area studies', which signifies problem focus on specific geographical or political areas.

2. It often happens that varieties of historical trajectories, geopolitical location, natural environment and other contingencies cause the *differences in central social problems* for a given country, as defined by its citizens, which is reflected by unique problematic profiles of sociology as established by sociologists; the country-specific articulation of *sociological problems*. For example the post-communist transformation, rebirth of civil society, democratization, marketization and modernization are dominant research themes in East Central Europe; poverty, famine, tribal conflicts, AIDS – for post-colonial African societies; racial tensions, problems of minorities, assimilation, crime – for American sociology; nationalism and identity in the period of integration – for West European sociology; and oppression and cultural assimilation of aborigines for Australian sociology.

3. Sometimes sociology in a given country or region is dominated by a *particular theoretical and methodological orientation*, or school, for example for a long time Marxist sociology in communist societies, structural functionalism in the US, post-modernism in France.

4. A variety of this is the *dominant influence of a certain commanding personality*, founding father or particularly influential representative of national sociology: Durkheim in France, Weber in Germany, Pareto in Italy, Znaniecki in Poland, Parsons in the US, Elias in the Netherlands.

5. Another specificity of national sociology may have to do with the traditional *link with other disciplines*, particularly at the moment of birth: the alliance with history and historiography in nineteenth century Europe, with philosophy and linguistics in France, with psychology in the US, with social anthropology in Britain and with ethnography in Poland.

6. There are various *emphases on preferred types of research*:s empirical (famous 'concrete sociological investigations' meaning mere social statistics in Soviet Russia), abstract theoretical (Germany), philosophical (France), policy oriented (Scandinavia). They result in various national 'styles' of sociological work. Those may change historically. For example theory seems to travel back and forth across the Atlantic: dominating in Europe during the classical period, then

'emigrating' to America, and then returning to Europe at the end of the twentieth century.

7. The *language in which sociological ideas are articulated and communicated* may have independent influence on the style of research: English – facilitating a more analytic, cold, detached style of Anglo-Saxon sociology; German – suggesting more involved, dense philosophical discourse; French – more narrative, expressive, quasi-literary, essayistic narration, allowing for nuances and innuendos.

8. If we assume with many authors that there is no sociology without values, sociologies may *differ in the type of values, stereotypes, prejudices or biases that they incorporate or imply*. Sociologies of former imperial centres differ in perspective from sociologies of post-colonial countries, sociology of hegemonic and dominating nations from sociologies of dominated and dependent nations (see the case of Indian sociology and Latin American sociology, as contrasted with British sociology or American sociology). A kind of perverse case is liberalism stretched to the extreme, when in defence against stereotypes, prejudices and biases, a taboo of 'political correctness' is raised to prevent any criticism of minorities, groups defined as oppressed or excluded – clearly a bias à *rebours*, so typical of contemporary American sociology.

9. Sociologies *differ in their institutional development,* i.e. in the type of institutions in which sociological research is conducted: universities or research institutes, think tanks, etc. and also the overall strength of sociology compared to other disciplines: its status as recognized or marginal in the structure of academic institutions.

10. If we assume that sociology, its conceptual and theoretical structure, is a reflection of characteristic social experiences, life conditions of people, then national or regional sociologies may also *differ in their typical concepts*. Benjamin Lee Whorf demonstrated that the Eskimos have numerous concepts allowing subtle distinctions between varieties of snow, and the African nomads, for varieties of sand in the desert (Whorf, 1957). In the same sense we may observe a proliferation of concepts referring to dependency, exclusion and oppression in Latin America; nationhood, sovereignty, civil society in the former satellite countries of Eastern Europe; conflicts, wars and famine in Africa, etc. Depending on their contingent life conditions and indigenous traditions people give different meaning to the same concepts.

> Poverty means different things in Africa and in France, money has different meanings for Mongolians and for Norwegians, McDonald's is a different institution in Russia and in Italy.

As a result of these multiple differences, a *pluralistic mosaic of sociologies* has emerged in the world. Again, this fact may be evaluated in two opposing ways. On the one hand we find an *ethnocentric position* that claims that there is only one valid sociology, usually identified with Western sociology, which developed in the wake of the Enlightenment in the countries of Western Europe and then in the US. Even worse, sociologists are tempted to generalize about human society from the experience of just one country.

> One's own society serves as the model for society in general, from which it follows that the basic characteristics of universal society can be derived from an analysis of *this* society. Thus Marx discovered British capitalism in British society, which he then generalized to the capitalism of modern society. Weber universalized the experience of the Prussian bureaucracy into the ideal type of modern rationality. And in criticizing the 'power elites' C. Wright Mills was criticizing not just American society but modern society as such.
>
> (Beck, 2006: 28)

On the other hand there is an extreme *relativistic position* which claims that there are as many equally valid sociologies as there are societies, whose unique experiences they reflect. Societies are self-contained cultural wholes, monads endowed by their members with unique meanings, mutually impermeable worlds. No general, universally applicable social theory is possible. Nationally, regionally, civilizationally rooted perspectives defy comparison; they are mutually untranslatable and incommensurable.

> Culture is understood in terms of self-enclosed territorially demarcated units; and at the extreme the (uneasy) silence of incommensurable perspectives reigns between cultures. Such a belief frees us from the rigours of dialogue, leading almost inevitably to imperialism, cultural conflict and the clash of civilizations
>
> (Beck, 2006: 30).

IS LOCAL PLURALISM INEVITABLE?

I will argue for the middle-of-the-road position: pluralism of national or regional sociologies is an asset and not a liability, a source of richness, but it cannot be put in mutually exclusive terms with unified sociology, as there are also common core standards, the pool of concepts, theories and methods which because of their uniformity make sociology one scientific discipline across the world.

The debate between ethnocentrism and relativism was most often conducted on a philosophical and logical plane. The *epistemological arguments* were the most common. For example the middle-of-the-road position could be defended by distinguishing various levels of generality on which sociological theories operate. There is a most general level at which all humans are alike, and hence their collective, social arrangements are also similar. But at more concrete levels people differ significantly. They develop distinct civilizations, cultures, regional specificity and ethnic differences. Hence, at such lower levels, sociology, which is nothing but a systematic and grounded reflection of social life, must allow for such differences. Sociology of a universal human society (in the singular) and sociologies of historically and culturally particular societies (in the plural) are therefore not mutually exclusive but complementary. This is the gist of the epistemological argument.

But in this article I propose to switch the analysis to the *ontological level*, the subject matter of sociology, and look at the societies that sociology studies, and what happens to them in our time.

In 1987, at the meeting of the American Sociological Association in Chicago I put forward the following claim:

> The actual *historical tendencies*, both in the social world and in the sociological world, work toward growing convergence and commensurability of societal as well as sociological concepts. The trans-societal and trans-theoretical concepts are more and more available, the riddle of incommensurability is getting resolved, and new

emphases and opportunities for comparative inquiry present themselves.

<div align="right">(Sztompka, 1990: 50–1)</div>

I then compared two historical cases: one of the social world made up of numerous, heterogeneous, differentiated, isolated, self-contained units: tribes, clans, ethnic groups, nations, states and the like; and the other of a globalized society where much more comprehensive wholes emerge as crucial: political and military blocs, regions, economic areas, global networks, etc. And the implications of this historical shift can be felt at the conceptual level.

> What happens to societal meaning and concepts (…) in such a globalized world? Obviously, they undergo far-reaching uniformization due to double mechanism. First, the actual experiences, ways of life and social conditions become more alike. And second, even if they remain different, the knowledge of foreign experiences, ways of life and social conditions becomes more accessible – through travel, tourism, mass media, personal contacts. Provincial ignorance turns into more *cosmopolitan imagination*.

<div align="right">(Sztompka, 1990: 52)</div>

Ten years later Neil Smelser adopts a similar strategy of deriving changes in sociological theorizing from actual changes in the social world. As he put it:

> The national society as a natural unit of analysis is growing progressively less relevant. Most of the social sciences in the nineteenth century assumed national economies, nation-states, national societies, and the culture of nations to be the primary organizational bases of social life, as they indeed have been. But with irreversible march of globalization, along with the aggressive reassertion of sub-national groups, the theory based on national units must be superceded by theories that capture the interpenetration of supra-national, national, and sub-national forces.

<div align="right">(Smelser, 1999: 22–3)</div>

Twenty years later a very similar position is formulated by Ulrich Beck under the label of 'cosmopolitan realism'. He claims that 'Reality is becoming cosmopolitan – this is a historical fact' (Beck, 2006: 68). And he draws similar conclusions concerning the inevitable 'cosmopolitanization' of

sociology. Contemporary society, he argues, has evolved behind the phase of modernity and already acquired a new shape which may be labelled 'second modernity'. Its dominant, new features include: interrelatedness and interdependence of people across the globe; growing inequalities in a global space; emergence of new supranational organizations in the area of economy (multinational corporations); politics (non-state actors like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), International Court of Justice); civil society (advocacy social movements of global scope like Amnesty International, Greenpeace, feminist organizations); new normative precepts like human rights; new types and profiles of global risks; new forms of warfare; global organized crime and terrorism. Their common denominator is cosmopolitanization, i.e. the erosion of clear borders separating markets, states, civilizations, cultures – and life-worlds of common people. What I find particularly insightful is the emphasis that cosmopolitanization does not operate somewhere in the abstract, in the external macro-sphere, somewhere above human heads; it is internal to the everyday life of people ('banal cosmopolitanism'), and to the internal operation of politics, which at all levels, even the domestic level, has to become global, taking into account the global scale of dependencies, flows, links, threats, risks, etc. ('global domestic politics').

According to Beck, the real objective transformation of human society at the beginning of the twenty-first century is inadequately reflected both at the level of social consciousness and sociological methodology. National outlook must be replaced by a cosmopolitan outlook and methodological nationalism by methodological cosmopolitanism. And in the more concrete domain of politics, national politics with its obsession on sovereignty and autonomy must turn into 'politics of politics', which on the meta-level commits itself deeply to solving the issues of global and wide national scope.

I emphasize the similarities between Smelser, Beck and my own views, not to claim any priority, but to demonstrate the universalization clearly occurring at the meta-level: the commonality of views among American, German and Polish sociologists about the growing universalization of sociology ascribed to the real, actual changes in human society. This may be treated as the self-exemplifying argument for the tendency noticed by all three of us.

ONE SOCIOLOGY SENSITIVE TO VARIETY AND DIVERSITY OF SOCIETIES

Returning now to the ten foundations of variety of local sociologies, I will try to show that the current tendencies in the social world make several of these less relevant than before, or even obsolete. In brief, sociology must come to terms with the fact that the domain of what is universal in a human society rapidly expands, and the domain of what is particular shrinks.

There are two current processes central to our problem: globalization of society and internationalization of sociology. As Peter Worsley says 'it is only at our time that human society really exists' (Worsley, 1984). We may extend and paraphrase it by saying: 'It is only at our time that global sociological community really exists'. Let us list the crucial consequences of these two processes.

1. The concept of society escapes the limits of the nation-state, it becomes global. Humanity is no longer a romantic, poetical or philosophical notion but sociological reality. The importance of the nation-state diminishes; the concept of society is emancipated from state borders. Sociology may now be no longer of Polish society, French society or Russian society, but of human society.
2. Global interconnectedness makes local social problems more similar for at least large groups of countries. Sociological problems also become more similar. Both are no longer determined by the specific national agendas
3. The meaning systems, conceptual frameworks and relevant structures of the people undergo mutual accommodation. Trans-societal, universal meanings emerge as a result of a real historical process opening massive contacts – both direct and virtual, through the media – making their life-worlds more alike.
4. The importance of national languages diminishes (at least in academic discourse), and hence their impact on national styles of sociology becomes negligible.
5. The institutional differences concerning the location of sociology in the academic community are weakened by the dominant, Humboldtian tradition of the research universities.
6. The traditional links with other disciplines become less important in the era of interdisciplinary and mutual openings.
7. The great masters are appropriated by the world sociological tradition; they are no longer national but have become international heroes and gurus of sociology.
8. Theoretical and methodological orientations flow freely in the world sociological community, enter into a global pool of ideas, losing any attachment to national roots. Their national genealogy is forgotten, due to the process which Merton described as 'obliteration by incorporation' (Merton, 1996: 30).
9. Global communication systems are established among sociologists and institutionalized by means of international associations, journals, conferences, etc. The flow, of persons, ideas, books, journals, emails, etc. produces similarities among national sociologies in terms of sociological vocabulary, models, theories and methods.
10. Similarity of sociological curricula across the world produces similar competences for all new adepts of sociology. International journals and international publishers promote common, unified standards of good sociological work.
11. The Mertonian mechanism of 'organized scepticism' (Merton, 1996: 276) – peer control, open debate, criticism, assigning reputations, rewarding achievement – operates now on a global scale. It is no longer possible to be highly recognized in the discipline by writing only in one's national language and publishing in one's own country.

The dialectics of social life does not omit the area discussed in this article. There are

immediate countertendencies evoked by globalization of society and internationalization of sociology. The expansion of the domain of universality does not eliminate the domain of particularities. Ulrich Beck admits that cosmopolitanization does not mean uniformization and homogenization. People, their groups, communities, political organizations, cultures, civilizations will (and should) remain different, sometimes even unique. But to put it metaphorically, the walls between them must be replaced by bridges. Those bridges must be primarily erected not only in human heads, mentalities, imagination ('cosmopolitan vision'), but also in normative systems (human rights), institutions (e.g. the European Union) and 'domestic global politics' informed by transnational concerns (e.g. energy policy, sustainable development, fighting global warming, war with terrorism) (Beck, 2006).

Thus at the background of growing uniformization and homogenization – of both society and sociology – there are defensive countertendencies. We witness the defence of local customs, values, identities, traditions – a more clear-cut definition and emphasis of what is our own, peculiar, distinctive. And there is a sharpened awareness of specificity of local sociological traditions and more articulated definition of our own unique sociological problems and emphases.

Doing sociology in accordance with universalistic global standards, using uniform conceptual frameworks, models, orientations, theories and methods – detached from any local genealogy, and accountable before worldwide sociological community – does not stand in the way of emphasizing particular local problems, studying and solving them and in this way contributing original results to the global pool of sociological wisdom.

The tendency described above is also reflected at the level of methods and techniques of research. There is a change of sociological optics, angle of vision, due to major changes in society which are grasped by notions of globalization and internationalization. Formerly, faced with a variety of relatively independent and relatively isolated societies (nation-states), the typical goal of sociology aiming to raise the above concern with local issues was to search for some commonalities, and uniformities in the sea of difference (e.g. the search for cultural universals, for laws of elementary social behaviour). Now, faced with growing interconnectedness and homogenization of the world, the typical challenge for sociology which refuses to focus exclusively on globalization, changes; it is the search for remaining uniqueness, enclaves of differences among uniformity (to put it in another way: in the universalized world, the search for peculiarities). The most challenging question now is: Why, in spite of globalization, there is still so much variety, and sometimes more salient variety than before? (Sztompka, 1990: 53–6)

Thus, to conclude, the prospect for the sociology of the future is neither 'one sociology for many worlds', nor 'many sociologies for one world', but in a sense both: one global, international sociology recognizing and exploiting local varieties for its own cognitive benefit. Uniformity of world sociology and uniqueness of local sociologies are two mutually enriching sides of the same sociological enterprise. Beck calls it the 'melange principle': 'the principle that local, national, ethnic, religious *and* cosmopolitan cultures and traditions interpenetrate, interconnect and intermingle – cosmopolitanism without provincialism is empty, provincialism without cosmopolitanism is blind' (Beck, 2006: 7). In other words, there is only one sociology, but if it is any good it recognizes the diversity and variation of human societies, and not only states the fact but attempts to interpret and explain it.

REFERENCES

Beck, U. (2006) *Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kuhn, T.S. (1970) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2nd ed.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Merton, R. (1996) *On Social Structure and Science*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Smelser, N.J. (1994) 'Sociology as Science, Humanism and Art', *La Revue Tocqueville* XV(1): 5–18.

Smelser, N.J. (1999) 'Sociology: Spanning Two Centuries', paper presented at conference 'Frontiers of Mind in the Twenty-first Century', Washington, June.

Sztompka, P. (1986) *Robert K. Merton: An Intellectual Profile*. London: Macmillan.

Sztompka, P. (1990) 'Conceptual Frameworks in Comparative Inquiry: Divergent or Convergent?' in M. Albrow and E. King (eds) *Globalization, Knowledge and Society*, pp. 47–60. London: Sage.

Whorf, B.L. (1957) *Language, Thought and Reality*. Boston, MA: MIT Press.

Worsley, P. (1984) *The Three Worlds: Culture and World Development*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

2

Religion and Reform: Two Exemplars for Autonomous Sociology in the Non-Western Context

Syed Farid Alatas

INTRODUCTION

A global survey of course syllabi for the history of social thought as well as sociological thought will reveal a number of characteristics of Eurocentrism. These are the subject–object dichotomy, the dominance of European categories and concepts, and the representation of Europeans as the sole originators of ideas. In most sociological theory textbooks or writings on the history of social theory, the subject–object dichotomy is a dominant, albeit unarticulated principle of organization. Europeans are the ones that do the thinking and writing, they are the social theorists and social thinkers, what we might call the knowing subjects. If non-Europeans appear at all in the texts they are objects of study of the European theorists featured and not as knowing subjects, that is, as sources of sociological theories and ideas. If we take the nineteenth century as an example, the impression given is that during the period that Europeans such as Marx, Weber,

Durkheim and others were thinking about the nature of society and its development, there were no thinkers in Asia and Africa doing the same.

The absence of non-European thinkers in these accounts is particularly glaring in cases where non-Europeans had actually influenced the development of social thought. Typically, a history of social thought or a course on social thought and theory would cover theorists such as Montesquieu, Vico, Comte, Spencer, Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Simmel, Toennies, Sombart, Mannheim, Pareto, Sumner, Ward, Small and others. Generally, non-Western thinkers are excluded.

It seems fitting, therefore, to provide examples of social theorists of non-European backgrounds who wrote on topics and theorized problems that would be of interest to those studying the broad-ranging macroprocesses that have become the hallmark of classical sociological thought and theory.

The social thinkers under consideration here, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn (732–808

AH/AD 1332–1406) and José Rizal (1861–96), were both highly original thinkers. They are both examples of non-Western thinkers who theorized about the nature of society in ways not practised by their Western counterparts. Ibn Khaldūn theorized about the dynamics of the pre-capitalist societies of his time in terms of two types of modes of social organization, the nomadic and the sedentary. These do not correspond to concepts used by Karl Marx, Max Weber or other Western theorists. In fact, neither Marx nor Weber were able to explain the dynamics of what they called Asiatic, Oriental or patrimonial societies. Indeed, it was the static nature of these societies that they emphasized. Ibn Khaldūn was unique in that he theorized aspects of social change not done so by Western scholars. Furthermore, he was the first to systematically articulate the nature of society in an empirical fashion and did so several hundred years before the emergence of the social sciences in the West. His theory of social change was at the same time a theory of religious revival.

Rizal is interesting because he lived during the formative period of Western social sciences but provides us with a different perspective on the colonial dimension of the emerging modernity of the nineteenth century. Rizal raised original problems and treated them in a creative way. An example is his discussion on the issue of the indolence of the Filipinos.

COLONIAL SOCIETY AND CLASSICAL SOCIOLOGY: THE THOUGHTS OF JOSÉ RIZAL

Introduction

The Filipino thinker and activist, José Rizal, was probably the first systematic social thinker in South-east Asia. While he was not a social scientist, it is possible to construct a sociological theory from his thoughts, a theory that focuses on the nature and conditions of Filipino colonial society, and the requirements for emancipation.

Rizal was born into a wealthy family. His father ran a sugar plantation on land leased from the Dominican Order. As a result, Rizal was able to attend the best schools in Manila. He continued his higher studies at the Ateneo de Manila University and then the University of Santo Thomas. In 1882 Rizal departed for Spain where he studied medicine and the humanities at the Universidad Central in Madrid

Rizal returned to the Philippines in 1887. This was also the year that his first novel, *Noli Me Tangere* (Touch Me Not) was published. The novel was a reflection of exploitative conditions under Spanish colonial rule and enraged the Spanish friars. It was a diagnosis of the problems of Filipino society and a reflection of the problems of exploitation in Filipino colonial society.

His second novel, *El Filibusterismo* (The Revolution), published in 1891, examined the possibilities and consequences of revolution. As Rizal's political ideas became known to the authorities he and his family suffered many hardships. His parents were dispossessed of their home and the male members deported to the island of Mondoro. Rizal himself was finally exiled to Dapitan, Mindanao from 1892 to 1986, implicated in the revolution of 1896, tried for sedition and executed by a firing squad on 30 December 1896, at the age of thirty-five. He lived a short life but was an extremely productive thinker, unsurpassed by anyone in South-east Asia, perhaps even Asia. He wrote several poems and essays, three novels, and conducted studies in early Philippine history, Tagalog grammar, and even entomology.

Rizal's Sociology

If we were to construct a sociological theory from Rizal's works, three broad aspects can be discerned in his writings. First, there is the critique of colonial knowledge of the Philippines. Second, we have his theory of

colonial society, a theory that explains the nature and conditions of colonial society. Finally, there is Rizal's discourse on the meaning and requirements for emancipation.

In Rizal's thought, the corrupt Spanish colonial government and its officials oppress and exploit the Filipinos, while blaming the backwardness of the Filipinos on their alleged laziness. But Rizal's project was to show that in fact the Filipinos were a relatively advanced society in pre-colonial times, and that their backwardness was a product of colonialism. Colonial policy was exploitative despite the claims or intentions of the colonial government and the Catholic Church. In fact, Rizal was extremely critical of the 'boasted ministers of God [the friars] and *propogators of light*(!) [who] have not sowed nor do they sow Christian moral, they have not taught religion, but rituals and superstitions' (Rizal, 1963b: 38). This position required Rizal to critique colonial knowledge of the Filipinos. He went into history to address the colonial allegation regarding the supposed indolence of the Filipinos. This led to his understanding of the conditions for emancipation and the possibilities of revolution.

The Critique of Colonial History

During Rizal's time, there was little critique of the state of knowledge about the Philippines among Spanish colonial and Filipino scholars. Rizal, being well-acquainted with Orientalist scholarship in Europe, was aware of what would today be referred to as Orientalist constructions. This can be seen from his annotation and re-publication of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Historical Events of the Philippine Islands) which first appeared in 1609. Morga, a Spaniard, served eight years in the Philippines as Lieutenant Governor General and Captain General and was also a justice of the Supreme Court of Manila (*Audiencia Real de Manila*) (de Morga, 1991[1890]: xxxv).

Rizal re-published this work with his own annotation in order to correct what he saw as the false reports and slanderous statements to be found in most Spanish works on the Philippines, as well as to bring to light the pre-colonial past that was wiped out from the memory of Filipinos by colonization (Rizal, 1962[1890]: vii). This includes the destruction of pre-Spanish records such as artefacts that would have thrown light on the nature of pre-colonial society (Zaide, 1993: 5). Rizal found Morga's work an apt choice, as it was, according to Ocampo, the only civil history of the Philippines written during the Spanish colonial period, other works being mainly ecclesiastical histories (Ocampo, 1998: 192). The problem with ecclesiastical histories, apart from falsifications and slander, was that they 'abound in stories of devils, miracles, apparitions, etc., these forming the bulk of the voluminous histories of the Philippines' (de Morga, 1962[1890]: 291, n. 4). For Rizal, therefore, existing histories of the Philippines were false and biased as well as unscientific and irrational. What Rizal's annotations accomplished were the following:

1. They provide examples of Filipino advances in agriculture and industry in pre-colonial times.
2. They provide the colonized's point of view of various issues.
3. They point out the cruelties perpetrated by the colonizers.
4. They furnish instances of hypocrisy of the colonizers, particularly the Catholic Church.
5. They expose the irrationalities of the Church's discourse on colonial topics.

While space does not permit us to discuss all of these points, an example would suffice to illustrate Rizal's position with regard to the reinterpretation of Filipino history: on the point of view of the colonized, in a section where de Morga discusses piracy perpetrated by the Moros of Mindanao, Rizal notes that:

> This was the first piracy of the inhabitants of the South recorded in the history of the Philippines. We say 'inhabitants of the South': for before them there had been others, the first ones being those committed by the Magellan expedition, capturing vessels of friendly islands and even of unknown ones, demanding from them large ransoms.

> If we are to consider that these piracies lasted more than two hundred and fifty years during which the unconquerable people of the South captured prisoners, assassinated, and set fire on not only the adjacent islands but also going so far as Manila Bay, Malate, the gates of the city, and not only once a year but repeatedly, five or six times, with the government unable to suppress them and to defend the inhabitants that it disarmed and left unprotected; supposing that they only cost the islands 800 victims every year, the number of persons sold and assassinated will reach 200,000, all sacrificed jointly with very many others to the prestige of that name Spanish Rule
>
> (de Morga, 1962[1890]: 134, n. 1)

Rizal goes on to note the Spanish plundering of gold from the Philippines, the destruction of Filipino industry, the depopulation of the islands, the enslavement of people, and the demoralization of the inhabitants of the islands that had never been seen as misdeeds among the Spaniards (de Morga, 1962[1890]: 134, n. 1).

Conceptualizing Indolence

Rizal noted that the Spaniards blamed the backwardness of the Filipinos on their indolence. The Spaniards charged that the Filipinos had little love for work. As Syed Hussein Alatas noted, the unwillingness of the Filipinos to cultivate under the *encomenderos* was interpreted out of context and understood to be the result of indolence, which was in turn attributed to their nature (Alatas, 1977: 125).

Rizal, however, made a number of important points in what was the first sociological treatment of the topic (Alatas, 1977: 98). First of all, Rizal noted that the 'miseries of a people without freedom should not be imputed to the people but to their rulers' (Rizal, 1963b: 31). Rizal's novels, political writings and letters provide examples such as the confiscation of land, appropriation of farmers' labour, high taxes, forced labour without payment, and so on (Rizal, 1963a).

Second, he noted that the charge that the Filipinos are an inherently lazy people was not true. Rizal admits that there was some

indolence but explains that that was not a cause of backwardness, but rather it was the backwardness and disorder of Filipino colonial society that caused indolence. Prior to the colonial period, they were not indolent. They controlled trade routes, were involved in agriculture, mining and manufacturing. But when their destiny was taken away from them, they became indolent. This position reflected Rizal's concern with the state of Filipino society prior to the colonial period. Rizal noted, for example, that the Filipinos

> worked more and they had more industries when there were no *encomenderos*, that is, when they were heathens, as Morga himself asserts . . . the Indios, seeing that they were vexed and exploited by their *encomenderos* on account of the products of their industry, and not considering themselves beasts of burden or the like, they began to break their looms, abandon the mines, the fields, etc., believing that their rulers would leave them alone on seeing them poor, wretched and unexploitable. Thus they degenerated and the industries and agriculture so flourishing before the coming of the Spaniards were lost
>
> (de Morga, 1962[1890]: 317, n. 2).

Rizal's approach to the problem is interesting in that he made a distinction between being 'indolent' as a reaction to climate, for example, and indolence in terms of the absence of love for work or the avoidance of work. He noted that the pace of life was slower because of the tropical climate, where even the Europeans were forced to slow down. The second kind of indolence was a result of the social and historical experience of the Filipinos under Spanish rule. Rizal examined historical accounts by Europeans from centuries earlier which showed Filipinos to be industrious. This includes the writing of de Morga. Therefore, indolence must have social causes and these were to be found in the nature of colonial rule (Rizal, 1963c).

The theme of indolence in colonial scholarship is an important one and formed a vital part of the ideology of colonial capitalism. Rizal was probably the first to deal with it systematically. This concern was later taken up in Alatas's *The Myth of the Lazy Native*

(1977), which contains a chapter entitled 'The Indolence of the Filipinos', in honour of Rizal's work on the same topic, 'The Indolence of the Filipino' (Rizal, 1963c).

The Enlightenment and Emancipation

Rizal was in Spain at the time the country was being challenged by Enlightenment ideas. At the Universidad Central de Madrid, where he was enrolled, Rizal witnessed controversies between liberal professors and staunchly Catholic scholars (Bonoan and Raul, 1994: 13). As a result, Rizal began to develop greater commitment to the idea of the freedom of thought and inquiry (Bonoan and Raul, 1994: 17). In a letter to his mother in 1885, Rizal states:

> As to what you say concerning my duties as a Christian, I have the pleasure of telling you that I have not ceased believing for a single moment in any of the fundamental beliefs of our religion. The beliefs of my childhood have given way to the convictions of youth, which I hope in time will take root in me. Any essential belief that does not stand review and the test of time must pass on to the realm of memory and leave the heart. I ought not to live on illusions and falsehoods. What I believe now, I believe through reason because my conscience can admit only that which is compatible with the principles of thought . . . I believe that God would not punish me if in approaching him I were to use his most precious gift of reason and intelligence.
>
> (Rizal, 1959: 224, cited in Bonoan and Raul, 1994: 19)

The backwardness of colonial society is not due to any inherent defects of the Filipino people but to the backwardness of the Spaniards, including the church. Emancipation could only come from enlightenment. Spanish colonial rule was exploitative because of the backwardness of the church in that the church was against enlightenment, the supremacy of reason. The European Enlightenment was good for Filipinos, while the church was against it because it established reason as the authority, not God or the church. Thinkers such as Marx,

Weber and Durkheim were products of the Enlightenment but recognized that reason had gone wrong. Modernity which was a creation of reason was unreasonable because it was alienating, anomic and ultimately irrational. It is interesting to note that Rizal who was also writing in the nineteenth century had a different attitude to the Enlightenment and to reason (Bonoan and Raul, 1994). His writings do not show disappointment with reason and he was not dissatisfied with modernity in the way that Marx, Weber and Durkheim were. This is probably because for Rizal the Filipinos were not modern enough and were kept backward by the anti-rational church.

This results in the emergence of the *filibustero*, the 'dangerous patriot who should be hanged soon', that is, a revolutionary. The revolution, that is, breakaway from Spanish rule and Church is inevitable and the only means of emancipation. Rizal's second novel, *El Filibusterismo* (The Revolution [1992[1891]) is a prescription for revolution. The *Noli Me Tangere* (Touch Me Not) of 1887 suggests the need to displace the civil power of friars. The villains were the Fransiscan *padre*s. The civil and military power exercised by the Spanish Captain General, a colonial officer, is perceived as rational and progressive. Elias, a noble, patriotic and selfless Filipino dies in the novel, while the egoist Ibarra survives. In the sequel, *El Filibusterismo*, there is a shift in Rizal's thinking. The villains are the Dominican priests as well as the Captain General who turns out to be a mercenary. The revolution fails, reflecting Rizal's assessment of the readiness and preparedness of the Filipinos for revolution. He saw those who would lead a revolution as working out of self-interest rather than on behalf of a national community (Majul, 2001: 71–3). Rizal was reluctant to join a revolution that was doomed to failure due to lack of preparation, the egoism of the so-called revolutionaries, and the lack of a cohesive front. Nevertheless, his very actions and writings were revolutionary and he was executed for treason against Spain.

Rizal's thinking on the plight of the Filipinos was not detached from his concerns with the

rationality of Christianity. This was because the Catholic Church was a fundamental part of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines. Rizal's sociology of colonial society at the same time provides us with an account of the complicity of the church in the exploitation of the Filipinos, and the need for the church to be influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment

A KHALDUNIAN THEORY OF THE ORIGINS AND CAUSES OF MUSLIM REVIVAL

Introduction

Walī al–Dīn 'Abd al–Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn al–Tūnisī al–Haḍramī was born in Tunis on 1 Ramaḍān (according to the Muslim calendar). His family originated in the *Haḍramaut*, Yemen, and had settled in Seville, Andalusia, in the early days of the Arab conquest of Spain. With the *Reconquista*, his ancestors left Spain, settling in Tunis in the seventh to thirteenth centuries. Ibn Khaldūn was educated in the traditional sciences.[1]

The *Muqaddimah* (Prolegomenon) was conceived of by Ibn Khaldūn as a work that established the principles that had to be mastered in order that the proper study of history could be conducted. Completed in 1378, it introduces what Ibn Khaldūn claimed to be a novel science named '*ilm al-'umrān al-basharī* (science of human social organization) or '*ilm al-ijtimā' al-insanī* (science of human society).[2] He saw this to be a science which involves 'subtle explanation of the causes and origins of existing things, and deep knowledge of the how and why of events' (Ibn Khaldūn, 1981[1378]: 4 [1967: vol. I, 6]). The problem with existing historical works was that they were beset by errors and unfounded assumptions, as well as a blind trust in tradition.

The aim of the *Muqaddimah* was to comprehend changes in society via a critical approach that distinguished the possible and

the probable from the imaginary, particularly with regard to the rise and fall of states. For this, he developed a theory that took into account such phenomena as the types of social organization, solidarity and the types of authority. The discussion in the *Muqaddimah* falls under the following headings (Ibn Khaldūn, 1981[1378]: 41 [1967: vol. I, 85]):

1. social organization (*'umrān*) in general and its divisions
2. bedouin society (*al-'umrān al-badawī*)
3. the state (*al-dawlah*), royal (*mulk*) and caliphate (*khilāfah*) authority
4. sedentary society (*al-'umrān al-ḥaḍarī*)
5. the crafts, ways of making a living (*al-ma'Åsh*)
6. the sciences (*al-'ulūm*) and their acquisition.

The *Muqaddimah* was the first of the three books that constitute the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* (Book of Examples), a history of the Arabs and of Islam, as well as other peoples such as the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and Persians (Ibn Khaldūn, 1981[1378]: 6 [1967: vol. I, 11–12]). So important was the *Muqaddimah* in terms of its originality, that it came to be regarded as an independent work and is often read as such.

Theorizing the Rise and Decline of States

Ibn Khaldūn's central concern in the *Muqaddimah* was the explanation of the rise and decline of states, particularly of the Maghribi and eastern Arab states (al-Mashriq). The core phenomena and related concepts relevant to this theorizing are main types of social organization, that is, nomadic or bedouin (*badawī*) and sedentary (*ḥaḍarī*) societies. He also elaborated on the concept of authority, particularly caliphate (*khilāfah*) and royal (*mulk*) authority and the differential effects of these on solidarity (*al-'aṣabiyyah*). This in turn explained differences in the power of the ruling dynasty in its early as compared to its final days. He saw Bedouins as prior to sedentary people in the sense that

the desert was the reservoir of sedentary society and city life. In other words, sedentary society is the goal of the Bedouin life (Ibn Khaldūn, 1981[1378]: 371 [1967: vol. II, 291]). Fundamental to his theory is the concept of *'al-'aṣabiyyah* or tribal-based solidarity. Only a society with a strong *'al-'aṣabiyyah* could establish domination over one with a weak *'asabiyyah* (Ibn Khaldūn, 1981[1378]: 139 [1967: vol. I, 284]).

Here, *'al-'aṣabiyyah* refers to the feeling of solidarity among the members of a group that is based on their belief in a common descent. The more superior the *'al-'aṣabiyyah*, that is to say, the stronger the feeling of solidarity among the Bedouin, the more capable they were of defeating sedentary people in the cities and their environs, and establishing their own dynasties. The establishment of a new dynasty by nomadic tribesmen implies that it is these tribesmen that now constitute the new ruling class, as it were. It is this very assumption of ruling class status in an urban setting that creates the conditions for the decline of *'al-'aṣabiyyah*. As Ibn Khaldūn noted, the second generation of tribesmen undergo a change

> from the desert attitude to sedentary culture, from privation to luxury, from a state in which everybody shared in the glory to one in which one man claims all the glory for himself while the others are too lazy to strive for (glory), and from proud superiority to humble subservience. Thus, the vigour of group feeling is broken to some extent.

By the third generation *'al-'aṣabiyyah* disappears completely (Ibn Khaldūn, 1981[1378]: 171 [1967: vol. I, 344–5]). The decline or disappearance of *'al-'aṣabiyyah* or weakening solidarity among the tribesmen translates into diminishing military strength and inability to rule. The dynasty now is vulnerable to attack by fresh supplies of pre-urban Bedouins with their *'al-'aṣabiyyah* intact. These eventually replace the weaker sedentary ones. And so the cycle repeats itself.

A Theory of Muslim Revival

Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* is well known as a work that explains the rise and decline of the state. What is rarely discussed, however, is the fact that this theory is, at one and the same time, a theory of religious revival. Perhaps the first to recognize this was the Spanish philosopher, Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955). In an essay devoted to Ibn Khaldūn, Ortega suggests that Ibn Khaldūn's theory on the rise and decline of states can be applied to the rise of the Wahhabi movement in Arabia. The development of this movement took place according to the historical laws discovered by Ibn Khaldūn. Ibn Saud had the support of his tribe and captured the city of Najd. He employed an overarching religious ideology, Wahhabism. Ortega regarded Wahhabism as a form of puritanism and notes its extremism. He was wrong, however, in equating the puritanism of the Wahhabis with Islam itself. Nevertheless, he was right in recognizing the relevance of Ibn Khaldūn's theory for the explanation of the rise of the Saudi state and the role of the Wahhabi revival movement (Ortega y Gasset, 1976–78[1934]: 111–12).

Ibn Khaldūn noted the role of religious leaders in the unification of the Bedouin.

> When there is a prophet or saint among them, who calls upon them to fulfill the commands of God and rids them of blameworthy qualities and causes them to adopt praiseworthy ones, and who has them concentrate all their strength in order to make the truth prevail, they become fully united (as a social organization) and obtain superiority and royal authority

(Ibn Khaldūn, 1981[1378]: 151 [1967: vol. I, 35–306]).

Therefore, the solidarity implied by the concept of *'al-'aṣabiyyah* is not wholly dependant on kinship ties. Religion can also aid in forging such solidarity, the prime example of that being the rise of Islam itself.

The conflict between the pre-urban Bedouin and the sedentarized urban tribes is not just one over the city and the luxuries and prestige that it brings. The Bedouin are driven by a will to reform. The logic is one of periodical waves of revolutionary movements bent on abolishing what is objectionable *(taghyīr al-munkar)* (Ibn Khaldūn, 1981[1378]: 159 [1967: vol. I, 323]). In other words, it was the conquest of the dynasty by

pre-urban Bedouins that effectively, albeit temporarily, abolished what is objectionable, that is, the excesses of urban life. In Ibn Khaldūn's world there was the cyclical change that rescued society from these excesses.

The reform is cyclical. A tribe conquers a dynasty, establishes a new one and rules until it is overthrown by a reform-minded leader who has the support of tribes eager to cash in on the city. The luxury of city life is the chief cause of the rise of impiety.

In Ibn Khaldūn's world, ordinary folks were caught between the oppressive policies and conduct of a royal authority on the one hand and the prospects of conquest by bloodthirsty tribesmen led by a religious leader bent on destruction of the existing order. Ibn Khaldūn resigned himself to the eternal repetition of the cycle. He did not foresee developments that would lead to the elimination of the cycle. This happened with the Ottomans, the Qajar dynasty in Iran, and the state in the Yemen. The cycle ceased to be in operation when the basis of state power was no longer tribal.

Gellner's application of Ibn Khaldūn's theory by way of a merger with David Hume's oscillation theory of religion is well known and will not be repeated here (see Gellner, 1981: ch. 1)

While Gellner's work is probably the only serious attempt to look at Ibn Khaldūn's theory as a theory of Muslim reform,[3] there are problems with it. Gellner noted that Hume's model was excessively psychological (Gellner, 1981: 16). Gellner's merger of Hume and Ibn Khaldūn does provide the social basis for a theory deemed too psychologistic. What it does not do, however, is to introduce Ibn Khaldūn's concept of religious change or reform (*taghyīr al-munkar*) and elaborate on the social basis of such change. In fact, it is not merely that this religious change has a social basis. The relevance of the social goes beyond that. The process of religious change is part of a larger societal change that involves war and conflict, a change in the state elite and regime, and the ascendancy of a new ruling tribe.

Consider Ibn Khaldūn's own examples, the period of the rise and decline of three dynasties, that is, the Almoravids (al-Muwāḥḥidūn) (AD 1053–1147), Almohads (al-Murābiṭūn) (AD 1147–1275) and Marinids (AD 1213–1524). Each of these dynasties was founded with the support of Berber tribes, the ṣanhājah for the Almoravids, the *Maṣmūdah* for the Almohads and the *Zanātah* for the Marinids, and declined generally according to the model suggested by Ibn Khaldūn.

The Almoravids established their state utilizing the power of the powerful ṣanhājah Berber tribes, enlarged and established cities, and then enlisted the ṣanhājahs' help to keep at bay other possibly dissident tribes in the surrounding areas. But the Almoravids were eventually overcome by the Almohads; these had started as a religious reform movement under Ibn Tūmārt with the support of the *Maṣmūdah* Berber tribes. The Almohads themselves finally gave way to the Marinids who rode on the military support of the *Zanātah* Berber tribes.

The Relevance of the Khaldūnian Model Today

While there is no such cyclical logic today, there are general lessons from Ibn Khaldun's theory of Muslim revival. They can be stated as follows:

1. Religious revival takes place within the context of regime change, the coming of a new ruling class and, therefore, a realignment of loyalties.
2. Religious revival functions as an overarching ʿal-ʿaṣabiyyah that transcends tribalism, class and ethnicity and yet is immanent in them. For example, an Islamic al-ʿaṣabiyyah transcends all tribes, but is at the same time dependent on the ʿal-ʿaṣabiyyah of the strongest tribe which appealed to religion. The same logic of interacting ʿal-ʿaṣabiyyahs can be applied to non-tribal forms of solidarity and their relationship to religion.

3. The source of religious change is societal groups characterized by simpler modes of making a living and less luxurious lifestyles.
4. Religious revival is the outcome of conflict between a lesser institutionalized religion-based solidarity (al-'aṣabiyyah) and an urban-based religiosity regulated by institutions (see also Spickard, 2001: 109).
5. Religious zeal and religion-based solidarity are positively correlated.
6. The religious experience can be understood beyond its individual and psychological manifestations as a sociological phenomenon to the extent that it is a function of a type of al-'aṣabiyyah. The *Khaldūnian* approach would not be grounded in individuals (Spickard, 2001: 108).

CONCLUSION

The Meaning of Alternative Sociologies

An autonomous social science tradition is defined as one which raises a problem, creates concepts and creatively applies theories in an independent manner and without being dominated intellectually by another tradition (Alatas, 2002: 151). Social scientists that operate within such a tradition are practitioners of what I call alternative discourses in the social sciences. With reference to the Asian context, I had previously defined alternative discourses as those which are informed by local/regional historical experiences and cultural practices in Asia in the same way that the Western social sciences are. Being alternative requires the turn to philosophies, epistemologies, histories and the arts other than those of the Western tradition. These are all to be considered as potential sources of social science theories and concepts, which would decrease academic dependence on the world social science powers. Therefore, it becomes clear that the emergence and augmentation of alternative discourses is identical to the process of universalizing

and internationalizing the social sciences. It should also be clear that alternative discourses refer to good social science because they are more conscious of the relevance of the surroundings and the problems stemming from the discursive wielding of power by the social sciences – and with the need for the development of new ideas. The alternative is being defined as that which is relevant to its surroundings – is creative, non-imitativeand original, non-essentialist, counter-Eurocentric, autonomous from the state, and autonomous from other national or transnational groupings (Alatas, 2006: 82).

The examples of the works of José Rizal and Ibn Khaldūn have brought out a number of features of autonomous or alternative discourses in sociology. These can be listed as follows.

1. Attention to Rizal and Ibn Khaldūn suggest alternative research agenda, undetermined by interests in the world social science powers. On the agenda would be research topics such as the study of laziness and indolence, and the ideologies around them; and the study of religious revival in the context of various types of solidarity or social cohesion and state formation.
2. Attention to Rizal and Ibn Khaldūn also reverses the subject–object dichotomy in which the knowing subjects in social thought and social theory are generally Western European and North American white males. In this paper, however, Rizal and Ibn Khaldūn are not regarded as mere sources of data or information, but are seen as knowing subjects providing us with concepts and theories with which we may engage in the reconstruction of reality.
3. Attention to Rizal and Ibn Khaldūn, therefore, suggests the need to replace the domination of European-derived categories and concepts with a multicultural coexistence of the same. The idea is not to displace European-derived concepts but to create the conditions for concepts from various civilizational backgrounds to be known and utilized.

The idea behind promoting scholars like José Rizal and Ibn Khaldūn and a host of other

well-known and lesser-known thinkers in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe as well as in Europe and North America, is to contribute to the universalization of sociology. Sociology may be a global discipline but it is not a universal one as long as the various civilizational voices that have something to say about society are not rendered audible by the institutions and practices of our discipline.

NOTES

1. Following Ibn Khaldūn, there are two general categories of knowledge. The first category is that of the traditional sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-naqliyyah*). These refer to revealed knowledge rather than knowledge which is generated by man's intellect. They include *Qurʾanic exegesis* (*tafsīr*), Islamic laws (*al-ʿulūm al-sharʿiyyah*) which are derived from the *Qurʾan* and the *sunnah*, jurisprudence and its principles (*fiqh*, *ʿusūl al-fiqh*), the science of Prophetic tradition (*ʿilm al-ḥadīth*), and theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*). These sciences are specific to Islam and its adherents. The second category is that of the rational sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyyah*), that is, the sciences which arise from man's capacity for reason, sense perception and observation. Among these sciences are the science of logic (*ʿilm al-mantiq*), physics (*al-ʿilm al-tabīʿī*), metaphysics (*al-ʿilm al-illāhiyyah*), and the sciences concerned with measurement (*maqādīr*), that is, geometry (*ʿilm al-handasah*), arithmetic (*ʿilm al-artamāṭīqī*), music (*ʿilm al-mūsīqī*) and astronomy (*ʿilm al-hayʾati*) (Ibn Khaldūn, 1981[1378]: 435–7; 477–8).

2. Apart from the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldūn's chief works are the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa Dīwān al-Mubtadāʾ wa al-Khabar fī Ayyām al-ʿArab wa al-ʿAjam wa al-Barbar wa man Āsarahum min Dhawī al-Sultān al-Akbar (Book of Examples and the Collection of Origins of the History of the Arabs and Berbers); Lubāb al-Muḥaṣṣal fi uṣul al-dīn (The Resumé of the Compendium in the Fundamentals of Religion)*, being his summary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Compendium of the Sciences of the Ancients and Moderns*; and Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography, *Al-Taʿrīf bi Ibn Khaldūn wa Riḥlatuhu Gharban wa Sharqan (Biography of Ibn Khaldūn and His Travels East and West)* (1979).

3. A work that is related to our theme is Spickard (2001), although it is more concerned with elaborating an alternative sociology of religion than a theory of reform.

REFERENCES

Alatas, S.H. (1977) *The Myth of the Lazy Native: A Study of the Image of the Malays, Filipinos and Javanese from the 16th to the 20th Century and its Function in the Ideology of Colonial Capitalism*. London: Frank Cass.

Alatas, S.H. (2002) 'The Development of an Autonomous Social Science Tradition in Asia: Problems and Prospects', *Asian Journal of Social Science* 30(1): 150–7.

Alatas, S.F. (2006) *Alternative Discourses in Asian Social Science: Responses to Eurocentrism*. New Delhi: Sage.

Bonoan, S.J. and Raul, J. (1994) *The Rizal–Pastells Correspondence*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press.

de Morga, A. (1991[1890]) *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas por el Doctor Antonio de Morga, obra publicada en Méjico el año de 1609, nuevamente sacada a luz y anotada por José Rizal y precedida de un prólogo del Prof. Fernando Blumentritt,* Edición del Centenario, impression al *offset* de la Edición Anotada por Rizal, Paris 1890, *Escritos de José Rizal*, Tomo VI. Manila: Comision Nacional del Centenario de José Rizal, Instituto Histórico Nacional. (1962[1890]) (Historical Events of the Philippine Islands by Dr Antonio de Morga, published in Mexico in 1609, recently brought to light and annotated by Jose Rizal, preceded by a prologue by Dr Ferdinand Blumentritt, *Writings of Jose Rizal*, Vol. VI. Manila: National Historical Institute).

Gellner, E. (1981) *Muslim Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hume, D. (1976) *The Natural History of Religion*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ibn Khaldûn (1967) *Ibn Khaldun: The Muqadimmah – An Introduction to History*, in 3 vols, trans. from the Arabic by F. Rosenthal. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ibn Khaldūn (1979) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. *Al-Taʿrīf bi Ibn Khaldūn wa Riḥlatuhu Gharban wa Sharqan* (Autobiography). Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī; Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Masrī.

Ibn Khaldūn (1981[1378]) *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn (The Prolegomenon of Ibn Khaldūn)*. Bayrut: Dar al-Qalam.

Majul, C.A. (2001) 'Rizal's *Noli* and *Fili*: Their Relevance to the Coming Millenium', in Centennial Lecture Series – Memories, Visions and Scholarship and Other Essays, pp. 55–75.

Quexon City: University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies, 2002.

Ocampo, A.R. (*1998*) 'Rizal's Morga and Views of Philippine History', *Philippine Studies* 46: 184–214.

Ortega Y Gasset, J. (1976–8[1934]) 'Abenjaldún nos revela el secreto' (Ibn Khaldūn Reveals to Us the Secret), *Revista del Instituto Egicio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 19: 95–114. First published in 1934 in El Espectador 7: 9–53.

Rizal, J. (1959) *One Hundred Letters of José Rizal to his Parents, Brother, Sisters, Relatives*. Manila: Philippine National Historical Society.

Rizal, J. (1962[1890]) 'To the Filipinos', in Antonio de Morga, *Historical Events of the Philippine Islands*, p. vii

Rizal, J. (1963a) 'Filipino Farmers', *Political and Historical Writings*, pp. 19–22. Manila: National Historical Institute.

Rizal, J. (1963b) 'The Truth for All', *Political and Historical Writings*, pp. 31–8. Manila: National Historical Institute.

Rizal, J. (1963c) 'The Indolence of the Filipino', *Political and Historical Writings*, pp. 111–39. Manila: National Historical Institute.

Rizal, J. (1990[1887]) *Noli Me Tangere* (Touch Me Not). Introduction by J. V. Castro. Manila: Nalandangan Press.

Rizal, J. (1992[1891]) *The Revolution*. Introduction by J. V. Castro. Manila: Nalandangan Press.

Spickard, J.V. (2001) 'Tribes and Cities: Towards an Islamic Sociology of Religion', *Social Compass* 48(1): 103–16.

Zaide, S (1993) 'Historiography in the Spanish Period', in *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* pp. 4–19. Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council.

3

Learning from Each Other: Sociology on a World Scale

Raewyn Connell

WORLD SOCIOLOGY, MARK I AND MARK II

To make a new sociology on a world scale, we have to understand the history of the old sociology. To do that, our first task is to get beyond the mythologized version of the history of sociology that still haunts our textbooks and our journals.

Sociology was not created in classic texts by Durkheim, Marx and Weber. It was not initially a science of modernity or industrial society. At the time sociology was institutionalized, that is, took shape as a collective discourse and an institutional practice, with university courses, associations, technical journals, monographs and popular books (which happened quite rapidly in the two decades 1890–1910), it was understood as being much broader in scope than it is perceived today, and as being collectively created by a whole generation of thinkers. Then sociology was understood as an all-inclusive science of social development, whose key concept was historical 'progress'. As scientists, sociologists sought for scientific laws explaining progress from the primitive to the advanced forms of society. As public intellectuals, they found literary forms to represent such progress – notably the grand ethnography seen in texts such as Tönnies' *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* – and intervened in politics with ideas for further social improvement.

Sociology Mark I, which we might also call 'Comtean' sociology from its initial framing in the philosophy of Comte, arose in a particular setting: the major cities and university towns of the great imperial powers of the late nineteenth century. The thinkers concerned were, essentially, the liberal intelligentsia of the imperial centre. The idea of sociology was quickly and widely disseminated, in particular through the vast influence of Spencer, whose version of Comtean sociology appeared two decades before the professionalization of the discipline. Scattered contributions to the project came from as far away as Melbourne, in the remote British colony of Victoria. But the centre of intellectual production remained the global metropole.

The colonized world, however, was very much in the sociologists' minds – as we see

in the actual content of textbooks and journals from this era, including Durkheim's *L'année sociologique*. Indeed, we can say that the colonized world was vital to Sociology Mark I, because it was the major source of data for the theory of progress. The colonized world, seen from the metropole, was a magnificent museum of primitiveness. Through reports to the metropole from explorers' narratives, missionary memoirs, government correspondence and, increasingly, professional enquiry, the colonized world offered a gallery of social forms, social customs, social groups. Theorists in the metropole could, and did, array these data in a grid of race, levels of economic development, social integration or whatever principle of classification took their fancy.

Texts such as Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Durkheim's *Division of Labour*, Sumner's *Folkways*, and many others that are now forgotten hovered above the colonized world, picking an example here or an example there from India, Africa, the Americas, the Pacific and Australia, and weaving them into this scientific narrative. The fact that the 'science' constantly involved derogatory views of the colonized rarely troubled the sociologists. These cultures were, in their eyes, of interest precisely because they were more primitive, representing (as they thought) earlier stages of social development (Connell, 1997).

There was an intimate connection between sociology and imperialism from the start. Sociology, as a theory of progress, offered the intellectuals of the metropole a resolution of the political and moral dilemmas of liberalism and empire. It offered to intellectuals of the colonized world a model of social change which might, eventually, change the global disparity of power. This did not last. Comtean sociology reached a point of crisis in the decade around 1920. In Europe, after an outburst of creativity, sociology was practically obliterated by fascism and Stalinism. In the United States, events took a different course and Comtean sociology was displaced by an enterprise that I will call Sociology Mark II.

Sociology Mark II was a discipline focused on the society of the global metropole. It was very inventive methodologically, developing forms of investigation such as sample surveys, multivariate statistical analysis, attitude measurement, urban ethnography, life history research and so on. Theoretically, it was preoccupied with internal questions of differentiation, disorder and social cohesion, inequality, socialization and deviance. This was the sociology of Ogburn, Parsons, Lazarsfeld, Merton and Mills. *Now* the search for 'classics' and 'founding fathers' began, and by about 1970 the holy trinity of Marx, Durkheim and Weber had been appointed to provide legitimacy for a science of modern industrial society. *Now* a sharp line was drawn between sociology and the colonized world, with an academic division of labour between sociology and anthropology.

It was Sociology Mark II that was returned to Europe, after the war against fascism, in a new avataar. It was exported to the rest of the world in the context of the Cold War. 'Export' is not entirely a figure of speech. A deliberate, and often successful fostering of US-model economic and social science in universities of developing countries, was undertaken by the US state and corporate foundations in the 1950s and 1960s, Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations taking the lead.

The International Sociological Association is a child of this moment in the history of the discipline, and, not surprisingly, has long had difficulty generating another model of sociological knowledge. Where Sociology Mark I spoke directly of the relation between metropole and periphery in its model of progress, Sociology Mark II suppressed this relation as an intellectual theme but embedded metropolitan hegemony in its institutional structures.

Knowledges in the Colonial Encounter

Though Sociology Mark II acted as if it were the only legitimate form of knowledge of society, and was sometimes received as such,

by the time it was created, the expanding global empires of the European and North Atlantic powers had encountered many other cultural configurations of knowledge. Since this important truth is recognized by the structure of this handbook, I will not spend time documenting the fact. But I think it is useful to mention three different forms of knowledge that were involved in the colonial encounter and its aftermath.

In the first place the colonizers encountered pre-existing knowledge systems embedded in the cultures of the peoples they conquered and exploited – what we now commonly call 'indigenous knowledge' (Odora Hoppers, 2002). Sometimes the colonizers failed to recognize this as knowledge at all, dismissing it as superstition, primitive art, barbarian custom and so forth. Sometimes they simply appropriated bits of it that were of immediate use.

A classic example comes from the first British settlement in Australia. For several decades the colonists in Sydney could not make their way through the Blue Mountains to the west of the coastal plains, defeated by high sandstone cliffs. Eventually an expedition did get across, and its leadership, the trio of Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson, has been celebrated for generations in Australian schools as the brave explorers who discovered the route to the inland. What they had actually done (apparently it had not occurred to previous explorers) was to ask the local people the way, thus tapping into the pre-existing aboriginal system of geographical knowledge. There was already an indigenous trade route across the mountains.

Sometimes, however, the colonizers became interested in the culture of the colonized more generally. This was the route to 'orientalism' as a system of knowledge. We know, from the researches of Said and many others, how this operated in the culture of the colonizing powers. It also had growing influence in the culture of the colonized. Al-e Ahmad, in his polemic against 'westoxication' in Iran, commented:

The westoxicated man even describes, understands, and explains himself in the language of

orientalists! . . . He has placed himself, an imagined thing, under the orientalist's microscope, and he depends on what the orientalist sees, not on what he is, feels, and experiences.

(Al-e Ahmad, 1982[1962]: 121)

A similar structure of knowledge appeared in sub-Saharan Africa, where the Belgian missionary Tempels assembled from fragments of local culture an account of 'Bantu philosophy' that became widely influential, and was praised and developed by many African writers. It has also, indirectly, become a model for accounts of indigenous knowledge systems in other parts of the world. Hountondji's brilliant critique in *African Philosophy* (1983[1976]) of this 'philosophy in the third person' showed its highly debatable assumptions about African culture, indeed, how it actually embedded the colonizer's gaze on African society.

Around the colonial encounter itself, a second form of knowledge developed: the analysis and critique of colonialism and the study of its impact on local societies. Pioneering figures here include al-Afghani, whose *Refutation of the Materialists* (1968[1881]), along with his journalism, contain a cultural critique of imperialism from an Islamic standpoint, and elaborate an alternative strategy of modernization. At the other end of the Islamic world, in the Dutch East Indies, Kartini (1900–04) wove together a review of the colonial regime with a critique of local patriarchy into a strategy for the educational advancement of Javanese women (Kartini, 1992). Another pioneer was Sun Yat-sen, the first president of the Republic of China. Sun Yat-sen's late essays in *Three Principles of the People* (1975[1927]) contain sharp observations about cultural hybridization as well as economic and technological development.

Perhaps the most striking of all, in this domain of knowledge, was Solomon Plaatje's *Native Life in South Africa* (1982[1916]). Plaatje, the secretary of the organization that was forerunner to the African National Congress (ANC), studied the impact of the

Natives' Land Act passed in 1913 by the settler colonial government. He travelled the country doing fieldwork, and on this basis told the story of indigenous families displaced from their land by this racial enclosure Act and wove this together with an analysis of the colonial state, the attitudes of settler society, and the relevant political history.

The third form of social knowledge was analysis of the societies produced by colonialism, and the changing forms of their relationship with the global metropole. Here, pride of place goes to the rich Latin American literature on dependence and development. Decolonization in Latin America and the Caribbean was a long saga, from the days of Bolívar and San Martín – indeed the saga is not quite finished yet. Among its incidents was a transplantation of Comtean positivism to Brazil, where it fed into the creation of a republican politics. By mid-twentieth century a mature critique of economic and cultural systems was possible. Raúl Prebisch's *The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems* (1950) and Octavio Paz's *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (1990[1950]) represent this moment, on the economic and cultural sides respectively. They were followed by a growing literature of political economy and sociology, in which Cardoso and Faletto's *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (1979[1971]), a vast synthesis of historical sociology, is a high point.

The term 'post-colonial society' is not really adequate to the reality here, as if imperialism stopped with the departure of the occupying armies. The continuity of the state, from colonial to post-colonial periods, is a fundamental problem; with only a few exceptions, post-colonial regimes inherited a state structure from the empires (and in the case of the United States and what is now the Russian Federation, never de-colonized). Ashis Nandy (2003), for instance, centres his critique of contemporary Indian society on the modernizing state – that was split, but not dismantled, at Independence in 1947 – and the secularized middle classes whose interests it mainly represents.

Nor is the analysis of 'post-colonial' social orders easily confined within the academic disciplines that have become institutionalized in the universities of the metropole. Nandy, for instance, weaves together sociological, psychological, historical, literary and media analysis (Nandy, 2001). Ali Shariati in Iran, who certainly thought of himself as a sociologist and who developed among other things a sophisticated class analysis and a sociology of intellectuals, worked on the basis of an intimate connection between theology and the social sciences, as does Abdolkarim Sorush in the period since the Islamic revolution of 1979 (Ghamari-Tabrizi, 2004). Sociology, that is to say, is likely to exist in different genres and different intellectual alliances across the majority world.

No Mosaic

How should we understand the relations between the different forms of sociological (or more broadly social scientific) knowledge that have come into existence on a world scale? The most easily defended is the idea of a global mosaic of different knowledge systems. This corresponds to a popular image of contemporary 'globalization' as the unfettered hybridization of diverse cultures and experiences.

The 'mosaic' model has one tremendous advantage. It allows us to contest the primacy of metropolitan theory by affirming the equal value of all cultures, their right to exist and flourish, and the capacity of any of them to learn from any other. The colonialist contempt for colonized cultures is overthrown, and the existence of multiple paths to knowledge is acknowledged.

The problem of the structure of knowledge on a world scale then becomes the problem of the articulation of different knowledge systems on a new, egalitarian basis, overcoming the historical dominance of world-views imported from the metropole. At its best, as Odora Hoppers writes in a recent African review of the integration of

knowledge systems, this will '*open new moral and cognitive spaces* within which constructive dialogue and engagement for sustainable development and collective emancipation can begin' (Odora Hoppers, 2002: 10).

The model of a mosaic of knowledge systems underpinned the International Sociological Association's exploration of 'indigenous sociologies' in the 1980s and 1990s. A leading example of this project was Akiwowo's (1986, 1999) attempt to formulate sociological concepts based on the oral poetry of a divination tradition in western Nigeria. Though indigenous knowledge is a concept which has had particular traction in Africa, it is by no means confined there, and has been an important concept in indigenous struggles for autonomy in other parts of the world. In principle, indigenous sociology of the kind illustrated by Akiwowo's project can be constructed wherever there is a cultural tradition surviving from precolonial times.

The mosaic model is so attractive in offering recognition to diverse intellectual traditions and, as Odora Hoppers argues, opens such possibilities for respectful mutual engagement, that it is hard to argue against. Nevertheless, I will argue against it, because this model also embeds deep problems which are likely to become worse, not better, under neoliberal globalization.

The immediate difficulty with the 'mosaic' model of multiple knowledges is that – as Friedman (1994) observed about the cultural mosaic model of globalization – it reifies as distinct 'cultures' what are actually much more fluid, interconnected, messy social processes. Of course this is a problem about metropolitan sociology too. There is now more unease than formerly about the careless way sociologists have talked of 'American society', 'British society', etc., as if the boundaries of a nation-state defined the boundaries of a whole social order. The post-modern turn in theory has called into question the sense in which we can usefully talk of a 'social system' at all, no matter where it is.

If this is a problem about social analysis in the metropole, how much more of a problem it must be in societies and cultures torn apart by colonialism. The French ethnographer Georges Balandier (1970[1955]), in one of the most impressive attempts by a European social scientist to understand the realities of colonialism, argued that a colonized society is unavoidably a society in crisis. Whether impacted by military conquest, settlement, economic penetration or forced migration – of course, often all of these – colonized societies are in multiple ways torn apart and forced onto new paths of change.

Hau'ofa (2008), in a notable analysis of post-independence society in the south-west Pacific, saw this re-composition resulting in a new class structure. Hau'ofa saw an emerging dominant class, linked across the Pacific islands, building on formal education, the local state, development aid programmes and capitalist businesses, increasingly integrated into global bourgeois society, while local indigenous cultures were sustained only by the poor and excluded. Hau'ofa's views changed over time, but there is enough in common with other theorists of the global South – for instance Nandy's analysis of class formation in India and Al-e Ahmad's account of the westoxicated elites in Iran – to suggest this pattern has some generality. It is very familiar in Latin America. In most of the world, we no longer have autonomous cultures, societies, economies; we have what Prebisch (1981) dubbed 'peripheral capitalism' in a complex interplay with fragmented cultures and massively transformed social structures.

The other profound problem with the 'mosaic' model of knowledge is its strong tendency to treat indigenous knowledge as a closed system. Indigenous knowledge is treated as a fixed set of concepts and beliefs, rooted in tradition, to be defended against outside pressures for change. There are, ironically, reasons for both colonizers and colonized to adopt this view. Among the intellectuals of the colonizing powers, the idea of indigenous knowledge as static 'tradition' fitted into the grand contrast between primitive and advanced inherent in the nineteenth-century doctrine of progress.

In newer forms, the idea that 'tradition' is the site of resistance to modernization and rationality still infests development discourses in the era of Structural Adjustment Programs and technology transfer schemes.

On the other side, the idea of local culture as embodying a fixed body of knowledge and system of ideas provides a form of defence against the pressures of colonialism and neoliberal globalization. Here, so to speak, is the palisade to fight from, the zone to be defended against intrusion from outside. In contexts of massive trauma, dislocation of populations, and remorseless rates of death, this was no small resource.

And yet, colonized cultures at every scale of population, from the smallest language communities to the whole Muslim *umma* (i.e. the worldwide community of the faith), were dynamic *before* the impact of modern colonialism. They had internal diversity, conflict, and processes of change. As Hountondji observed, the idea of 'primitive unanimity' was a myth, no matter who promulgated it. In the post-colonial period this became a dangerous myth, as authoritarian regimes created ideologies of African 'authenticity' to bolster their own power. We have heard the same tones in voices promulgating 'Asian values' and 'the Pacific way' more recently. Strangely, these modern invocations of tradition by post-colonial power elites seem constantly to be directed *against* democracy, tolerance and equality – as if these ideas had been invented by imperialists!

If the 'mosaic' model of multiple knowledge is not sustainable, what can replace it? The answer must lie, ultimately, in what *links* different orders and forms of knowledge. We have to make, in Hountondji's (2002a: 207) eloquent expression, 'a wager for communication'. But we have to do that in an unjust, unequal, violent world. How is that possible?

Learning from Paris

Hountondji himself, as a student, travelled from Benin (then Dahomey) to France, the colonial power, and studied for years in Paris. He even wrote a doctoral thesis on that most European of philosophers, Husserl. Shariati likewise travelled to Paris, on a scholarship provided by the Shah of Iran, and gained his doctorate after studying with Gurvitch, among others. A couple of decades before, Fanon had gone to France from the West Indies, had even fought for the French in the war against fascism, and studied psychiatry in French lecture rooms and hospitals.

The French state sponsored as a matter of policy promising young intellectuals from the colonized world to study in the metropole. So did the British, though less consistently. Among their star recruits, freezing in cheap accommodation in London, was a young law student called Mohandas Gandhi. So, in their turn, did the Americans, as part of the Cold War strategy of trying to form anti-communist elites across the developing world. Among the most celebrated were the 'Chicago Boys', graduates of the economics school at the University of Chicago, who later introduced neoliberalism to Chile under the Pinochet dictatorship.

The pattern of travel to the metropole continues today, though the economics have changed. Under global neoliberalism the universities of the metropole are more likely to charge huge fees than to offer financial support. Intellectuals from the periphery are willing to pay, because being connected with the metropole and being trained in its techniques confer a huge advantage in gaining jobs, promotion and attention in the periphery, and can open up opportunities to settle in the metropole.

This physical, personal connection with the metropole does of course have consequences for intellectuals from the periphery. Some are completely absorbed into metropolitan knowledge institutions. Some return, as missionaries of a metropolitan church reproducing sociological functionalism, empiricism, neoclassical economics or whatever, in the periphery. Some return but, using contemporary technologies such as the internet and air travel, form part of extended

scientific networks, 'invisible colleges' centring on the research institutes of the metropole, to which they return from time to time for conferences, sabbaticals and refreshers (Connell and Wood, 2002).

Others, however, tried to make a critical appropriation of metropolitan knowledge systems, or to combine them in new ways with the experience and knowledges of the periphery. Fanon himself was one of the pioneers of this effort, appropriating ideas and techniques from European psychiatry (not, as so often supposed, psychoanalysis) and deploying them in the analysis of racism and colonialism. Again the pattern is a broad one, extending far beyond the social sciences. One cannot read the poetry of Derek Walcott (2007), for instance, without being immediately aware of his mastery of the English traditions of versification, as well as his roots in the landscape and language of St Lucia and more widely the Caribbean.

The metropole is a huge presence for the intellectuals of the periphery, and sociology is no exception. Resources are concentrated in the metropole, trends emanate from there, and reputations are made and unmade there. The famous theorists my colleagues and students habitually read and cite are Bourdieu, Giddens, Beck, Habermas, Foucault, Lyotard, Haraway, Butler – all citizens of the metropole – and when specifically discussing post-coloniality, Spivak and Said – who made their reputations in the metropole. Among other disconcerting facts, the different regions of the periphery mostly communicate with each other via the metropole. It is in journals published in North America and Europe that I am likely to learn in Australia about social processes and social researchers in Russia, in the Mahgreb or in Brazil. But I have to go looking specifically for such reports. The default setting of social science in the periphery is orientation to the metropole, and much of the time this amounts to straightforward intellectual dependence.

There are some good reasons for this. Global disparities in wealth are so huge, that the countries of the metropole can afford university systems and other research institutions, both proportionately and absolutely bigger and far richer in research funds than anything in the rest of the world. Language is an important issue, and the languages of international science are, overwhelmingly, the languages of the colonizers. Global communication systems centre on the metropole; even the internet, relatively decentralized, is dominated by content and techniques from the United States. There is also a path-dependency effect that amplifies the effect of wealth and centrality. Sociology II was created in the United States, and several generations of practice, critique, innovation and internal competition have understandably developed it to the high level of sophistication we see in the *American Journal of Sociology* and *American Sociological Review* today.

We learn from Paris, then, to return to my opening synecdoche, because we have to. No one can be a skilled, functioning sociologist in a post-imperial world without having a grasp of the intellectual output of the metropole, i.e. without reading the Bourdieus, Becks and Butlers. One cannot afford to be illiterate in the most powerful conceptual languages of the present.

But do we have to engage in this traffic on the terms of radically unequal exchange that are current? Let us consider how the terms of exchange might alter.

Learning from Cotonou

There is a whole genre of social-scientific work that addresses the social experience of the periphery, giving it more genuine attention and concern than Sociology I did, but still theorizing it through categories developed in the metropole. Some of this is excellent social science. I have in mind such admirable work as Evans' *Embedded Autonomy* (1995), which applies metropolitan debates about the state in a comparative study of industrialization processes; or, very recently, Corrêa et al.'s *Sexuality, Health and Human Rights* (2008)

which deploys Foucault, Butler and queer theory in a worldwide survey of the turbulent politics of sexuality. This is, however, still *thinking* from the metropole. Social science built in this way still follows the colonialist model outlined so clearly by Hountondji (2002b), where data collection and practical application of science occur in the periphery, but the crucial step of theorizing occurs in the metropole.

To change that pattern requires a change in expectations which is, in the first place, a willingness to attend to the intellectual production of the periphery. There are material obstacles, as well as attitudes, to change. For one thing, books published in the periphery rarely circulate in the metropole, and hence to other parts of the periphery. Hountondji's first book, *Libertés* (1973), was published in Cotonou. It contains a very interesting discussion of the relation of intellectuals to revolutionary movements, as well as part of his analysis of 'African philosophy'. I have *never* seen it cited in the later literature on these subjects. His second book, *Sur la philosophie africaine*, was published a few years later in Paris – and that became famous.

What might change the default attitude of social scientists (in both metropole and periphery) that it is the intellectual production of the metropole that has to be attended to? There are, indeed have long been, a few prominent intellectuals from the periphery who have gained recognition in the metropole and a degree of worldwide fame. Paulo Freire, Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Samir Amin and Amartya Sen are among those important to the social sciences; the Indian group that produced *Subaltern Studies* became a kind of collective celebrity in the same sense.

This is certainly a long step forward from complete disregard; yet the presence of a few prominent figures is still far short of what we need. Such a group can easily be marginalized, indeed are usually seen as practitioners of a kind of regional specialty – 'post-colonial studies' or 'development economics' specifically. Metropolitan science then is excused

from taking their concerns into its central conceptual work.

The failure of mainstream Sociology II to pay attention is strikingly shown in the sociological theorization of globalization in the last two decades. In this literature, although it sets out to talk about the world as a whole, almost none of the intellectual production of the majority world is taken into account. Mainstream sociology, ironically, has theorized globalization mainly by projecting its pre-existing analyses of metropolitan society onto a global scale (Connell, 2007: 49ff.).

When I have put these arguments to sociologists in the metropole, there have been mixed responses – understandably so, as professional identities are at stake. One of the responses is to ask 'What does this literature [i.e. Southern theory] add to what we [in the metropole] already know?' That is a good question, from the point of view of people responsible for writing curricula for university courses, though the underlying assumption, that metropolitan knowledge is automatically the basis of sociological science, is rather obtrusive.

So, what does the metropole have to learn? Indeed, what do the different regions of the periphery have to learn, when they turn their gaze away from the metropole? In *Southern Theory* I have given two kinds of answer. One is to introduce readers to a wide range of social analysts, people working on diverse problems and often in different genres, whose work seems to me as good as anything being produced in the metropole at the time. Thus I hope to introduce social scientists to a wider peer group than they are usually acquainted with, and in this, the present *Handbook* will greatly help.

The second answer is to show the themes and problems that become prominent in the social analyses of the periphery, themes that are less central, and sometimes very muted indeed, in the social science of the metropole. Among them are problems around colonialism itself, and the post-independence forms of subordination and marginality on a

world scale; the experience of loss, and the un-making of institutions and social orders; discontinuous time, and the carrying forward of rupture into post-colonial social order; the significance of the land in social structure. There are issues also about what I have awkwardly called the 'metropole-apparatus', the social machinery that allows rich countries to perform the function of global metropole; the replication of the metropole-apparatus within the social relations of the periphery; and the emergence of new social actors in struggles with and inside this social machinery (Das, 1995; Connell, 2007; Keim, 2008). That is not a research agenda, but a beginning in naming the wealth of issues and ideas that the metropole can learn about from the *already existing* work of intellectuals in the majority world.

More, it is not only issues and problems that can be learned about, but possible framings for social science itself. Nandy argues that Gandhi's struggle against British rule in India did not just create a particularist opposition, but confronted British power with an alternative universalism. Lal's *Empire of Knowledge* (2002) attempts to build on this idea a broad critique of mainstream social science; though the detail is often debatable, the project is significant. Shariati, a generation earlier, had made a vigorous attempt to found a sociology on Islamic principle, indeed on Islamic theology. His agenda of research and teaching for Hosseiniyeh Ershad, the institution that he hoped to make a world centre of Islamic studies, is worth close attention as another framing of social science (Shariati, 1986).

SOCIOLOGY MARK III: LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER ON A WORLD SCALE

I think we should take the idea of 'learning' very seriously, not just treat it as comfortable rhetoric. The development of social science involves a collective learning process on a world scale; indeed, a complex of learning processes, which will take different shapes in different parts of world society. There is now beginning to be a useful discussion of the issues of mutual learning, rather than one-way 'knowledge transfer', across global divides (McFarlane, 2006). In developing social science we face educational problems, and we have to think concretely, as educators do, about curricula, teaching and learning methods.

In facing these questions, sociologists can draw from long-standing discussions about education in contexts of inequality and oppression – especially about the ways the effects of inequality can be interrupted and different outcomes brought about. There is a considerable body of thought about curricular justice, inclusive curricula, critical pedagogy, participatory learning, decentralized learning networks and related issues. (Giroux, 1988; Connell, 1993; Arnot, 2002). Most of this concerns school education, and comes from movements dealing with gender inequality, poverty, working-class education and indigenous education. This cannot be directly read off at the level of the creation of social theory, but there is enough overlap between the problems to make the ideas relevant.

What, for instance, should be the approach taken by sociologists in the universities of the metropole to graduate students from the majority world? A top-down pedagogy will give them the tools of metropolitan science at the price of dependency. With a participatory pedagogy, their existing knowledge and networks could become an important resource for their teachers and for fellow-students from other parts of the periphery. However, graduate programmes in the metropole are strongly constrained by the professional norms of metropolitan science, so individual programmes could move towards a globally inclusive curriculum only at some risk of professional marginalization for their metropolitan students.

To speak of mutual learning is to assume that *every* party to an exchange is able to learn. This is why we cannot settle for a 'mosaic' model of diplomatic recognition among multiple but

closed knowledge systems. Interchange must be based on the capacities of knowledge systems to develop, to engage in self-criticism, to transform themselves in the pursuit of truth. Mutual learning implies mutual criticism as a learning mechanism. This is a very delicate territory, given global power inequalities and the history of denigration and abuse heaped on indigenous cultures under colonialism and since. It is therefore vital, as Hountondji and his colleagues (1997 [1994]) argue in their exploration of knowledge systems in West Africa, to recognize the systematic element of truth in endogenous knowledges as well as the role of ideology in the same systems.

On the assumption of mutual learning, there are attractive and exciting prospects for globally inclusive curricula in the teaching of sociology. These would move us towards Sociology III – a science constituted as a mutual learning process without metropolitan hegemony. In principle such curricula can be undertaken now, in both metropole and periphery, and some teachers are already trying to do that.

In practice we have to be aware of many difficulties. Global inequalities mean that the resources for *any* kind of social science teaching, let alone innovative and exploratory teaching, are in short supply in developing countries and indigenous communities. The professionalization of social science in the metropole creates its own constraints. Political and religious controls in many parts of the world constrain what can be said, published and researched across social-science domains, from class inequality to gender and sexuality. One example is provided by Colonna's (2003) analysis of the impossibility of doing subaltern studies under the nationalist regime in Algeria; readers will think of many others.

Another kind of constraint is created by neoliberalism's impact on university systems across the world. The ruling market agenda puts pressure on all the social sciences, replacing education with 'training', and putting a premium on marketable knowledge (for instance, commercial research or studies of small practical problems) rather than critical thinking.

For all that, Sociology III will happen. Sociology II, though still strongly institutionalized and still productive, has been declining as an intellectual force since the 1970s. As a model for a global knowledge system it has reached the end of its possibilities. With neoliberal regimes tightening their grip on science and higher education worldwide, social science, in general, and, sociology, in particular, have to find new agendas and a new role in culture.

I think this role is already visible, and is inherent in what social science fundamentally is: the organized and developing knowledge of society. The alternative to being captured by the interests of power and privilege – that is, being turned into techniques of surveillance and control, with sociology having a special role as a residual science on the fringe of the market – is to pursue a course of democratization.

Social science can become a central part of the self-knowledge of society, necessary for making democratic processes work in mass societies and on a global scale. But if we are to pursue such a role, democracy must also be at work within social science. Hence the need for the decentred, mutual learning process sketched above. Along this path, I think, sociology may make a greater contribution to world culture than it ever has before.

REFERENCES

Akiwowo, A.A. (1986) 'Contributions to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Oral Poetry', *International Sociology* 1(4): 343–58.

Akiwowo, A.A. (1999) 'Indigenous Sociologies: Extending the Scope of the Argument', *International Sociology* 14(2): 115–38.

Al-Afghani, S.J. (1968[1881]) *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din 'al-Afghani'*. Trans. N. R. Keddie and H. Algar. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Al-e Ahmad, J. (1982[1962]) *Gharbzadegi (*Weststruckness*)*. Trans. J. Green and A. Alizadeh. Lexington, KY: Mazda Publishers.

Arnot, M. (2002) *Reproducing Gender? Essays on Educational Theory and Feminist Politics*. London: Routledge.

Balandier, G. (1970[1955]) *The Sociology of Black Africa: Social Dynamics in Central Africa*. London: André Deutsch.

Cardoso, F.H. and Faletto, E. (1979[1971]) *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Colonna, F. (2003) 'The Nation's "Unknowing Other": Three Intellectuals and the Culture(s) of Being Algerian, or the Impossibility of Subaltern Studies in Algeria', *Journal of North African Studies* 8(1): 155–70.

Connell, R. (1993) *Schools and Social Justice*. Toronto: Our Schools/Ourselves.

Connell, R. (1997) 'Why is Classical Theory Classical?', *American Journal of Sociology* 102(6): 1511–57.

Connell, R. (2007) *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Connell, R. and Wood, J. (2002) 'Globalization and Scientific Labour: Patterns in a Life-history Study of Intellectual Workers in the Periphery', *Journal of Sociology* 38(2): 167–90.

Corrêa, S., Petchesky, R. and Parker, R. (2008) *Sexuality, Health and Human Rights*. London: Routledge.

Das, V. (1995) *Critical Events: An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Evans, P. (1995) *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Friedman, J. (1994) *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: Sage.

Ghamari-Tabrizi, B. (2004) 'Contentious Public Religion: Two Conceptions of Islam in Revolutionary Iran', *International Sociology* 19(4): 504–23.

Giroux, H.A. (1988) *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning*. Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Hau'ofa, E. (2008) *We Are the Ocean*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Hountondji, P.J. (1973) *Libertés: Contribution à la Révolution Dahoméen*. Cotonou: Editions Renaissance.

Hountondji, P.J. (1983[1976]) *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality*. Trans. H. Evans and J. Rée. London: Hutchinson.

Hountondji, P.J. (ed.) (1997[1994]) *Endogenous Knowledge: Research Trails*. Dakar: Codesria.

Hountondji, P.J. (2002a) *The Struggle for Meaning: Reflections on Philosophy, Culture and Democracy in Africa*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Hountondji, P.J. (2002b) 'Knowledge Appropriation in a Post-colonial Context', in C.A. Odora Hoppers (ed.) *Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems*, pp. 23–38. Claremont, CA: New Africa Books.

Kartini, R.A. (1992) *Letters from Kartini: An Indonesian Feminist, 1900–04*. Clayton, CA: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University.

Keim, W. (2008) *Vermessene Disziplin: Zum konterhegemonialen Potential afrikanischer und lateinamerikanischer Soziologien*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Lal, V. (2002) *Empire of Knowledge: Culture and Plurality in the Global Economy*. London: Pluto.

McFarlane, C. (2006) 'Crossing Borders: Development, Learning and the North–South Divide', *Third World Quarterly* 27(8): 1413–37.

Nandy, A. (2001) *An Ambiguous Journey to the City: The Village and the Other Odd Ruins of the Self in the Indian Imagination*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Nandy, A. (2003) *The Romance of the State, and the Fate of Dissent in the Tropics*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Odora Hoppers, C.A. (ed.) (2002) *Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation*. Claremont, CA: New Africa Books.

Paz, O. (1990[1950]) *The Labyrinth of Solitude*. Enlarged edn. London: Penguin.

Plaatje, S.T. (1982[1916]) *Native Life in South Africa: Before and Since the European War and the Boer Rebellion*. New edn. Braamfontein: Ravan Press.

Prebisch, R. (1950) *The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems*. New York: United Nations Department of Economic Affairs. Reprinted in D. Greenaway and C. W. Morgan (eds) (1999) *The Economics*

of Commodity Markets. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Prebisch, R. (1981) *Captialismo periférico: crisis y transformación [Peripheral Capitalism: Crisis and Transformation]*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Shariati, A. (1986) *What Is to Be Done? The Enlightened Thinkers and an Islamic Renaissance*, ed. F. Rajaee. Houston, TX: Institute for Research and Islamic Studies.

Sun Yat-sen (1975[1927]) *San Min Chu I: The Three Principles of the People*. Trans. F.W. Price, ed. L.T. Chen. New York: Da Capo Press.

Walcott, D. (2007) *Selected Poems*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

4

Forging Global Sociology from Below[1]

Michael Burawoy

Clarity of analysis is often blurred by the chaotic realities and their immediate emotional tugs. But if the intellectuals don't hold the flag of analysis high, it is not likely that others will. And if analytical understanding of the real historical choices is not at the forefront of our reasoning, our moral choices will be defective, and above all our political strength will be undermined.

Immanuel Wallerstein, 2005

Immanuel Wallerstein's words are lofty and inspiring, but his message is also urgent. Since 1968, he maintains, the world system has been in a period of sustained economic crisis. We are now living in a period of global transition that calls on intellectuals to map alternative paths – paths that will inform our moral visions and their political realization. Failure to tackle this visionary work will lead the world system into an abyss of its own making. Economic crisis, he continues, not only poses multiple challenges for social science but also creates new opportunities. By disrupting global knowledge systems, the crisis dissolves the antiquated division between the humanities and the sciences, does away with the artificial separation of economics, politics, sociology and anthropology, and

thereby creates the conditions not just for the reunification of the social sciences but for the 'social scientization' of all knowledge. The nineteenth-century Positivist dream of universal knowledge that will rescue humanity is now, for the first time, on the horizon.

Wallerstein et al.'s noble vision was first broadly disseminated in the Report of the Gulbenkian Commission (1996), *Open the Social Sciences*. Wallerstein chaired the commission, which assembled ten distinguished scientists and humanists to plan the unification of knowledge.[2] In the more recent article from which the above epigraph is taken, Wallerstein (2005) calls on intellectuals, armed with their unified knowledge, to diagnose historical alternatives, inform our moral choices and advocate political projects. In this process, Wallerstein warns that intellectuals will not be popular with 'those in power', with 'those in opposition' or even with 'the vast numbers of working strata', but they must endure their isolation, and simultaneously pursue all three goals – analytical, moral and political – that define their vocation.

In decrying narrow disciplinary specialization, Wallerstein effectively embraces Sartre's

ideal of the 'total intellectual', or what Foucault dismissively called the 'universal intellectual'. Wallerstein's is, indeed, a heavenly ideal and that is its problem, its abstract character. We learn so little about the possibilities and obstacles to its realization in the here and now; the dilemmas of being simultaneously analytical, moral and political. He does not broach the interests that lie behind disciplinary knowledge – interests that do not just evaporate because to some they appear arbitrary. In Wallerstein's imagination unification of the disciplines would be wondrously progressive, but in practice it would be a unity of the powerful. It would mean the reduction of social science to economics – a reduction that has already made great inroads into political science and is knocking at the door of sociology.

Wallerstein also omits – strangely, for the leading world system analyst and, moreover, one who did so much to promote regional sociologies – any consideration of the context within which different intellectuals operate in different parts of the world, in different historical periods. Here too, the unification of the social sciences, let alone of all knowledge, would be a unity of the powerful – a unity springing from the West, and inevitably advancing the interests of a new imperialism. Again, we already have an inkling of what such unity might portend, as national systems of knowledge production become more dependent on the well-resourced global North, and benchmarked to so-called 'international standards'. Absent from Wallerstein's analysis are the implications for knowledge production of the broader political terrain of this 'age of transition'. We are missing precisely the sociological analysis necessary for the political realization of moral vision – the analytical moment that Wallerstein argues is so central and so important. We need to bring Wallerstein down from heaven to earth.

Leaving aside such questions as to whether there is a world system obeying laws of its own, whether it has been in prolonged economic crisis for forty years due to rising costs of accumulation, whether economic crises give rise to transitions or are the vehicles through which capitalism restructures itself, and whether economic crises automatically generate political openings or the political has an autonomy of its own – putting aside such important questions I want instead to dwell on the micro-politics of knowledge production and dissemination. I shall focus, therefore, on the sociologist, not as a Wallersteinian 'total' or 'universal' intellectual but as a humble specialist intellectual, who simply cannot pursue the analytical, the moral and the political all at once.

My approach advances from below in four steps: (1) locating sociologists in the concrete context of their practice, paying attention to the actual division of sociological labor; (2) recognizing how national historical contexts have shaped the particular form of the division of labor; (3) grouping historical contexts into configurations of transition shared by different nations (post-industrial, post-socialist, post-colonial, post-authoritarian), broadly regional in character; (4) delineating the emergent global division of sociological labor that mirrors world political and economic power. In this ethnographic excavation, sociologists do not orbit in some empty space beyond the economy, but carry out their missions on ideological and political terrains – terrains that are local and national before they are global. Reconnoitering these terrains is the first task of any critical engagement or political project, and any collective recomposition of international sociology.

THE DISCIPLINARY DIVISION OF LABOR

By couching his 'universal' knowledge in abstract terms, Wallerstein obliterates the genuine and fundamental differences in intellectual approach borne of vastly discrepant positions from which sociologists (and intellectuals more generally) undertake their work in different sociopolitical spaces around the globe. We need a conceptual apparatus

that will bring the existence and vitality of these divergent practices into relief. I propose to do so by asking two critical questions Wallerstein systematically obfuscates: Knowledge for whom? Knowledge for what? These are questions of universal validity that have historically, geographically as well as biographically specific answers. These questions compel sociology to confront the logic and context of its practice.

First, sociology for whom? For the purposes of this essay I distinguish between two broad audiences: on the one side we are producing knowledge for one another, a community of scholars, of scientists seeking to better comprehend the world, to develop our research programs, while on the other side we are producing knowledge for others beyond the academy so that they can be more effective in the world. Sociological knowledge helps others understand their place in the world as well as strategies for what they can and should do about it. This division between *academic audiences* and *extra-academic audiences* implies that sociology cannot be reduced to its activist or pragmatic moment, but has an indispensable scholarly moment, requiring its own relative autonomy. Equally, the necessity for such an autonomy does not gainsay our responsibility for taking our research, or the implications of our research, to constituencies beyond the academy, constituencies that would benefit from sociological knowledge. Their responses in turn become a living laboratory for our research programs.

This leads to the second question of how different constituencies might benefit from sociology: Knowledge for what? Here I distinguish between an *instrumental knowledge* in which ends are taken as given and where the purpose is to decipher means that will best realize those ends, and *reflexive knowledge* that concerns precisely an open discussion, an open collective examination of those ends or values. Max Weber called this 'value discussion', Jürgen Habermas called it 'communicative action'. This distinction between instrumental and reflexive knowledge is an

old one with a venerable tradition in sociology, most clearly formulated by Weber, whose conceptualization of social action distinguished between technical and value rationality. It was developed by the Frankfurt School in a more critical vein – that contemporary capitalist society, driven by markets and profits, is riveted to questions of efficiency and thus of means, thereby losing sight of ultimate goals, what they referred to as 'reason'. Whether there has been such an eclipse of reason or not, it is important for sociology to place at the forefront of its analysis not only instrumental knowledge of means but also reflexive knowledge about ends.

This distinction between instrumental and reflexive knowledge applies to the academic community as well as to interventions beyond the academy. Thus, we distinguish between the puzzle solving – addressing anomalies and contradictions of our research programs – in which we take for granted all sorts of assumptions of an ontological kind (such as the nature and potential of human beings), an epistemological kind (the ways we may apprehend the world, methodologies), but particularly the normative assumptions that necessarily underlie our research programs. Serious research within a paradigm, what I call *professional sociology*, pushing forward the frontiers of knowledge, cannot at the same time question the foundations upon which it rests. Puzzle solving is a game (in the serious sense of Bourdieu) in which focused playing presumes agreement on the rules and the suppression of critique. 'Critique', therefore, requires a special knowledge of its own kind, what I call *critical sociology*, that interrogates the foundations of our research programs. In the first instance it is separate from the development of research programs. Celebrated exponents of critical sociology in the United States have included Robert Lynd, Pitirim Sorokin, C. Wright Mills, Alvin Gouldner and, more recently, Patricia Hill Collins and Dorothy Smith. Each country has its own tradition of critical sociology, counterbalancing professional sociology.

We can apply the same distinction to our extra-academic constituencies. On the one hand we have *policy sociology* that seeks to provide solutions to problems defined by a client or a patron. The sociologist may be an expert who sells his or her specialized knowledge to a client for a specific task, e.g. to discover how popular is a politician, how to sell soap powder more effectively, to develop strategies of union organizing or to be an expert witness in a legal case. Alternatively, policy sociologists may serve a patron, such as a foundation, which gives money for research in a particular area of concern, whether it be HIV AIDS or criminal justice, antiterrorism or human rights. On the other hand, the reflexive form of extra-academic knowledge is *public sociology* which distinguishes itself from policy sociology by the dialogic relation of the sociologist with specific publics. The function of the public sociologist is to problematize the goals taken for granted by policy science, and to do so by heightening the self-consciousness of publics through broad conversations about values. Here we can distinguish between *traditional public sociology* in which the sociologist, as a writer, say, of a widely read book, is a catalyst for public discussion and *organic public sociology* in which the sociologist has a direct relation with a public, such as a social movement or a local organization.

The traditional public sociologist speaks from a pedestal and has a relation to publics mediated by print, television or virtual communication – and with all the distortions they entail – whereas the organic public sociologist works directly, often face-to-face, with publics in the trenches of civil society.

We may distinguish, therefore, among different public sociologies by the nature of the publics they engage. Considered as discursive communities with shared commitments, publics vary by the density of their internal interaction (thin versus thick), by their level of mobilization (active versus passive), by their geographical extension (local, regional, national or global), by their politics (hegemonic versus counter-hegemonic). Traditional public sociology addresses thin, passive, national and hegemonic publics, whereas organic public sociology focuses on thick, active, local and often counter-publics. In our ideal typical formulation, however, what is important is that public sociology generates a public dialogue about the values and goals as well as their possible realization. Table 4.1 cross-classifies knowledge-for-whom and knowledge-for-what in order to generate four disparate sociologies that diverge in their production, in their criterion of truth, in their mode of legitimation, in their accountability, in their politics and in their pathologies. The table summarizes the

Table 4.1 The division of sociological labor

	Academic audience	Extra-academic audience
Instrumental Knowledge	*Professional Sociology*	*Policy Sociology*
• Knowledge	Theoretical/empirical	Concrete
• Truth	Correspondence	Pragmatic
• Legitimacy	Scientific norms	Effectiveness
• Accountability	Peers	Clients/patrons
• Pathology	Self-referentiality	Servility
• Politics	Professional self-interest	Policy intervention
Reflexive Knowledge	*Critical Sociology*	*Public Sociology*
• Knowledge	Foundational	Communicative
• Truth	Normative	Consensus
• Legitimacy	Moral vision	Relevance
• Accountability	Critical intellectuals	Designated Publics
• Pathology	Dogmatism	Faddishness
• Politics	Internal debate	Public dialogue

differences which define the four subcultures of our discipline – subcultures expressed in different values, modes of evaluation, forms of communication and so on.

These are not simply four disconnected types of knowledge, but are dependent upon one another even as they are in contradiction. Thus, for example, professional knowledge involves the interchange of theory and empirical data, its criterion of truth is correspondence to reality, its legitimacy is based on scientific norms, its accountability is to peers and its politics is professional self-interest. Its pathology is self-referentiality. Public sociology, on the other hand, is developed through communication of sociologists (carrying analytical sociological knowledge) with publics (carrying folk or commonsense knowledge). Here truth is measured by the consensus that emerges through symmetrical communication. Its legitimacy is based on relevance to publics which is easily at odds with professional knowledge that is often incomprehensible to publics. Public sociology is accountable to designated publics, which puts it in tension with professional knowledge accountable to peers. Its politics involves public dialogue which can indeed be threatening to professional self-defense. Here the pathology is not self-referentiality but pandering to publics, faddishness. At the same time that they are *antagonistic*, the two knowledges are also *interdependent*: professional knowledge is inspired by impulses from public sociology just as public sociology could not exist without the input of professional sociology. I could develop parallel arguments about the antagonistic interdependences between any other two types of sociological knowledge. My underlying thesis is Durkheimian: while the division of labor undoubtedly involves relations of domination among these four knowledges, a thriving discipline depends upon their organic interdependence. You might say that the flourishing of each type of knowledge depends on the flourishing of all.

Therefore, these four knowledges form distinct subcultures, connected to one another through a *division of sociological labor*.

When these subcultures lose their vigorous interchange with one another, whether because they are drawn inwards or outwards, they assume pathological forms that endanger the discipline as a whole. Wallerstein is right to emphasize the functions of analysis (professional sociology), moral vision (critical sociology) and politics (policy and public sociologies), but he does not analyze how their distinct projects are bound together in antagonistic interdependence, how they each call for their own specialization and relative autonomy – a relative autonomy that does not preclude but mediates external influences. Nor does Wallerstein recognize the traps and dangers, intrinsic to each of the knowledge types as they pursue their distinctive practices.

Of course, it's more complicated than I have so far enunciated. Each specialized knowledge is itself internally divided along the same dimensions – knowledge-for-whom and knowledge-for-what. There is, for example, a policy, public and critical moment of professional sociology. In addition to this internal complexity of each quadrant of knowledge, we also have to recognize a distinction between the *type* of knowledge and the *people* who produce that knowledge. Specialization might be necessary but it does not mean that any given sociologist has his or her foot in only one type. Far from it! Many sociologists straddle different types of knowledge and, moreover, their careers follow different routes through the four quadrants. In this (di)vision of labor, interdependence does not mean one has to be a public sociologist, for example, to contribute to public sociology; one can do so indirectly through one's professional, policy or critical sociology. There is no space to develop these aspects of the division of sociological labor here since I am concerned with national and historical variations in the division of sociological labor.

NATIONAL REGIMES OF SOCIOLOGY

Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974) signal contribution to the theory of economic development

lies in showing how the world economic order of the sixteenth century, when capitalism began in Western Europe, is profoundly different from the world system of today, where those who develop late are subordinated to an already advanced capitalism. In his writings on the social sciences, Wallerstein turns his sociology of development into an account of the development of sociology. The nineteenth-century imperial order created three sets of untenable distinctions: between state, civil society and market that separated the social sciences into political science, sociology and economics; between past and present that separated history from the social sciences; between civilized Europeans and uncivilized others that separated all the previous disciplines from anthropology and Oriental studies.

According to Wallerstein, these distinctions represent a mythical past and are no longer valid. To render his claim plausible, he reduces the history of the social sciences to three periods: a period of confusion between 1750 and 1850; the consolidation of boundaries between 1850 and 1945; and a return of increasing overlap and confusion after 1945. Out of this confusion emerges a universal knowledge built around a unified social science. What this Olympian scheme misses, among other things, is the obduracy of the major historical and geographical variations in the social sciences, rooted in divergent material, political and cultural conditions of production. Just as the past was not, so equally the future of social science cannot be imposed from above; it has to be built up from below. This applies to sociology no less than the social sciences as a whole.

We need to move back to the local production of knowledge and its division of labor to understand the historical and geographical transformation of our discipline. Let us look first to the United States, the heartland of disciplinary divisions that have spread the world over. If we deconstruct the history of its sociology, we discover its origins in a public sociology emerging from reform and religious associations both before and after the

civil war. Interestingly, the first sociology in the United States was a Southern appropriation of Comte's ideas of 'order and progress' to justify slavery, an ideology that played up the social degeneration of the industrial North. Sociology's entry into the university in the *post-bellum* period, especially in the Gilded Age, was colored by reform and social gospel, inspired by utopian ideas and led to struggles over the limits of academic freedom. Once joined together in a single social science, during the mounting class struggles of the 1890s the economists professionalized, leaving the sociologists to pursue their more radical visions. By the turn of the century, however, and through the Progressive Era, private sponsors of universities and their administrators successfully sought to contain sociology's public commitments. So sociology followed economics into the world of professionalization with its academic journals, textbooks, PhD programs, organized careers, esoteric language and hierarchies.

If the first period was marked by a dialogue between professional and public sociology, the second period, which begins with the formation of the American Sociological Society in 1905 and stretches through two World Wars and into the 1960s, involves a dialogue between the professional and policy sociology. Under the surveillance of captains of industry and their foundations, sociology framed its research in terms of social control – the dominant theme after World War I at the then emerging hegemon in the field, the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago, but also in the other leading departments, Columbia University. Sociology would develop and deploy its science in pursuit of the regulation of subordinate populations, whether immigrant populations from Europe or Blacks migrating from the South to the northern cities, or the militant working classes of the 1930s. If initially foundations were the main sponsors of sociological research, over this period the federal state also became more deeply involved, especially during World War II after which federal funding grew by leaps and bounds.

As it did so sociology's signature tune passed from social control to value consensus, the basis of modernization theory, extolling America as the 'promised land'.

The messianic celebration of the United States and the intensified application of sociology to policy issues finally led to a backlash in the 1960s, responding to the social movements of the streets – civil rights, antiwar, feminist and so forth. In this third period there developed a sociology critical of professional sociology as well as its entrenchment in the policy world. Both grand theory, which provided the scientific foundation of value consensus, and abstract empiricism, which was tied to market research, came under assault. Such notable figures as C. Wright Mills and Alvin Gouldner captured the growing sentiments among a new generation, that sociology had sold its soul to the establishment. During the 1970s sociology responded to multiple challenges from Marxism, feminism and critical race theory, by absorbing critique and indeed moving the whole discipline leftward. But as the political climate moved rightwards, in the eras of Reagan and then Bush, so sociology came to shed its radical fangs, although it still remained far to the left of the American public. The question now is whether US sociology is ready to launch into a fourth period of renewed dialogue between professional and public sociology, and what role it will play in the international arena.

The history of US sociology that I have just sketched is marked by the broad ascendancy of a powerful professional sociology that, in alliance with policy sociology, dominates and at times suppresses critical and public sociologies. In other words, it is a history of the contested and always incomplete ascendancy of instrumental knowledge. Similarly, the history of other national sociologies can be understood in terms of the changing division of sociological labor. If in the United States professional sociology has been ascendant, in France or Brazil public sociology is more prominent, under Scandinavian welfare states policy sociology might assume greater importance, while critical sociology may have been strong in the dissident movement against the Soviet order. In considering the peculiarities of sociology in different countries, one should not focus just on the prevalent type of knowledge but on the changing configuration of all four types of sociology, what I have called a disciplinary regime. Moreover, configurations may actually vary within a country from institution to institution, from locality to locality. Finally, national sociologies may diverge in their absolute strength (measured say by the number of degrees, publications, teaching in high school, etc.) and in their relative strength (relative to other disciplinary knowledges) or their density (e.g. sociologists per capita). Indeed, many poor countries do not have the (mis)fortune of an institutionalized sociology.

One can trace the history of national sociologies in terms of the recomposition of national divisions of labor, in terms of their overall strength and resources, or any other way, but they do not develop in isolation. Today we are only too aware of the hegemony of US sociology, but it has not always been a one-way street. US sociology has borrowed ideas from Europe as well as from its imagination of the countries it dominated. Repressing the past and eternalizing the present gives the impression that newly emergent sociologies have to imitate the United States as we know it today, as though its sociology arose spontaneously and fully formed. Interrogation of its history reveals different paths of development, that in successive periods public sociology, policy sociology and critical sociology were the driving force behind the discipline as a whole. It is important, therefore, to counter the notion of US sociology as a static, invariant, homogeneous model to be emulated (or dismissed) by other sociologies, a norm against which they are assessed, or assess themselves, as more or less deviant. Thus, Wallerstein's teleology toward the unification of knowledge with its inevitable concomitant, the hegemony of the center, is neither desirable nor feasible.

There have to be and there are many roads forward.

REGIONAL CONSTELLATIONS OF SOCIOLOGY

If we are looking at sociology from the ground up, Is there any way to group national sociologies by the context of their development? One obvious way would be to follow Raewyn Connell (2007) and distinguish between northern and southern sociology. While this is an important distinction speaking to domination within a global division of sociological labor, these categories are far too blunt, heterogeneous and indeed ambiguous to capture the different national regimes of sociology. Alternatively, we could classify regimes by their political context – democratic, patrimonial, authoritarian, etc. – and while this may be an important factor it is probably too fluid to explain much variance in the development of sociology. Since the character of sociology is especially sensitive to social change, I propose to divide the world into broad regions that have experienced similar types of transition in the past forty years – transitions from colonialism, authoritarianism (military dictatorship), socialism and industrialism. These regional transitions have had different outcomes – post-colonial, post-authoritarian and post-socialist – with divergent (re)configurations of the division of sociological labor. The prefix 'post' marks a transition from a particular type of society but with unclear destiny. That is to say outcomes vary not only between regions but also within regions.[3] Still, the focus on transition, even if it does not give us fixed outcomes, does shed much light on the changing and unchanging aspects of sociology.

Let us begin with *post-colonial regimes* grappling with the legacies of colonialism. The colonial past is strongly present in India, for example, where sociology has been inextricably bound up with anthropology, and especially British social anthropology, notwithstanding the importation of American sociology of development. Reacting against its colonial legacies, Indian sociology also exhibits an ambivalent relation to western social science. India, after all, has not only been the home of social anthropology but also of subaltern studies that wrestled with the deep influence of western discourses of modernity by seeking out alternative visions harbored by lower classes. With its vast network of universities and colleges and some prominent institutes of social research, Indian sociology is strongly rooted in the academy and yet it also has a strong public arm, built on intimate connections to a variety of social movements – feminist, environmental, Dalit and farmer's movements – and nongovernmental organizarions (NGOs).

There are parallels here with South Africa – the vibrancy of a public sociology. But the struggles against apartheid were both more recent and of a different character than the ones that made up the Indian independence movement. In South Africa the industrial working class, formed by over a century of economic development, was the dynamite that brought down apartheid, creating a powerful industrial and social movement sociology. As compared to Indian sociology, Marxism is more deeply imbricated in its basic ideas and concepts, although there has always been an Africanist element rejecting Marxism as a western contamination. So today, South African sociology is caught between a strong orientation to the West and a weaker orientation to Africa. Its antiapartheid public sociology is in retreat as sociologists have lost collaborators in civil society to the state and corporations, as sociologists face increasing professional demands, and as they are forced into selling their expertise as policy sociologists. Of course, much of the rest of Africa, Nigeria being an obvious exception, has barely the resources to maintain an independent sociology.

Very different is the legacy of *socialism*. The Soviet state, for example, alternately banished and resurrected sociology as an ideological tool. It is not surprising, then,

that post-Soviet sociology has been hostile to Marxism, combined sometimes with an uncritical embrace of western, particularly American sociology, and other times with a more skeptical outlook toward anything western. While a public sociology briefly flourished in the Soviet Union under perestroika in the twilight of communism, without a history of professional autonomy post-communist sociology has quickly fallen prey to policy research – opinion polling for politicians and market research for corporations. Attempts to counter these policy trends are fragmentary: a line of fault divides nationalists, who are developing a public sociology hostile to anything western, from liberal cosmopolitans fighting for an autonomous professional sociology free of government and market influences.

Although there is a central tendency toward crude policy science, there are also divergences among post-communist regimes that reflect sociology's variable status under communism. Thus, sociology was freer to develop in Poland and Hungary, suppressed in Romania and Czechoslovakia, while in Bulgaria it developed expansively under the careful tutelage of the state. Reflecting variations in the degree of political freedom allowed under state socialism, these divergences have since given rise to somewhat different emphases around the centrality of policy sociology. As regards a true critical sociology – reflexive and normative – it is as weak as professional sociology, waiting for a new generation of sociologically inclined intellectuals who will follow in the footsteps of a Havel in Czechoslovakia, a Kolakowski in Poland or Konrad and Szelenyi in Hungary.

In the realm of post-socialism, China is a case unto itself. Sociology was only restored as a legitimate science in 1991. Since then, while retaining the pretense of Marxist orthodoxy, the Chinese state has invested heavily in sociology, encouraging students to get US PhDs and to return as university faculty. While China is home to critical and public sociologies, the center of gravity is heavily centered on professional and policy sociology. It is an expansive, energized sociology, so very different from the depressing fragmentation found in Russia. Vietnam is perhaps the most fascinating case of all, with the superimposition of Soviet legacies upon French legacies, manifested in tensions between generations and divergences between North and South. Fragmentation, division and limited resources make Vietnamese sociology a precarious discipline, dependent on policy research for state, NGOs and multilateral organizations.

Post-authoritarian regimes present a different configuration. In many countries of Latin America, the lifting of military rule led to an effervescent antiauthoritarian, public sociology that had earlier been nurtured in pockets of freedom, often sustained through continental networks of support. Authoritarian regimes controlled sociology to different degrees, from banning it in Chile to giving it space in Brazil. But sociology was not used as a lever of party dictatorship as it was in Soviet societies, or as a lever of colonial rule as it was in so much of Africa and Asia. During the eras of dictatorships, Latin American sociologists were able to build alliances and draw on critical thinking in Europe, especially France, in order to develop an engaged sociology that flourished with transitions to democracy. Spreading into civil society, it became a prototype of public sociology. Similar patterns can be discerned in the two countries of Southern Europe that lived under authoritarian regimes for such a long time – Spain and Portugal. Portuguese sociologists, in particular, drawing on both US and French traditions (assimilated in exile), have developed a powerful synergy of all four types of sociology.

For want of a better term, I call the fourth complex of disciplinary configurations, *post-industrial regimes* of Western and Northern Europe. The economies of these countries have increasingly abandoned heavy industry and turned toward the service sector – a shift that is reflected in both the structure of the sociological discipline and

its substantive concerns. There is a turn away from such traditional subjects as industrial sociology and labor movements toward new social movements, gender, leisure, mass communications, information society and so forth. Sociology is neither so developed professionally nor so delineated from other disciplines as it is in the United States, and accordingly policy and public dimensions are, therefore, relatively well developed. We might divide the region into two sub-regions – Northern Europe with its more developed welfare states has stronger policy sociology while Southern Europe with its more vibrant politics and civil society has stronger public sociology. In both regions, however, public and policy sociologies tend to be mutually reinforcing.

Britain is an interesting case, straddling the two regions. With a long tradition of social administration closely connected first to Fabian evolutionary socialism and then to the birth of the welfare state, sociology proper was a late development in the 1960s, coming as it did with the expansion of the university system. As a late developer its boundaries were porous, drawing sustenance from the neighboring disciplines of economics, anthropology, geography and history as well as from European social theory. It was much more suspicious if not downright hostile to American sociology. Being taught in high schools, sociology put down deep roots, which Thatcher's antisocial policies could not destroy. Today, sociology exists as a force in public debate but also in expanding consultancies with state agencies, especially in the area of policy evaluation.

The prefix 'post' signals legacies that constrain but do not determine national trajectories. 'Post' allows us to identify national sociologies that share a common history – the basis for regional dialogues about differences as well as commonalities, but also a locus for developing a sense of national specificities. Regional associations and networks can build connections that are especially important for sociologies with weak institutions. It can strengthen the critical and public backbone of national sociologies, especially where they are under statist pressure to instrumentalize themselves. Finally, such associations can stiffen contestation over global hegemonies, thereby contributing to an emergent international sociology.

THE SKEWED TERRAIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

National divisions of sociological labor are not autonomous; they are constituted by and constitute a broader global division of sociological labor – an emergent global configuration of professional, policy, critical and public sociologies. Thus, it is not surprising that global professional sociology is dominated by the United States that stands like a Leviathan, with its concentration of resources sporting over two hundred journals, some fourteen thousand members of the American Sociological Association, more than twice that number of active PhDs, and lavish funding for research from private and public sources (at least compared to any other country if not to other disciplines). Every year universities pump out over six hundred doctoral degrees and twenty-five thousand undergraduate degrees in sociology. The US educational system has its own internal hierarchy, of course, with a carefully calibrated prestige system, so that the division of sociological labor looks very different at a state college as compared to a private research university. Still, the stamp of a US PhD, from wherever it comes, has high status in most parts of the world, whether in universities or government agencies. Whatever the hostility to the United States, few turn down the opportunity of graduate or postgraduate education or a research fellowship in the country. Time spent in the United States usually pays off in careers back home. In this way US professional sociology leaves its mark on national professional sociologies as a hegemonic point of reference.

This influence is especially marked in client states such as Israel and Taiwan, where

the majority of the leading sociologists are trained in the United States and where a publication in a leading American journal commands a place at the top of the prestige hierarchy. But even here the situation is not as simple as it appears. In Taiwan, there is a selective appropriation of American sociology, manifested in a clash of generations, with a more reflexive sociology pursued by those influenced by the student movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s, opposing the instrumental sociology of the establishment. In Israel, while the leading universities are indeed oriented to the United States, sociologists in the lower status and recently created college system are oriented to the issues of local communities, exponents of a critical and public sociology. Palestinian sociology, beleaguered by occupation, struggling for survival, is almost unavoidably critical and public.

Countertendencies notwithstanding, benchmarking scientific research, including sociology, to publications in 'international' journals is becoming increasingly common across the globe, and not just among those tied to the United States for geopolitical reasons. The National Research Foundation of South Africa, for example, grades individuals on their international profile, thereby drawing the best research away from national and local issues to ones that concern the gatekeepers of American journals. Even in such a wealthy country as Norway, the trend is in the same direction, drawing science into international competitive networks. These alien influences are generally not the result of a US imperial conspiracy to control national sociologies but more often propelled by the interests within nation-states and their elite academies. The surfacing of sociology in China – an intriguing and complex case of late development – has also frequently drawn on the more conservative strands of US sociology, with a limited but not absent space for critical and public sociologies.

Such models of international referencing might work for the natural sciences, but can be a disaster in the social sciences, whose flourishing depends on connection to local issues. Brazil provides an interesting counterexample to the general trend with an elaborate internally driven system of ranking individual scientists and their multiple journals. The professional association elects its own reviewers and deploys a rating scheme that does not privilege 'international' journals. The national focus combines with Brazil's size, its relatively lavish funding of the social sciences, and its vibrant civil society to foster public sociology alongside professional sociology. Moreover, it has done so without sacrificing international contact and networks, especially with Latin America and Europe.

Thus, the hegemony of US professional sociology does not go uncontested. From Europe, especially France but also Germany, traditional heartlands of sociology, have come powerful critical sociologies. Alain Touraine and, much more directly, Pierre Bourdieu, have assaulted American professional sociology for its claimed universalism, its obfuscation of class, its lack of historical depth, and most generally its lack of reflexivity. Similarly, Jürgen Habermas, continuing the tradition of the Frankfurt School, has challenged the limitations of Positivism, or more generally what I have called instrumental knowledge, from the standpoint of critical theory and communicative action, what I have called reflexive knowledge. From the standpoint of the global South, however, European sociology might represent the symbolic capital that buttresses – all the more insidiously because of its claimed critique – the more silent domination of US academic and institutional capital. After all, there has been an active exchange between these two poles of domination, with the flow of research methodologies in one direction and social theory in the other. Another layer of critical theory, often under rubric of postcolonial studies and born in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, has taken a hostile stand toward all 'Western' social science. But even here western academies have often absorbed such critique, lauding their critics with medals and even celebrity

Table 4.2 Participation in the International Sociological Association (ISA), 2006, by gross national income (per capita)

Country category (A richest, C poorest)	Presidents of research committees (Country of residence)	Individual members (Country of residence)	Collective membership (Number of countries)
C	3.8% (2)	17.0% (603)	36.4% (20)
B	3.8% (2)	14.2% (505)	23.6% (13)
A	92.4% (49)	68.8% (2436)	40.0% (22)
TOTAL	100% (53)	100% (3544)	100% (55)

status, and in the process the critical moment is blunted.

This pattern of global domination is reproduced within the major world organization of professional sociologists – the International Sociological Association (ISA). The leadership of ISA is overwhelmingly dominated by (A) countries: as of 2006, the president and 5 vice-presidents are all from the richest (A) countries, while of the 16 person executive committee 9 (56%) are from (A) countries, 4 (25%) from (B) countries, and 3 (19%) from (C) countries. Table 4.2 shows presidents of the 53 research committees to be overwhelmingly (92.4%) from the richest countries. Even individual members are heavily weighted toward the well-endowed, although representation of countries (collective membership) is, not surprisingly, less skewed.

Looking at representation by regions of the world, Table 4.3 shows that the European Union accounts for half the presidents of the research committee and North America a third, while they account for 35.3% and 22.9% respectively of individual members – still more than half of the total number. Yet, of course, the European Union and North America provide less than half (41.8%) of the countries represented. Still, it would take a fundamental realignment within the ISA to counter the material and symbolic domination of the global North.

If North America and Western Europe dominate international professional sociology, What of policy sociology at the global level? Here we might think of sociology's place in various multilateral agencies – United Nations (UN), World Bank (WB),

Table 4.3 Participation in the International Sociological Association (ISA), 2006, by region

Regions	Presidents of research committees (Region of residence)	Individual members (Region of residence)	Collective membership (# of countries)
Middle East & North Africa	0.0% (0)	1.6% (55)	1.8% (1)
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.0% (0)	5.1% (180)	7.3% (4)
South Asia	3.8% (2)	7.2% (256)	5.5% (3)
Latin American and Caribbean	5.7% (3)	8.5% (301)	10.9% (6)
Europe and Central Asia	0.0% (0)	9.5% (336)	25.5% (14)
East Asia and Pacific	5.7% (3)	10.0% (354)	7.3% (4)
North America	34.0% (18)	22.9% (811)	3.6% (2)
European Union	50.8% (27)	35.2% (1250)	38.1% (21)
TOTAL	100% (53)	100% (3543)	100% (55)

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and a wide range of transnational NGOs – that hire social scientists to address their specific policy agendas. It turns out, of course, that sociologists are rarely found in such corridors of power, although feminists have made inroads in the UN and in NGOs. Generally, this is the terrain of the economists, accountants and lawyers, whose knowledge systems are better attuned to the politics of world organizations. More likely we will find sociologists among those who criticize the operation of these multilateral agencies, questioning the IMF's one model fits all, or attacking the World Bank, whether in its old swashbuckling destruction of the environment or, as Michael Goldman (2005) has shown, in its dissemination of new and more subtle disciplinary knowledges and technologies of power.

Such critiques of world-straddling organizations emerge from and in turn feed transnational civil society – the soil of public sociologies on a global scale. The crucible of such public sociologies can be found in the World Social Forum and the regional forums it has spawned, living off networks that join all manner of reformist, anarchist and radical antiglobalization struggles. Here we can find novel labor movements that stretch across national boundaries, environmental movements, human rights organizations, antiwar protest and feminist networks all of which breed public sociology's engagement within an emergent global public sphere. Inspired by critical sociologies, often born on national terrains, opposed to global structures of power, and aiming at conscientizing and provincializing professional sociologies, especially US professional sociology, global public sociologies seek to realize values that have impelled sociology from its outset.

Finally, then, to return to Wallerstein, global public sociologies are the antithesis of his project to unify the social sciences. Any unity of the social sciences would be a unity of the already powerful: in disciplinary terms it would be a unity around economics and its neoliberal project, and in geopolitical terms it would be a unity around the interests of well-resourced western social sciences. I have, therefore, sketched an alternative project whose energy comes from below, that seeks to protect the integrity of national divisions of sociological labor through the binding of public, critical, professional and policy sociologies. It involves stitching together national sociologies into regional associations, challenging the hegemonies of US and European sociologies, while all along retaining connection to civil society – national and transnational. Such a project would not bypass US and European academic sociologies, but force the latter into a consciousness of their own power, compelling their adjustment to the needs of revelations from and dialogue with the powerful public sociologies, emanating from but not confined to the global South.

In direct contrast to the world systems theory, which descends from heaven to earth, here we ascend from earth to heaven. That is to say, we do not set out from an imaginary unity of knowledge, nor from an abstract economic system with natural laws, in order to arrive at sociology in the flesh. Rather, we set out from real existing sociologies, struggling to survive in hostile milieus, and, on the basis of their divisions of labor and their living connections to civil society, we weave the tapestry of international sociology.

NOTES

2. Wallerstein has enunciated similar proposals in many places, but see in particular his essays in Wallerstein (1999) and in an earlier collection (Wallerstein, 1991).

3. My data are limited, and so the mapping that follows is but an initial sketch. I have had to rely on visits to many countries over the last three years, on my research experiences in the former Soviet Union and Central Europe, my long-lasting attachment to Southern Africa, an ongoing familiarity with Western Europe, living in the United States, and a romance with Latin American sociology, as well as many years working with graduate students studying different regions of the world.

REFERENCES

Connell, R. (2007) *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goldman, M. (2005) *Imperial Nature: The World Bank and Struggles for Social Justice in the Age of Globalization*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1974) *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-economy in the Sixteenth Century*. London and New York: Academic Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1991) *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-century Paradigms*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1999) *The End of the World as We Know It: Social Science for the Twenty-first Century*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Wallerstein, I. (2005) 'Knowledge, Power, Politics: The Role of the Intellectual in the Age of Transition', *ISA e-bulletin* 1.

Wallerstein, I., Juma, C., Keller, E.F., Kocka, J., Lecourt, D., Mudkimbe, V.Y., Miushakoji, K., Prigogine, I., Taylor, P.J. and Trouillot, M-R. (1996) *Open the Social Sciences: Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Beyond the Classical Theorists: European and American Sociology Today

5

Sociology in the Spiral of Holism and Individualism[1]

Louis Chauvel

The most visible trait of the French collective experience of sociology is a creative tension between the themes of holism and individualism. These are spirals of two conflicting but merging sociological galaxies.[2] Though this uninterrupted debate cannot exhaust the diversity in the French tradition, such a conflictive pattern remains a specifically French way of doing sociology. Since no side is about to definitely replace the other, the eternal contradictions create strong forces where the temporary success of one side promotes further developments on the other.

If these tensions are widespread in the diverse sociological traditions in the world, the richness of French sociology is based on an exacerbation of these dynamics. The French experience could be interesting and useful to the other sociological traditions in the world, for various reasons: it is not submerged by a mainstream; its debates are holistic – not only based on a critique of political economy (Steiner, 2008); it seeks answers from Collective Action Theory (CAT), Rational Action Theory (RAT) (Steiner, 2008); and it engages with non-western traditions, such as China and India (Dumont, 1977), where

individual-based explanations are less convincing than holistic ones.

In order to explain the French spiral between holism and individualism, I will describe the most important historical steps of this debate. I will avoid the discussion on the relation between theoretical wars and strategies of access to institutional hegemony; in the French context, it is sometimes difficult to separate these two sides of the Parisian scientific life.

THE DURKHEIM VERSUS TARDE CONFLICT IN A CENTENNIAL PERSPECTIVE

From the late nineteenth century to the mid 1970s, French sociology's mainstream epistemology is based on the Durkheimian paradigm of rejection of individualistic explanation in social sciences. Emile Durkheim, in continuity of Auguste Comte's sociological positivism, imported from natural sciences various characteristics: exteriority of scientific objects, general refusal of metaphysics,

teleological causality, subjectivity of social objects. Even though Durkheim's injunction to 'treat social facts as things'[3] does not literally imply a 'consideration of social actors as passive material', many followers of Durkheim have conceptual difficulties analyzing individuals. Though it can be said that Emile Durkheim's sociology is more dialectic, diverse and subtle about individualism (Durkheim, 1898), the first French tradition of sociology has emphasized explanations of collective phenomena in which the whole 'is more than the sum of the parts'.[4] Sometimes, 'the part is not important at all' is the syllogistic interpretation of the Durkheimist motto.

In late nineteenth-century France, the Durkheimian legacy had to fight a battle with another competing sociological vision, that of Gabriel Tarde (1843–1904), an initiator of criminology and a founding father of social psychology, who was elected in 1900 as a professor of Modern Philosophy at *Collège de France*. His intellectual production was not based on empirical research but on philosophical essays presenting a highly creative series of concepts which anticipated a macro-sociology of micro-behavior. The modernity of Tarde's ideas is impressive and his central book on theory of imitation *Les Lois de l'Imitation. Etude Sociologique* (*Laws of Imitation, a Study in Sociology*) (Tarde, 1890) anticipates major American sociological productions on social interaction (Ellwood, 1901; Rogers, 1962). Tarde's typology of social linkages (imitation, opposition and adaptation) remain invaluable concepts for understanding patterns of social change. A major contemporary French sociological perspective, the *Théorie de l'acteur-réseau* (Actor-Network Theory, [ANT]) is based on Tarde's work (Latour, 2006). However, his intellectual work remained marginal against Durkheimian collectivist and holistic positions, supported through institutionalized networks and legitimized through his journal, *L'Année Sociologique*. Three main factors might be mentioned for Tarde's failure (Mucchielli, 2000): the lack of empirical facts to bolster theory, little

sensitivity to methodology and lack of political support of an academic network in contrast to Durkheim.[5]

In empirical and methodological terms, Durkheim's theory remains indisputable. Compared to Durkheim's program of scientificization of sociology, Tarde's sociology does not show an interest in methodology. Tarde did not conduct serious empirical research nor presented scientific demonstration of his ideas. He remained an essayist in the French tradition of philosophy. Against this, while preparing *Le Suicide (The Suicide)* (1897), Durkheim sent his nephew, the future anthropologist Marcel Mauss, to the archives of the Department of Justice, to organize statistical tables and thereby to demonstrate the limitation of Tarde's theory. In spite of Tarde's (1890) attempt to defend his views, the Durkheimian position (that suicide, one of the most individualistic choices, resulted from implicit collective laws) was established as the central principle of sociology. Also, Tarde remained politically and institutionally isolated and was unable to create a structured group of disciples, whereas Durkheim developed ties inside the academic world and exerted institutional control, with long-term results. Also, Tarde was a '*Grand bourgeois*' with balanced but conservative ideas, while Durkheim benefited from his courageous pro-Dreyfus engagement that cemented for him a strong political identity inside the modern humanist left-wing intellectual world.

IN THE 1970S TO 1980S, THE INDIVIDUAL STRIKES BACK

In spite of the success enjoyed by the republished book written by Tarde titled, *Lois de l'imitation*, no school of sociology emerged from this Tardian social-interactionist program, at least not before Latour (2006). For the first eight decades of the twentieth century, the project of individual or micro-societal based explanation in sociology remained marginal to French sociology. The main

reason may not only lie in the success of the Durkheimian project; the French Marxist schools amplified this trend and later authors, such as Pierre Bourdieu (1979) shared this holistic perspective through the intellectual tools of 'structuromarxism'. Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, accommodates individual action with structure and remains an holistic apparatus, as it is based on the objective social macro-constraints that influence and modify individual's positions.

The holistic model of explanation began its involution in the early 1980s. Raymond Boudon, four years younger than Bourdieu, remains a major figure in the debate: his French adaptation of the rational action theory, the '*Individualisme méthodologique*' (Methodological Individualism) is a major step to a macro-sociology based on individualistic explanations. Boudon's (1973) first masterpiece was an attempt to destabilize the theories of social reproduction and immobility. The Boudonian program is on the opposite side of Bourdieu's theories of inheritance of cultural capital and social privileges (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1964, 1970). Boudons's project of republishing Tarde's seminal text and his almost Tarde-like micro-based macro-sociology remains an important tool to undermine macro-social reproduction theories and holistic explanations in general. His perspective of micro actions relates to a key concept called 'good reasons'. These reasons are those which actors give when acting the way they do. Social reproduction is not the result of causal macro-structures, but a consequence of aggregated micro-choices of purely rational or at least partially reasonable individuals. Following a similar path, Crozier and Friedberg (1977) gave new foundations to the French sociology of organization with the development of a strategic actor theory. These debates anticipated Alain Touraine's treatise titled, *Retour de l'acteur* (Return of the Actor, 1984), where subjectivity, 'subject' (Touraine prefers this word to 'actor' or 'individual'), individual representations and micro-interactions are thought of as new sociological tools to supplant the former Durkheim and Marxist[6] paradigms. A reassessment of the old holistic paradigms was proposed by a former member of the Pierre Bourdieu team, Luc Boltanski (1982); Boltanski et al., 1984), who criticized the Bourdieusian positivist pretensions of 'dévoilement' (unveiling) of social domination. He advocated a 'sociology of the critique' to understand the actors' subjective struggle for recognition. Far from the English-speaking 'structure/agency' debate, the French post-1980s era was marked by new trends and visions on individuals and their role in the production of subjectivity and in subject-based action.

THE DEATH OF CLASS DEBATE

The contemporary study of individual/subject-based visions of sociology relates to the critic that developed against the theories of social classes in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[7] In North America this critic was formulated by Robert Nisbet in his theory of 'decline and fall of social class' (Nisbet, 1959). In France it emerged after the political victory of François Mitterrand and the *Parti Socialiste* at the Presidential elections and incorporated scholars from the new-left and of the right wing. Whereas Raymond Aron (1969) or Touraine (1969) could be seen as early figures of this anti-class criticism, a group of authors such as Mendras (1988), Dubet and Martuccelli (1998) developed a critical analysis of the former holistic Marxist paradigm. Like Nisbet (1959), most of these authors argue that there are three dimensions of 'declassicization' of post-industrial societies.

1. Economic progress moderates the intensity of economic constraints and fosters individual's choice.
2. The shift from industry to services destabilizes the traditional capitalist conflict of the industrial society.
3. In the political sphere, the diffusion of access to political power blurs the old frontiers in politics and develops new sources of conflicts (environment, cultural recognition and others).

The French debate adds new aspects, such as the expansion of the educational system; increasing rates of heterogamy (though individuals are located in different classes, the boundaries between them become blurred as they become a couple); mass consumption and 'democratization' of upper-class identified goods; development of post-materialist political identities such as ethnic, gender, generation, and struggles for recognition of differences.[8] These elements explain how the old holistic class struggles based on conflict, concerning work and the distribution of 'surplus value' declined with the growth of the affluent society, mass consumption, expanding degrees of freedom of choice and cognitive ability to participate in symbolic struggles for identity recognition. All these debates are not specifically French, but the diffusion of these postmodern themes after decades of structuro-marxism was present in an extreme form in France.

In this context, the debate on the significance of the 'sociology of the individual' (*Sociologie de l'individu*) versus the sociology of social classes emerges in a newer way in France than in other advanced countries. First, this micro-sociology is theorized as a reaction against a set of ideas regarding social determinism in the form of belief in macro-structures, macro-actors and social classes. The latter had led many to accept that individuals are passive and impotent objects of collective changes. Second, the French substantive '*l'individu*' cannot translate accurately into the English equivalent, 'the individual'. The French connotation elaborates the role, importance, centrality, freedom, creativity, of individuals: their quest for self expression, subjective identity, and self-determination. It also offers an explanation of the transformation of societies at the micro-social level of families, workplaces, networks, institutions or social groups. In the French debate, 'emancipation' and 'autonomization of the individual' are major concepts, which express the struggle for freedom against constraints of collectivities.

The popularity of this trend reached its peak in the late 1990s. The spiral between holism and individualism began to shift again – the conflict between the two poles of social explanations intensified as sociologists perceived increasing complications in the empirical reality. The contemporary debates are about to create a new unexpected theoretical hybrid.

Three moments of reflection defined this dynamic. The first moment discussed the conflicts between class issues and individualism in French sociology. The second debated the emerging complementarities between the two poles, that of individualism and holism. Today is the third moment, where there is tension between the two spirals because individualism is assessed in the context of growing inequalities.

CLASS OR INDIVIDUALS: INTENSITY AND LIMITS OF A THEORETICAL OPPOSITION

A major opposition in French sociology appears between those who support class analysis and their adversaries. Aspects of this opposition relate to the antagonism between holist and individualist traditions. In the 1980s, the debate was between Bourdieusian and/or traditional leftist sociologists, historically and emotionally involved in the notion of social class, and critics of the post-industrial social systems who analyzed the growth of actors and individuals, mainly from the new middle-classes — as autonomous from collective determinations. Since the early 1980s, sociology of the middle classes (Mendras, 1988) produced new arguments against the traditional sociology of classes. The importance of 'new' social cleavages (gender, generational and regional inequalities), the increasing fragmentation of social identities (with immigration and ethnicity issues), the decline of hierarchies based on work and the rise of leisure and of symbolic differences, are factors that blurred the intensity and the visibility of traditional economic inequalities. As a consequence of

the heterogeneization of society, difficulties arose in analyzing classes and social mobility. Some of these arguments were simple imports of Ulrich Beck's (1992[1986]) influential ideas, linked to an international *Zeitgeist* (*spirit* of the age), wherein the role of individual trajectories, choices and actions became central issues in the explanation of a fragmenting world. This analysis heralded a shift in sociology from an analysis of collective to individual explanations: 'Now, in socio-historical analyses, understanding the individuals' trajectory is more efficient than understanding the sociology of their social groups' (Rosanvallon, 1995: 200). This issue was discussed in the round tables of the first Congress of the French Sociological Association in 2004 '*De la sociologie à l'individuologie*' (From sociology to individology). The meaning of this neologism remained unclear, but it became the symbol of a shift of sociology from a science of '*socius*' to a discourse on '*individualis*'.

The arguments of the authors who participated in this debate are subtle and would need detailed exegesis. However, it is clear that they argue for a reassessment of the role of individual subjectivity in social life. For instance, François Dubet's (1994) *Sociologie de l'expérience* (Sociology of Experience) focused on the individual quest for (self) respect and recognition in social movements. Bernard Lahire's (1998, 2002, 2004) theory of pluralistic determination, and inter/intra variation in social behavior offered a new vision of the limits to Bourdieusian schemes of determination on individuals. François Dubet and Danilo Martuccelli (1998) questioned the interests of class for the analysis of contemporary social life and argued that the construction of self remains a major issue. François de Singly (1998) proposed a vision where the social bonds are based less on the community of macro-group identities and more on a process of interpersonal recognition of subjective choices of self-determined individuals who remain *libres ensemble* (free together). Claude Dubar (2001) analyzed socialization as the process

of identity construction and the destabilization and dissolution of identities of individuals. All these contributions, together with others, questioned the capacity of traditional tools of sociology, notably that of social class to give meaning and sense to individuals' real capacity and capabilities to control their own lives. For example, Danilo Martuccelli (2002: 24) argues that 'hierarchy, status, systems of orders, positions, interests (i.e. the actors' execution of the economic logic of the system), in short the actors' 'pure functionality' is no longer sufficient to define individuals' actions'. Against the traditional determinist macro-sociology, Martuccelli argues that class determinations are undermined by the increasing role of subjectivity in social life, but against RAT he criticizes also a vision of actors determined by simple interests.

However, the French macro-sociology of classes develops new arguments. After 2002, political changes such as Lionel Jospin's failure at the presidential elections led some scholars, who were categorized 'neo-materialist' or 'neo-modern', to trace the path towards holism and the resurgent process of class formation in French society. Books by Jean-Noël Chopart and Claude Martin (2005), Paul Bouffartigue (2004) or Roland Pfefferkorn (2007) have reconfigured class analyses made in the 1970s and have presented through new investigations profound changes in the stratification system in France. These studies respond to a paradox: the disappearance of class as a subjective expression of identity and its persistence in objective material terms (Chauvel, 2001). This paradox, it was argued, had become a major source of social suffering for the poor. Whereas there is a rapid decline of subjective class identity and solidarity (class values, class politics, class culture, etc.) in the symbolic sphere, the real world of economics shows new social facts: stronger inequalities and hierarchies, stagnation of wages, welfare state retrenchments, declining faith in the future by the working class, and a simultaneous boom in the housing markets, the growth

of economic assets and wealth, and increasing capital accumulation. Ironically, in this context, the *haute bourgeoisie* has emerged as a real social class, *by itself and for itself*, and has mobilized its members in projects of reproduction and collective action; the members of this class do not act as individuals, but as agents of the collective interests of their class (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot, 2000).

These new class-oriented theories criticize individualization, which they argue legitimizes the accelerated dissolution of the *mouvement ouvrier* (the working class movement) and de-stabilizes the social institutions of the twentieth-century welfare state. This allows for the creation of new boundaries between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'. Though this analysis is sometimes criticized as being regressive and conservative, it underlines the paradox of social change, where some elements of postmodern globalization share common traits with the nineteenth-century capitalism (Piketty, 2001). The tensions between individual subjective aspiration to affluence and the objective social reality (hierarchy and new forms of scarcity) produce various individual anomic consequences, such as the high rates of suicide in 1990s France. The aggregation of difficulties and stresses faced by individuals (extreme competition, compulsion of performance, accumulation of distress) impacts negatively on the social structure (de Gaulejac, 1987). The danger here is exacerbated tensions between a class of highly educated professionals, sharing liberal visions of open society and humanist individualism on the one hand, and a diversified stratum of destabilized or frustrated workers, asking for status protection and influenced by neoconservative or reactionary claims, on the other. These tensions can explain the various waves of violence in France, with the emergence of 'anti-subjects' (Wieviorka, 2005), who are perverse subjects in quest of recognition of their own subjectivity, in the negation of other subjects: xenophobic, anti-Semitic. Ethnocentric identities movements are based on the affirmation of ones own identity in the destruction of others.

These tensions in French society underline a neo-modern class revival which develops nostalgic resistances against the postmodern trend of individualism. The popular demands for social and state protection, re-institutionalized status and long-term collective projects are a response to neoliberal economics, and could also be seen as a backlash against the process of individuals' autonomization. On the one hand, dimensions of the neoclassicist stream are sometimes criticized as reactionary ideologies, which deny the positive role of individualism in contemporary societies; while on the other hand, some progressive neoclassicist visions ask for an egalitarian policy of individual emancipation for all, which can constitute a new mobilizing claim against the domination of an upper-class vision of individualism (Corcuff, 2005).

DIVERSITIES IN INDIVIDUALISMS AND THE CLASS DEBATE

Robert Castel's (1995, 2003) books on welfare states and work protection developed central arguments to understand the hybrid mix between individualism and class analysis. He suggests that individuals need support in their struggle for identity and self construction. Castel points out that during the nineteenth century, property – because of the autonomy and protection it offered – gave support for the construction of positive individualism for the bourgeois middle class. Emancipation or positive individuation of the working class required the promotion of new forms of collective property and welfare state provisions. This movement culminated in the '*société salariale*' (wage earner society) of the 1970s. Given the retrenchments and downsizing of social and welfare state institutions, the access to positive individualism (the Kantian responsible individual) is becoming difficult. Castel underlines this paradox or double-bind: on the one hand, the working class is facing stronger injunctions to engage in market competition, to anticipate

risks, to become emancipated citizens, and to behave more often as pure individual members, but on the other hand, the welfare state retrenchments imply less support for becoming positive individuals. The result is the diffusion of negative forms of individualism engaged in irresponsible participation with short-term post-humanistic implications.

To better understand this differentiation, we can go back to the traditional Durkheimian axes of Integration (capacity to engage in harmonious relations, solidarity, feeling of belonging with the social environment) and of Regulation (external social assignment to rules, places, positions, behaviors) as shown in Figure 5.1. In the 1960s, industrial society, both middle and working classes were regulated by external rules regarding what constituted normal behavior. Varied institutions, such as the communist party for workers, church and state for the middle classes, promoted social identity and social roots, through involving authoritarian and oppressive aspects. Subsequently, similar trends of individualism have had divergent consequences on the various social classes. Figure 5.1 shows how for the middle classes, the shift from heteronomy to autonomy offered social support and integration (with the extension of social capital and social relationships). Quite the contrary for the working

classes, the access to autonomy and self assignment meant severe corrosion of the traditional local ties constructed during the industrialist period. For the working class, autonomization gave new degrees of freedom but undermined former integrative ties. In traditional industrial society, popular education institutions, trade unions, social welfare services, local political actors and strong organizations of the working units, offered integrative support. In contrast, nowadays, the family becomes the one source of integration, and its increasing instability could provoke major ruptures in social trajectories of working-class individuals.

There is a need to assess how different social classes face diverse types of individualization. Castel proposes different visions of individualism which could be represented in new axes (in Figure 5.2): the vertical factor relates to the hierarchical position of independence and dependence. On the horizontal one is the Durkheimian (1898) position of '*Individu moral*', (left) moving towards '*Egoïsme utilitaire*' (right) of the hyper-competitive individual based on the motto of Plautus and of Hobbes '*homo homini lupus*' (man is a wolf to man). This classification allows Castel to create the opposition between the '*individu par excès*' (individual driven by excess: the ultracompetitive
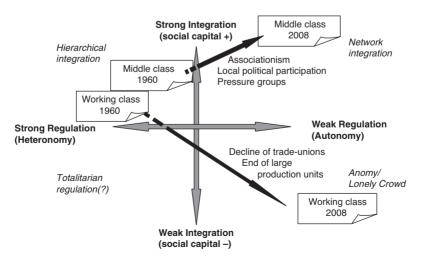

Figure 5.1   The Durkheimian scheme of the widening class gap

hyper-performing individual, narcissistic and centered on his own ego) and the *'individu par défaut'* (individual by default: who shares the same values and ideology than the former one, but who objectively fails in the competition). Both types are negative outcomes of an uncontrolled egoistic individualism. The *'individu par défaut'* implies that in ultra-competitive societies, we have to face many failures and cope with their consequences. Ehrenberg (1995, 1998) calls the latter, the *'fatigue d'être soi'* ('tiredness of being one-self'). It represents the systemic risk wherein societies have to manage mass failure due to market competition, with individuals facing collective depressions, lack of motivation, frustration and declining trust. To avoid the problems resulting from hyper-individualism, Castel suggests collective consciousness regarding the limits of atomistic individualism and a return to collective regulations.

NEW CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF INDIVIDUALS

During recent years, this debate has provoked new convergences or hybridizations of the individualistic and holistic poles. While the sociology of class cannot ignore the trend of individualization and of individuals' biography in contemporary societies (Bertaux, 1981), the sociology of individualism has had to acknowledge the economic, cultural and social processes that structure individualization. Contributions by Aubert, 2004; Caradec and Martuccelli, 2005; as also de Singly's (2003) synthesis; Corcuff's (2005) Neo-Marxist appraisal of individualism; and Corcuff et al.'s (2005) work on the mobilization of individual issues, pose the new sociological challenge for left-wing politics. Also, there is a possibility of growing tension and potential future discord between these two schools (see Figure 5.3) as a result of the opposite trajectory of authors such as Michel Maffesoli (Maffesoli, 1988, 2004) who present a post-rational and post-individual 'sociology of tribes' (where a strong holistic fusion in the tribe results in a kind of collective Dionysian trance). If most sociologists consider the methodology of Maffesoli's school inaccurate and controversial, a relevant question remains: if there is no exit in the debate between egoist and Kantian individualism, if there is no possible choice between harsh competition and moral entrepreneurship of social individualism, the risk is a backlash. This situation could lead to anti-social anti-individualistic reactions, of which free rave parties, cults or whatever extreme experiences, could generate abdication of
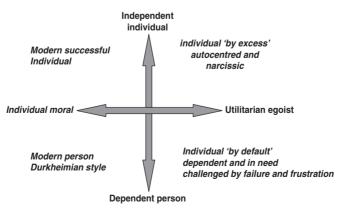

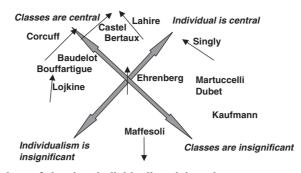**Figure 5.2   Four kinds of individualisms**

Figure 5.3   Dimensions of the class/individualism debate in contemporary France

rationality, paroxysmal negation of personality and the desire to unite with a whole, within strong musical, emotional, religious (etc.) communities.

Evidently, France is not the only country where these questions are raised, but we have here a typical example of sociological hybridization of old questions which constitute our discipline. The French case is typical, since contemporary France is facing strong tensions and contradictions between its model of human and social development inherited from the '*Trente Glorieuses*' (the thirty years between 1945 and 1975 of economic boom and of complete renewal of French society under the control of the central state (see Fourastié, 1979), that supposes strong interclass solidarity and vertical redistribution, against a new era where the highly educated middle class wishes to withdraw from that old scheme, and escape from outdated solidarities and experience new degrees of freedom.

The destabilization of the lower middle class was visible in the *Référendum sur le Traité Constitutionnel* of 29 May 2005 (referendum on the treaty establishing a constitution for Europe), through which they withdrew their support to the European Union, because they perceived it as an adversary of social sector and state development. The spring 2006 protests against the '*Contrat première embauche*' (first employment contract, which proposed casual/contract jobs to students leaving university) underlined the

déclassement (downward social mobility) of the young generation. The autumn 2005 riots in the French ethnic suburbs were a protest against the contemporary interventions and a testament to the lack of faith in the future for the youth belonging to the popular class ('*classe populaire*' is the new name of the '*classe ouvrière*', working class, because the French '*ouvrier*', worker, generally excludes the service sector). The 2007 presidential campaign revealed the lack of capacity of the left-wing middle class to attain majority. These social fractures bring to light the mutual incomprehension between the upper, middle, working and excluded classes (Chauvel, 2006). The highly educated left-wing establishment have little understanding and awareness of the fears of the fragile section of the society, who have no means of expression but to reject the system. Between the crystallization of old solidarities which hold no future and the closure of an upper class proud of its hyper-competitiveness, French society is an example of an interesting blind alley.

The spiral of individualism and holism in France creates new tensions, backlashes, reversal of situations, collisions and hybridization. The mainstream Anglo-Saxon individualistic tradition has not been able to comprehend the complexities that French literature has elaborated. Together with non-western sociologies in which the role of individuals is balanced by cultural–historical dynamics and holistic essential patterns, the

French spiral of holism and individualism might propose new ways of producing global sociology.

NOTES

1. I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments and useful questions that I received from an anonymous referee, the patient and friendly support of Sujata Patel who launched this comparative initiative, and the keen linguistic editing of Aurélie Mary and Sujata Patel.

2. I use the metaphoric image of Boswell and Chase-Dunn (2000) concerning the 'spiral of capitalism and socialism'. Anyway, I do not suggest just a simple parallelism between the two oppositions, Socialism/Capitalism and Holism/Individualism.

3. 'La première règle et la plus fondamentale est de considérer les faits sociaux comme des choses' is the under title of the 2nd chapter of *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* (Durkheim, 1895).

4. One of the earliest occurrences of such an idea in Durkheim's sociology is in his *Course of Social Sciences* (1888) where the relative domain of sociological and individual factors are defined: 'No doubt it [society] cannot exist outside the individuals that are its substratum; it is anyway something else. A whole is not identical to the sum of its parts, even if it is nothing without them. In the same way, while being assembled in a definite form and by durable bonds, people form a new being which has its own nature and its own laws. Here is the social being' (Durkheim, 1888).

5. An important element of the French tradition that I will not document exhaustively is that, in French sociology, academics are almost always associated with politics (at least at one or other time in their lives), in center or radical left-wing movements, inside or outside the government, trade unions, political parties, the media or other institutions. The frontiers between public and professional sociologies are blurred, in general, even for the followers of strong scientific sociology.

6. In France, it is common to criticize the 'Durkheimomarxist paradigm', even if this word could sound strange, since Durkheim was far away from Marxist theories, and conversely, Marxists do not have much interest in Durkheim, but the French structural-Marxism was about to accept loose convergences initiated by Maurice Halbwachs and George Gurvitch. However, in the French debate, the expression 'structuro-durhkeimo-marxiste' refers to Bourdieusian trends.

7. The evocation of the sociologist Nicos Poulantzas (1974), who was central in the Althusserian structural-Marxism of the post-1968 period, refers to the climax of the holistic-classicist sociology of his epoch.

8. It is clear that this debate is not specific to French sociology, see Pakulski and Waters (1998).

REFERENCES

Aron, R. (1969) *Les Désillusions du Progrès, Essai sur la Dialectique de la Modernité* (Progress and Disillusion: The Dialectics of Modern Society). Paris: Calmann-Lévy.

Aubert, N. (ed.) (2004) *L'Individu Hypermoderne* (The Hypermodern Individual). Ramonville: Eres.

Beck, U. (1992[1986]) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bertaux, D. (1981) *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Boltanski, L. (1982) *Les Cadres. La Formation d'un Groupe Social* (Cadres in French Society: Making of a Class). Paris: Minuit.

Boltanski, L., Darré, Y. and Schiltz, M-A. (1984) 'La dénonciation' (Denunciation), *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 51: 3–40.

Boswell, T. and Chase-Dunn, C. (2000) *The Spiral of Capitalism and Socialism: Toward Global Democracy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Boudon, R. (1973) *L'inégalité des Chances. La Mobilité Sociale dans les Sociétés Industrielles* (Education, Opportunity, and Social Inequality: Changing Prospects in Western Society). Paris: Armand Colin.

Bouffartigue, P. (ed.) (2004) *Retour des Classes Sociales, Inégalités, Dominations, Conflits Sociaux* (The Return of Social Classes, Inequality, Dominations, Social Conflicts). Paris: La Dispute.

Bourdieu, P. (1979) *La Distinction: Critique Sociale du Jugement* (Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste). Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J-C. (1964) *Les Héritiers: Les Étudiants et la Culture* (Inheritors: French Students and their Relation to Culture). Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J-C. (1970) *La Reproduction: Éléments pour une Théorie du Système d'Enseignement* (Reproduction

in Education, Society, and Culture). Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Caradec, V. and Martuccelli, D. (éds) (2005) *Matériaux pour une Sociologie de l'individu: Perspectives et Débats* (Materials for a Sociology of the Individual: Perspectives and Debates). Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.

Castel, R. (1995) *Les Métamorphoses de la Question Sociale: Une Chronique du Salariat* (From Manual Workers to Wage Laborers: Transformation of the Social Question). Paris: Fayard.

Castel, R. (2003) *L'insécurité Sociale: Qu'est-ce qu'être Protégé?* (Social Insecurity: What is it to be Protected?). Paris: Seuil.

Chauvel, L. (2001) 'Le retour des classes sociales?' (The Return of Social Classes), *Revue de l'OFCE* 79: 315–59.

Chauvel, L. (2006) *Les Classes Moyennes à la Dérive* (The Middle Classes Adrift). Paris: Le Seuil.

Chopart, J-N. and Martin, C. (eds) (2005) *Que reste-t-il des Classes Sociales*? (What Social Classes Remain?). Rennes: Ecole Nationale de la Santé Publique.

Corcuff, P. (2005) 'Figures de l'individualité, de Marx aux sociologies contemporaines. Entre éclairages scientifiques et anthropologies philosophiques' (Figures of Individuality, from Marx to Contemporary Sociologists. Between Scientific Illumination and Philosophical Anthropology), *Revue Espaces-Temps*.

Corcuff, P. (2007) *Les Nouvelles Sociologies* (The New Sociologies). Paris: Armand Colin.

Corcuff, P., Ion, J. and de Singly, F. (2005) *Politiques de l'individualisme. Entre Sociologie et Philosophie* (Politics of Individualism: Between Sociology and Philosophy). Paris: Textuel.

Crozier, M. and Friedberg, E. (1977) *L'acteur et le Système. Les Contraintes de l'Action Collective* (Actors and Systems: The Politics of Collective Action). Paris: Le Seuil.

de Gaulejac, V. (1987) *Névrose De Classe: Trajectoire Sociale et Conflits d'Identité* (Neurosis of Class: Social Trajectory and Conflicts of Identity). Paris: Hommes & Groupes éditeurs.

de Singly, F. (1998) 'Individualisme et lien social' (Individualism and Social Linkage), *Lien social et Politiques* 39: 33–45.

de Singly, F. (2003) *L'individualisme est un Humanisme* (Individualism is a Humanism). La Tour d'Aigues: Ed de l'Aube.

Dubar, C. (2001) *La Crise des Identités: l'Interprétation d'une Mutation* (Identity crisis: The Interpretation of a Mutation). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Dubet, F. (1994) *Sociologie de l'Expérience* (Sociology of Experience). Paris: Seuil.

Dubet, F. and Martuccelli, D. (1998) *Dans Quelle Société Vivons-Nous ?* (In Which Society Do We Live?). Paris: Le Seuil.

Dumont, L. (1977) *Homo Aequalis, Genèse et Épanouissement de l'Idéologie Économique* (Homo Aequalis: Genesis and Development of the Economic Ideology). Paris: Gallimard.

Durkheim, É. (1888) 'Cours de science sociale. Leçon d'ouverture' (Social Science Course: Opening Lecture). *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement* XV: 23–48.

Durkheim, É. (1895) *Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique* (Rules of Sociological Method). Paris: Félix Alcan.

Durkheim, É. (1897) *Le Suicide, Étude de Sociologie* (Suicide, a Study in Sociology). Paris: Félix Alcan.

Durkheim, É. (1898) 'L'individualisme et les intellectuels' (Individualism and the Intellectuals). *Revue bleue* 4(X): 7–13.

Ehrenberg, A. (1995) *L'Individu Incertain* (The Uncertain Individual). Paris: Calmann-Lévy.

Ehrenberg, A. (1998) *La Fatigue d'Étre Soi* (The Fatigue of Being Oneself). Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob.

Ellwood, C.A. (1901), 'The Theory of Imitation in Social Psychology', *American Journal of Sociology* 6(6): 721–41.

Fourastié, J. (1979) *Les Trente Glorieuses ou la Révolution Invisible* (The Thirty Glorious Years or the Invisible Revolution). Paris: Fayard.

Lahire, B. (1998) *L'homme pluriel* (The Plural Human Being). Paris: Nathan.

Lahire, B. (2002) *Portraits Sociologiques: Dispositions et Variations Individuelles* (Sociological Portraits: Dispositions and Individual Variations). Paris: Nathan.

Lahire, B. (2004) *La Culture des Individus. Dissonances Culturelles et Distinction de Soi* (The Culture of Individuals: Cultural Dissonnances and Distinction of Self). Paris: La Découverte.

Latour, B. (2006) *Changer de Société. Refaire de la sociologie* (Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-network-theory). Paris: La Découverte.

Maffesoli, M. (1988) *Temps des Tribus: Le Déclin de l'Individualisme dans les Sociétés de Masse* (The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society). Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck.

Maffesoli, M. (2004) 'De l'identité aux identifications' (From Identities to Identifications), in N. Aubert (ed.) *The Hypermodern Individual*, pp. 147-56. Ramonville: Eres.

Martuccelli, D. (2002) *Grammaires de l'Individu* (Grammars of the Individual). Paris: Gallimard.

Mendras, H. (1988) *La Seconde Révolution Française: 1965–1984* (Social Change in Modern France: Towards a Cultural Anthropology of the Fifth Republic). Paris: Gallimard.

Mucchielli, L. (2000) 'Tardomania? Réflexions sur les Usages Contemporains de Tarde' (Tardomania? Reflections on the Contemporary Uses of Tarde), *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines* 3: 161–84.

Nisbet, R. (1959) 'The Decline and Fall of Social Class', *Pacific Sociological Review* 2(1): 119–29.

Pakulski, J. and Waters, M. (1996) *The Death of Class*. London: Sage.

Pfefferkorn, R. (2007) *Inégalités et Rapports Sociaux. Rapports de Classes, Rapports de Sexes* (Inequalities and Social Conflicts: Class Conflicts, Gender Conflicts). Paris: La Dispute.

Piketty, T. (2001) *Hauts Revenus en France au XXe siécle: Inégalités et Redistributions, 1901–98* (High Incomes in France in the Twentieth Century: Inequality and Redistribution 1901–98). Paris: Grasset.

Pinçon, M. and Pinçon-Charlot, M. (2000) *Sociologie de la Bourgeoisie* (Sociology of the Bourgeoisie). Paris: La Découverte.

Poulantzas, N. (1974) *Les Classes Sociales dans le Capitalisme Aujourd'hui* (Class in Contemporary Capitalism). Paris: Le Seuil.

Rogers, E. M. (1962) *Diffusion of Innovation*. New York: Free Press.

Rosanvallon, P. (1995) *La Nouvelle Question Sociale* (The New Social Question). Paris: Le Seuil.

Steiner, P. (2008) 'La tradition française de critique sociologique de l'économie politique' (The French Tradition of Critique of the Political Economy), *Histoire des Sciences Humaines* 18: 63–84.

Tarde, G. (1890) *Les Lois de l'Imitation. Etude Sociologique* (Laws of Imitation: A Study in Sociology). Paris: Félix Alcan.

Touraine, A. (1984) *Le Retour de l'Acteur: Essai de Sociologie* (Return of the Actor: Social Theory in Postindustrial Society). Paris: Fayard.

Touraine, A. (1997) *Pourrons-nous Vivre Ensemble? Egaux et Différents* (Can We Live Together? Equality and Difference). Paris: Fayard.

Wieviorka, M. (2005) *La Violence* (Violence). Paris: Hachette Pluriel.

Wieviorka, M. (ed.) (2007) *Les Sciences Sociales en Mutation* (Social Sciences in Mutation). Auxerre: Editions Sciences Humaines.

6

The Various Traditions and Approaches of German Sociology[1]

Karl-Siegbert Rehberg

In the first part of this paper, the academic institutionalization of sociology under the different political systems and social conditions in Germany in the twentieth century is outlined. A second line of the argumentation notes the various theoretical traditions and approaches, from romanticism and historicism, actor-oriented concepts and the analysis of forms and social systems, critical theory, to the latest theses about 'reflexive modernity', including some crucial scientific controversies and the influence of foreign sociologies in German discourses. Additionally, class analysis together with discussion of increasing contemporary social inequalities has also been deliberated. Finally, the paper ends by suggesting a need to transcend the encapsulation of 'schools' or other networks of 'scientific tribes', by making a plea for a multi-paradigmatic sociology, integrated with a highly professionalized discipline.

SOCIOLOGY AS A MIRROR OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Sociology as a study of modernity and the challenges of industrialization and mass

society was like any other science, universal from its very beginning and at the same time closely connected to different national interpretations of these changes (Wagner, 1994). In France, it debated how the post-revolutionary fractionalized society could be integrated. In the United States of America sociology was connected to a religiously motivated *meliorism.* In Great Britain, sociology intervened through practical reformism and was related to philanthropy, and later to the workers movement. In Germany since the nineteenth century, the political orientation of the founding fathers, despite their theoretical differences, was toward social policy. In 1874, the *Verein fuer Socialpolitik* (Association for Social Politics) was established to promote this world-view. This association represented various professions, such as entrepreneurs and politicians, from both the Right as well as the Left, including sociologists – Max Weber, Werner Sombart, and Ferdinand Toennies. Their goal was to avoid the pauperization of the proletariat that would inevitably lead to class struggle. Weber went beyond this practical oriented discussion, and called for sociology to be basic research without any 'value judgments'. To this end,

he successfully promoted the foundation of the German Sociological Association (GSA) in 1909.

ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONALIZATION

The founders of German sociology developed varying theoretical approaches and 'schools'. The discipline was deeply influenced by the changing politics of the five political regimes in Germany: the Weimar Republic, the 'Third Reich', the Democratic Regime in West Germany, the Communist Regime in East Germany, and Reunified Germany.

The Weimar Republic (1919–33)

In this period, sociology was tentatively institutionalized through two modes: the establishment of professorships for teaching sociology and the institutionalization of some centers where research was encouraged. In the first German Republic, sociology found a new role, which was to advance the democratization of society. However, just as in France, wherein the Durkheimian legacy was contested by the conservative opponents of sociology (Lepenies, 1988), in Germany sociology had to face ideological opposition regarding its functional utility. When the social-democratic Prussian Secretary of State, Carl Heinrich Becker, called for the establishment of sociology as a 'synthetic science' in all universities (Becker, 1919), in order to strengthen the new Republic after the breakdown of the German Monarchy in 1918, this was challenged by the conservative historian Georg von Below, who denounced the discipline as one that uses 'fancy words for rent', and is 'incongruent with German mentality' (von Below, 1919: 106). In many ways von Below continued a debate initiated by the Prussian historian Heinrich von Treitschke (1980), who in 1858 had questioned the formation of the new discipline, and argued that it weakened

institutions such as the church, the state and the family (Rehberg, 1985). Interestingly, this anti-sociological skepticism finds resonance in the seventies, even in the works of such sociologists as Helmut Schelsky (1981) and Friedrich H. Tenbruck (1984). These polemics (politically opposing the state-oriented social democratic reformism) are aimed against widespread trivialized social–scientific perspectives: according to the authors, man and his responsibility were denied, be it from a marxist position, or from structural functionalism – both of them legitimizing social determinism. Schelsky and Tenbruck do not criticize particular methods or insights of sociology, but its pretension and reception as the 'guiding discipline' of the twentieth century. Both authors advocate a sociology of culture that integrates other horizons of meaning in order to understand it analytically and to promote man's freedom and creativity.

In 1919, together with the University of Cologne, a department of sociology was established where students were taught plural approaches of doing sociology. Max Scheler presented a 'Catholic' perspective, Leopold von Wiese gave a liberal orientation, and Christian L. M. Eckert took a trade unionist position on the discipline. The second center was set up in the same year in Frankfurt by Franz Oppenheimer, through a donation. He was later followed by Karl Mannheim who became professor in 1929. Third, the Institute for Social Research was established at the same university in 1924, supported by private donation. Its first director was Carl Gruenberg, the second was Max Horkheimer, the philosopher, who took over in 1931. Under Horkheimer's leadership a new program of Critical Theory was initiated in cooperation with Leo Loewenthal, Theodor W. Adorno, Friedrich Pollock, and Erich Fromm, later followed by Herbert Marcuse (Jay, 1973; Wiggershaus, 1994). The fourth sociological center was established in 1925 in Leipzig under Hans Freyer. This department was closely connected to the *voelkische* ideas and to the national socialist movement. At the same time, two leading journals were founded: in 1919 the *Koelner*

Vierteljahreshefte fuer Sozialwissenschaften (*Cologne Quarterly of Social Sciences*) was started. Its name changed in 1921 to *fuer Soziologie* (*Of Sociology*) and from 1955 it was called *Koelner Zeitschrift fuer Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (*Cologne Journal of Sociology and Social Psychology*). In 1932, the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt started the *Zeitschrift fuer Sozialforschung (Journal of Social Research)*. After 1933, it was published in Paris while the group was in exile, and from 1939 until 1941 in New York and Los Angeles (the last volume was published in English as *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*).

The 'Third Reich' (1933–45)

The relatively successful institutionalization of the discipline was interrupted, or at least disturbed, by Adolf Hitler's coming to power in 1933 and the ensuing National Socialist rule. M. Rainer Lepsius (1984) notes that the number of professors declined from 55 to 16 from the early thirties up to 1938, as a result of forced migration and exile. However, some chairs and lectureships continued to exist until 1945, even resulting in doctorates and habilitations. Though GSA continued to exist under the presidency of Freyer, it was in name only. *Post facto*, sociologists in Germany have debated this history and analyzed the impact of the fascist regime on the discipline. Some have argued that the discipline froze under the fascist regime (Koenig, 1987). Others thought that might have been an illusion (Klingemann, 1996). In any case, sociology has never been a preferred subject of authoritarian regimes and during those years theoretical work declined dramatically.

The Democratic Regime in West Germany (1945–90)

Once again, after 1945, hopes to advance the democratization of society through this discipline were revived. The US Military Government encouraged the reconstitution of the GSA as an academic association to help post-war reconstruction of higher education in Germany. The appointment of Howard P. Becker, translator of the work of Leopold von Wiese, as an American university officer helped to augment this process (Rehberg, 1992).

This phase inaugurated a competition between scholars who returned home from exile and those who had remained in Germany, many of whom had supported the Nazi dictatorship and the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Lepsius, 1984). This competition helped to revive the sociological perspectives of the discipline in differing ways, as those in exile introduced new perspectives. Despite this, theoretical approaches such as those of the Frankfurt School and philosophical anthropology, both of which were rooted in philosophy, remained influential. Also, a reflection of the contemporary processes and its roots in fascism led to the growth of historical sociology.

The key phrase then was 'end of ideologies'. It led to the growth of empirical sociological research and specializations that analyzed the concrete problems of West German post-war society. The discipline was increasingly influenced by American sociology, first and foremost by empirical methods. Structural functionalism in particular became the theoretical basis for the analysis of social structures, although the main works of Talcott Parsons are still not translated into German. The key themes for research were social stratification, youth and family studies, as well as, most importantly, industrial sociology. Two research centers were reopened, the first under the guidance of René Koenig in Cologne and the second, after the return of Horkheimer and Adorno, in Frankfurt. In 1946, Helmut Schelsky established the Social Research Center at Dortmund (then Europe's largest social sciences research institute, affiliated to the University of Muenster). Almost twenty years later, the Hamburg

Institute for Social Research was established in 1984 through Jan Philipp Reemtsma's donation.

Although the research interests of the methodically and ideologically different approaches and 'schools' were very similar, a conflict and almost a 'Civil War' ensued between two groups of German sociologists regarding their international affiliations in the fifties (Weyer, 1986). René Koenig, President of the International Sociological Association (ISA) between 1962 and 1966, had affiliated the German post-war sociology to this association, promoted by UNESCO. There was a *fronde* against it by some prominent conservative sociologists, like Hans Freyer and Arnold Gehlen. This group preferred the *Institut International de Sociologie* (IIS), which was founded in 1893 by René Worms, but disowned because its president, Corrado Gini, was a leading scientist in the time of Mussolini. Eventually, this group was defeated and since then German sociology has remained institutionally affiliated to the ISA.

After the students' movement of the late sixties, sociology (as in many other countries) was renewed intellectually and expanded institutionally. Henceforth, for over a decade it took on a leading role within the humanities and public intellectual discourses, to become the critical discipline *par excellence*. Since the seventies, a strong professionalization has pertained in Germany as a result of the extension of special diploma courses and the institutionalization of empirical research centers under the umbrella of the German Social Science Infrastructure Services (GESIS).

The Communist Regime in East Germany (1945–90)

Sociology in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) had a radically different history. In the early years immediately after 1945, sociology was promoted and was protected by those who had fought the fascists for the making of a 'better Germany'; therefore, it survived in the universities of the Soviet occupation zone. However, by the late fifties sociology disappeared from GDR universities, having been declared a 'bourgeois science'. It was assumed that *the* theory of social development had already been articulated by Marxism–Leninism. Since the middle of the seventies, empirical social research for the 'observation of the subjects' was readmitted and institutionalized in some research institutes within the GDR. While this promoted the application of methods, it did nothing for the initiation of a critical sociological discourse, as its use was restricted to the ministries, the Central Committee or the *Politbuero*. In the eighties, sociology evolved to assess theories of non-socialist societies (a kind of theoretical 'enemy observation'): 'Western' theories were finally taken into account, but only twenty students per annum were allowed to study sociology within the GDR, indicating the low level of sociology's institutionalization.

Reunified Germany (Since 1990)

After the reunification of Germany, sociology once again became a medium for democratic education. Since 1990, the discipline has a presence in most universities of the former East Germany. This has been made possible through massive subsidies that allowed infrastructural growth and the transfer of the curriculum from West to East together with financial and human resources.

Sociology was now confronted with new challenges, the most important being the analysis of de-industrialization of East Germany, paradoxically, one of Europe's oldest industrial regions. Between 1989 and 1992, four out of seventeen million of its population lost their jobs. This massive unemployment led to upheaval in people's lives, which occurs with the breakdown of any system. Sociology played a significant role in interpreting the past and assessing empirically the changes in the present.

THEORETICAL TRADITIONS AND DIVERGENT APPROACHES

In this part, I will analyze the growth of different sociological traditions and controversies in German sociology. These theoretical traditions are divided into five approaches, namely indigenous traditions; action-oriented theories and anthropological discourses; the analysis of forms and social systems; social critique after Marx; and recent interpretations of modernity, especially of the social structure of capitalist societies.

German Indigenous Traditions

The late nineteenth century saw an increasing influence of romanticism, which opposed 'rationalistic' and 'individualistic' enlightenment orientation. These ideas were represented in the 'sociological' approach of the historian Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, who wanted to show how civil society developed as part of a 'natural history of the people'. For these romantics, folk life built the foundation of state and society. This was constituted through tradition, convention, custom, and religion. These ideas influenced the establishment of the German Historical School of Law (Friedrich Karl von Savigny) as well as the German Historical School of Economics (Wilhelm G. F. Roscher, Karl Buecher, Gustav von Schmoller), both decisive for the formation of early sociology. Another source of historical thinking was Hegel's philosophical system, although he distanced himself from romanticism. Into this tradition falls Wilhelm Dilthey, who confronted a science of the 'external facts of society' (popularized in Western sociologies) with that of the 'systems of culture,' considered unique and based on a special 'spirit'. At the beginning of the twentieth century, holistic approaches were often transferred to the opposition between 'German culture' and 'Western civilization'.

Ferdinand Toennies' *Community and Society* (1957 [1887]) first published in 1887 incorporated traits of this romantic thought, especially when he theorized on distinctions between forms of kinship, rural settlement, and personal governance (community). However, Toennies drew his ideas from Hobbes, Spinoza, and Marx, among others, to elaborate his concept of 'society', marked by formal organization based on contracts. Toennies sympathized with Social Democracy and saw the future of the community in the formation of a global pacified state with universal culture and cooperative-style socialism.

When the second edition of his text was published in 1912, it became a 'cult book' for the revivalist German Youth Movement. Toennies strongly opposed the use of his work by this movement and also objected when the Nazi regime tried to instrumentalize his concept to legitimize their policies for a people's community (*Volksgemeinschaft*).

In contrast, a radical community-oriented sociology was conceived by Hans Freyer, who was honoured in 1925 with the first only sociological chair in Germany. He understood sociology as a science of the class society of the nineteenth century. Inspired by the early radical aspects of the Youth Movement with its protests against bourgeois modernity and partly wishing to be integrated in the new Fascist order, he hoped to replace sociology by a doctrine of community (Muller, 1987). This project resonated also in the works of Karl Heinz Pfeffer who created, through a mixture of romanticism and National Socialism, a sociology based on a notion of a German community as opposed to a 'bourgeois', 'Western', 'Jewish', 'Marxist', or 'enlightened' sociology (Klingemann, 1996).

Action-oriented and Anthropological Theories

In this section I discuss a range of perspectives within this theme, starting from Max Weber's action theory. His interpretive sociology drew from this German historical thought but disassociated itself from all historiosophical positions, stage theories of

social development, and search for universal laws. In his comparative–historical approach, Weber – in contrast to all collectivistic positions from the Left (Marxism) and the Right (Organicism) – wanted to underline that the processes of sociation are always connected with actors. Sociology is regarded as a science for understanding and explaining social action (Weber, 1978). Every actor, according to Weber, forms a 'subjective meaning' through an intersubjective orientation towards others as well as towards institutional complexity. This constitutes an 'objective meaning' and becomes the focus of his sociology of religion, law, or politics. Because Weber worked for a long time as a private scholar and did not have students who followed his academic theories, there was almost no direct Weberian influence institutionally in the twenties and thirties in Germany. It was Talcott Parsons and German sociologists in American exile, such as Hans Gerth and Reinhard Bendix and later Guenther Roth, who laid the foundation for the discovery of Weber's work in Germany after 1945. The German renaissance of Max Weber began in 1964, the centennial of his birthday (Stammer, 1965; Gerhardt, 2003).

Since the sixties, another aspect of Weber's work, his theory of historical sociology, has made a major impact. Weber's work allowed German scholars to discover Ernst Troeltsch's studies on Protestantism, as well as Werner Sombart's studies about the sources of capitalism. As a result, the complete works of Max Weber were published, and today sociologists are attempting to establish a 'Weberian paradigm' (Albert et al., 2003). These developments also allowed for a recovery of Norbert Elias's historical theory of the civilizational process, written in 1936, and popularly debated only forty years later.

In Germany, the sociology of culture, although influenced by the worldwide *cultural turn*, drew initially from Weberian antecedents (Lipp and Tenbruck, 1979), and today extends itself to an interest in Cultural Studies and 'popular culture' (Winter, 2001).

The revival of interest in phenomenological sociology has also to be understood in the context of Weber's methodological position. Alfred Schutz's work drew from Weber and reconstructed Edmund Husserl's philosophy when he elaborated on a phenomenological perspective to sociology through a new systematic theory of social action (Schutz, 1967). His theory emanates from the everyday life knowledge of the 'life-world'. Schutz transformed Weber's 'objective sense' into 'structures of relevance' and highlighted the need for a shared knowledge as the precondition of social life (Schutz and Luckmann, 1973–89).

After Max Scheler had introduced the term sociology of knowledge, Karl Mannheim's (1952) program of this perspective and its key concept of 'existential connectedness' of knowledge and thinking was elaborated in the post-Weberian ambience at Heidelberg. Recently, some scholars have attempted a synthesis of Mannheim and Schutz. Thomas Luckmann, Joerg Bergmann, and their colleagues have analyzed 'communicative genres' and their impact on the production of knowledge. Henceforth, the focus of this perspective has shifted from social groups and their way of thinking guided by interests to semantics and their culturally dependent differentiations (Taenzler et al., 2006). Additionally, the Luckmann school introduced new methods, such as conversational analysis, in which the communication processes were examined in terms of speech.

Finally, in this context, a very different concept of action has to be mentioned: emerging from social psychological, causal analysis of elementary behavior, and the mathematics-based economy; this approach, propagated by protagonists of the Rational Choice Theory, claims to realize Weber's program to explain actions. Enhancing traditional theories of rational calculation, Hartmut Esser (1996) has developed a complex 'frame selection theory' of reconstruction of motives, which stresses the logic of the situation, because – according to the *Thomas Theorem* – all concepts for actions were characterized by

a 'definition of the situation' (Greshoff and Schimank, 2006).

Such a theory of calculated action has some implicit anthropological premises. From the beginning of the last century, German philosophical anthropology had sought to establish a model of the foundations of human life (Fischer, 2008). Max Scheler, the founder of this 'school', argued about the 'exceptional position' (*Sonderstellung*) of the human being in the process of evolution. This theme was resonated in the work of the theoretical biologist Helmuth Plessner, and by Arnold Gehlen, who analyzed the formation of action in its institutional representation of the 'deficient being'.

This anthropological perspective allowed sociologists in Germany to receive sympathetically the ideas of George Herbert Mead, initially introduced by Gehlen (1988) and thirty years later by Juergen Habermas (1984). Finally, it is Hans Joas (1996) who further developed the pragmatic action theory into a perspective wherein 'creative acting' exceeded the instrumental rational limitations of action. He argued that actions are not restricted to a goal orientation. Discussing the philosophy of life and of charisma (Weber) or collective excitement, Joas has stressed the importance of moral integration, as did Durkheim.

Since the seventies, symbolic interactionism together with ethnomethodology and interpretative approaches has gained acceptance. Further, engagement with the work of Erving Goffman has led to an expanding interest in micro-sociology (Hettlage and Lenz, 1991).

Analysis of Forms and Social Systems

Evolutionary theory *à la* Herbert Spencer was not popular in Germany (unlike in the USA). However, traces of it can be seen in the work of Georg Simmel in his reflections on the processes of social differentiation. His ideas on 'formal sociology' (Simmel, 1992)

became a theoretical bridge to analyze personal interactions and their objective forms, and had an important influence on the sociology of the Chicago School. Historically, Simmel saw the new discipline as a way to assess modern mass society, characterized by the logic of money or abstract systems of trust (Simmel, 1978). Simmel's investigation of the forms of sociation highlighted the variety of the phenomena of life and how they bear upon certain forms of social interaction, such as 'conflict', 'space', or 'social groups'. He was influenced by Henri Bergson's ideas on the philosophy of life, and especially those that theorized about the tensions between the always creative life processes and the necessary building of forms as a precondition for the reproduction of life. Simmel's analysis of social forms dominated sociology in Germany until the fifties, particularly because of Leopold von Wiese's (1932) use of this perspective as a theory of social processes of integration and disintegration.

From the sixties onwards, Niklas Luhmann modified Parson's Theory of Social Systems and replaced it with his own version of systems theory. Luhmann outlined a function-oriented theory which gave social systems the capacity to solve problems in the context of the world's complexity. In his theory of auto-poietic systems (Luhmann, 1995, 1997), he clearly distinguished between traditional or 'stratified' societies and the functionally differentiated modern society with its subsystems. His concept of 'world society' has stimulated empirical research about globalization (Stichweh, 2000) and has led to the establishment of the Institute for World Society Studies at the University of Bielefeld.

For a long time it became the most prominent theoretical perspective in German sociology. This reputation was deeply influenced by controversy with its opponent, Juergen Habermas. Basing himself on Parsons, Luhmann started by an analysis of formal organizations to elaborate his theory of social systems. For this he was accused by

Habermas to be a social technician. Habermas argued against Luhmann's assumption that only a functionalistic analysis of rationality was adequate. The analytical reference point to criticize social realities cannot be an 'ideal', i.e. noncoercive, discourse. Luhmann, in contrast, wanted to work on theory, which examines the functions of the systems without direct intervention from reality (Habermas and Luhmann, 1971).

Although Luhmann's ideas are popular, a critique from a Parsonian point of view is also available in Germany, in the work of Richard Muench (1986), who has questioned the neglect of basic structural conditions of communicative processes, such as hierarchies or institutional patterns.

Social Critique after Marx

From the beginning, Marx's critique of capitalism provided an enormous challenge to German sociology. In the late sixties when the student movement emerged, it became extremely influential in the study of class structure and led to the development of a new historical materialist perspective (Habermas, 1976).

Within academia, the Marxian theoretical perspective (supplemented by a Freudian-oriented social–psychological approach) has been debated by the Frankfurt School since its early years. In America where they were in exile, the Frankfurt theorists extended this perspective to include analysis of the everyday manipulation by the 'culture industry'. Henceforth marxist discussions substituted the debate of economic processes and class struggles with a critique of culture within a 'capitalist totality'. These theoretical interventions led Adorno to the formulation of the concept of negative dialectics (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972; Adorno, 1973).

Herbert Marcuse's critique of repressive de-sublimation and his search for new strategies of liberation had a significant impact on the student movement in Germany despite his remaining in the United States after 1945.

Juergen Habermas represented the second generation of the Frankfurt school and theorized on the contradictions of so-called late capitalism. His decisive contribution to sociological theory is the theory of communicative action. Habermas analyzes the decoupling of the communication-based life-world as a source of human values from all forms of system-processed coordinated action. He argues that these realms of human life are not only detached but 'colonized' by the logic of systems and instrumental rationality.

In addition to the debate between Habermas and Luhmann, two other controversies had seminal influence on German sociology. This was labeled *Positivismusstreit* and took place at a special confernce of the GSA in 1961. There were sharp exchanges between Adorno and Karl R. Popper on the differences between social and natural sciences and the status of values in the social sciences. This theme was once again discussed and debated by Habermas and led to a frontal critique of positivism in which Hans Albert and others later participated (Adorno et al., 1969). Adorno questioned the basic principles of critical rationalism, a position articulated by Popper, and postulated instead a perspective for assessing dialectically the contradictions of the society. As Horkheimer had done in his programmatic essay 'Traditional and Critical Theory' (1931), the critical theorists attacked a science that merely 'doubled' reality. Popper reacted with a systematic depiction of his methodological foundations. However, it was clear that the debate was not merely on methodological issues but on the politics of the schools that they represented. (For instance, Adorno suggested that 'positivism' gave a positive picture of society.) The debate was based on two incompatible notions of 'contradictions', one based on the logic of scientific sentences (Popper and Albert) and the other on the processes inherent in capitalist society (Adorno and Habermas). In 1968, another debate led to a passionate discussion during the 16th National Meeting of the GSA in Frankfurt with the question of

whether or not contemporary society should be interpreted as 'late capitalism' or 'industrial society'.

Recent Interpretations of Modernity

The history of sociology in Germany cannot be understood without the influences of, above all, sociological ideas from the United States and France. Since the early fifties, French thought had an impact on German thought, although today it is argued that its significant influence remains only through postmodernism, ironically mediated through the United States. However, the existentialist ideas of Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus were a source of inspiration for the German post-war-youth. Later, German academics were attracted by the ideas of Claude Lévi-Strauss associated with structuralism. This was followed inevitably by post-structuralism.

The latter posed a threat to Critical Theorists, who saw a new irrationalism in it. In spite of this, a position beyond structuralism elaborated in different ways by Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, became popular in Germany also as an expression of social critique. Foucault was understood as a theorist who criticized the fundamental processes of ordering of cognitive schemes through discursive practices and institutional disciplining.

This tendency, too, inspired new approaches to an institutional analysis which was also influenced by economic neo-institutionalism and Ralf Dahrendorf's (1988) attention to the importance of 'ligatures' as institutional forms of social binding and integration in modern civil societies. From the perspective of the sociology of culture, the 'theory and analysis of institutional mechanisms' examine the stabilization of social relations through symbolic presence (Rehberg, 1994).

Pierre Bourdieu has been perceived as a mediator between Marx and Weber. For German scholars his analysis of power became attractive because it was not grounded in normative postulates. For Bourdieu, the processes of the symbolic order, whether of traditional kinship systems or the French class structure (reproduced through an educational system, based on a strong system of rankings) are determined by cultural mechanisms. Social distinctions characterize a society based on economic capital which is reproduced through cultural and social capital also. In this respect, a German analysis of the 'thrill-seeking society' (Schulze, 1992) inquires into the connection of cultural practices and the social structure. However, contrast Bourdieu's hierarchical field of social struggles: in this perspective, persons can choose different milieus relatively independently because of processes of individualization.

Other interpretations of modernity have combined micro- and macro-perspectives; for instance, Ulrich Beck's (1992) analysis of risk society deals with latent threats of the industrialization process. He distinguishes between the first and second stages of modernity and shows how the individualization process is a challenge in the second modernity. Included is a thesis of socio-structural changes of German society as being 'beyond class and social strata' (Beck, 1998). Together with Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash (Beck et al., 1994) Beck has theorized about and discussed the implications of a new global risk society that has emerged in the context of a post-nation-state.

Beck's (1992) discussion of the new trends of 'capitalism without class', and the 'release of individuals' together with their breaking away from all traditional networks such as the family, religious communities, and workers' organizations has to be seen in the context of the sociological discourse in Germany regarding social class. Before the reunification in 1989 most sociologists argued that the economic rise of the post-war years had allowed the state to distribute social security for all. The term 'class' was taboo in the Cold War, as scholars wished to distance themselves from the theories of class struggle propounded by the East German state. It was buttressed by the thesis

propounded by Helmut Schelsky, that post-war Federal Germany could be seen as a 'leveled-off middle-class society'. This kind of interpretation has not acknowledged the increasing social inequality and the existence of an 'invisible class society' in most of the rich countries, including Germany (Rehberg, 2006). Recently, there is renewed attention on processes of exclusion and the production of so-called 'unnecessary people' (Bude, 2008).

In addition, contemporary developments need to face gender inequalities as a culturally constructed source of stratification. The reception of American and French discourses on the feminist movement allowed German scholars to explore these dimensions, leading to the institutionalization of gender studies in Germany. Today, the main questions are those of gender identity, the social construction of gender roles, or the chances and disadvantages of individuals and groups due to their sex difference (Villa, 2003).

Towards a Multi-Paradigmatic Sociology

Often sociologists articulate the fear that a great variety of theoretical and methodical concepts would lead to a hopeless and disintegrating tribalism, in which every sociological approach pays attention only to research stemming from itself. Thus they call for a unified paradigm. However, the situation has changed since the early years of German sociology. No longer do isolated and theoretical positions face each other, and plurality of methods, perspectives, and theoretical paradigms enriches the whole discipline. Diversity and plurality of theoretical orientations help to strengthen the academic subject. They also help to develop career opportunities for trained academics. This is substantiated by results of the activities of the Research Committees of the GSA (Orth et al., 2003), which show that despite the lack of any authoritative canon, the various areas of specializations have followed

similar theoretical orientations. Thus, sociological theory can be seen as a unity within heterogeneity.

Yet we must also voice a note of caution. Today, increasingly interdisciplinary courses and programs have substituted for the teaching of disciplinary courses. Additionally, there has been a tendency to observe social reality from a perspective of economics or the political sciences (especially in school lessons). There is a risk in this situation, and it is linked with the relationship between what universities teach and what jobs demand. As a result of interdisciplinary orientations, the masters' program has promoted new 'fantastic' syllabi which may not have a professional profile. Whereas in these new studies sociologists are often in demand; however, sociology as a subject is not.

Lastly, it should not be forgotten that despite all these problems and its professional success as an academic subject, sociology remains oriented to 'Public Sociology' (Burawoy, 2005) which has always been its intellectual mission as a critical discipline. Sociology without the power to challenge authorities would not have done its duty and could go.

NOTES

REFERENCES

Adorno, T.W. (1973) *Negative Dialectics*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Adorno, T.W., Dahrendorf, R. and Pilot, H. (1969) (1969) *Der Positivismusstreit in der Deutschen Soziologie* (The Positivism

Struggle in German Sociology). Neuwied/ Berlin: Luchterhand.

Albert, G., Bienfait, A. and Steffen, S. (eds) (2003) *Das Weber-Paradigma* (The Weber-Paradigm). Tuebingen: Mohr.

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity.* London/Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Beck, U. (1998) *World Risk Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, U., Giddens, A. and Lash, S. (1994) *Reflexive Modernization*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Becker, C.H. (1919) *Gedanken zur Hochschulreform* (Reflections about University Reform). Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer.

Bude, H. (2008) *Die Ausgeschlossenen* (The Excluded). Munich: Hanser.

Burawoy, M. (2005) '2004 American Socio-logical Association Presidential Address: For Public Sociology', *The British Journal of Sociology* 56(2): 259–94.

Dahrendorf, R. (1988) *The Modern Social Conflict. An Essay on the Politics of Liberty*. New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Esser, H. (1996) 'Die Definition der Situation' (The Definition of the Situation), *Koelner Zeitschrift fuer Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 48: 1–34.

Fischer, J. (2008) *Philosophische Anthropologie* (Philosophical Anthropology). Munich: Alber.

Gehlen, A. (1988) *Man: His Nature and Place in the World*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gerhardt, U. (2003) 'Der Heidelberger Soziologentag 1964 als Wendepunkt der Rezeptionsgeschichte Max Webers' (The Heidelberg Weber Congress 1964 as the Changing Point of the History of his Reception), in U. Gerhardt (ed.) *Zeitperspektiven*, pp. 233–66. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Greshoff, R. and Schimank, U. (eds) (2006) *Integrative Sozialtheorie-Esser-Luhmann-Weber* (Integrative Social Theory-Esser-Luhmann-Weber). Wiesbaden: Verlag fuer Sozialwissenschaften.

Habermas, J. (1976) *Zur Rekonstruktion des historischen Materialismus* (Reconstruction of Historical Materialism). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Habermas, J. (1984) *The Theory of Communi-cative Action*, 2 vols. London: Heinemann.

Habermas, J. and Luhmann, N. (1971) *Theorie der Gesellschaft oder Sozialtechnologie – Was leistet die Systemforschung?* (Theory of Society or Social Technology – What does the System Analysis Achieve?). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Hettlage, R. and Lenz, K. (eds) (1991) *Erving Goffman ein soziologischer Klassiker der zweiten Generation?* (Erving Goffman: A Sociological Classic of the Second Generation?). Stuttgart/Bern: Haupt.

Horkheimer, M. (1931) 'Traditionelle und kritische Theorie' (Traditional and Critical Theory), *Zeitschrift fuer Sozialforschung* (Journal of Social Research) VI(2): 45–94.

Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T.W. (1972) *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. New York: Seabury Press.

Jay, M. (1973) *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research* 1923–1950. Boston, MA/Toronto: Little, Brown and Co.

Joas, H. (1996) *The Creativity of Action*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Klingemann, C. (1996) *Soziologie im Dritten Reich* (Sociology in the 'Third Reich'). Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Koenig, R. (1987) *Soziologie in Deutschland* (Sociology in Germany). Munich/Vienna: Hanser.

Lepenies, W. (1988) *Between Literature and Science*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lepsius, M.R. (1984) *The Development of Sociology in Germany after World War II*. Armon/New York: Sharpe.

Lipp, W. and Tenbruck, F.H. (eds) (1979) 'Kultursoziologie' (Sociology of Culture), *Koelner Zeitschrift fuer Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 31(3).

Luhmann, N. (1995) *Social Systems*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Luhmann, N. (1997) *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft* (The Society of Society), 2 vols. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Mannheim, K. (1952) *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Muench, R. (1986) 'The Law in Terms of Systems Theory' (Review), *American Journal of Sociology* 92: 1221–3.

Muller, J. Z. (1987) *The Other God that Failed: Hans Freyer and the Deradicalization of*

German Conservatism. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Orth, B., Schwietring, T. and Weiss, J. (eds) (2003) *Soziologische Forschung: Stand und Perspektiven* (Sociological Research: State of Art and Perspectives). Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Rehberg, K-S. (1985) '"Anti-Sociology" – A Conservative View on Social Sciences', *History of Sociology. An International Review* 5: 45–60.

Rehberg, K-S. (1992) 'Auch keine Stunde Null – Westdeutsche Soziologie nach 1945' (Also Not An 'Hour Zero' – West German Sociology after 1945), in W. H. Pehle and P. Sillem (eds) *Wissenschaft im geteilten Deutschland* (Science in the Divided Germany), pp. 26–44, 224–8. Frankfurt: Fischer.

Rehberg, K-S. (1994) 'Institutionen als symbolische Ordnungen: Leitfragen zur Theorie und Analyse institutioneller Mechanismen (TAIM)' (Institutions as Symbolic Orders: Central Questions about a Theory and Analysis of Institutional Mechanisms (TAIM)), in G. Goehler (ed.) *Die Eigenart der Institutionen* (The Specifity of Institutions), pp. 47–84. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Rehberg, K-S. (2006) 'Die unsichtbare Klassengesellschaft' (The Invisible Class Society), in K-S. Rehberg (ed.) 'Soziale Ungleichheit, kulturelle Unterschiede' (Social Inequality, Cultural Differences). Proceedings of the 32nd Congress of the German Sociological Association, Munich, 2004, pp. 19–38, Frankfurt/New York: Campus.

Schelsky, H. (1981) *Rueckblicke eines 'Anti-Soziologen'* (Retrospectives by an 'Anti-Sociologist'). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Schulze, G. (1992) *Die Erlebnisgesellschaft: Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart* (The Thrill-seeking Society: Cultural Sociology of the Present). Frankfurt/New York: Campus.

Schutz, A. (1967) *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Schutz, A. and Luckmann, T. (1973–89) *The Structures of the Life-world*, 2 vols. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Simmel, G. (1978) *Philosophy of Money*. London/Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Simmel, G. (1992) 'Soziologie. Untersuchungen ueber die Formen der Vergesellschaftung' (Sociology: Studies about the Forms of the Formation of Society), in O. Rammstedt (ed.) *Gesamtausgabe* (complete edn). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Stammer, O. (ed.) (1965) 'Max Weber und die Soziologie heute' (Max Weber and Contemporary Sociology). Proceedings of the 15th Cogress of the German Sociological Association, Heidelberg, 1964. Tuebingen: Mohr.

Stichweh, R. (2000) *Die Weltgesellschaft* (The World Society). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Taenzler, D., Knoblauch, H. and Soeffner, H-G. (eds) (2006) *Neue Perspektiven der Wissenssoziologie* (New Perspectives of the Sociology of Knowledge). Constance: UVK.

Tenbruck, F.H. (1984) *Die unbewaeltigten Sozialwissenschaften oder Die Abschaffung des Menschen* (The Unmastered Social Sciences or the Abolition of Man). Graz: Styria.

Toennies, F. (1957[1887]) *Community and Society*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

Villa, P-I. (2003) 'Das Subjekt Frau als Geschlecht mit Koerper und Sexualitaet' (The Subject Woman as Gender with Body and Sexuality), in B. Orth, T. Schwietring and J. Weiss (eds) *Soziologische Forschung. Stand und Perspektiven* (Sociological Research. State of Art and Perspectives), pp. 155–67. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

von Below, G. (1919) 'Soziologie als Lehrfach: Ein kritischer Beitrag zur Hochschulreform' (Sociology as Study: A Critical Approach to University Reform), *Schmollers Jahrbuch* 43: 59–110.

von Treitschke, H. (1980) *Die Gesellschaftswissenschaften: Ein kritischer Versuch* (The Sciences of Society: A Critical Approach). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

von Wiese, L. (1932) *Systematic Sociology*, ed. H. P. Becker. New York: Wiley.

Wagner, P. (1994) *A Sociology of Modernity: Liberty and Discipline*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Weber, M. (1978) *Economy of Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, eds. G. Roth and C. Wittich. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Weyer, J. (1986) 'Der "Bürgerkrieg in der Soziologie" Die westdeutsche Soziologie zwischen Amerikanisierung und Restauration' ('The "Civil War in Sociolgy". West-German Sociology between Americanisation and Restoration'), in S. Papcke (ed.) *Ordnung und Theorie* (Order and Theory). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Wiggershaus, R. (1994) *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories, and Political Significance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Winter, R. (2001) *Die Kunst des Eigensinns: Cultural Studies als Kritik der Macht* (The Art of Self-will: Cultural Studies as a Critique of Power). Weilerswist: Velbrueck.

7

Diversity, Dominance, and Plurality in British Sociology

John Scott

A variety of approaches to social theory have developed in British social thought from the middle of the nineteenth century and have informed the development of empirical social research. Evolutionist, regionalist, and idealist approaches vied for position into the early twentieth century, but the slow building of a professional university discipline centred on the dominance of an evolutionary structural functionalism combined with statistical and survey-based research. Rooted in the ideas of Leonard Hobhouse and his followers, this was the basis on which American structural functionalism was able to have considerable impact on the growth of British sociology. This was challenged, as it was in the United States, by forms of conflict theory that were associated with empirical research into a wider range of economic and political issues and, above all, issues of inequality and class. In the radical years of the 1960s and 1970s, this led to the resurgence of Marxist theory and of research informed by the ideas of the New Left. Feminist theories, too, had a substantial impact on both theoretical debate and empirical research. At the same time, French and German theories began to

have a considerable impact and, as a result, theoretical diversity became more marked. The tenets of the marxisant conflict theories were recast by Anthony Giddens and others to form what came to be called structuration theories, although this has not achieved the dominance or overall influence on empirical research held by its functionalist and conflict predecessors. In the face of this theoretical diversity, empirical research also became more diverse. Qualitative research became more important, and issues of culture and consumption supplemented those of materiality and production as the focus of empirical research.

INDIVIDUALISTIC APPROACHES TO SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

The earliest forms of social thought in Britain originated in the philosophical reflections of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume. The leading figures of the Scottish Enlightenment – most notably Adam Ferguson, John Millar, and Adam Smith – set out a social theory of

state authority and individual liberty in relation to social differentiation, the division of labour, and class formation. As in the emerging framework of 'political economy', these theories were rooted in an individualistic model of rational, calculative action, with social relations seen as processes of social exchange.

This work did little to generate empirical research other than historical reflections on the state. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, Harriet Martineau elaborated its implications in the light of her reading of Comte. She undertook systematic empirical research on inequalities in American society, and produced a textbook on methods of social research. John Stuart Mill engaged in a critical dialogue with Comte's methodology and began to construct a sociological theory that, like Martineau's, recognized cultural diversity.

EVOLUTIONIST AND IDEALIST APPROACHES

It was in the work of Herbert Spencer, however, that the diversity of societies was most fully recognized. Spencer set out a systematic body of comparative and historical ideas that attempted to integrate social theory with a mass of empirical data on a wide variety of societies (Spencer, 1873[1889], 1873–93). Spencer saw social structures as formed through processes of linguistically mediated interaction and being autonomous social facts. He explored these social structures as 'social organisms' or systems in terms of the central principle of evolution, which he saw as resulting from a continual struggle for survival among social groups and their individual members.

This evolutionary orientation was also apparent in the work of anthropologists Sir Edward Tylor and Sir James Frazer, who traced the evolution of cultural traits in relation to the overall cultural evolution of human beings. The evolutionary theory of

Benjamin Kidd (1894) saw social evolution as the outcome of a struggle among 'solidaristic' and internally altruistic social groups.

Spencer's approach was challenged, paradoxically, by a group of theorists who were heavily influenced by him. Edward Caird, David Ritchie, and Henry Jones were central to this idealist view of the social organism. They sought to combine Spencer's insights with those of Hegelian social philosophy, seeing the growing individualism of civil society and its associational forms of relationship as undermining the traditional solidarities of the organic communities found in pre-industrial societies. They saw social solidarity underpinning individual rights of citizenship and used this idea to explore the contribution that individual citizens could make to the 'social good' and social welfare.

These ideas inspired a large body of writings on the principles of social work and state intervention. The key theoretician of this approach was Bernard Bosanquet (1897, 1899, 1917), a leading figure in the Charity Organisation Society (COS) and in the establishment of its 'School of Ethics and Social Philosophy', later known as the 'School of Sociology'. Bosanquet saw both individual personality and state activities as formed within the structure of society, which he understood as comprising the webs of communication and interdependence through which individuals are connected into systemic social wholes. Thus, the 'general will' of a society is the basis of the social integration and role behaviour of its individual members. Bosanquet's wife, Helen, drew on this theory to set out a related account of inequality, family relations, and community as the basis for the novel method of social casework that she sought to introduce to the social work of COS.

These idealist social theorists had a substantial influence within British sociology and social policy, though this influence diminished over time. There was a lasting influence on the philosopher and historian Robin Collingwood, who had inspired Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard's (1937, 1940) interpretation

of his anthropological fieldwork on the Azande and the Nuer. Somewhat later, Peter Winch (1958) elaborated on these ideas and combined them with those of Wittgenstein to develop a view of social life as organized through shared rules and practices.[1]

ENVIRONMENTALIST AND MATERIALIST SOCIOLOGY

While the idealists stressed cultural factors in social development, other writers held to the importance of environmental factors and the material elements stressed by the Scottish theorists. This orientation had been encouraged and supported in the Ethical Societies and the London Positivist Society, where Comte's ideas had a great influence. These societies were associated with the formation of statistical societies that encouraged empirical research and inspired the local poverty surveys undertaken by Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree at the beginning of the twentieth century. Together with the statistical work of Francis Galton and Karl Pearson, these studies led to many other studies of urban life in the inter-war years. They were also a major influence on the later investigations into poverty and social mobility carried out by David Glass and Peter Townsend.

Both Booth and Rowntree saw the material environment as the crucial determinant of the way of life followed in a society, but they did little to theorize this. This was provided by Patrick Geddes, a Scottish botanist and ecologist, who had been inspired by the work of Le Play in France and aimed at an ecological view of the ways in which material conditions shape human activities to produce 'regions' with distinctive and specific ways of life. This work inspired a regional sociology and a similar perspective among geographers such as Herbert Fleure. Geddes' particular concern was with the development of urban social forms and the reshaping of city life (Geddes, 1904[1979], 1905[1979], 1915[1949]); together with his disciple Victor

Branford he produced a theory of contemporary modernity (Branford and Geddes, 1919a, 1919b). Influenced by American radicals such as Veblen, they argued that the mobilization and control of credit within the economy distort social development. They proposed a social reconstruction through the re-establishment of a citizenship rooted in communal integration.[2] In developing their ideas on social reconstruction, Geddes and Branford elaborated a politics of what they called the 'Third Way', a political direction between capitalism and socialism that centred on communitarian forms of living and the building of cooperative structures. The communitarian social philosophy of John Macmurray is the direct link between these early views and the contemporary Third Way politics advocated by Tony Blair.

The ethical and positivist societies also nurtured the sociological work of John Hobson and John Robertson. Hobson set out a powerful economic sociology of the changing nature of capitalism and the emergence of the financially driven structures of imperialism that he saw as integrally linked to persisting poverty. Robertson produced a series of studies in theory and methodology and developed an account of imperialism that was linked to investigations into patterns of ethnic solidarity, state action, and religious change. Both Hobson and Robertson saw their sociological work as a central element in a radical reconstruction of liberal politics, and Robertson served as a Member of Parliament in the New Liberal cause from 1906 to 1918.

A further strand of social thought that emerged from this same context, though it was less materialist in character, was the Christian sociology of Maurice Reckitt and W. G. Peck, a group that produced the journal *Christendom* from 1931 to 1950. With roots in guild socialism and communitarianism, this group aimed to develop Christian ideas on social reconstruction from an Anglo-Catholic standpoint and had little interest in empirical research. The group included the poet T. S. Eliot and its discussions influenced

the production of his pioneering work on mass culture.

THE FORMATION OF AN ACADEMIC MAINSTREAM

Branford and Geddes were the prime movers in the establishment of the Sociological Society in 1903 and its journal the *Sociological Review* a few years later. The Society worked closely with the American Sociological Society, the Durkheim group in France, and a number of leading German sociologists, aiming to establish a secure basis for the building of a university-based discipline of sociology in Britain. The Society was eclectic rather than exclusivist, but was beset by intellectual differences from the beginning. Despite its encouragement of a diversity of sociological positions, the Society failed in its project of securing an intellectual base for a broad and wide-ranging sociology in Britain. The disputes within the Sociological Society meant that the building of an institutional base for sociology was held back and a number of important developments arose independently of the Society.

The dominant figure in British sociology in the first decades of the twentieth century, and the person whose work and influence shaped British sociology for half a century, was Leonard Hobhouse. Branford and Geddes had persuaded their friend and patron Martin White to endow a chair in sociology at the London School of Economics (LSE), the first of its kind in Britain. The intention was that Geddes should be appointed to the chair, but an unsuccessful performance at the interview meant that the appointment went to Hobhouse, an Oxford philosopher and leader writer for the *Manchester Guardian* who had begun to develop a comparative sociology of mental development through a critical engagement with the ideas of the idealists (Hobhouse, 1901, 1906). Appointed to the Chair of Sociology in 1907, Hobhouse developed a distinctive understanding of the 'social mind' as a product of the tissues of communication and interconnection through which social activities are organized. He set this within an evolutionary framework (Hobhouse, 1924 [1966]; see also Hobhouse et al., 1914 [1965]) and saw this as the basis of a new and reconstructed liberalism.[3] A similar approach to that of Hobhouse had been developed outside the LSE by Robert MacIver, a lecturer at Aberdeen University and the first British person to include the word 'Sociology' in his job title. MacIver produced an important study of community (MacIver, 1917 [1924]) before leaving Britain for Canada and the United States.[4]

Hobhouse's conception of the evolutionary development of liberal citizenship was taken up by his colleague, Thomas H. Marshall, as the basis of his own influential account of citizenship rights (Marshall, 1949 [1963]). Through Marshall, this continues to influence work on migration, rights, and citizenship. The main disciple of Hobhouse within British sociology, however, was Maurice Ginsberg, who devoted himself to protecting the intellectual inheritance of Hobhouse against all perceived challenges. Ginsberg made no real contribution to developing or enlarging Hobhouse's ideas and he limited the influence that any other approach to sociology could have within the LSE – the only significant Department of Sociology in the country through the middle years of the twentieth century.

This stance by Ginsberg was also responsible for the marginalization of Karl Mannheim when he arrived in Britain in 1933 as a refugee from the German Nazi regime. Mannheim, already well-established as the author of a number of major studies in the sociology of knowledge, had held the Chair at the University of Frankfurt. He was given a lectureship at the LSE, but was refused the recognition due to him and he moved to the London University Institute of Education. Mannheim went on to produce a number of studies on elites, planning, and reconstruction, but he never had the impact on the development of British sociology that

could have been possible if he had remained at LSE. His main contacts within Britain were with the rather marginal Christian sociology group of Maurice Reckitt.

The ideas of Hobhouse, together with the ideas developed from the anthropological studies of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, provided a framework of ideas that dominated the sociological curriculum through the middle years of the century. This 'structural–functionalist' approach, tinged with the evolutionism and comparative concerns of Hobhouse and strongly committed to both empirical, statistical research and social philosophy, was carried to the new university departments set up in the 1950s and 1960s. The dominance of the 'external degree' of London University ensured that this view proliferated in the new departments. This dominance was embodied in the formation of the British Sociological Association and the establishment of the *British Journal of Sociology* (Platt, 2003).

The institutionalization of structural–functional theory also paved the way for wide acceptance of the form of structural functionalism that had been developing in the United States under the influence of Parsons and his followers. Empirical work carried out within this mainstream framework covered such areas as religion, the family, and the large area of industry and organizational studies. Particularly important in the 1950s was a series of studies into changing kinship and community relations in London that were directed by Michael Young. These studies gave a more substantive content to the kind of statistical work undertaken by Booth and also provided a context for the then contemporary studies of poverty and social mobility.

BEYOND THE MID-CENTURY MAINSTREAM: CONFLICT THEORIES

This mainstream view did not go completely unchallenged. A strand of Marxist theory had long existed among those involved in politics teaching and research at the LSE. The school had been established as a Fabian foundation, and Fabian thought itself had been strongly influenced by Marxism; but the most important Marxist-inspired work was that of Harold Laski. The continuing influence of these ideas was apparent in the later political sociology of Ralph Miliband and at Oxford in the work on social class undertaken by G.D.H. Cole. Significant contributions to what C. Wright Mills has termed 'plain Marxism' were also made by Tom Bottomore and John Westergaard.

Marxist thought also influenced sociologists in the 1950s and 1960s who sought a radical but non-Marxist alternative to Parsonian theory. Principal among these were David Lockwood and Ralf Dahrendorf at the LSE, and John Rex at the Universities of Leeds and Birmingham. In an early and highly influential critique of mainstream 'normative functionalism', Lockwood argued for the need to recognize the part played by conflict and material factors in structuring norms and values. He subsequently extended this to argue that social theory must explore the relations between conflict at the level of 'social integration' and functional incompatibilities and contradictions at the level of 'system integration'. For Lockwood, normative and material factors were two distinct aspects of social life that had to be theorized in complementary ways. While Durkheim and Parsons had provided the basis for a theory of the normative, Marx had set out a complementary theory of the material – a thesis subsequently set out at greater length (Lockwood, 1992). Lockwood's argument influenced the related suggestion for an integration of Marxism and Parsonian functionalism that was set out in the 1970s by Jessop. Roland Robertson also took Parsonian sociology in a radical direction, though he spent the bulk of his career in the United States where he later made influential contributions to the theorization of processes of globalization.

Lockwood saw Weber as providing a model of class and class conflict that supplemented

Marx's emphasis on macro-economic proc-esses and allowed a Marxian analysis of class to be integrated with other sociologi-cal approaches. Similarly, Dahrendorf (1957 [1959]), in work originally published in Germany, set out a Weberian theory of class conflict that he presented as a distinctive form of conflict or coercion theory. The relationship between conflict and consensus was central to the leading British theo-retical textbook of the period (Cohen, 1968). However, the most powerful exponent of the view that class relations and class conflict were the driving forces in social development was Rex (1961, 1974, 1981), a political and intellectual migrant from South Africa. This work on the centrality of conflict paralleled a similar move in British anthropology, where researchers at Manchester, influenced by Max Gluckman, aimed to build conflict and exchange relations into their studies.

This emphasis on class conflict – often characterized as 'conflict theory' – shaped much of the empirical research carried out in the 1960s and 1970s. Most of the conflict theorists stood to the left politically and it has often been remarked that the empirical research inspired by this approach during the 1950s and 1960s was concerned with the electoral problems of the Labour Party, which had lost a series of general elections and was involved in an internal discussion on the implications of changing class relations for its future electoral support. Changing pat-terns of work, relative affluence in an era of economic growth, and the supposed *embour-geoisement* of the working class formed the research agenda of British sociology. Lockwood himself undertook investigations into the social organization of white-collar work and the transformation of manual work, and he subsequently worked with John Goldthorpe on the 'affluent worker' project, the most influential investigation into chang-ing patterns of class relations in Britain. Other researchers pursued related issues in social stratification, including patterns of industrial conflict, voting behaviour, elite formation, and the development of educational systems.

Rex played a leading part in major inves-tigations into the relations between class and ethnic conflict, and he elaborated his emerging view into a comprehensive theory of ethnic conflict (Rex, 1970). This empiri-cal research drew larger conclusions from studies of specific localities and invigorated a tradition of 'community studies'.

Important work from a conflict standpoint was undertaken by Michael Mann in his research on industrial organization and work-ing class consciousness. He developed this into an investigation into the historical soci-ology of states that led to his major study on the sociology of power (Mann, 1986). This appeared just as he left Britain for a position in the United States, where most of his sub-sequent work was carried out.

THE RADICAL ALTERNATIVES

During the 1970s, a more radical advocacy of the emphasis on conflict appeared in the form of an 'action theory'. Separate contri-butions from Alan Dawe (1970) and Dick Atkinson (1972) counterposed a sociology of action to the dominant sociology of the social system. Both Parsonian and Marxist theories, they argued, were to be rejected for their shared emphasis on deterministic, systemic processes. By contrast, a theory of action is voluntaristic and is linked to human efforts to control the conditions under which they live. This conception of action was essentially Weberian in character, emphasizing the ways in which social organizations and large scale social structures could be built up through interweaving courses of action.

These arguments echoed some of the ideas developed by Norbert Elias, a German migrant who had arrived in Britain with Karl Mannheim and, for many years, held a lectureship at Leicester University. Elias had produced major, but unrecognized, studies of state formation and court society in Germany during the 1930s, but produced few publica-tions in Britain until his retirement and the

publication in 1978 of a textbook setting out his 'figurational' view of interweaving action chains. In the 1970s, however, Elias was largely unknown within Britain. He had already retired and was soon to settle in the Netherlands and Germany, and it was only during the 1990s that the many works he produced began to have a major impact – though their influence was, perhaps, greater in Germany than in Britain.

Symbolic interactionist theories from the United States introduced the new themes of self definition and social reaction to the action approach of the 1970s. The influence of these approaches was particularly strong in the sociology of deviance, which became one of the leading research specialisms of the 1970s. Researchers in this area developed a powerful version of 'labelling theory' in which social definitions and societal reactions were seen as instruments of structurally constrained social conflict. This was formulated by Stan Cohen, Ian Taylor, Jock Young, and others (Taylor et al., 1975) within a criminology that had formerly been dominated by psychological and biological approaches. Their work highlighted the role of the mass media in the construction and amplification of deviance and the role of the police in expressing the societal reaction and sense of moral panic.

The influence of this radical action theory was short-lived as the more specifically interactionist approaches began to exercise a greater influence on British work. Symbolic interactionism, especially as formulated by Erving Goffman, together with ethnomethodology and phenomenology began to be taken up avidly by British theorists. Some important contributions were made to these debates by British theorists (Filmer et al., 1972; Coulter, 1979), most notably in the area of conversation analysis, but much work in this area was secondary commentary on the original sources or made only minor contributions to the development of the theories. The primary exception to this was in the area of the sociology of science, where ideas from ethnomethodology and interactionism

were used in the development of a sociology of scientific knowledge and scientific practice by David Bloor, Barry Barnes, and Harry Collins. Their arguments emphasized the social construction of experiments and experimental results and were a major influence on the development in France of Bruno Latour's actor-network view of science.

The major intellectual developments of the 1960s and 1970s, however, were undoubtedly the rise of Marxist and feminist theories, which helped to significantly reorientate empirical research. The New Left of this period was marked especially by the influence of Althusserian Marxism. Barry Hindess and Paul Hirst employed structuralist ideas in comparative analyses of modes of production, while both Urry and Jessop took a more independent and critical stance towards this tradition in their works on class formation and the state. The renewal of interest in Marxism was, however, felt especially strongly in cultural studies, where Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall developed the insights of Gramsci into a comprehensive research programme on popular culture and the formation of subcultures. This work led to a number of important studies on states and state power and to a reorientation of work on social class and ethnicity. Researchers inspired by their ideas looked, in particular, at the role of mass media in the construction and amplification of social phenomena, converging with work being undertaken in the sociology of deviance.

A great deal of this work has subsequently been influenced by debates within post-structuralism and concerning post-modernity. The usage of these ideas has been selective and critical, some of the most interesting work coming from the Polish migrant Zygmunt Bauman. He abandoned critical Marxism to produce a theory of the 'liquidity' of contemporary social orders that has been developed in a series of books covering such areas as work, poverty, family, and community (see, for example, Bauman, 2000). Urry, too, has moved on to investigate the fluidity and mobility of contemporary social formations,

developing novel approaches to the study of travel and tourism.

Feminist theories were taken up by a number of sociologists and were allied to the development of a powerful critique of 'malestream' sociology that largely ignored the question of gender and the position of women (Stanley and Wise, 1983). The studies carried out by feminist theorists established new areas of investigation and breathed new life into old ones. Research grew enormously in such novel areas as the sociology of the body, the study of sexuality, and, of course, the sociology of gender, and whole areas such as the sociology of health and medicine were transformed out of all recognition by new concerns.

There are now few areas of sociological research that have not felt the impact of feminism on their assumptions and practices, and the whole shape of the discipline has been transformed. Some established sociologists felt that this change was a change for the worse, and they became alienated from the emerging stream of research and its embodiment in the British Sociological Association. For most sociologists, however, these developments are viewed in wholly positive terms. It is now clear that sociology has benefited immensely from the challenges and reorientation brought about by feminist theories and research.

BEYOND ACTION AND SYSTEM: STRUCTURATION THEORIES

Work in British sociology, both theoretical and empirical, has become more diverse and pluralistic. The period of dominance by a mainstream orthodoxy was short-lived. There have, however, been some attempts to combine and synthesize divergent approaches, most notably those of action and system, in theories of 'structuration'. This work renews some of the concerns of earlier conflict and action theories, but it has, so far, largely been limited to the theoretical level.

Anthony Giddens has been the leading theoretician in this area. His theoretical reflections, from the mid-1970s, drew on a growing interest in contemporary French and German approaches to social theory. Giddens' early work (1968, 1972[1990], 1973) was firmly rooted in the conflict perspective, especially as this had been formulated by Lockwood. He developed a view of class and class conflict that provided an analysis of political divisions and forms of political opposition. By 1976, however, he had entered into an extended dialogue with both American interactionism and ethnomethodology and the contemporary French explorations of 'structure' associated, in particular, with the work of Lévi-Strauss and Foucault (Giddens, 1976, 1979).

Giddens synthesized structuralist ideas with other approaches that were sometimes seen in opposition to it. In structuralism and post-structuralism he found the basis of a concept of structure that could, he felt, bridge the conceptual chasm between the concepts of action and system. There is, Giddens argued, a 'duality of structure' whereby systemic processes are both the (structured) outcome of individual action and the (structuring) conditions of that action. Social structures themselves were in constant flux, and Giddens emphasized 'structuration' rather than structure *per se* (Giddens, 1984; see also Scott, 2007). Giddens drew also on the growing interests in the critical Marxism of Jürgen Habermas, applying his structuration theory in the construction of a theory of the development of modernity (Giddens, 1981, 1985) and its contemporary transformation in the radicalized direction sometimes seen as 'post-modernity' (Giddens, 1990, 1991).

Though critical of Giddens, two other theorists in Britain have elaborated theories of structuration, though not necessarily under that name. Archer, like Giddens, moved away from a conflict perspective – which she had used in a study of educational systems (Archer, 1979) – as a result of an extended engagement with French social theory. In her case, it was the work of Pierre Bourdieu that was most influential, leading her to

develop a new understanding of 'culture' as an outcome of structuring processes (Archer, 1988). In subsequent work she explored the interplay of structure and agency (1995, 2000), seeing social structure as the outcome of temporally organized processes of creative agency. Archer drew explicitly on the philosophical realism of Rom Harré and Roy Bhaskar, seeking to identify the structural mechanisms responsible for the generation of individual action patterns. Her argument sought to avoid the reductionism that she found in Giddens and to explore instead the autonomy of both action and structure. She has recently given particular attention to the discursive and reflexive 'internal conversations' through which people engage with structural constraints (Archer, 2003, 2007), applying this perspective to the educational and stratification ideas that first inspired her.

Rob Stones (2005) has recently explored the conceptualization of agency from within a critical reconstruction of structuration theory. He has sought to explore the embeddedness of actors in complex networks of relations and so implying a possible link to the theoretical ideas of Norbert Elias and his figurational sociology.

A more complex approach within a structuration framework, focusing on the characteristics of social structure itself, is that of Nicos Mouzelis, a Greek writer based largely in Britain since the 1960s. His early Weberian approach to organizational theory gave way to a view of structuring processes occurring at a number of levels to produce complex and hierarchically ordered systems of relations (1991, 1995, 2008). Like Lockwood before him, Mouzelis saw distinctively Parsonian and Marxist elements as forming complementary elements in his own theoretical synthesis.

CONCLUSION

The theoretical diversity that existed in British sociology during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was superseded by the dominance of a mainstream position centred on an evolutionary structural functionalism. A rival conflict perspective challenged this, and the two traditions jointly structured the empirical research carried out for much of the second half of the twentieth century. More radical challenges from interactionism, Marxism, and feminism, and the influence of a number of French and German approaches to social theory broke up this close relationship, and once more produced a diversity of sociological approaches. Other approaches that have not been considered in this chapter further increase the diversity found among British sociologists: there are, for example, attempts to develop research programmes around rational action theory and evolutionary theory. To some, this plurality may be tantamount to a total and nihilistic relativism, but for others it is a sign of healthy intellectual argument and points to the need to pursue these arguments through empirical research. This plurality is likely to continue, despite the structuration theories that have begun to reconcile the duality of system and action. While there are numerous areas of theoretical convergence among rival positions, there remain crucial areas of intellectual – and political – disagreement that are essential in a vibrant academic discipline.

NOTES

1. Parallel ideas on social traditions and conventions as the bases of social roles and obligations were developed by Dorothy Emmett (1966) and Alasdair MacIntyre (1981). The same orientation was adopted by the Canadian theorist Charles Taylor (1989).

2. An account of the approach to sociology found in Geddes and Branford can be found in Scott and Husbands (2007).

3. Hobhouse was close intellectually and politically to Hobson, who helped to produce a memorial volume for him (Hobson and Ginsberg, 1931).

4. MacIver is often thought of as an American sociologist, as his most influential work was undertaken in the United States.

REFERENCES

Archer, M.S. (1979) *Social Origins of Educational Systems*. London: Sage.

Archer, M.S. (1988) *Culture and Agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M.S. (1995) *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M.S. (2000) *Being Human: The Problem of Agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M.S. (2003) *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M.S. (2007) *Making Our Way through the World: Human Reflexivity and Social Mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Atkinson, D. (1972) *Orthodox Consensus and Radical Alternative*. London: Heinemann.

Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bosanquet, B. (1897) *Psychology of the Moral Self*. London: Macmillan.

Bosanquet, B. (1899) *The Philosophical Theory of the State*. London: Macmillan.

Bosanquet, B. (1917) *Social and International Ideals*. London: Macmillan.

Branford, V.V. and Geddes, P. (1919a) *The Coming Polity*. London: Williams and Norgate.

Branford, V.V. and Geddes, P. (1919b) *Our Social Inheritance*. London: Williams and Norgate.

Cohen, P.S. (1968) *Modern Social Theory*. London: Heinemann.

Coulter, J. (1979) *The Social Construction of Mind. Studies in Ethnomethodology and Linguistic Philosophy*. London: Macmillan.

Dahrendorf, R. (1957[1959]) *Class and Class Conflict in an Industrial Society*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Dawe, A. (1970) 'The Two Sociologies', *British Journal of Sociology* 21(2): 207–18.

Emmett, D. (1966) *Rules, Roles and Relationships*. London: Macmillan.

Evans-Pritchard, E. (1937) *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Evans-Pritchard, E. (1940) *The Nuer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Filmer, P., Phillipson, M., Silverman, D. and Walsh, D. (1972) *New Directions in Sociological Theory*. London: Collier-Macmillan.

Geddes, P. (1904[1979]) 'Civics as Applied Sociology, Part 1', in H. Meller (ed.) *The Ideal City*. Leicester: University of Leicester Press.

Geddes, P. (1905[1979]) 'Civics as Applied Sociology, Part 2', in H. Meller (ed.) *The Ideal City*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Geddes, P. ([1915[1949]) *Cities in Evolution*, abridged edn. London: Williams and Norgate.

Giddens, A. (1968) '"Power" in the Recent Writings of Talcott Parsons', *Sociology* 2: 257–72.

Giddens, A. (1972[1990]) 'Elites in the British Class Structure', in J. Scott (ed.) *The Sociology of Elites, Volume 1*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

Giddens, A. (1973) *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London: Hutchinson.

Giddens, A. (1976) *New Rules of Sociological Method*. London: Hutchinson.

Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory*. London: Macmillan.

Giddens, A. (1981) *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism, Volume 1: Power, Property and the State*. London: Macmillan.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1985) *The Nation State and Violence, Volume 2 of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hobhouse, L.T. (1901) *Mind in Evolution*. London: Macmillan.

Hobhouse, L.T. (1906) *Morals in Evolution*. London: Macmillan.

Hobhouse, L.T. (1924[1966]) *Social Development: Its Nature and Conditions*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Hobson, J.A. and Ginsberg, M. (eds) (1931) *L. T. Hobhouse: His Life and Work*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Hobhouse, L.T., Wheeler, G.C. and Ginsberg, M. (1914[1965]) *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler People*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Kidd, B. (1894) *Social Evolution*. London: Macmillan.

Lockwood, D. (1992) *Solidarity and Schism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

MacIntyre, A. (1981) *After Virtue. A Study in Moral Theory*. London: Duckworth.

MacIver, R. (1917[1924]) *Community: A Socio-logical Study*. London: Macmillan.

Mann, M. (1986) *The Sources of Social Power, Volume 1: A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marshall, T.H. (1949 [1963]) 'Citizenship and Social Class', in T. H. Marshall (ed.) *Sociology at the Crossroads*. London: Heinemann.

Mouzelis, N.P. (1991) *Back to Sociological Theory: The Construction of Social Orders*. London: Macmillan.

Mouzelis, N.P. (1995) *Sociological Theory: What Went Wrong?* London: Routledge.

Mouzelis, N.P. (2008) *Modern and Post-modern Theories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Platt, J. (2003) *The British Sociological Association: A Sociological History*. Durham: Sociology Press.

Rex, J.A. (1961) *Key Problems of Sociological Theory*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rex, J.A. (1970) *Race Relations in Sociological Theory*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

Rex, J.A. (1974) *Sociology and the Demystification of the Modern World*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rex, J.A (1981) *Social Conflict*. Harlow: Longman.

Scott, J. (2007) 'Anthony Giddens and Cultural Analysis: Absent Word and Central Concept', in T. Edwards (ed.) *Cultural Theory: Classical and Contemporary Positions*. London: Sage.

Scott, J. and Husbands, C.T. (2007) 'Victor Branford and the Building of British Sociology', *Sociological Review* 55(3): 460–85.

Spencer, H. (1873[1889]) *The Study of Sociology*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co.

Spencer, H. (1873–93) *Principles of Sociology, Three Volumes*. London: Williams and Norgate.

Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1983) *Breaking Out*. London: Routledge.

Stones, R. (2005) *Structuration Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Taylor, C. (1989) *Sources of the Self*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Taylor, I.R., Walton, P. and Young, J. (1975) *The New Criminology. For a Social Theory of Deviance*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Winch, P. (1958) *The Idea of a Social Science*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

8

Sociology, Science and Profession: The Portuguese Experience

Anália Cardoso Torres

In this paper we will give a brief historical background to the birth of sociology in Portugal and explore the social and theoretical conditions for its institutionalization. We will argue that the contexts and characteristics of the development of sociology in the country had a specific impact on the way sociology is practised, and on its recognition both as a science as well as a profession. In fact, when looking at the features and size of the actual scientific community, its productivity and dynamics, and the number of sociologists affiliated to the Portuguese Sociological Association working in several professional domains, it is hard to imagine that all this was achieved in the last forty years.

During the period of the dictatorship (1926–74) it was impossible to teach and to practise sociology in Portugal. Sociology was repressed by the fascist regime for its critical view of social reality. It was only after the April 1974 revolution that the institutionalization of undergraduate and postgraduate teaching of sociology was initiated; and then empirical research developed in the country.

Although sociology appeared very late on the scene, it launched itself in a very

dynamic environment. Portuguese social life woke up from a hard, gray period of dictatorship and repression, and became a lively laboratory of social change. This period of intense change in the country influenced the founders of Portuguese sociology. Some of them had good theoretical and methodological training even though they had hitherto been prevented from practising empirical research. These scholars were able to convince their students of the importance of doing empirical research. The practice of doing empirical research for the new generation became the key element in the sociologist's training and an indispensable adjunct for a good theoretical background. If many contemporary senior researchers have written dense theoretical and methodological texts, they have also done empirical research and answered social policy demands. This openness to research and engaging with the field helped to overcome barriers and controversies that in other countries seemed insurmountable. It did not make any sense to create a division between empirical and theoretical sociology in Portugal. It was accepted that a good theoretical training was an indispensable tool to

confront the many experiences with which the social sciences concern themselves.

But let us, very briefly, go back in history to understand how the specific traits of Portuguese sociology were constructed. First, we identify the influence of trends and authors of the initial period known as that of 'pioneers' (Costa, 1988). Through this analysis we examine the external and internal conditions of the constitution of this scientific field. Second, we discuss the period of institutionalization and consolidation of sociology in university teaching and research. Finally, we focus on the growth of sociology as a profession, and its relations with science, debating what has been called since then an 'associative culture' (Costa, 1988; de Almeida, 1990; Machado, 1996; Pinto, 2004).

THE TIME OF THE PIONEERS

From the end of the nineteenth century, Portugal had engaged with the works of Comte and Spencer. At the beginning of the twentieth century, social science disciplines also discussed Durkheim, Simmel, Tarde and Tonnies. During the first Portuguese Republic (1910–26) there was intense political debate, over the ideas of Proudhon, rather than those of Marx or Engels. When the right-wing dictatorship began in 1926, the Le Play School[1] became fashionable both ideologically as well as a tool for social analysis (Fernandes, 1996; Pinto, 2004).

During the five decades of the dictatorship, Portugal was cut off from the contemporary intellectual ideas that structured sociology as a discipline. In the 1950s and 1960s, the regime opened up to the import of new ideas as a result of extensive social and economic transformations. However, once the colonial wars in Africa started in 1961, this window was once again closed.

It was only in the early 1970s, when the democratic social and political movements of the urban middle classes and the students against the regime gained strength that discussions on sociology began to appear discreetly. It was included in the program of discipline 'Introduction to the Social Sciences', and in a few university curricula in faculties teaching economics.

At that time, the initiators were a small but very important group of sociologists constituted informally, trained at the Cabinet for Social Investigations Research (GIS) in the Institute for Economic and Financial Sciences (ISCEF) of the Technical University of Lisbon. From 1962, this group of young researchers had become active around Sedas Nunes, (the founder of modern sociology in Portugal). This group began to publish articles – mainly methodological and theoretical – in a journal called *Análise Social* (Social Analysis), which since then has become an important reference point for debates in sociology. Themes regarding macro-sociological analysis on contemporary Portuguese society based on documents and statistical sources were published, even though censorship was strictly applied. The great epistemological and theoretical debates of the times such as rationalism versus positivism and empiricism or structuralism, functionalism and marxism, found their way into the journal. This period has been called the period of the pioneers (Costa, 1988; Pinto, 2004).

This group was joined by others after 1974 when those in exile returned to Portugal and progressively began to teach in universities. Many of them were trained in law, economy, philosophy and engineering. Some had studied abroad, mainly in France, and some in Britain, the US, Germany and Italy. They represented heterogeneity in comparison with the methods and theories used by the first generation of sociologists and helped to give sociology in Portugal a pluralist orientation. Though a small nation-state, Portugal has a long history of international contacts. Once the period of dictatorship had come to an end, political isolation was broken; this culture helped to reinforce explorations of global ideas, and was aided by a capacity to understand several languages.

As a result, sociology in Portugal was receptive to European thinkers such as Bourdieu,

Giddens, Touraine, Luhmann, Habermas and authors of the Frankfurt School and critical theorists. It was also receptive to the influence of American theorists like the Chicago School scholars, marxists and structural functionalists. There was an understanding of theoretical and methodological perspectives such as ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, and engagement with the writings of Robert K. Merton, C. Wright Mills or H. Becker, among many others. Discussions of the works of authors such as Alvin Gouldner were introduced in the field. Later, the world system perspective of Immanuel Wallerstein also inspired sociologists in Portugal. The close linguistic links with Brazil made it possible for Portuguese sociology to engage itself with dependency perspectives as expressed by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Florestan Fernandes and André Gunder Frank.

By the end of the 1980s, Portuguese sociology was characterized by the coexistence of different paradigms. This plurality became possible because the discipline was able to integrate the critiques of the dominant theories of the 1950s and 1960s. Thus Portuguese sociology enmeshed the binaries of structure and practice, with their symbolic, motivational and subjective meanings, in one voice. Sociology transcended from the phase of 'pluriparadigmatic war' to that of 'pluriparadigmatic conviviality' (de Almeida J. F. et al., 1995: 33; de Almeida J. F. 1997).

The outcome of these several influences could be called theoretical pluralism. There was a strong tendency to use in innovative ways authors who promoted synthesis, for example Bourdieu or Giddens, as well as to revisit and renew approaches to critical theory (Santos, 1997). What can be a common denominator of the sociology being done in Portugal is a 'critical and post-positivist rationalism' (Pinto, 2004: 29). The postmodernist trend had few followers in Portugal and even those who embraced it, mainly from Coimbra University, were making specific interpretations of those proposals (Santos, 1989, 1994).

At a methodological level, mistrust in the wars between methods and of sterile distinctions between the quantitative and qualitative schools prevailed. We were encouraged to make full use of all methods, with the basic criterion of adapting the methodology to the specific problem that we were studying. Almost all of us did everything – from questionnaire surveys to interviews, from field research and action research to the most sophisticated statistical analyses (Costa, 1992).

Two specific conditions facilitated this pluralistic approach: the demand for sociological knowledge for public policies as a consequence of our entry into the European Union in 1986; and from the mid-1990s onwards, the public competition and international evaluation of government funds for scientific research. Universities and research centres were often asked to respond to those requests but also started involving, on a regular basis, young graduates in scientific research.

In a nutshell, there was good theoretical and methodological training that strengthened itself through research, enthusiasm for the subject, and the willingness to produce knowledge and respond to every kind of demand (Pinto, 1997). So-called basic research went on simultaneously with research requests for specific objectives, for public policies and also with action research. The fact that most of the researchers, teachers and the first students of sociology in the country had been against the dictatorship also contributed for the great majority of them, to their taking a non-conformist approach and to committing themselves to help change Portuguese society. This specific combination, we argue, had significant effects even up to today.

PERIOD OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION

In terms of institutional growth, the advances of Portuguese sociology were quite rapid and significant. Since 1974, when the first

graduation course in sociology was taught in ISCTE at Lisbon, and then in several other universities, such as Évora (1979), New University at Lisbon (1979), Porto (1985), Beira Interior (1986), Coimbra (1988), Technical University (ISCSP) in Lisbon (1988), Minho (1989), Azores (1996) and Algarve (2001). Graduate studies in sociology were also created in private universities after the 1980s (Machado, 1996; Pinto, 2004).

Research centers, linked mainly to universities, were also being established from the mid-1990s onwards. Three of those research centers (of which two are in Lisbon and one in Coimbra) are recognized today as centers of excellence: the *Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia* (CIES) (Centre of Research and Studies in Sociology) from ISCTE; *Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa* (Superior Institute of Work Science and Management – this being the largest in the country; the *Centro de Estudos Sociais* (CES) (Centre of Social Studies), from the University of Coimbra; and the *Instituto de Ciências Sociais* (ICS) (Institute of Social Science) from the University of Lisbon. The latter two are state laboratories and in addition to sociologists, include historians, social psychologists, political scientists, anthropologists and geographers. There are also other research groups operating on a smaller scale – especially those linked to the universities where sociology is taught. In order to attain a critical mass they tend to cooperate with sociologists, social scientists and research centers in different parts of the country. The three main research centers are now internationalized and participate in all relevant international sociological forums.

Several journals continue to be published regularly; *Análise Social* (Social Analysis) has been published since 1963. While some of these journals include contributions from the social sciences, others are more focused on sociology. There are other well-known journals such as *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* (Critical Journal of Social Sciences) from Coimbra, which started in 1978; or *Cadernos de Ciências Sociais* (Notebook of

Social Sciences) from Porto (the first issue being in 1984); *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas* (Sociology, Problems and Practices) from CIES/ISCTE in Lisbon; CIES/ISCTE (started in 1986) and several others; all of them are now peer reviewed. Other more recent journals are: *Sociologia*, from the University of Porto, *Configurações Revista de Sociologia* from the University of Minho or *Forum Sociológico* from New University of Lisbon. Since 2001, Ferreira de Almeida has been editing *The Portuguese Journal of Social Science*. This was established to create wider public awareness of the debates in Portuguese social science.

The frequency of publications in several specializations of sociology has also increased significantly. Scholars publish regularly in international journals in French, English, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese in Brazil. Nevertheless, the scientific production of Portuguese sociologists as a whole is still little known outside the country. Language barriers hinder wider dissemination of their work. One of the ways to overcome these difficulties is, of course, to translate into English books, articles and papers with scientific merit. Doctoral degrees earned abroad, and regular participation by several researchers in European networks has helped the process of internationalization, although much more can be done.

The growth in the academic field, the establishment of routines in teaching at graduate and postgraduate levels and of scientific research were accompanied by development of other forms of visibility of sociology. From the beginning of the 1990s, sociological knowledge has been used in the formation of public policies. Sociologists participate in several development projects at national and local levels and are regularly asked to intervene in the media presenting their research results or are present in political debates. Some of them have also intervened in politics.

Some examples may better illustrate the several faces of Portuguese sociology and its sociologists. Since the end of the 1980s, and as an effect of Portugal's entry into the

European Union and of its financial support, several research programs analyzing poverty and local development were launched where sociologists were also asked to participate. The Socialist Party government which came to power in 1995 promoted the systematic program of a welfare state and thereby involved sociologists in public policies in domains like employment, urban planning, poverty, local development, drugs, prisons, gender equality, knowledge society, child protection and education and literacy.

Important policy measures such as the Minimum Income (1996) and its implementation in the country were conceived by a sociologist who later became the Minister of Work and Solidarity. Sociologists also played a role as advisers and consultants in several public institutions at various levels even at the presidency of the Republic.

The constitution of several observatories[2] on specific problems such as justice, science, the environment, cultural activities, violence in schools and integration of higher education students in the labor market, have involved academic sociologists. They have helped these autonomous institutions to recruit doctoral candidates to collect and collate empirical data. This is a good example of capacity generation, realization of public policy demands and 'the identification of innovative lines of theoretical problematization' of social issues (Pinto, 2007).

In a direct way, sociologists have been participating in civic and political arenas, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as the World Social Forum, and in federations of trade unions, in government as cabinet ministers in areas such as work and solidarity, culture, education and parliamentary affairs, and as secretaries of state in political parties and organizations.

These diverse roles of sociologists in contemporary Portugal show that the institutionalization and consolidation of sociology now permeates at many levels. This context allows it to be simultaneously concerned with academic excellence: (professional sociology), with the critical use of its assumptions, procedures and findings (critical sociology), with public policies (policy sociology) as well as the dissemination of its products as a way of reflexivity, empowerment and citizenship (public sociology) (Burawoy, 2005). Burawoy reiterated this when in 2006, he stated, 'As a late developer, sociology in Portugal shows an especially vibrant relation among the four types of sociology' (Burawoy, 2007: 142). Burawoy has also discussed the integral relationship between academic sociology and sociologists who are non-academics.

SCIENCE AND PROFESSION

Besides being a 'new' science, sociology was not a recognized discipline among the general public. As it evolved as a science, it promoted its identity as a new profession. This need not have taken place (de Almeida et al., 1994); but when the Portuguese Sociological Association (PSA) was established in 1985, its goal was to be both scientific and professional. It thus invited all those who were sociologists by profession, both inside and outside the academic sphere, and who worked in different fields of activity like enterprises, schools, local or central state, the social sector or in NGOs to be its members. This membership diversity was expressed by Ana Nunes de Almeida in the third Congress of Sociology (1996) showing also how PSA was the fifth largest in terms of numerical strength of all associations affiliated to the International Sociological Association (de Almeida A.N., 1996; de Almeida, J.F. 1997b). In 1999, *Profissão Sociólogo* (Profession Sociologist) edited by PSA, gathered texts from sociologists reflecting on a wide range of different types of professional experiences.

In its presidential address at the first Congress of the Portuguese Sociological Association in 1988, João Ferreira de Almeida stated:

> Science in 'ivory towers' on one hand or with permanent 'dirty hands' on the other constitutes

stereotypes of false poles, of false oppositions. Theory should be in command of the most applicable of the applications, as well as instruments adequate to empirical study have to enrich the most abstract theory.

(de Almeida, 1990)

António Firmino da Costa (Costa, 1988) identifies two models of professional culture: a 'dissociational' culture and an 'associational' culture. The first one maintains the separation between science and the profession, insisting on an essentialist vision of research and teaching within the walls of universities and research centers; it is related to the strange idea that technical competences is separate from social responsibility. The second one stands for a close cultural association between science and all kinds of profession:

> It is not the case of giving up scientificity to get professionalization nor giving up professionalization to keep sociological scientificity. 'Science and Profession' do not constitute a zero sum game . . . on the contrary they have all the conditions to be a win/win solution.

(Costa, 1988)

The author considered that this culture of association was emergent while that of dissociation was declining, and argued that the predominance of one or the other would shape the future of Portuguese sociology and sociologists. Looking at this text almost twenty years later, we can confirm that the culture of association has won. This is reiterated by Fernando Luis Machado's analysis of the PSA (Machado, 1996). No wonder that half of the members of PSA today are involved professionally in different non-academic areas and the other half are teaching in university or doing research (Carreiras et al., 1999; Valente et al., 1990).

More recently, this culture of 'association' gained visibility when in 2003, a series of conferences 'Sociology, Science and Profession' were held in eight Portuguese cities. These have allowed scholars and professionals to share experiences related to teaching, research, practices of local and central public administration, business enterprises, non-governmental organizations, trade unions and other associations. These conversations have offered a fresh dimension to the debates about the discipline. In 2006, the PSA tour ended with a big meeting in the south of the country. It was decided that every two years a meeting of the same kind should be organized.

The fact that, at least until recently, sociological training increases 'employability' is confirmed. Recent self-evaluations of sociology degrees – reporting up to the year 2002 – also confirm earlier data from the Observatory for Higher Education Career Opportunities. After completing their degrees, sociologists wait on average just six months to enter the labor market. This comparative high level of employability shows that the training of sociologists emphasizes a need to acquire professional skills together with the ability to solve problems. It encourages a critical spirit based on real knowledge of problems.

The progress of sociology as a discipline is reflected in the history of our five congresses[3] (Lisbon 1988, 1992 and 1996, Coimbra, 2000 and Braga 2004) and the increasing number of members and participants, together with the themes developed in several research networks and workshops (Lobo, 1996; Pinto, 2004). Today, in a country of ten million, 6,000 have declared themselves sociologists (Census, 2001) with 2,000 as members of PSA. In the last congress, in 2004,[4] the number of participants was 1,700, the greatest ever, and the number of papers submitted was the highest in its history: 403 papers were proposed and 386 were accepted. They display a well-balanced distribution of specializations of sociological knowledge, covering a wide range of topics: art and culture; social recomposition; exclusions; cities; fields and territories; justice; policies and citizenship; families; gender, sexuality and the body; health, employment and labor; organizational contexts; the environment; migrations and ethnicity; beliefs and religions; law, crime and dependency; science and knowledge; identities and lifestyles; education and learning; populations; generations and life cycles; regionalization and the media.

Besides those delivering papers in the workshops, there were about 600 sociologists directly involved in Congress activities as guest speakers, coordinators and moderators in plenary sessions, thematic panels and workshops.

Therefore, it hardly seems an exaggeration to say that over the last thirty years, sociology has made great progress as an area of knowledge and has clearly reached maturity. However, just as in other countries, young people recently starting their careers in teaching or research are finding difficulties in accessing employment. Reduction in the financing of these institutions and demands to conform to standards of excellence are hindering the recruitment of these young sociologists. If the situation is not reversed soon, a whole generation will be seriously affected and that will result in a serious loss of qualified sociologists that the country needs, especially now when it has embarked on the road to the information and knowledge society.

On the other hand, it is also accepted that internationalization of the discipline in its many dimensions is a precondition of progress in the sciences. Because science is a universal and communicable language its expansion requires breaking out of national boundaries. In its first phase of growth the discipline drew from texts, authors, theories and research from outside the country. A skill in different languages, such as French, English and Spanish and even Italian, allowed it direct access to various sociological traditions. But today, we need a reverse process – it is essential to disseminate what is being done in Portugal. Publishing in English, an indispensable way for Portuguese sociology to be widely known, must be also accompanied by exchanges with colleagues from different languages and also profiting from the wealth of Portuguese-speaking world.

In November 2003, PSA organized an international conference at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, on the theme of contemporary sociologies: inter-awareness and internationalization of knowledge. The discussants were representatives of the National Sociology Associations/Societies of Brazil, France, Italy and Spain.

Besides the objectives of increasing internationalization, the need also exists for exchange with countries culturally close to Portugal but relatively ignorant of each others' research work. Although sociologically explainable, this reciprocal lack of knowledge between Italian, Portuguese and Spanish sociologies is surprising. Additionally, this trend is true for sociologies within Africa or Latin America who share Portuguese or Spanish languages. The objective of the above meeting was to combat this lack of interface and to establish an international network of sociologists who not only speak English, but can also express themselves in other languages. This was the first step to building a network of sociological associations from the southern European countries, called *Re Su, Rede de Associações Nacionais de Sociologia da Europa do Sul* (ReSu, Network of National Associations of Southern Europe).

Promoting the participation of Portuguese sociologists in every international forum such as the several research networks of the International Sociological Association (ISA) or of the European Sociological Association (ESA) has also been a task undertaken by the members of the Portuguese Sociological Association.

Internationalization must take place on a pluralistic basis, resisting ideologies, dichotomies and political hegemonies. Moreover, in a globalized world, understanding contexts and diversity is one of the most decisive contributions to sociology and the social sciences as a whole.

Will Portuguese sociology overcome its fragilities and be sustained, and assert itself in a wider space? Will it combine the critical, the professional, the policy and the public poles? Although the social and theoretical fragilities of its beginnings no longer exist, uncertainties and instability in the years to come may impact it in different ways. Let us hope that the capital of knowledge and experience accumulated will sustain itself to be of relevance for the future.

NOTES

1. Le Play was a conservative French social scientist who came to Portugal in the mid-1920s of the nineteenth century. He wrote monographs which influenced some Portuguese scholars of that period.

2. Observatories are groups that do research in specific areas to help formulate public policies.

3. The congresses are held every four years. The president of the Portuguese Sociological Association has a mandate for two years (with the possibility of one renewal). There were until now six past presidents: João Ferreira de Almeida (1986–90) José Madureira Pinto (1990–94), Ana Nunes de Almeida (1994–98), Carlos Fortuna (1998–2002) and Anália Torres (2002–06). The current president is Luís Baptista (2006–08).

4. There is a congress scheduled for 2008.

REFERENCES

Burawoy, M. (2005) 'For Public Sociology', *American Sociological Review* 70 (February): 4–28).

Burawoy, M. (2007) 'Open the Social Sciences: To Whom and for What?' *Portuguese Journal of Social Science* 6(3): 137–46.

Carreiras, H., Freitas, F. and Valente, I. (1999) *Profissão Sociólogo* (Profession Sociologist). Oeiras: Celta Editora.

Costa, A.F. (1988) 'Cultura Profissional dos Sociólogos' (The Professional Culture of Sociologists), *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas* 5: 107–24.

Costa, A.F. (1992) *Sociologia* (Sociology). Lisboa: Difusão Cultural.

de Almeida, J.F. (1990) 'Discurso de Abertura do I Congresso Português de Sociologia (Presidential Adress), A sociologia e a Sociedade Portuguesa na Viragem do Século, Actas do I Congresso Português de Sociologia, (Sociology and Portuguese Society at the Turn of the Century. Proceedings of the Portuguese Congress of Sociology) Vol.1, pp. 15–22.

de Almeida, A.N. (1996) 'Desafios para a mudança: actores, práticas e processos sociais' (Challenges for Change: Actors, Practices and Social Processes), in Associação Portuguesa de Sociologia (org.) *Práticas e Processos da Mudança* (Social Practices and Processes of Social Change), pp.1–4.

III Congresso Português de Sociologia. Oeiras: Celta Editora.

de Almeida, A.N. (ed.) (1997) Regional Volumes: *Social Knowledge: Heritage, Challenges, Perspectives*, Vol. 6: *Lusophone World: Terra Nostra Challenges, Controversies and Languages for Sociology and the Social Sciences in the 21st Century*, pp. 57–65.

de Almeida, J.F. (1997) 'Sociology: Some Current Problems', in A.N. de Almeida (ed.) Regional Volumes: *Social Knowledge: Heritage, Challenges, Perspectives*, Vol. 6: *Lusophone World: Terra Nostra Challenges, Controversies and Languages for Sociology and the Social Sciences in the 21st Century*, pp.85–97.

de Almeida, J.F., Capucha, L., Machado, F.L. and Torres, A. (1995) *Introdução à Sociologia* (Introduction to Sociology). Lisboa: Universidade Aberta.

de Almeida, J.F., Costa, A.F., Machado, F.L. and Pinto, J.M. (1994) 'Sociology in Portugal. A Round Table International', *Sociology* 9(4): 493–501.

Fernandes, A.T (1996) 'O conhecimento científico-social: elementos para a análise do seu processo em Portugal'(Social-Scientific Knowledge: Elements for the Analysis of the Process in Portugal), *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas* 20: 9–41.

Lobo, C. (1996) 'Os Congressos de Sociologia em Portugal' (Sociology Congresses in Portugal), *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas* 20:113–30.

Machado, F.L. (1996) 'Profissionalização dos sociólogos em Portugal – contextos, recomposições e implicações' (Professionalisation of Sociologists in Portugal – Contexts, Recompositions and Implications), *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas* 20: 43–103.

Pinto, J.M. (1997) 'Sociology in Portugal. Formation and Recent Trends', in A.N. de Almeida (ed.) Regional Volumes: *Social Knowledge: Heritage, Challenges, Perspectives*, Vol. 6: *Lusophone World: Terra Nostra Challenges, Controversies and Languages for Sociology and the Social Sciences in the 21st Century*, pp. 57–65.

Pinto, J.M. (2004) 'Formação, tendências recentes e perspectivas do desenvolvimento da sociologia em Portugal'(Formation, Recent Trends and Perspectives of the Development of Sociology in Portugal), *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas* 46: 11–31.

Pinto, J.M. (2007) 'Open the Social Sciences: To Whom and for What? by Michael Burawoy', Commentary, *Portuguese Journal of Social Science* 6(3).

Santos, B.S. (1989) *Introdução a uma Ciência Pós-Moderna* (Introduction to a Post-modern Science). Porto: Afrontamento.

Santos, B.S. (1994) *Pela Mão de Alice: O Social e o Político na Pós-Modernidad* (By the Hand of Alice: The Social and the Political in Pós-Modernity). Porto: Afrontamento.

Santos, B.S. (1997) 'Why is it so Difficult to Construct a Critical Theory?' in A.N. de Almeida (ed.) Regional Volumes: *Social Knowledge: Heritage, Challenges, Perspectives*, Vol. 6: *Lusophone World: Terra Nostra Challenges, Controversies and Languages for Sociology and the Social Sciences in the 21st Century*, pp. 36–44.

Valente, I., Machado, F.L. and Costa, A.F. (eds) (1990) *Experiências e Papeis Profissionais de Sociólogos* (Experiences and Professional Roles of Sociologists). APS (PSA): Secção do campo profissional (Section of the professional field).

9

The Visions and Divisions of American Sociology*

Craig Calhoun, Troy Duster, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen

American sociology is sometimes seen internationally as a relatively undifferentiated behemoth. Its size and resources encourage anxieties over its potential dominance, and its highly professionalized approach to social science is often seen as a threat to other, especially more politically engaged, sociological traditions. But in fact American sociology is, and has long been, extraordinarily diverse and often internally divided. Its own character has been shaped by struggles over 'professionalization' and scientific normalization on the one hand, and a focus on the study of social problems and engagement with more dissident traditions on the other. While Americans emphasize quantitative methods more than many other sociologists, for instance, there have nonetheless been internal struggles over which sorts of mathematics and statistics are most promising, and strong alternative traditions of ethnography, ethno-methodology, and historical research. Rather than being monolithic, the field of American sociology has reflected multiple visions of both social science and society itself.

In this chapter, we try simply to evoke – since we cannot exhaustively describe – the diverse visions of, and divisions over, sociology in America. These are as old as the discipline's origins, which reflect simultaneous roots in social reform movements and the development of evolutionary theories of modernization. Informed by struggles for dominance within the sociological field, divisions have surfaced regularly in conflicts over 'professionalism' – understood as a pursuit of scientific autonomy from politics and more practically oriented fields, and as a style of work and a scientific vision in some tension with more robust and productive (and sometimes more 'activist') forms of public engagement. Yet it would be a mistake to read such struggles simply as signs of a self-destructive discipline. Conflict within American sociology has just as often been creative – occasioning the formation of the *American Sociological Review* in 1936, figuring amid larger struggles in the 1960s, recurrently shaping disputes within the American Sociological Association and individual departments, and producing new

visions of, and renewed investment in, the disciplinary enterprise.

SCIENCE, EVOLUTION, AND SOCIAL REFORM

Through much of the nineteenth century, concerned citizens had advocated a more 'scientific' approach to solving social problems and understanding social change. Initially that push was largely nonacademic, from ministers and administrators of relief for the poor. With the formation of the American Social Science Association (ASSA) in 1865, the notion of 'social science' was mobilized, as Daniel Breslau (2007: 45) has written, in an effort to 'transform personalistic and religious authority into a technocratic and universalistic expertise'. Modeled after the British National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, founded in 1857, the association aimed at the production and dissemination of socially useful knowledge, seeking to reach all those who sought to improve social conditions, and private philanthropists in particular. Many of the association's members would produce 'social surveys', frequently designed as much to make the case for the necessity of political action as to advance scientific understanding, with the distinction between the two initially being fuzzy at best. At Chicago's Hull House, founded in 1889, Jane Addams and others designed surveys in an effort to improve the management of settlement houses, to draw greater attention to social problems, and to advocate for broader social reforms. The opening of Hull House, Addams wrote, was motivated by 'the desire to make the entire social organism democratic, to extend democracy beyond its political expression' (Lengermann and Niebrugge, 2007: 97). Likewise, *The Philadelphia Negro*, a pioneering study by W.E.B. Du Bois (1989) that has been called 'the first major sociological study of race in America' (Morris, 2007: 509), was both an effort to intellectually understand and be part

of a larger struggle to promote civil rights and to advocate social change. Carried out after an invitation from Philadelphia city officials and the University of Pennsylvania, and published in 1899, Du Bois's study is an at times overlooked example of early sociological engagement with social problems and social inequality, although its importance to sociology – as with the work of Du Bois in general – has been increasingly acknowledged.

While both Addams and Du Bois have come to be appreciated as formidable figures in an early American approach to sociology that wedded political activism and intellectual inquiry, they were not alone. Florence Kelley, for instance, the American translator of the writings of Friedrich Engels, was importantly involved with Hull House and the University of Chicago, and later became a friend and ally of Du Bois through her involvement with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Hull House was both the self-conscious part of a movement for social and political transformation, and a center for educational activities and intellectual discussion that was intimately connected to early academic sociology in Chicago. The founders of ASSA, chief among them Frank Sanborn, had similarly sought to connect social science and social reform, being explicit in their understanding that the new association was intended to promote the development of a more scientific approach to the social problems that concerned them. The development of social science would help to

> guide the public mind to the best practical means of promoting the Amendment of Laws, the Advancement of Education, the Prevention and Repression of Crime, the Reformation of criminals, and the progress of Public Morality, the adoption of Sanitary Regulations, and the diffusion of sound principles on questions of Economy, Trade, and Finance. It will give attention to Pauperism, and the topics related thereto, including the responsibility of the well-endowed and successful, the wise and the educated, the honest and respectable, for the failures of others. It will aim to bring together the various societies and individuals now interested in these objects for the purpose of obtaining

by discussion the real elements of Truth; by which doubts are removed, conflicting opinions harmonized, and a common ground afforded for treating wisely the great social problems of the day.

(Haskell, 2000 [1977]: 101)

Beginning in the 1870s, such concerns were gradually migrating into the universities, as the older 'classical' curriculum gave way to more practical subjects, the growth of doctoral degrees, and the invention of the undergraduate major. Sociology took root among historians and was often approached as a branch of the also new field of economics. The first systematic course in sociology brought down the wrath of Yale's president, Noah Porter. In 1879, William Graham Sumner had assigned Herbert Spencer's *The Study of Sociology* as an undergraduate text. While Spencer's evolutionary perspective dominated nineteenth-century sociology in the United States, teaching evolutionary sociology in the university was still controversial, and Sumner's approach was contentious both because it was influenced by Spencer and Darwin, and because it presented sociology as a science that would move beyond theology. Indeed, the centrality of evolutionary theories in nineteenth-century sociology was closely connected to the notion that sociology could and should be a science in the same sense as the natural sciences. As Sumner wrote in the midst of the controversy at Yale, 'four or five years ago my studies led me to the conviction that sociology was about to do for the social sciences what scientific method has done for the natural and physical sciences, viz., rescue them from arbitrary dogmatism and confusion' (Marsden, 1994: 40). The emulation of natural science was to be a recurrent disciplinary ambition, though the specific visions of science that captivated sociologists would change over time.

It was not until 1905 that sociologists turned their segment of the American Economic Association into an autonomous organization, the American Sociological Society, a name that would be changed to the American Sociological Association.

Along with Sumner, early presidents of the association included Franklin H. Giddings, Albion Small, and Lester Frank Ward, each of whom had been significantly influenced by an engagement both with Spencer's conception of society as 'an integrated whole that is naturally occurring, continuous with the natural world, and subject to trans-historical laws of evolution', and with his closely connected understanding of sociology as 'a holistic, naturalistic, and evolutionary science' of that society (Breslau, 2007: 40).

Holding a chair of political and social science at Yale from 1872 through to his death in 1910, Sumner became especially well known for his social Darwinism, and followed Spencer more closely than the others. He was devoted to both scientific positivism and laissez-faire economics, adamantly rejecting the moralism of many of his nineteenth-century peers. In *Folkways*, a major work published near the end of his life, Sumner made 'mores' the key object of sociological analysis, an approach that involved a focus on the practices and ideas, the religious or philosophical commitments, that go beyond merely conventional habits or customs to regulate and control individual conduct.

Like Sumner, Lester Ward's perspective was evolutionary, yet he was also concerned with problems of motivation and will, and he was much more critical of Spencer, emphasizing the limits of Sumner's take on the naturalistic theory of human evolution, and the possibility of liberal progress through social reform. 'My thesis', he wrote, 'is that the subject matter of sociology is human achievement. It is not what men are but what they do. It is not the structure but the function' (Ward, 1903: 15). While he was the first president of the American Sociological Society, and his *Dynamic Sociology* was the first sociological treatise to be published in the United States, Ward's first academic appointment came only relatively late in his life, when at the age of sixty-five he was appointed to the chair in sociology at Brown University. Working for many years for the

US Geological Survey, his scholarly career was supported largely by positions in the federal bureaucracy. Influentially distinguishing 'pure' from 'applied' sociology, he published distinct volumes on each.

The willingness of Ward and other early American sociologists to distinguish between 'pure' and 'applied' sociology, however, should not obscure the extent to which the project of social science and the pursuit of social reform were intertwined with one another. American sociology developed in the context of both debates over 'progress' and dramatic social change. While one response to this would be the social Darwinism of Sumner and others, yet another was the commitment among many early sociologists to social democracy or socialism, with the latter not infrequently being a variant of Christian socialism. At the same time, if nineteenth-century social science had been built around a broadly shared engagement with social problems and possibilities for social change, the launch and initial institutionalization of the disciplinary project brought with it an increasing, if contested, concern to advance sociology as a scientific end in itself.

DISCIPLINARY AND DEPARTMENTAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Importantly signaled by the formation of the American Sociological Society, this institutionalization had already started in the 1890s, with the founding of the field's most important journal, the *American Journal of Sociology* (AJS), and its first major department. Both were at the University of Chicago, where Albion Small, George Herbert Mead, W.I. Thomas, and others were all active at Hull House, while also seeking to further define the new department and emerging academic discipline. The founder of the Chicago sociology department and the *AJS*, Small focused less on Ward's distinction between 'pure' and 'applied' sociology, and more on the relationship between a variety of 'special

sociologies' and the project of *General Sociology* that became the title of his main synthetic work. Drawn to sociology by way of Christianity – he offered a regular course at Hull House on 'The Social Philosophy of Jesus' – Small was the son of a clergyman, and had studied divinity in the United States, as well as traveling in Germany to study history and economics. Through his role at the *AJS*, he would be instrumental in bringing a range of key German thinkers, including Georg Simmel, to the attention of sociologists in the United States. Small's outlook was broadly Spencerian, and he assumed evolutionary theory as a general framework. Yet he and his colleagues in Chicago focused substantially on the social process of group formation, social conflict, and the resolution of conflicts through adjustment and innovation, making the concrete acting group a central focus in American sociology.

In the decades that followed the founding of the Chicago department and the first issues of the *AJS*, both sociology departments and journals proliferated. The PhD – an import from Germany – became standard as the basis for a faculty appointment, and professionalization would soon have the upper hand over engagements in extra-academic reform movements. American sociology in these years was shaped by efforts to synthesize the history of social thought, by new empirical inquiries, and by sociologists' continued engagements in projects of social reform. There were specialists in each – for instance, Howard P. Becker synthesized (writing important historical surveys of sociology from his post at the University of Wisconsin-Madison), Howard W. Odum did research (and founded the journal *Social Forces* at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), and Jane Addams and her associates at Hull House pressed social reform and service. To imagine the three dimensions as separate would be misleading, however, as all three can be seen in protean figures such as Du Bois, as well as some of those who followed Small at Chicago, such as W.I. Thomas and Robert E. Park.

At the same time, there were important differences and distances between figures like Addams and Du Bois and professionalizers like Park. Deeply engaged with issues of race, Park – like other leading American sociologists – focused on delimited approaches to race relations, regarded as more proper and practical (and exemplified by Booker T. Washington), to the exclusion of an engagement with the more critical work of Du Bois. Likewise, the efforts of academic sociologists to achieve greater legitimacy through a commitment to science led many to distance themselves from projects of social reform, and to institute a hierarchical division of labor between 'pure' and 'applied' sociology, and employment in academic versus nonacademic positions. In Park's era, this frequently gendered division of labor grew, especially between Addams and her colleagues in the settlement movement and the department of sociology at Chicago, although it was one that Addams and others contested, in the name of an alternative kind of intellectual and practical life in which science and action would not be severed from one another (Deegan, 1990).

Like Albion Small before him, Park and his colleagues were also importantly involved in shaping the academic careers of many PhDs. Along with his Chicago colleague Ernest Burgess, Park authored the *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, a book that went on to become 'the dominant text in the field for the next twenty years' (Ross, 1991: 359). Modeled in part on W.I. Thomas's earlier *Sourcebook for Social Origins*, the 'green bible' was both a widely used textbook and a sort of manual for those who subscribed to the Chicago approach. Park built on and extended Thomas's attempts to turn sociology from social philosophy toward empirical research, and many of his students took on ethnographic studies of specific local communities. At the same time, his conception of sociology imagined a discipline not unlike those within the natural sciences, one that aspired to law-like generalizations that would go well beyond the local. 'Sociology',

he wrote in the introduction to the green bible, 'seeks to arrive at natural laws and generalizations in regard to human nature and society, irrespective of time and place' (Park and Burgess, 1921: 11).

When Columbia University produced America's second major sociology department, it was initially at least as concerned with social reform as was Chicago's department, though the Columbia department would ultimately be less remembered for such engagements. The department's founder, Franklin Giddings, was hired by Columbia in order to mobilize a more scientific perspective – to leverage, in the words of Turner and Turner (1990: 24), 'better and more diverse instruments for establishing facts' – in the service of social reform. Giddings brought with him an emphasis on statistics and quantitative research. But he was also an early historical sociologist, interested in the comparative study of social institutions, a proponent of 'macro-sociology,' and – like other early American sociologists – an evolutionary theorist. 'Society', wrote Giddings (1922: 246), 'is a means to a definite end – namely, the survival and improvement of men through a continuing selection of intelligence and sympathy'. Frequently neglected and forgotten within histories of American sociology, he has nonetheless been seen as a central early figure in American sociology's 'long quest to create a quantitative science' (Turner, 1994: 55), in good part due to the 'academic compromise' or 'reconciliation' he worked between theory and statistical sociology, which required a different kind of research and analysis than those associated with the reform-driven 'social survey' (Turner and Turner, 1990: 27).

Robert MacIver and Robert Lynd, the leaders of the Columbia department who followed Giddings, symbolized the dimensions of theoretical synthesis and empirical inquiry. MacIver authored a major work on the idea of community, while Robert and Helen Lynd pursued the classic *Middletown* studies. Active in the labor and civil rights movements, the Lynds sought an understanding

of 'normal' American social organization, in distinction from the emphasis on disorganization and change at Chicago. When MacIver and Lynd chose Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld as their successors, the newcomers bonded in an unexpected way – and explicitly pursued the integration rather than the opposition of theory and research. Merton had been hired at Columbia as part of a compromise – MacIver would get a theorist, and Lynd an empiricist. The 'empiricist' was Lazarsfeld, though the 'theorist' Merton was himself consistently engaged in empirical research, and even produced innovative research techniques (for instance, by developing the 'focused group interview'). Together, Merton and Lazarsfeld gave new form to Giddings's earlier insistence that theory and empirical research should be combined, pioneering what became a widespread and normatively approved approach to formulating research projects and journal articles. Indeed, Merton was among the first sociologists whose reputation would rest more on articles than books, and the 'craft' orientation Merton and Lazarsfeld developed equipped their students (and many others) with a set of skills oriented toward pragmatic problem-solving and intellectual production. Their influence came through the students and the approach as much as through their own specific publications.

While Chicago and Columbia dominated the early production of PhDs who would take faculty positions at major universities around the country, American sociology grew disproportionately in state universities. Rural sociology was especially prominent in land-grant institutions and has long been a major branch of the field, although the urban studies of the Chicago School were destined to be better remembered, partly because urbanization has been such a strong social trend. Already by the 1930s there were major departments at the Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, and North Carolina (though efforts to launch a department of sociology at Berkeley were resisted until after World War II). The diversity of institutional bases was – and would remain – mirrored in a diversity of approaches, and with this diversity came dissent and struggle.

REBELLION, EXPANSION, AND THE RISE OF LARGE-SCALE RESEARCH

Contests over professionalization had shaped the formation of the American Sociological Society, and they would take on new force in the 1930s, as quarrels within the discipline and struggles over its leadership resulted in the severing of the society's previously close relationship with the University of Chicago and the *American Journal of Sociology*, and the launch of the *American Sociological Review* as its official journal. One central dimension of these quarrels concerned sociology's response – or failure to produce a concerted response – to the Great Depression. Sociology had attained a new level of government recognition in the 1920s, as William F. Ogburn headed a commission appointed by President Hoover to look into social trends – a pioneering project in large-scale social inquiry. But with Hoover's eclipse and the very nonlinear arrival of the depression, sociology was bypassed in favor of other social sciences. This exacerbated already intense competition for faculty positions in the midst of a deteriorating job market. As the discipline lost prestige, influence, and jobs, between 1929 and 1932 the American Sociological Society lost as much as a quarter of its membership.

Professionalizers were concerned to shore up the standing of the field. Responding to intellectual deficiencies in the model of sociology put forward by Park and others at Chicago, the disciplinary rebellion was led by Luther L. Bernard, who was married to – and an intellectual collaborator with – Jessie Bernard, one of American sociology's most important early feminists. While Bernard and the other rebels attempted to create new models of engagement with social issues – as the contest over the appropriate

relationship between 'science' and social change continued – they were ultimately not bound together by any single sociological orientation or perspective, but rather by their strong opposition to the disciplinary dominance and elitism of the Chicago department. As Bernard would later say, he had pushed forward the substitution of the *ASR* as a replacement for the *AJS* as the association's official journal because 'the department of sociology at the University of Chicago . . . had become arrogant and was suspected of making the interests of the American Sociological Society subsidiary to those of the Chicago department' (Lengermann, 1979: 185). It would not be the last time in the history of American sociology that a diverse and unruly group of disciplinary rebels united primarily behind shared opposition to a common adversary.

For some thirty years after the founding of the *ASR*, American sociology grew stronger and gained funding. While this did not end the field's internecine quarrels, it did encourage a broad sense of common discipline. Following World War II, the growth of large-scale, substantially financed research projects – especially with foundation money, but also with corporate and government support – further encouraged one version of professionalization. This was perhaps epitomized by Lazarsfeld and Merton's leadership at Columbia, with its Bureau of Applied Social Research and enormously successful graduate-training program. But it was equally at the center of the major state universities' agendas, as, for example, sociologists were pre-eminent in the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. Survey research was ascendant, and the availability of larger data sets encouraged both new approaches to classic questions – like the study of inequality – and the development of more sophisticated analytic statistics.

With initial support from the Rockefeller Foundation, the interdisciplinary Social Science Research Council (SSRC), which had been founded in 1923, drew together elites from sociology and other disciplines in pursuit of an integrated, scientific research agenda. Foundation support – notably from Rockefeller and Ford – was also pivotal in establishing demographic and survey research. Population research centers were established at seven major universities, for example, and similar efforts supported other largely quantitative lines of research. While the era is often remembered by reference to functionalist theory, it is arguably the case that the real commonality of American sociology was established by the rise of a more or less standard journal article based on empirical research – increasingly often, but not always, quantitative.

Quantitative methods were important in making sociology credible to funders and policy makers. The model of professionalization they represented, however, was widely criticized within the discipline. Field researchers, specialists on social problems, those carrying on the reform traditions, and critical theorists all saw sociology losing some of its critical engagement with social problems. Especially important to the development of such challenges was a long, mostly Midwestern, and in many ways populist tradition that would come to be anchored in the Society for the Study of Social Problems, founded in 1951. Its journal, *Social Problems*, was more widely read but less professionally prestigious than the *American Sociological Review*. The contrast in styles between the approaches associated with these two journals was apparent in the very titles of two classic, almost simultaneous studies of medical education, *Boys in White* (Howard S. Becker et al.) and *The Student Physician* (Robert K. Merton et al.).

THE POSTWAR 'MAINSTREAM' AND ITS CRITICS

Postwar American sociological theory had its own professionalizer in Talcott Parsons, who used his base at Harvard to promote a

standard canon of sociological texts and his synthetic theoretical framework. Published in 1937, the influence of *The Structure of Social Action*, Parsons's 'towering first book' (Camic, 1989: 39), was felt most widely in the years after World War II. The approach to professionalization associated with Parsons flourished in those years, but in tension with more critical perspectives. His functionalist theory – which sought to explain society as a system whose parts were to be understood in terms of the functions they served in maintaining the whole – would by the 1960s provide one of the dominant images of a supposedly hegemonic, though hotly contested, disciplinary vision (in all senses of 'disciplinary'). Formal analyses of survey data would offer another. Yet the 1960s were not only an era of theory wars but also of major advances in quantitative research. The decade saw the increased use of multivariate statistics – especially the introduction of path analysis, which built more complex causal models on the basis of multiple-regression analysis, as in the work of Otis Dudley Duncan and the enormously influential study of *The American Occupational Structure* he wrote with Peter Blau in 1967.

In *The Sociological Imagination*, C. Wright Mills both analyzed and satirized the opposition between theoretical and empirical sociology, taking aim at the high theory of Parsons and the quantitative approach of Lazarsfeld and others. His point was how this dualism obscured a lack of critical attention to public problems. Alvin Gouldner would take up a similar theme in *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*. Mills's book appeared in 1959 and would shape the rise of the New Left. Gouldner's appeared in 1970, marking the crest of a wave of campus politics in which sociology was centrally involved, while also signaling the onset of a newly intensified disciplinary politics within sociology itself.

Postwar American sociology was not just a matter of foundation supported growth or struggle over professional projects, however. Disciplinary development in this period was also shaped by engagements with the government during the New Deal and World War II, and afterward by the GI Bill, which provided educational opportunities for returning war veterans. The growth of universities during the 1950s and 1960s brought the founding of new sociology departments – especially in the West – and rapid expansion of the field. At Berkeley, for instance, where a full-fledged department of sociology had been held off for many years, sociology expanded at an unprecedented pace. New subfields also emerged – such as political sociology, which sought to bring concern with major social issues more fully into the disciplinary 'mainstream', transforming such concerns in the process, and laying the groundwork (and the lines of contestation) for later developments.

Perhaps no discipline was shaped more by these boom years, or contributed more to the student movements of the 1960s. The Port Huron Statement, a manifesto of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), was greatly influenced by the writings of Mills, and two of the earliest leaders of SDS (Todd Gitlin and Richard Flacks) and numerous other members became prominent sociologists. Yet the legacy of the boom years was broader. American sociology became a much more inclusive discipline during the course of its expansion. With the feminist movement, women entered the field in large numbers, and many became frustrated at continued male dominance of the field. To this day, even as women make up the majority of the field, they are underrepresented in many of the top-ranked departments. In 1970, Sociologists for Women in Society was founded, with implications not just for internal participation in the discipline but also for the study of gender. Meeting resistance from the ASA, it launched *Gender & Society* as an autonomous journal.

The new inclusivity also built on the gains of the civil-rights movement, as well as a long tradition of sociological research on questions of race and ethnicity. American sociology had been centrally engaged since

its origins with the distinctive American heritage of slavery and its aftermath. This included both study of race and racism and study of specific features of African-American life. Attention to Native Americans figured less prominently in sociology, partly because of a tacit division of labor with anthropology (though Native Americans have received increased sociological attention in recent years). More broadly, issues of race and ethnicity have remained important within the discipline, and intersected in new ways with recent growth in Hispanic and Asian migrants, though such issues have too often been 'compartmentalized' as special topics rather than integrated adequately into the full range of sociological inquiries.

In the midst of the unrest and upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, both the wider political climate and substantial diversification within the discipline contributed to increasing struggles over the shape, direction, and control of the field. Assailed for their hegemonic grip on the disciplinary power structure, prominent elites within the discipline came to be closely associated with an ambiguously defined yet influential approach that critics dubbed 'mainstream' sociology. This approach was typified by the leadership of the American Sociological Association, by the *American Sociological Review*, and by a few elite departments like those at Harvard and Columbia. Rallying around Mills' broadside on 'grand theory' and 'abstracted empiricism', and galvanized by Gouldner's polemic against Parsonian theory, critics made common cause in opposition to the theoretical pretensions and presumed positivism of the 'mainstream', united by their contempt for the arid professionalism and perceived conservatism of what Gouldner (1970: 23) had dubbed the 'sociological establishment'. For a time, opposition to mainstream sociology drew together a disparate group of 'critical' sociologists, from historical sociologists and upstart radicals to ethno-methodologists and symbolic interactionists, feminists and field-workers, heterodox Weberians and Marxist theorists.

PROFESSIONALIZATION AND PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

Starting in the late 1970s, the elite departments and journals of American sociology turned increasingly to agendas of professional rigor and scientific standing, partially in response to the heterodox and turbulent 1960s, but also in response to the end of a phase of rapid academic growth. This renewed earlier connections among professionalization, a particular methodological approach to science, and elite formation. Such linkages had been important in the formation of the *American Sociological Review*, and they gathered new strength in the postwar years. While in its earlier usages 'mainstream' had been mainly an epithet – associated not just with leading journals and elite departments, but with academic insularity rather than attention to public issues – from the later 1970s and 1980s it became a label that was increasingly claimed as a matter of positive value. Tenure decisions at many leading departments now explicitly embraced the once pejorative mark of the 'mainstream', emphasizing publication in the *ASR* and research supported by external sources. And there were indeed transformative improvements in research techniques and data sets in fields from demography to social stratification.

Yet even during this period, the elite of American sociology was diverse. The 'mainstream' could be stereotyped by major lines of quantitative inquiry – from 'status attainment' to population ecology of organizations. This was an era of growing quantitative sophistication. Causal analysis rooted in multiple regression models became central to sociological research. But from the 1970s, a different analytic tradition rooted in network analysis also began to grow. A range of large data sets like the World Fertility Survey were created that allowed new levels of analytic rigor. But at the same time, comparative and historical sociology and the study of social movements were renewed and prominent

in elite departments. And the longstanding ethnographic tradition also gained more elite recognition, especially from the 1990s, and partly because of growing self-awareness about qualitative methods.

Efforts to promote demographic diversity continued during the 1970s and 1980s, but in the context of an extremely tight job market. Many graduate students attracted to the field by the social engagements of the late 1960s and early 1970s found it hard to make academic careers. This was an era of tight funds for higher education generally, as well as new competition for sociology from the growth in business majors and other fields that catered to students concerned about job and career prospects. Indeed, this was a period when sociology's elite researchers largely pursued agendas only loosely connected to either of the main sources of undergraduate interest – the 'social problems' tradition and the new professional fields.

Sociologists were prominent, however, in several of the growing professional fields. As had long been the case with social work, though, in fields like the sociology of education or communications research there was an ambivalent relationship between disciplinary departments and professional schools. That shifted to some extent in the 1990s, partly because of the development of some prestigious research fields, such as economic sociology, that forged closer relations to professional schools. At the same time, though business seemed to rule the roost, the 1990s was also a watershed for interest in civil society and nongovernmental organizations concerned with the environment, the arts, and human rights. Enrollments – high in classes on race and gender – also often grew faster in 'applied' fields like criminology, medical sociology, and industrial relations than in the more abstract sub-disciplines emphasized by the most prestigious research departments.

Globalization fueled the internationalization of American sociology, and in recent years sociologists in the United States have further embraced – though somewhat haltingly – a more robust international engagement.

Indeed, while American sociology has often been regrettably ethnocentric, it has also been one of the most internationally oriented of national sociological traditions. This is partly a reflection of the immigrants who have shaped American sociology throughout its existence (and especially since the middle of the twentieth century), and also a reflection of the ways American sociologists have drawn on European sociology, integrating borrowings from different national traditions. But it is also because American sociologists have carried out research in different settings around the world, encouraged in the second half of the twentieth century by participation in interdisciplinary area studies. In the 1990s, soaring numbers of immigrants returned scholarly attention to classic sociological investigation of assimilation and ethnic identities, discrimination and access, and the continuing struggles of American minority groups for equal rights. Sociology contributed the idea of social capital to public debates over citizenship and participation, as well as to research on class and social mobility. Equally important, undergraduate enrollment started to increase again, and job prospects for new PhDs improved. An increasing number now turned to jobs outside academia, but often by choice and not necessity, and partly because of the centrality of sociological issues to corporations, nongovernmental organizations, and grass-roots mobilizing efforts by traditional and new social movements.

By the time of the American Sociological Association's centennial in 2005, the academic discipline had grown enormously, and was firmly entrenched within the American university system (despite periodic proclamations of its incipient demise). Sociology in the United States had become highly professionalized, especially among its elite. At the same time, alternative visions of sociology, and contestation within the discipline, continued to flourish. Such struggles were dramatized in the extensive debates over 'public sociology' that followed Michael Burawoy's 2004 presidential address to the American Sociological Association. Yet the

debates were not altogether new, but rather only the latest version of arguments nearly as old as the field.

From sociology's disciplinary inception in the United States, American sociologists have negotiated a tension between achieving intellectual authority and being publicly engaged – one of several tensions that have both divided the field and propelled it forward. The development of the discipline has been defined not only by an enduring engagement with social problems and social change, but also by the recurrent attempts of academic sociologists to articulate a commitment to science intended to claim authority over, and to secure independence from, extra-academic reformers, activists, and public intellectuals. Today, both public and professional visions of sociology are prospering. Perhaps they are less in tension with each other than at some earlier times – though clashes are undoubtedly likely to continue. Rather than advocating the march toward an increasing homogeneity, in which one or the other vision is dominated or obliterated, we would embrace the discipline's diversity. As the history of American sociology has shown, competing sociological visions, and the arguments they engender, have the capacity not simply to be divisive, but also to be informative and even transformative – both of each other, and of the social worlds they seek to specify and comprehend.

NOTES

* This chapter draws on the authors' previously published work (Calhoun and Duster, 2005; Calhoun, 2007a; Calhoun and VanAntwerpen, 2007), as well as several additional chapters in *Sociology in America* (Calhoun, 2007b).

REFERENCES

Blau, P. and Duncan, O.D. (1967) *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Breslau, D. (2007) 'The American Spencerians: Theorizing a New Science', in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Sociology in America: A History*, pp. 39–62. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Calhoun, C. (2007a) 'Sociology in America: An Introduction', in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Sociology in America: A History*, pp. 1–38. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Calhoun, C. (ed.) (2007b) *Sociology in America: A History*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Calhoun, C. and Duster, T. (2005) 'The Visions and Divisions of Sociology', *Chronicle of Higher Education* 51(49): B7.

Calhoun, C. and VanAntwerpen, J. (2007) 'Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and Hierarchy: "Mainstream" Sociology and Its Challengers', in *Sociology in America: A History*, pp. 367–410. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Camic, C. (1989) '*Structure* after 50 Years: The Anatomy of a Charter', *American Journal of Sociology* 95 (July): 38–107.

Deegan, M.J. (1990) *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892–1918*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1989) *The Philadelphia Negro*. New York: Lippincott.

Giddings, F.H. (1922) *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*. New York: Macmillan.

Gouldner, A.W. (1970) *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*. New York: Basic Books.

Haskell, T.L. (2000[1977]) *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-century Crisis of Authority*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lengermann, P.M. (1979) 'The Founding of the *American Sociological Review*: The Anatomy of a Rebellion', *American Sociological Review* 44: 185–98.

Lengermann, P. and Niebrugge, G. (2007) 'Thrice Told: Narratives of Sociology's Relation to Social Work', in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Sociology in America: A History*, pp. 63–114. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Marsden, G. (1994) 'God and Man at Yale (1880)', *First Things* 42: 39–42.

Mills, C.W. (1959) *The Sociological Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Morris, A.D. (2007) 'Sociology of Race and W.E.B. DuBois: The Path Not Taken', in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Sociology in America: A History,* pp. 503–34. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Park, R.E. and Burgess, E. (1921) *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Ross, D. (1991) *The Origins of American Social Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, S. (1994) 'The Origins of "Mainstream Sociology" and Other Issues in the History of American Sociology', *Social Epistemology* 8(1): 41–67.

Turner, S.P. and Turner, J.H. (1990) *The Impossible Science: An Institutional Analysis of American Sociology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Ward, L.F. (1903) *Pure Sociology: A Treatise on the Origin and Spontaneous Development of Society*. New York: Macmillan.

Local Traditions and Universal Sociologies: The Dilemmas of Post-Communist States of Central and Eastern Europe

Post-Communist Democratization and the Practice of Sociology in Central and Eastern Europe[1]

Janusz Mucha and Mike F. Keen

INTRODUCTION: STUDYING CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND ITS SOCIOLOGY

For a little more than a decade now, since the very beginning of the post-Communist era in Europe, we have been systematically investigating the transformations of sociology in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Our own approach has been a combination of the 'emic' and 'etic' (insider's and outsider's observations). We have been interested in the ways sociology in individual countries and in the whole region was shaped by structural conditions and in the ways sociology tried to influence the development of individual societies.

In the early 1990s, we began a research project on the history of sociology of the region starting with the so-called 'Khrushchev's thaw', to the beginnings of the post-1988 transformations. The results were published in the US in 1994 (Keen and Mucha, 1994), and in Poland in 1995, in Polish. One of the 'failures' of sociology of the region prior to the transformation is considered to

be that it did not anticipate the collapse of the Communist system. However, generally speaking, political restrictions on the topics addressed and on the publication of findings were very strong, although sometimes applied in an uneven manner. Therefore, it was very difficult, and in many countries virtually impossible, to study empirically and theoretically the phenomena which would lead to such a transformation. It was impossible to freely publish the findings and to start a public discussion on actual social processes. What is perhaps more interesting is that even free Western political sciences and sociology did not anticipate the collapse.

We would like to make two qualifications before continuing. First, in this paper we do not intend to deal in depth with comparisons between Western and Eastern European sociology, then and now. Second, we do not believe that sociology, and particularly macro-sociology, is a 'natural science' that could precisely predict future events. We believe that only some trends can be extrapolated. What we mean by the 'failure' to anticipate transformations is

that the sociology of 1956–89 was not able to recognize the tensions within the European Communist societies and their potential for radical social change.

Many structural and often dramatic changes took place during this period. Some political units ceased to exist, i.e., the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. New nation-states emerged out of the ruins of old ones, and even now the nation-building processes are not complete in the region. The futures of Bosnia Hercegovina and Serbia's historic province of Kosovo, populated overwhelmingly by Albanians and now practically a UN protectorate, of Albania, Macedonia, and even of Ukraine (with her still strong division between the Russian-speaking eastern part and the Ukrainian-speaking western part) are not clear. Other dramatic changes have occurred within individual Eastern and Central European nations. These include rapid and often superficial political liberalization and democratization, economic transformation, an increasing role of market mechanisms and free competition, as well as their consequences: very high unemployment and the growing visibility of poverty. We have witnessed rapid Westernization (and particularly Americanization) of the popular culture, and a reappearance of strong ethnic tensions and overt ethnic conflicts.

We must also recognize changes resulting from world transformations: cultural and economic globalization with its positive and negative aspects, the Internet and the communications 'revolution', and most recently the war against terrorism with all its ramifications, including new answers to the old dilemma 'security versus freedom' and the redefinition of some ethnic groups' struggle for sovereignty.

HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE POST-WORLD WAR II

Societies and sociologies of CEE differed from each other in many respects.

Historically, some countries had developed fully, very complex social structures and national cultures, and some were rural and peasant societies. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some were dominated by autocratic orthodox Russia, some by equally autocratic Islamic Turkey, others by politically and culturally tolerant Roman Catholic Austria–Hungary. Still others were partitioned between the then superpowers. Some had more, some less developed economies. In some, the dominant religious organization supported political organizations of foreign origin, in others, it opposed them and rather supported the national culture.

After 1948, not only the level of economic growth but also the character of economic structure differentiated these societies. In particular, the presence of small-scale private economic activity in agriculture, manufacturing, and the service sector seems to have been important. In some, religious culture and institutions opposing the Communist ideology were strong, in others they were not. In some, terror played an important role in public life until 1989, in others political domination was exercised using milder means.

In Poland, sociology had a very long and rich, non-Marxist intellectual and institutional tradition. In other countries of the region sociology actually emerged from Marxist historical materialism.[2] Even in Poland, however, where it was possible to continue non-Marxist traditions in purely theoretical social sciences, it was difficult to engage in public discussion with Marxism and with Communism.

During the period from 1948 to 1989, to some extent the situation in CEE resembled that of countries under colonial and authoritarian rule. Whether they had the internationally recognized 'political sovereignty', as in the case of Bulgaria, Hungary or Czechoslovakia, or did not, as in Estonia and Latvia, most societies in this region were totally dependent on the Soviet metropolis in the areas of domestic and international politics, economy, and culture. Exceptions were

Albania, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Individual freedom was not respected. There was no parliamentary democracy in the Western sense of the term. Although the region differed from those of African or Asian colonies, the population and culture (including social sciences) in the socialist 'metropolis' of the Soviet Union was as politically suppressed as those of the peripheries or semi-colonies.

Terror, indoctrination, and very strict political control made it barely possible either in the Soviet Union or in the rest of CEE to develop free culture, including freedom in the teaching of sociology, uncensored research projects, and uncensored publications. Quite a few sociologists were jailed or expelled from their countries, and the social sciences were placed under very strict surveillance. Political authorities needed descriptive social science and the information it might provide. Occasionally, they used this information in public administration. But they did not allow sociology to serve as a conscience of society and to play reflexive and critical functions other than revealing to the rulers, but not to the public, the consequences of their policies. Sociology, therefore, influenced public life, and was respected by some representatives of the political authorities; but free research teaching, and publication were forbidden.

SOCIOLOGY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE SINCE 1989

In the year 2000, we began a second phase of our project, to investigate the achievements and failures of sociology in CEE during the decade that had passed since the systemic transformation (Keen and Mucha, 2003). In this new phase, we asked our collaborators from sixteen countries of East-Central Europe[3] to address the following questions:

1. Was 'de-Communization' of sociology an important issue in the internal politics of sociology?

2. What changes had occurred in the teaching of sociology, including new curricula and textbooks?

3. What were the relations between academic sociology on the one hand and public and private research centers on the other?

4. Which aspects of the socioeconomic transformation were considered to be the most important research problems?

5. Was nationalism and ethnicity an important research problem?

6. What happened to the former research and teaching cooperation with other CEE scholars?

7. What did research and teaching cooperation with Western sociology look like?

8. Were sociologists involved in local and national politics?

9. Were sociologists considered and consulted as experts by the governing bodies at local and national levels?

10. How was research and teaching financed?

We believe that the 'sociological transformation' was not only a reaction to recent structural changes in the whole region and in individual societies, but also influenced by the different historically rooted cultures, the economic systems that existed before Communism and during the period 1948–88, and the ways in which the Communist system was actually administered in individual countries.

It was not possible in the reports we eventually received to devote as much attention to each of these issues that they deserved. In addition, we cannot adequately address all of those here, in a paper as short as this. Therefore, in this presentation, we concentrate on only three aspects of the post-1989 transformation of sociology in the region. Other issues are discussed in Keen and Mucha, 2004.[4]

The first of the three aspects is the political and intellectual milieu of post-1988 sociology. From our understanding, the post-1988 political and intellectual milieu was determined by two factors: the hypothetical presence of a political atmosphere 'demanding' de-Communization of the public sphere, including sociology; and the decreasing role, and even condemnation, of Marxism

in intellectual discourse. The second aspect concerns the widespread development of teaching sociology in the universities at the undergraduate, as well as at graduate, MA, and PhD levels. The third aspect is emergence of new research areas, not available before 1989.

'DE-COMMUNIZATION' AND 'DE-MARXIZATION' OF SOCIOLOGY

We are fully aware of the fact that Marxism and Soviet, as well as Romanian and Yugoslavian, styles of Communism are analytically two different things. However, during the period 1948–88, Marxism was considered by most of the parties involved, i.e., the ruling elites, the general public, and a large number of sociologists, to be one and the same as Communist ideology. This 'Marxism–Communism identification' was not deconstructed after 1988, and the criticism of Communism implied a criticism of Marxism. However, de-Communization and de-Marxization of sociology had their peculiarities in individual countries to the extent that Communism and Marxism meant different things in each of them.

People who carefully followed the heated political debates which took place on Communism in CEE during late 1980s and early 1990s would be surprised to see to what little extent 'de-Communization' affected sociology. There were, in our opinion, good reasons why 'de-Communization' was not radical. We believe that the most important of them were the slow but significant ideological and political transformations in some CEE countries which had already taken place in the mid-1980s (Hungary and Poland), before the systemic transformations at the end of the 1980s; the nearly completely a-theoretical character of the 'Soviet Marxism' which, in addition to political control, did not stimulate public theoretical and ideological debates and did not encourage scholars to be loyal to this particular way of thinking;

the avoidance of theoretical debates under socialism, as a scientific communication strategy used to provide for the protection of the sociological community against political interference; a rapid growth in the demand for sociology teachers following 1989, allowing senior professors in sociology to easily find employment whatever their former political and ideological orientation; other, more important ideological issues which displaced the Marxist debate, first and foremost the meaning of liberalism after Communism, as well as postmodernism.

During the socialist (Communist) period, nearly everything, and especially sociology, was subordinated to the political authorities. Many sociologists belonged to the Communist Party, either persuaded by the leftist ideology or due to the fact that Party membership helped in promotion. However, in Poland the proportion of sociologists was much smaller than in other social disciplines, such as economics and philosophy. In this country, real Party control over sociology decreased at the beginning of 1980 (but not outside the academic centers of Warsaw, Cracow or Poznan), after the 'Solidarity' revolution. In many other countries this control decreased in the mid-1980s as a result of the 'perestroika' effect. In Czechoslovakia, it only let up in 1989. In many countries, where over-representation of Marxism was mandatory in university courses and in publications, it was institutionally enforced. In Poland, for instance, many works were published on Marxism and in the 'Marxist spirit'; they were apologetic and not at all critical. Theoretical research, as well as large empirical research projects, were politically and financially supported (although not solely in Poland or Hungary) above all when they were carried out within the Marxist frameworks. According to our Lithuanian author, in that nation Marxist Communist ideology enforced on sociologists a utopian model of man, censorship, and institutionalized lies, bureaucratic as well as utopian management of scholarly work, and were neither scholarly nor socially significant or relevant

research topics. Other scholars from post-Soviet Europe underline the fact that in their pre-1989 empirical sociology, Marxist quotations were politically enforced, but what really mattered for sociologists was empirical merit, methodological quality, and statistical significance. An important consequence, say the Estonian authors, was the complete lack of theoretical debates and interpretations of research findings. Polish scholars stressed that the former system's important consequence was the politically enforced absence of some topics, such as systemic change, political organization of society, and cultural differentiation of society. In Czechoslovakia, it was forbidden even to read Western sociological publications. In Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, many scholars lost their research and teaching jobs when they were officially defined as deviating from the 'Party line'.

All of this changed in the second half of the 1980s, although in some countries only at the very end of this period. The most significant changes were of an institutional character. Communist Party academies educating party functionaries, some of which granted academic degrees in sociology, were dissolved and many older professors of sociology and other disciplines retired. Others, however, found teaching jobs in newly emerging institutions of higher education. In Yugoslavia, the 'Marxist' centers were closed. Communist periodicals that had published Marxist oriented analyses were also closed. At the universities, former chairs and institutes of Marxism–Leninism were renamed into chairs and institutes of philosophy and/or sociology. It seems to us that this constituted the most significant actually existing 'de-Communization' that took place. The democratization of academic life that quickly followed disbanded the old institutional system once and for all.

What happened to Marxism? What happened to people who represented it? As we said above, in some countries a public sphere for non-Marxist interpretation of social worlds was allowed prior to 1989. Poland,

though not at the provincial universities, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia were good examples. In Hungary, it was possible in the 1980s (but not earlier) to overtly criticize Marxist sociology of social structure. It was also possible to work in the Communist Party social research institute if one was not a Party member. It was not allowed to criticize the 'Party line' in public or abroad. Therefore, some of our collaborators, such as our Hungarian contributors, do not even mention Marxism when asked to identify the interesting theoretical approaches. In Poland, after the early 1980s, Marxism was no longer an issue for students majoring in sociology in the major academic centers mentioned above. Only after 1989, in the view of the Byelorussian and Bulgarian scholars, was there no longer a necessity to criticize so-called Western 'bourgeois science', and the theoretical basis of sociology broadened significantly.

On the whole, 'post-Soviet' sociology within Eastern and Central Europe found it quite easy to get rid of the Marxist labels and quotations. In some post-Yugoslavian countries, a bibliometric analysis was carried out, which showed that Marxist citations almost totally disappeared from sociological periodicals. In Yugoslavia, however, due to the famous, very critical Zagreb Praxis School in Marxism, active in the 1960s and 1970s (it was later dissolved and the scholars were either fired or jailed or exiled) Marxism was treated by many intellectuals quite seriously. Therefore, in Serbia, in the 1990s, there was a heated public debate on Marxism (the so-called *Marxismus Streit*) which revealed two positions from which Marxism was criticized: nationalistic and anti-nationalistic (liberal). According to some participants, however, this was not as much a discussion about Marxism, as one on Yugoslavian authoritarianism. Marxism was only a politically accepted guise. In Russia, after a few years of complete abandonment, Marxism has begun to return to sociology. Now, it is one of many theoretical perspectives which inform sociological research. Due to

the transition to a market economy, many scholars are particularly interested in the theory of alienation.

In Poland, today's mainstream sociological community accepts many sociologists who were active in the Communist Party until its dissolution in 1990. Several sociologists who had been academic teachers of a more or less apologetic Marxism continue to participate very actively in public discourse. Almost none of them continue his/her former Marxist interests. Many of them, in their research programs and university lectures, now stress the merits of Weberian theory, the virtues of economic liberalism, and of the 'social teaching' of the Roman Catholic Church. Only exceptionally do these former Marxists belong to the post-Communist party Alliance of Democratic Left. Nowadays, some of them have strong political connections with post-Solidarity, right-wing political parties. Today, some senior professors of sociology who used to be strongly allied to the senior Communist Party apparatus carry out very interesting and fruitful analyses of the processes of political democratization in Poland. They deal well with democracy and in democracy, in general and in central sociological institutions. They take important initiatives for the sociological community.

This lack of the 'deep de-Communization' of sociology has caused concern among some scholars who considered it to be an aspect of a more general lack of coming to terms with the socialist (Communist) past. A discussion of this problem was published in an influential right-wing daily, *Zycie*. A Polish sociology professor in Germany wrote in 1998 that there had been no debate in Poland on the relations between social sciences and Communism in this country after 1989: nobody was fired, nobody was criticized in public, and even the most corrupt were let off. In the next several issues of *Zycie*, the opinions of a small number of scholars of various pre-1989 biographies were published. They stressed that in 1998 it was too late to start any 'de-Communization' of

sociology, that Polish scholarly mediocrities had not been only of the Marxist character, and that now many sociological mediocrities represented clearly anti-Marxist views and could be found in the right-wing and pro-Church intellectual circles. They underlined the fact that ideological 'conversions' were natural consequences of deep social transformations and did not have to mean opportunism. It seems that not only in Poland but also in other CEE countries the full 'de-Communization' and 'de-Marxization' will come only with generational transition. Most probably, Marxism will reappear within the general spectrum of sociological theoretical and methodological orientations in Eastern and Central Europe.

NEW EDUCATION IN SOCIOLOGY

Sociology has been a university major in several CEE countries for decades. Until recently, the Soviet Union was an exception and it was only possible to study sociology there at the doctoral level. At the lower levels, some courses were offered (e.g., in Byelorussia) in empirical sociology and sociological research methods (mostly statistical), and the graduates who completed these courses could be employed as sociologists in the social research centers. Now, every university in the post-Soviet nation-states has a sociology program. Teachers are on the one hand researchers from the old time 'laboratories of empirical sociology', and on the other hand former lecturers of Marxism–Leninism and scientific Communism, though retrained through special courses.

The first graduates of sociology (at the MA level) came out of the post-Soviet universities in the mid-1990s. In Byelorussia, thirty first-year undergraduates are accepted every year out of one hundred to one hundred and twenty candidates. In Estonia (which is a very tiny nation) six hundred first-year undergraduates are accepted annually for the four-year BA program. A fraction of

graduates is accepted for a one-year MA program. PhD studies were completed abroad up to now, mainly in Finland. In Russia, there are 200,000 students taking courses in sociology. In the Ukraine, university education has four steps: BA, 'specialist', MA, PhD, and habilitation. Since the mid-1990s, about one hundred graduates (at the BA level) of sociology have completed their studies within private and public institutions of higher education. BA programs in sociology are quite new, emerging in the early 1990s as a way of coordinating the whole higher education system within the unifying Europe.

In the post-Soviet Slavic countries, their own new, as well as the new Russian language textbooks are studied. However, some Western texts are also translated into Russian and into national languages. The most popular Western authors are Neil Smelser and Anthony Giddens. In small non-Slavic nations, for instance in Estonia, in addition to Russian texts, Russian translations of Western books are used as texts.

Throughout CEE, sociology became very popular among students at both public and private schools, though less so than economics, business administration, management, political science, and law. As we mentioned above, old teachers of Marxism–Leninism who have the formal qualification (habilitation degree[5]) and are not yet of retirement age, participate in teaching. Students use both domestic and Western textbooks. In Romania, Poland, Hungary, and former Yugoslavia this was also the case before 1989. It seems to us that with the exception of some Polish universities, the curricula are relatively rigid and the proportion of mandatory courses is quite high. Students from many countries have taken advantage of the educational exchange programs of the European Union, first called Tempus, and later Erasmus/Socrates. The Open Society Institute (Soros Foundation) has been supporting both research and higher education programs.

There are various systems of university education in various countries, and sociological studies are not organized in the same way throughout the region. We already mentioned the differences within the former Soviet Union. In Bulgaria, the system of education is based on the four-year BA program, and some graduates later take one year of the MA program. One can then enroll for the PhD program at the Academy of Science or at the University of Sofia. In Hungary, in Slovakia, and in Poland, as a rule, and there are many exceptions to this rule, regular studies entailed a five-year masters program. Now, they are in the process of changing into three levels – BA, MA, and PhD. In Hungary, two Budapest universities conduct a joint doctoral program. In Romania, the basic education is a four-year, though in some schools three-year, BA program, followed for a small number of students by three more semesters for the MA.

Let us look a little closer at the situation in Poland. It is to some extent unique, as any example would be, but it also reflects the transformation in teaching sociology in the whole region. There are many candidates in five-year MA programs in sociology (starting in 2007, three-year BA programs) at the public universities financed by the state. Sociology, as a major at MA level, has been expanded from a few traditional centers such as Warsaw, Cracow, Poznan, Katowice, Lublin, to several new academic centers. Now, nearly twenty public institutions of higher education, including all public universities, have at least BA programs. Sociology is also offered as a paid BA (and then MA) degree program for students in the 'non-public' Collegium Civitas in Warsaw and in the 'non-public' Warsaw School of Social Psychology. Similiarly, a paid extramural three-year BA program is available for students in many other 'non-public' schools. At the BA and MA levels together, about 15,000 students are now majoring in sociology. Graduates of BA programs can, after an entrance exam, study sociology at the MA level at the same school from which they graduated. However, they may have to go to another school if they studied at one without an MA program in sociology.

As in the case of other attractive university disciplines, there are not enough senior professors in Poland to educate all of the students according to the state quality of education requirements. Therefore, many senior faculty members have several academic jobs. Young scholars' promotions are often delayed because they have no time to conduct the independent research that would lead them to the habilitation degree. There were also problems with Polish textbooks. Only since the beginning of the year 2000 have good original Polish textbooks begun to be published.

There are new specializations within the general major in sociology. The most important are 'social policy' and 'social work'. BA and MA programs in them are offered by public and private schools. These programs are usually paid by students and are extramural. An exceptional but important phenomenon is the post-graduate two-year interdisciplinary program in cultural and social gender identity – gender studies, offered initially only by the Institute of Applied Social Sciences of Warsaw University. This institute, along with the Institute of Sociology of the same school, also offers an MA program in sociology. Recently, the number of schools offering this program has increased.

Postgraduate studies in sociology are a relatively new phenomenon in Poland. They existed in some Polish universities before 1989, but have grown only recently. Before 1989, the universities employed research and teaching assistants with MA degrees who were expected to teach and to conduct research leading to a PhD. In addition to major universities, postgraduate studies in sociology were introduced in two private schools. PhD studies in sociology at the Department of Sociology of the Central European University, funded by the Soros Foundation (Warsaw Branch; it was later moved to Prague and then to Budapest) started in 1997. In the academic year 2000–01, there were twenty-six postgraduate students coming from eleven countries, mostly from CEE, but also from Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan from post-Communist Asia. The Graduate School for Social Research at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences was founded in 1992. In the academic year 2000–01, one hundred and sixty-two students from seventeen countries studied philosophy and sociology, among them were ninety-nine Poles, twenty-five Ukrainians and ten Russians.

Polish scholars have tried very hard to maintain or even improve the quality of education in this new situation of dynamic development in higher education, though without the requisite infrastructure, e.g. lack of new teachers, textbooks, and lecture halls. A semi-formal process of accreditation of individual academic disciplines started in 1998, and has been carried out by the University Accreditation Commission, which is independent of the Ministry of Education. In 2000, sociology was accredited at eight public universities, i.e. in Poznan, Lodz, Warsaw, Cracow, Torun, Katowice, Lublin, and Wroclaw. This process of accreditation was preceded by activities of the Conference of the Institutes of Sociology (KIS), an informal body that has been analyzing and coordinating syllabi and teaching standards since the mid-1990s. At the beginning of the year 2000, a formal accreditation process of all academic disciplines began.

To conclude, the teaching of sociology in CEE has changed more in some countries than in others. The common features of the process have been a rapid growth in the number of students, inadequate infrastructure, attempts to build a system including BA, MA, and PhD levels of education, changes in the curricula in order to bring them closer to classic and modern sociological theoretical perspectives, and to the analysis of the most important social phenomena characteristic for the modern and post-modern world. For the region, international cooperation also seems to be important.

There currently seem to be no ideological limitations in teaching sociology.

Sociology is popular because it offers job opportunities. Social work and social policy have become much more important than before, due to the emergence of the market economy and the accompanying problems, to the fact that societies are growing older and because national and local policy-makers pay more and more attention to the problems of the population. Market economies and democratization of CEE societies demand specialists in market research, media research, and public opinion polls. Thanks to the spread of university teaching of sociology, CEE societies have become a little more reflexive.

NEW RESEARCH TOPICS

As presented above, the ideological system that dominated CEE until the late 1980s resulted in the absence of some crucial, relevant research topics, such as the political organization of society and its transformation, cultural differentiation, and minorities. Due to the ideologically legitimized vision of homogeneity and consensus, many problems had been previously neglected.

All this changed in the aftermath of 1989, and as mentioned above, in some countries even earlier. New research topics emerged for at least two reasons: the socioeconomic and political transformation in the region and its immediate consequence; and the liberation of sociology itself. These topics are new in the sense that either the social phenomena (the subject matter) did not exist before, or if they did exist but for various reasons, such as the lack of funding, the lack of political approval for the research project, the enforced 'blindness' of scholars which prevented them from seeing some phenomena, or their fear of political consequences if they applied for funds or approval to do research at all, were rarely or never studied, or they are now studied in new ways.

In the former Soviet Union, particularly in Estonia, Lithuania, and Byelorussia, mass

media research, sociology of youth and education, life course analysis, analysis of standards of living, and of ways of life (lifestyles) were carried out during the Communist period and are all still very popular. Hungarians and Poles still study the rural population. Slovenes study social services and quality of life, as they used to. Naturally, all these subjects are now studied with new perspectives, through theories developed in the West. Therefore, there is continuation in the subject matter but not necessarily in the methodology and theory.

Industrial conflict has always existed but was very rarely studied. Ethnic composition is nothing new in each individual country of CEE, but it was not popular as a subject matter of sociology. Different kinds of elites always existed but it seems to us that they had been analyzed only in Poland, and again, not in the frameworks in which they are currently studied. Women had always had their own specific problems, but they were not studied as such. There were neither 'women's studies' nor 'gender studies'. During the last decade, ethnicity and gender relations became legitimate and very trendy subjects for teaching and research. However, the latter is very often ridiculed by conservative scholars.

Three new thematic areas of research have emerged due to the transformation. The first is the analysis of the socioeconomic aspects of transformation. Of necessity, important topics for investigation became the privatization of state-owned enterprises and its social consequences; industrial relations in remaining state-owned enterprises – in enterprises sold to foreign investors – and in new private companies, domestic and foreign; the new labor market and different strategies adopted by different actors in this market; information technology and its social consequences; the dynamics of class structure, including class-building processes, change, and reproduction of economic elites; unemployment in its various aspects; and the new poverty.

The second area is the new, liberal, and democratic politics, such as analysis of

political parties, which, in the Western sense, did not exist before 1989, political, especially parliamentary, elites; voting behavior; civil society, and NGOs. The third area is culture: culture versus economy as the factor explaining everyday behavior and everyday social processes; religion in its new forms such as the institutionalization of the role of major denominations, public religious rituals, private religion, new religious movements, and new spirituality; and cultural trauma resulting from the transformations. We have already mentioned mass media and ethnicity above. A topic studied in several CEE countries, but not in all of them, has been regional CEE cooperation and the tensions arising from it, and European enlargement, in the context of aspirations of some societies towards the European Union.

There are also topics specific to certain countries. The catastrophe in the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl in the Ukraine in 1986 affected both that country and Byelorussia. Only after 1988 was it possible to analyze the social consequences of this tragedy. Post-Yugoslavian sociologists conduct war-related research, studying social and cultural aspects of the wars themselves, refugees, displaced persons, returnees, ethnic relations after the wars, and diaspora resulting from the wars. Czech sociologists analyze immigration to their country from Eastern Europe, and the dangers of xenophobia.

CONCLUSION

CEE sociology and its internal development reflects the systemic transformation of the whole region, including specific features in individual countries. It has also become a tool for analysis of the processes of transformation, and of social self-reflection, and self-analysis. Some lessons can be learned from the analysis of sociology in CEE, which we believe extend beyond the regional context. The trajectory of sociology and social

sciences in CEE can become a case on which to study other regions of the world that are also embarking on a complicated road to democracy and the free market. Moreover, the new trends highlighted in sociology of CEE can be models for study of other countries 'in transition'. Thus there is a possibility of developing a comparative analysis of various aspects of transition to democracy in varied social contexts.

Increasingly, sociology in CEE has become similar to Western sociology. However, it is not necessarily unilateral imitation. Certainly, it should, in our opinion, take advantage of the achievements of that sociology, its theories of various ranges, its various methodologies, and research experiences. The challenge to Western scholars is to assess whether a comparative study of social processes of CEE sociology can help them to rethink their own societies. The same should be the case for Western sociology, its generalizations, explanation, and hypotheses. European Union funded research projects known as Framework Programs bring together universities from various regions of Europe to stimulate international cooperation.

NOTES

1. This paper draws partly upon our article (Keen and Mucha, 2006).
2. Croatian, Czech, Romanian, and Slovenian pre-Marxist sociology had existed, though.
3. Denes Nemedi and Peter Robert from Hungary, Mikko Lagerspetz and Iris Pettai from Estonia, Bohumil Buzek and Eva Laiferova from Slovakia, Franc Mali from Slovenia, Karel Turza from Yugoslavia, Vyara Gantcheva from Bulgaria, Ognjen Caldarovic from Croatia, Vanda Rusetskaya and Olga Tereschenko from Byelorussia, Petre Georgievski and Mileva Gurovska from Macedonia, Miloslav Petrusek from the Czech Republic, Ilie Badescu and Radu Baltasiu from Romania, Valery Masurov and Michael Chernysh from Russia, Natalia Pohorila from the Ukraine, and Janusz Mucha from Poland.
4. We have also paid attention to the subjective, individual aspects of sociology as practiced in CEE (see Keen and Mucha, 2006). They will not be discussed in this paper.

5. Habilitation degree is a 'second doctorate', a traditional precondition for full professorship in a number of European countries.

REFERENCES

Keen, M.F. and Mucha, J. (eds) (1994) *Eastern Europe in Transformation. The Impact on Sociology*. Westport, CN and London: Greenwood Press.

Keen, M.F. and Mucha, J. (eds) (2003) *Sociology in Central and Eastern Europe. Transformations at the Dawn of a New Millennium*. Westport, CN and London: Praeger.

Keen, M.F. and Mucha, J. (2004) 'Sociology in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s: A Decade of Reconstruction', *European Societies* 6(2): 123–48.

Keen, M.F. and Mucha, J. (2006a) 'Central and Eastern European Sociology in the Post-Communist Era', *East European Quarterly* 39(4): 523–36.

Keen, M.F. and Mucha, J. (eds) (2006b) *Autobiographies of Transformation. Lives in Central and Eastern Europe*. London: Routledge.

What is Russian Sociological Tradition? Debates among Russian Sociologists[1]

Elena Zdravomyslova

INTRODUCTION

Since the nineties, Russian sociologists have been trying to assess their identity and the history and development of sociological traditions in the country. The debate intensified when one group of Russian sociologists initiated efforts 'to organize' a national sociological tradition that represented all the interests of Russian citizens under the auspices of the state (2007–08). This led to intense competition between stakeholders in the field who have used their relative authorities to air their point of view and have competed with each other to promote their positions. The contestations are over the place of the group in the sociological field, and over the definition of the mission of the discipline, its role in the nation-state and interpretation of its history. The debate regarding identity has mobilized issues such as curriculum and pedagogy (Demina, 2007; Pokrovsky, 2005; Radajev, 2008; Sokolov, 2008), theoretical poverty (Filippov, 1993; Ionin, 2005), servility of research (Gudkov, 2006; Voronkov, 2008),

disrespect for the protocols of methodology (Pokrovsky, 2005; Ryvkina, 1997), relationship to public concerns (Romanov and Yarskaya-Smirnova, 2008), lack of access to funds and infrastructure (Pogorelov and Sokolov, 2005), and parochialism and self-isolation of scholars (Sokolov, 2008).

Sociological traditions are a part of the cultural heritage that is evoked in order to construct the identities of individuals, groups and institutions (Shils, 2006). Different groups of scholars, who struggle for power in the field suggest their versions of the origins of Russian sociology, identify different authority figures and recognize different legacies. The field of sociology in Russia is fragmented and its actors compete with each other to universalize their understanding of tradition. This paper attempts to reconstruct the visions of Russian sociological tradition presented in contemporary debate. I ask, first, how perspectives on traditions are connected with the views on the mission of sociology. Second, is there a unique Russian sociological tradition? If so, how do researchers

define it? Third, can traditions be evaluated as positive models or should we be critical and selective in understanding them?

The ongoing discussion on tradition is usually connected with the issue of transmission of knowledge to younger generations. However, the search for establishing traditions also relates to insecurities regarding social, cultural and political locations. These insecurities emerge as a result of institutional transformation, generational replacement and the struggle for symbolic power. Russian sociologists have selected traditions and affirmed them as values that are morally assessed in terms of being positive or negative. Selected traditions represent the pressure of models of the future on the assessments of the present and the past. In this paper, I differentiate between institutional and intellectual traditions. Though there is consensus among sociologists in assessment of the institutional history of Russian sociology, there are sustained differences regarding the intellectual continuity of traditions.

The interviews put together in 2005–07 by Boris Doctorov and Dmitrii Shalin, as well as publications dealing with the history of Russian sociology, give us an opportunity to understand the differences and contestations among sociologists in Russia.[2] At first glance these views coexist rather peacefully. However, politicization of discussion, the struggle for power in the field and generational replacement has led to contestations among them. The first group assesses the origin of the discipline in the late sixties, during the Khrushchev period, when partial institutionalization of the discipline occurred. The second locates the origins in the late nineteenth century and wants to revive these ideas through historical analysis. The third asserts the need to build an indigenous sociology and is associated with the politics of conservatives. The fourth group recognizes the heritage of statism and ideological standpoint in Russian sociology and makes efforts to deconstruct and overcome it.

I present my own position, which locates the intellectual origins of Russian sociology in the debates of the Russian intelligentsia of the nineteenth century and is identified as that of *Westernizers (zapadniki)*. It has inspired critical public engagement of sociologists regarding the problems of Russian society.

THE INSTITUTIONAL TRACK OF RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY

The initial steps in institutionalization took place in the 1880s, when the conflict between 'the subjective school of sociology (followers of Comte) and the Marxists' occurred. M. Kovalevsky and P. Sorokin were considered established sociologists following the positivist secular and scientific image of the discipline. A sociological society and sociological chairs were established. Until the late twenties, research in different fields of social life was carried out (agrarian sociology, urban studies, sociology of the family, research on sexual behaviour, sociology of work). With the establishment of Stalin's rule, empirical research was discouraged; education in sociology was substituted with the teaching of a dogmatic version of historical materialism and a critique of bourgeois sociology. With certain exceptions, the texts of early Russian sociologists were withdrawn from public access. Leading Russian sociologists emigrated, or were repressed, exiled and killed. Their contribution to social thinking about Russian society was silenced. Sociology shared the common fate of such 'bourgeois disciplines' as psychology and demography.

These were dark times in Russian sociology and this situation continued until the political thaw after the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party Soviet Union (CPSU) in February 1956, when the second birth of Russian sociology occurred. Although the Soviet Sociological Association was established in 1958 and the Institute of Concrete Social Research (ICSR) in 1968, sociology did not find a coherent identity in the late

Soviet period. There were no departments teaching sociology in Russian universities although sociological studies were conducted in research institutions.

Political reforms under perestroika (in the late eighties) allowed for the rapid institutionalization of sociology as an academic field (Zaslavskaya, 1996) and currently, there are a hundred and five universities and colleges that teach sociology and confer undergraduate and postgraduate degrees. There are three hundred chairs (subdivisions in the departments) and fifty sociological departments, fifteen professional journals and, interestingly, several sociological societies! In the last fifteen years, the number of postgraduates in the social sciences has grown fourfold. New private institutions pursuing sociological research, such as the Levada Centre in Moscow and the Centre for Sociological Information in St. Petersburg, which are primarily engaged with research relating to public opinion polls, have emerged. New fields of research are developing. Among them are economic sociology, ethnic studies, gender studies, sociology of subcultures, all of which apply both quantitative and qualitative methods. This rapid institutionalization is accompanied by the fragmentation of the field along ideological, administrative, epistemological and methodological lines and growing discontent about the state of art in Russian sociology.

Vision One: Sociology's Second Birth in the Sixties

Many Russian sociologists share the view that the history of sociology is a politically interrupted process. These sociologists see little or no intellectual or institutional continuity between the early Russian sociology of the late nineteenth century/beginning of the twentieth and Soviet sociology. One of the founders of Soviet sociology, Vladimir Yadov, writes that the

> sociology that was produced during Khrushchev's thaw was in no sense based on the pre-revolutionary

> giants of Russian sociology. At the international congresses we set out as Soviet (or Russian in the terms of Western participants) and, to tell the truth, we were proud of this, as many papers attracted large audiences. This is the problem of self-identification.
>
> (Doctorov and Yadov, 2008)

Yadov's statement evokes the Khrushchev period that promoted the growth of positivistic empirical sociology as autonomous from the macro theory of historical materialism.[3] Emergent sociology was identified with the 'generation of the sixties'; they had wished to build socialism with a human face. This generation experienced the negative consequences generated by the Second World War. Many of them belonged to the families that suffered political repressions during Stalin's regime and were anti-totalitarian in their political attitudes. Initially, these sociologists received support from Soviet officialdom that backed partial institutionalization of the discipline. Research units were established in the universities and the Academy of Sciences, and international contacts were made with the International Sociological Association and with sociologists of the 'socialist camp'.

The first generation of Soviet sociologists see themselves as 'self-made professionals', starting from scratch (Yadov, 2005). They had diplomas and degrees in philosophy, history and occasionally economics. While a majority of them drew on the Marxist heritage for a general vision of society, they focused on micro-sociological research and quantitative methods. They were striving for integration into the mainstream and shared an internationalist understanding of social science. No wonder their sociology was highly indebted to Western (mostly US) research methodology.

How did they learn Western sociology? Their teachers were historians of 'bourgeois social theory and sociology'. The interviews mentioned above highlight the pioneering role of I. Kon, G. Osipov, Yu Davydov and L. Ionin, who invested their intellectual energy in the education of Russian sociologists,

introducing them to the achievements of their more advanced Western colleagues. As a result, structural functionalism and positivist, quantitative methodology became models of empirical sociological research.

The late Soviet period provided partial institutionalization of the discipline but it did not lead to its inclusion in the university. Within one year of opening (1968), the ICSR in the Academy of Sciences underwent a major crisis. While in Western Europe and the USA 1968 was marked by student activism demanding new forms of sociological thinking, in the 'socialist camp' there was a political crisis, an outcome of the forceful suppression of 'the Prague Spring'.[4] This repressive turn in Soviet politics led to an administrative shift known as *razgrom* (crush) of Russian sociology when liberals occupying leading positions in sociological institutions were replaced by servile conservatives. The immediate provocation for *razgrom* was the public lectures given by Yuri Levada in 1969. Later, he was labelled as an ideological revisionist.

In 1972 the Central Committee of CPSU and the Academy of Social Sciences issued a directive that sociological discussions should remain outside the political domain. Sociological research would be applied and based on the macro theory of historical materialism and scientific communism (Kostjushev, 1988; Yadov and Grathoff, 1994). However, the critical and reformist ambitions of Soviet sociology did not totally disappear but remained in the form of 'seminar or club sociology' which 'shattered the ideological monopoly, and expanded the professional and cultural horizons, with cautious hints or daring escapades' (Levada, 1990).

This backlash was not openly discussed for almost fifteen years until the period of perestroika (Himmelstrand, 2000). When perestroika occurred in the eighties, the first generation of Russian sociologists felt that they were given a second chance. Democratization allowed for the real institutionalization of sociology in Russia. By the eighties, the generation of the sixties were

recognized as founders of Soviet sociology and were identified as liberals, reformers and Westernizers. They had preserved faith in the meliorated mission of sociology, helping reform society and provide knowledge that will help to solve social problems. Researchers also recognized the intimate link between sociology and politics, and argued that the history of Soviet sociology was cyclical and connected with the political fortunes of Russian regimes.

In the interviews, these sociologists affirmed the need to pass on their achievements to later generations. The examples that they quote are the Taganrog study of mass consciousness by Boris Grushin and his colleagues, begun in the sixties and not published until 1980. This list also contained works such as: *The Man and his Work* (Zdravomyslov et al., 1967); *Social Nature of Religion* (Levada, 1965); *Sociology of Personality* (Kon, 1965); *The Man after his Work* (Gordon and Klopov, 1972); *Kopanka – Twenty five Years After* (Osipov and Shubkin, 1965); *Sociology of Economic Life* (Zaslavskaya and Ryvkina, 1991). These empirical studies are classics of Soviet sociological endeavour that should be republished as examples of prudent scholarly work.

For Vladimir Yadov, the intellectual heritage of Soviet sociology includes the sociological imagination that asserted the interdisciplinarity of sociological thinking, the interface between philosophy and humanities in sociological theory, and advanced accuracy of methodology in empirical studies, all of which are rarely found in contemporary sociology (Yadov, 1998a).

This Russian group evoked a history of sociology in terms of institutions and emphasized continuity in the transmission of tradition through curricula, training in empirical research, reproduction of sociological schools and developing 'a circle of reading'. They argue that because of political repression early Russian sociology could not transmit the knowledge it had accumulated. For many, the Soviet period was the golden age of Russian sociology.

Tradition in this case is seen as a positive heritage of the recent past of Soviet sociology, to be handed down to new generations through texts, teaching and in research practices. They support the thesis of paradigm pluralism ('multi-paradigmality') wherein sociology is understood as having theoretical and methodological diversity and an absence of monist sociological narrative. The present assertion of a nationalist sociology is viewed with disquiet by this group. They are critical about the state of sociological education and the lack of professional autonomy of sociology, which they argue is conditioned by the pressures of market and politics (Filippov, 1999; Gudkov, 2006; Radajev, 2008; Ryvkina, 1997; Voronkov, 2008).

Vision Two: Sociology's Birth in the Late Nineteenth Century

Another view, distinct from the above but without tensions, is that of the historians of Russian sociology, who locate its growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Unlike the first set of sociologists, these researchers push the history of sociology to the distant past and focus on research done in pre-revolutionary and the early Soviet period.[5] They agree that there is a discontinuity in the institutionalization of the discipline since then but they also see continuity of the present in terms of early Russian sociology. Claiming that Russian sociology was integrated with world discourse in the early twentieth century (Golosenko and Kozlovskii, 1995), they discuss the subjective sociology of Lavrov and Mikhailovski, the genetic sociology of Kovalevsky and the functionalist approach of Sorokin, de-Roberti, Takhtarov and Kareev as the theoretical foundations of the establishment of Russian sociological tradition. They argue that this tradition developed in tangent to that of French and German sociology, only to be interrupted by the Soviet political regime.

Their endeavour is not merely to rehabilitate early sociology; the effort is to establish sociology's position as a scholarly discipline in Russian academia. Furthermore, there is an attempt to accumulate symbolic capital of institutions specializing in the restoration of the origins of Russian sociology. This search has been reinforced by the establishment of chairs on the history of Russian sociology within departments, and research units in the Institutes of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The formation of the 'Kovalevsky society', the annual 'Sorokin Readings' and the 'Kareev Prize' for the best student's sociological work (organized by one of the Russian sociological societies) have given this project both symbolic and instrumental value. However, I consider the revival as often 'formal' (Toshchenko, 2007) as there is very little evidence of the continuity of this tradition from early sociologists to later generations.

These authors argue that the breaks in continuity of this sociological tradition could have been transcended in the late sixties, through study circles and seminars that aimed at the rehabilitation of this tradition (Boronoev, 1998; Gofman, 2007; Yanitski, 2002). They are concerned about the ignorance of the younger generation with regard to early Russian sociology.

Vision Three: The Claim for Indigenous Russian Sociology

Another group of Russian sociologists, calling themselves 'enlightened conservatives', have strived to construct a national sociology corresponding to their understanding of the values of Russian society. They see Russian culture as being rooted in Orthodox religion, and believe that sociology should be normative. They believe that the mission of sociology is to define the contours of state policies and to construct a national ideology that could mobilize and consolidate society (Osipov, 2007). They see the state as a necessary supporter in the valourization of social sciences in contemporary Russia (Zhukov, 2008). These academics strongly oppose the

principle of the epistemological, theoretical and methodological plurality of the sociological field, and claim that Russian sociology should be an ideologically and normatively unified system of values that should consolidate the nation and guide state policies.

The project of indigenous Orthodox (Pravoslavnaya) sociology is to reflect the specificity of the Russian ethos and its historical mission (Dobren'kov, 2007). They draw from the legacy of Russian conservative philosopher Ivan Ilyin, who elaborated on the relationship between the Russian state and Russian ethnos and is considered one of the founders of the ideology of Eurasian civilization.[6] Thus, this tradition openly affiliates itself to an Orthodox religious position, actively cooperating with the Russian Church. It is anti-globalist and uses a Cold War style rhetoric with faith in the mission of 'Russian ethnos' as the actor of Eurasian civilization. No wonder it shows servility towards the state and its rhetoric is militant, populist and political.

The adherents of this position are administrators of higher educational institutions and occupy high positions in the Russian Academy of Sciences, and they have published sociological textbooks with nation-wide circulation. Their accumulated administrative capital allows them to mobilize the support of dependent sociological institutions: the effect of clientele and patronage. In recent years this group has attempted supremacy in the sociological field which is in correspondence with a conservative ideological turn in contemporary Russian politics.

Liberal sociologists have questioned the nature of this turn of events. They argue that this trend represents the rightist forces of religiosity and would lead to ideological and theoretical isolationism and dependency of sociology on the Russian state, and that there is an attempt to politicize the sociological community (Yadov, 2007). This would compromise professional autonomy and affect the scientific networks developed by Russian sociologists across the world (Alekseev, 2007, 2008).

Vision Four: Sociology in its Liberal Mould

Liberal scholars have identified state dependency and an ideological standpoint as persistent and unique features of sociological thinking in this country. However, they argue that this heritage has severely damaged and prevented the professionalization of sociology in Russia. This view is exemplified in the work of the late Gennady Batygin who claims that 'the status of sociology in the Soviet society was a unique one. Sociology became the organizing part of the project, which was the basis of society itself. The history of ideas does not have the same analogue' (Batygin, 1998: 24).

According to Batygin, the Soviet modernization as a project was inspired by Marxism; a dogmatic version of this philosophy became a hegemonic ideology. Other researchers assert 'that sociology entered Russian public space and occupied stable positions long before the institutionalization of sociological education. Bolsheviks and Stalinists based their politics on certain sociological perspectives' (Romanov and Yarskaya-Smirnova, 2008: 87).

For these critics, Soviet sociology was an apologia for the Soviet state. In their view, Soviet sociologists 'at best played the unenviable role of the counselors of Chengiz-Khan' (Batygin in Romanov and Yarskaya-Smirnova, 2008: 88). Why did this happen? They argue that the weakness of sociology has been related to the underdeveloped nature of the civil society, which is evident even today (Filippov, 1993; Gudkov, 2006). Thus the present interventions of the 'enlightened conservatives', as they politicize and commercialize the discipline, affirm this trend.[7] It also weakens the discipline and undermines the growth of autonomy and professionalization (Zdravomyslova, 2008; Voronkov, 2008).

I share the concern of these researchers but think there is a logical fallacy *pars pro toto* in their argument. The biographical interviews and memoirs of the scholars present a

more complicated picture of Soviet sociology. Batygin himself is not consistent in his argument. He distinguished between three breeds of sociologists: 'hunting, decorative and service'. This humoristic metaphor has now become a common phrase for assessing the nature of 'diversity' inside the sociological field. 'Service' or servile sociologists reproduce the legacy of the state ideologists; 'hunter' sociologists are liberals who believe in the critical role of sociology; and 'pure sociologists' strive for the professional autonomy of the sociological enterprise and do not recognize its adherence to public and moral commitments.

A NEW PERSPECTIVE: RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA AND PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY

Russian sociology is not just a field of institutions and positions but is a culturally rooted intellectual exercise. On the one hand, I share the mainstream understanding of the institutional history of Russian sociology as troublesome and interrupted by political circumstances. On the other hand, I share the view of those researchers who recognize intellectual continuity in 'Russian social thinking about Russian society' (Zdravomyslov, 2007). Intellectual continuity is difficult to prove empirically as it may be transmitted not only through academic chairs and curricula but through less tangible channels of socialization.

As I have already argued, structuring of tradition is viewed here as a means for constructing individual and group identity. We select aspects of the tradition from the pool of collective memory and choose those bits that are dear to us that we want to continue. In my view, shared with other researchers (for example, Levinson, and Zdravomyslov), the intellectual tradition of Russian sociology is embedded in the cultural phenomenon of Russian intelligentsia.

Boris Uspenskii, one of the leading figures of the Moscow semiotic school, argued

that Russian intelligentsia had been formed in opposition to the ideology of Russian autocracy in the 1830s (Uspenskii, 1999). This intelligentsia discussed the place of Russia within European civilization, where an industrial revolution had taken place earlier, and in this context examined the nature of Russian society, the agrarian community (mir) and the prospects of its modernization. This intelligentsia defined itself *vis-á-vis* the 'people' (*narod*) and 'state'. It kept a critical distance from the autocratic Russian state and simultaneously aimed at enlightening 'people' and meliorating their life. Traditional Russian intelligentsia was divided into two branches: Slavofiles and Westernizers. While Westernizers shared liberal ideas and looked forward to the European integration of Russia, they also proclaimed the cultural specificity of Russian modernization. Slavofiles, on the contrary, presumed the superiority of Russian civilization and warned against the corruptions of the modernized West. The intellectual influence of both camps on the Russian political elite changed as politics transformed. The conflict between Westernizers and Slavofiles is also present today and is reproduced in the four different versions of traditions formulated by Russian sociologists. Russian scholars have often referred to this heritage as part of their contemporary dilemma (Golofast, 1993; Levinson, 1993; Shubkin, 1996).

Contemporary Slavofiles adhere to the utopian project of indigenous sociology and insist on the uniqueness of Russian civilization. Westernizers share the values of liberalism and democracy and assert the reformist calling of sociological knowledge. They have referred to the circular scientific method of social thinking and the scientific ethos of scholarly debates.[8] They clearly demarcate science from religion but do not depart from political engagement with democratic values.[9]

In consonance with the early intelligentsia, contemporary sociologists belonging to different camps and fighting for supremacy affirm the need to understand the features of Russian modernization and 'the specific Russian path'

by asking: 'What's to be done? Where do we start from?' The need for sociologists to be politically and morally engaged in the context of a lack of consensus about the project of society is an imperative. Sociologists anywhere, including Russia, cannot make the choice of being 'pure' professionals but have to engage with a civic position. It is important that sociological knowledge be not only utilized by authorities but will also inform civil society and individual citizens. Thus there is a need to reconstruct sociological tradition based on the heritage of the traditional Russian intelligentsia.

First, this tradition needs to acknowledge that politics has always played an important role in the formation of the sociological field in Russia. This implies that institutionally, Russian sociology is still state-dependent and the 'social demand' (*sotsialnyi zakaz*) has been the key concept in organizing the relationship between the state and sociology, with each regime defining it differently. The Russian state, for instance, has had ideological, economic and intellectual impact on the sociological field.

Higher education and research institutions remain state-centred, although there are several non-state universities and independent research organizations, affirming the state orientation of the discipline, although various groups of sociologists have articulated and deployed different strategies *vis-á-vis* the state and it is still one of their key concerns (Firsov, 2001). Bourdieu has argued that the field of politics imposes its logic and its agenda on social thinking and this holds true of sociology in Russia (Bourdieu, 1976). However, Russian sociologists have been dissatisfied by the way the state treats them. The majority complain about the lack of political influence of their research (the exception in their view is the period of perestroika, when the reformist political elite became sensitive to sociological expertise), lack of budget funding, and the low level of sociological consciousness of the power brokers.

Second, there is persistent politically and ideologically charged confrontation within the discipline of sociology. The tension between Slavofiles and Westernizers manifests in organizational orientation within different sociological associations. This conflict pervades every curve of Russian political history.

The third persistent feature is the contribution of Westernizers to democratic and liberal trends in Russian politics. The Westernizers have inspired scholarship by intervening in the reformist democratic political movements. Currently this intervention can be seen in the debate on public that addresses the concerns of the socially excluded groups.

The fourth feature is methodological and theoretical pluralism leading to the fragmentation of the field. Russian sociologists have always been critical of each other's approach with dominating conceptions and intellectual minorities. Currently, the basic methodological divide is between monists and pluralists. This divide is isomorphic of the cleavage between transnationalists and nationalists, and between state and public oriented sociologists.

Some aspects of these traditions are positive, such as those that create a critical, humanistic, public oriented scholarly enterprise. Others are in fact the birthmarks of sociology that developed in the non-democratic society and prevent professional autonomy. Such aspects of traditions are difficult to get rid of but there is a possibility of transcending them. The current market orientations not only allow pop-sociology to grow but also demand high levels of professional skills from empirical sociologists. Opinion polls remain the first necessary step for the recognition of the public value of sociology. Also, I believe that the administrative ambitions of contemporary Slavofiles will be opposed by the new generation of sociologists who have developed transnational professional careers and oppose intellectual isolationism.

The Third Congress of the Russian Sociological Association is scheduled to be held in October 2008. More than 2,500 delegates have registered so far. It is most likely

that there will be an open confrontation between those who demand that sociology retain its professional autonomy and those who desire it to be controlled by the state and propagate indigenous perspectives. The optimistic view which I share claims that there are good chances that in this confrontation, intellectual authority will prevail over administrative capital.

NOTES

1. This article would not be written without the assistance, support and insight of Prof. Andrei Zdravomyslov with whom I spent many hours discussing the past and future of Russian sociology, sharing arguments and disagreements.

2. 'International Biographical initiative', 2005, Boris Doctorov and Dmitrii Shalin (http://www.unlv.edu/centers/cdclv/programs/bios.html).

3. From different perspectives this process is analysed among others by Batygin, 1999; Firsov, 2001; Fischer, 1967; Greenfeld, 1988; Kon, 2008; Lapin, 2007; Shalin, 1979; Shkaratan, 2002; Shlyapentokh, 1987; Shubkin, 1999; Weinberg, 2004; Yadov, 1998a, 1998b; Zaslavskaya, 2007; Zdravomyslov, 2006.

4. 'Prague spring' was a short period of political liberalization in Czchoslovakia during the Cold War era and the resultant putsch by the Soviet Union. It started on 5 January 1968, after the reformist Alexander Dubcek came to power, and continued until 21 August, when the Soviet Union and its allies from the Warsaw Pact invaded the country to halt the reforms.

5. Reconstructing the interrupted history of scholarly fields, agrarian sociologists refer to the Tenishev's archive and Chayanov's writings, comprising materials about peasants' way of life in Tzarist Russia; industrial sociologists refer to the works of Gastev; sociologists of law bring to the fore the pre-Revolutionary lawyers L Petrazhizki, N. Timashev, N. Korkunov; family sociologists and researchers of sexuality compiled a bibliography of early sociological research on the family and sexual life; ecologists refer to the works of early Soviet urbanists (see Yadov, 1998b).

6. We would like to note that attempts to construct indigenous social science are not unique for Russian sociology and correspond to certain phases of institutionalization of the discipline in any society where sociology emerged later than in Western Europe and the USA (Albrow, 1990).

7. Scholars who share this position belong to the middle and younger generations of Soviet sociologists who have no personal affiliation to the rebirth of Russian sociology in the late Soviet period. In the post-Soviet transformation they have invested in the improvement of standards of sociological education and research: Batygin was editor-in-chief of the *Sociological Journal*; Yarskaya-Smirnova and Romanov established one of the new sociological centres at Saratov Technological University; Gudkov currently is the head of the Levada Centre – an independent sociological centre; and Voronkov is head of the independent research centre in St. Petersburg.

8. A. Gertsen (1812–70) was one of the most outspoken of Russian Westernizers and liberals of the nineteenth century (Gertsen, 2002, 2003).

9. We see the political and ideological engagement of sociology not as adherence to dogmas, but rather as an active reflexive position in discussing concrete situations; for example in the sixties, the discussion on the boundary between sociology and historical materialism.

REFERENCES

Albrow, M. (1990) 'Introduction', in M. Albrow and E. King (eds) *Globalization, Knowledge and Society*. London: Sage.

Alekseev, A. (2007) http://www.polit.ru/dossie/2007/06/26/socgroup_op.html.

Alekseev, A. (2008) Krizis Sotsfaka MGU ili Rossiiskoi Sotsiologii, (Crisis of the Sociological Department of Moscow State University or Crisis of Russian Sociology), http://www.polit.ru/author/2008/01/24/socfak.html.

Batygin, G. (1998) 'Pre'emstvennost rossyiskoi sociologicheskoi traditsii' (Continuity of Russian Sociological Tradition), in V. Yadov (ed.) *Sociologija v Rossii* (Sociology in Russia), pp. 23–45. Moskva: Institut Sotsiologii Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk.

Batygin, G. (ed.) (1999) *Rossiiskaja Sotsiologija Shestidesyatykh Godov v Vospominani Jakh i Dokumentakh* (Russian Sociology of the 1960s in Memoirs and Documents). St. Petersburg: Russkii Khristianskii Gumanitarnyi Institut.

Boronoev, A. (1998) 'Interview', *Zhurnal Sotsiologii i Sotsialnoi Antropologii* (Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology) 1: 8–16.

Bourdieu, P. (1976) 'Le champ scientifique' (The Field of Science), *Actes de la Recherche en Science Sociale* 2(3): 88–104.

Demina, N. (2007) 'Sovetskii sotsiologicheski revansh' (Soviet Sociological Revenge)

http://www.polit.ru/analytics/2007/07/11/soc.html

Dobren'kov, V. (2007) 'O Putyakh Reshenija 'Russkogo Voprosa' (About Ways to Solve the So-called 'Russian Question') http://www.glazev.ru/nir/2277.

Doctorov, B. (2008) 'Interview', *Sotsialnaya Realnost* (Social Reality) 1: 85–104.

Doctorov, B. and Yadov, V. (2008) 'Razgovory Tcherez Okean: O Pokolenijakh Otechest-Vennykh Sotsiologov na Protyazhenii Poluveka' (Dialogues Over the Ocean: about Generations of Russian Sociologists in the Course of Half of the Century), *Sotsialnaya Real'nost* (Social Reality) 4: 47–81.

Filippov, A. (1993) 'Final Look Back at Soviet Sociology', *International Sociology* 8(3): 355–73.

Filippov, A. (1999) 'Teoreticheskaya Sotsiologija' (Theoretical Sociology), in A. Filippov (ed.) Teorija Obshchestva. Fundamental'nyje Problemy (Theory of Society. Fundamental Problems), pp. 7–33. Moskva: Kanon-Press.

Firsov, B. (2001) *Istorija Sovetskoi Sotsiologii 1950–80: Kurs Lektsii* (History of Soviet Sociology: 1950–80: Lecture Course). St. Petersburg: EUSPB.

Fischer, G. (1967) (ed.) *Science and Sociology in Soviet Society*. New York: Atherton Press.

Gertsen, A. (2002) *S Togo Berega* (From the Other Shore). Moskva: Direktmedia Publishing.

Gertsen, A. (2003) *Byloe i Dumy* (Past and Thoughts). Moskva: Zakharov.

Gofman, A. (2007) 'Interview', *Teleskop* 62(2): 2–13.

Golofast, V. (1993) Interview, http://www.unlv.edu/centers/cdclv/pro-grams/bios.html

Golosenko, I. and Kozlovskii, V. (1995) *Istorija Rossijskoi Sotsiologii XIX–XX vekov* (History of Russian Sociology in the 19–20th Centuries). Moskva: Onega.

Gordon, L. and Klopov, Y. (1972) *Chelovek Posle Raboty* (Man after his Work). Moskva: Nauka.

Greenfeld, L. (1988) 'Soviet Sociology and the Sociology of the Soviet Union', *Annual Review of Sociology* 14: 99–123.

Gudkov, L. (2006) 'O Polozhenii Sotsial'nykh Nauk v Rossii' (On the Situation in Social Sciences in Russia), *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* (New Literary Review) 77.

Himmelstrand, U. (2000) 'Three Faces in Russian Sociology: Surviving Intellectually as Sociologists in a Totalitarian Society', *International Review of Sociology* 10(2): 235–46.

Ionin, L. (2005) *Paradoksalnyi Son* (Paradoxical Dream). Moskva: Universitetskaya Kniga.

International on-line biographical initiative, http://www.unlv.edu/centers/cdclv/pro-grams/bios.html

Kon, I. (1965) *Sotsiologija Lichnosti* (Sociology of Personality). Moskva: Mysl.

Kon, I. (2008) *Vosem'desyat let Odinotchestva* (Eighty Years of Loneliness). Moskva: Vremya.

Kostjushev, V. (ed.) (1988) *Leningradskaya Sotsiologicheskaya Shkola* (Leningrad Sociological School). St.Petersburg: Institut Sociologii.

Lapin, N. (2007) 'Nasha Sotsiologija Stala polem Professionalnykh Issledovanii' (Our Sociology Became the Field of Professional Research) (Interview), *Sotsiologicheskii Zhurnal* (Sociological Journal) 1: 143.

Levada, Y. (1965) *Sotsialnaya Priroda Religii* (Social Nature of Religion). Moskva: Nauka.

Levada, Y. (1990) 'Ya schital, chto bylo by ne'estestvenno vesti sebia kak-to inache' (I Thought That it Wouldn't Be Natural to Behave Differently), http://www.unlv.edu/centers/cdclv/archives/Interviews/levada_90.html.

Levinson, A. (1993) Interview, International on-line biographical initiative, http://www.unlv.edu/centers/cdclv/pro-grams/bios.html.

Osipov, G. (2007) 'O Putyakh i Metodakh Resheniia "Russkogo Voprosa"' ('On the Ways and Methods to Solve the 'Russian Question'), http://www.glazev.ru/nir/2277.

Osipov, G. and Shubkin, V. (1965) *Kopanka 25 let Spustya* (Kopanka After 25 Years). Moskva: Nauka.

Pogorelov, F. and Sokolov, M. (2005) 'Akademitcheskie rynki, segmenty profesii i intellecktualnye pokolenija: fragmentatsija peterburgskoi sotsiologii' (Academic Markets, Segments of Professions and Intellectual Generations: Fragmentation of Russian Sociology'), *Zhurnal Sotsiologii i Sotsialnoi Antropologii* (Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology) 2: 110–28.

Pokrovsky, N. (2005) 'O Sovershenstvovanii Prepodavanija Teoretiko-Sotsiologicheskikh Distsiplin' (About the Improvement in Teaching

Theoretical Sociology), *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovanija* (Sociological Research) 10: 72–4.

Radajev, V. (2008) 'Vozmozhna li Pozitivnaya Programma dlya Rossiiskoi Sotsiologii' (Is the Positive Program for Russian Sociology Possible?), *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovanija* (Social research) 7.

Romanov, P. and Yarskaya-Smirnova, E. (eds) (2008) *Obshchestvennaya rol' Sotsiologii* (The Public Role of Sociology). Moskva: TSPGI.

Ryvkina, R. (1997) 'Paradoksy Rossiiskoi Sotsiologii' (Paradoxes of Russian Sociology*)*, *Sotsiiologicheskii Journal* (Sociological Journal) 4: 197–207.

Shalin, D. (1979) 'Between the Ethos of Science and the Ethos of Ideology', *Sociological Focus* 12: 175–93, http://www.unlv.edu/centers/cdclv/pragmatism/shalin_esei.pdf.

Shils, E. (2006) *Tradition*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Shkaratan, O. (2002) 'Rutinnyje Intelligentnyje Problemy' (Routine Problems of the Intelligentsia), *Sotsiologicheskii Zhurnal* (Sociological Journal) 3: 1–16.

Shlypentokh, V. (1987) The Politics of Sociology in the Soviet Union. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Shubkin, V. (1996) 'Sociologicheskiye Mechtaniya' (Sociological Dreams), in Nasilije i Svoboda *Sociologicheskiye Ocherki* (Violence and Freedom. Sociological Essays), pp. 136–90. Moskva: Institut Sotsiologii Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk.

Shubkin, V. (1999) 'Vozrozhdajushchayasya Sotsiologija i Ofitsioznaya Ideologija' (Reviving Sociology and Officious Ideology), in: G. Batygin (ed.) *Rossiskaya Sotsiologija Shestidesyatykh v Vospominanijakh i Dokumentakh* (Russian Sociology of the 1960s in Memoirs and Documents). Sankt-Peterburg: Rossiskii Khristianskii Gumanitar-nyi universitet.

Sokolov, M. (2008) (forthcoming) 'Problema Konsolodatsii Akademicheskogo Avtoriteta v Postsovetskoi Nauke: Sluchai Sotsiologii' (The Problem of Consolidation of Academic Authority in Postsoviet Science: The Case of Sociology), *Antropologicheskii Forum* 7.

Toshchenko, Zh. (2007) 'Interview', *Sotsiologicheskii Zhurnal* (Sociological Journal) 4.

Uspenskii, B. (1999) 'Russkaja Intelligentsija kak Spetsificheskii fenomen russkoi kultury' (Russian Intelligentsia as a Specific Phenomenon of Russian Culture), in B. Uspenski (ed.) *Russkaya Intelligentsia i Zapadnyi Intellectualism* (Russian Intelligentsia and Western Intellectualism), pp. 7–19. Moskva-Venetsia.

Voronkov, V. (2008) 'Rodovaya Travma Rossiiskoi Sotsiologii' (Birth Trauma of Russian Sociology), http://www.polit.ru/science/2007/05/08/voronkov.html.

Weinberg, E. (2004) *Sociology in the Soviet Union and Beyond: Social Enquiry and Social Change.* London: Ashgate.

Yadov, V. (1998a) '*O Leningradskoi Shkole Sotsiologii*' (On Leningrad Sociological School), in V. Kostjushev (ed.) *Leningradskaya Sotsiologicheskaya Shkola* (Leningrad Sociological School). Sankt-Petereburg: Institut Sotsiologii Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk.

Yadov, V. (ed.) (1998b) *Sotsiologija v Rossii* (Sociology in Russia). Moskva: Institut Sotsiologii Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk.

Yadov, V. (2005) 'Interview', *Teleskop* 3: 2–11; 4: 2–10.

Yadov, V. (2007) 'Dlja chego nuzhna segodnia natsionalnaia russkaia sociologiia?' (What is National Russian Sociology Needed for?), http://www.unlv.edu/centers/cdclv/archives/articles/yadov_russocio.html.

Yadov, V.A. and Grathoff, R. (eds) (1994) *Rossiiskaja Sotsiolgichdeskaja Traditsija 60-kh Godov i Sovremennost: Materialy Simpoziuma* (Russian Sociological Tradition of the 1960s and the Current Situation: Proceedings of the Symposium). Moskva: Nauka.

Yanitski, O. (2002) 'Interview', *Zhurnal Sotsiologii i Sotsialnoi Antropologii* (Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology) 5(1).

Zaslavskaya, T. (1996) 'Rol' Sotsiologii v Preobrazovanii Rossii' (Role of Sociology in Russian Transformation), *Sotsiologicheskije Issledovanija* (Social Research) 3: 3–9.

Zaslavskaya, T. (2007) *Moya Zhiz'n: Vospominanija i Razmyshlenija* (My Life: Recollections and Contemplations). Collected works, Vol. 3. Moskva: Economika.

Zaslavskaya, T. and Ryvkina, R. (eds) (1991) *Sotsiologija Ekonomicheskoi Zhizni: Ocherki Teorii* (Sociology of Economic Life: Theoretical Essays). Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Zdravomyslov, A. (2006) 'Pole sotsiologii v sovremennoi Rossii: dilemma avtonomnosti i angazhirvannosti v svete naslediia

perestroika' (Field of Sociology in Contemporary Russia: Dilemma of Autonomy and Engagement in the Framework of Perestroika's Heritage), *Obshchestvennye Nauki i Sovremennost* (Social Sciences and Present Time), 1: 5–20.

Zdravomyslov, A. (2007) 'Natsionalnye Sotsiologicheksie Shkoly v Sovremennom mire' (National Sociological Schools in Contemporary World), *Obshchestvennye Nauki i Sovremennost* (Social Sciences and Present Time) 5: 114–30.

Zdravomyslov, A., Rozhin, V. and Yadov, V. (eds) (1967) *Chelovek i Ego Rabota* (Man and His Work). Moskva: Mysl.

Zdravomyslova, E. (2008) 'Make Way for Professional Sociology', *Current Sociology* 56(3): 405–14.

Zhukov, V.I. (2008) Doklad na Uchreditelnom S'ezde Soiuza Sotsiologov Rossii (Paper Presented at the Inauguration Congress of the Union of Russian Sociologists), http://www.mgsu.info/t/doklad-ssr/.

Traditions and Ruptures in Hungarian Sociology 1900–2000

Dénes Némedi

Hungarian sociology in the strict academic sense is only about forty years old. However, if we define social research in a broad sense, including initiatives outside of the academic world, its beginnings can be traced to the end of the nineteenth century. I will adopt the latter approach.

The difference and mutual opposition of 'external' intellectual and social models – coming mostly from the West – and of 'internal' ones – more fitted to the character of people – can be taken as two opposing parameters to understand the history of social research in Hungary (Kulcsár, 1984). A well-known example of this controversy was that of *Zapadniki* and *Narodniki*. But this type of conflict was not restricted to Russia alone. It is a general condition in which problems of social change were analyzed in many areas of the world.[1]

The nineteenth century in Hungary (at that time an integral part of the Habsburg empire) was a period of relatively rapid adaptation of Western models in economy and society.[2] Already at that time conflicts over political issues took the form of opposing defenders of original Hungarian characteristics to mindless imitation of Western fashions. However, the decades around the turn of the twentieth century were relatively calm, and a period in which intellectual life was open to Western developments. It was in this period that the idea of sociology as a particular science was conceived.

THE FIRST WORKSHOP OF HUNGARIAN SOCIOLOGY

In 1900, a group of young intellectuals created the revue *Huszadik Század* (Twentieth Century), 'the first workshop of Hungarian sociology' as it was later labeled.[3] The political spectrum of the contributors extended from moderate liberals to Marxists. While there were some university teachers among the main participants, the majority of them were intellectuals from outside of the university.

The most influential and controversial figure was *Oszkár Jászi* (1875–1957) (Litván, 2003). The idea of sociology that *Jászi* put forward was that of 'scientific journalism' – a formula which applied to Hungarian sociology in the first half of the twentieth century.

Jászi considered journalism as 'the organ of the development of national consciousness and will' (Jászi, 1973: 51) which should be based on 'the basic laws of social life' as opposed to conventional legal explanations. Jászi was convinced that there were 'universal natural laws' governing the life of states and societies (Jászi, 1973: 58–9). The sociology he advocated was based on a curious mixture of Spencerian and Marxian ideas.

Jászi was a convinced 'Westerner'. Being a Westerner meant that one accepted the relative backwardness of Hungary, and hence the necessity of adapting social and political models of the West to the conditions of the country. Western standards served as the norm of social criticism. The 'Westerner' standpoint was a peculiar articulation of 'internal' and 'external' approaches. On the one hand, he/she believed that special solutions should be found to 'internal' Hungarian problems, first of all to agrarian problems and second to address the problem of the lack of political democracy. The 'scientific journalism' should concentrate on peculiarities of the home country – it was in this sense that Jászi announced the program of the 'discovery of Hungary'. On the other hand, it was held that 'Western' medication to Hungarian ills was available in the form of Western parliamentary democracy as a more or less accomplished program together with 'Western' ideas of economic change.

As far as science was concerned, being a Westerner meant first of all importing and reviewing the relevant sociological literature. The *Huszadik Század* was relatively well informed about the existing sociological literature. While in the beginning they believed that Spencer was the acme of sociological knowledge, they soon discovered Tarde, Durkheim, Worms in France, and Simmel, Michels, Sombart in Germany, the early masters of American sociology (Ward, Giddings, Small). Ratzenhofer and Gumplowicz, the early Austrian sociologists were, of course, well known.

Being a Western-oriented 'scientific journalist' was not a simple matter in itself.

Jászi and his friend *Bódog (Felix) Somló* (1873–1920) were examples of two different ways to adopt the 'Westerner' orientation. In 1905 Jászi spent some time in Paris where he met among others Durkheim and Mauss.[4] Jászi was impressed by the work done in the group of *Année sociologique*, by the eminent position sociology had acquired at the university. His experience of the French situation confirmed his feelings of Hungarian backwardness and inferiority. 'Our life, my friend, is the caricature of Western European life', he wrote to Somló on 15 March 1905 (Litván and Varga, 1991: 84). At the same time, Jászi had serious misgiving about Durkheim and Mauss. He perceived that his idea of 'scientific journalism' was incompatible with the Durkheimian idea of science. Regardless of his admiration for French science he did not wish to separate political activism from social criticism and scientific sociology. He was correct in his perception that Durkheimian sociology was based on this division.[5] He was attracted and repelled by Durkheim – and he rationalized his ambivalent feelings by attributing 'petty bourgeois' pedantry to Durkheim. The problem was the inherent dilemma of the 'Westernizer' Hungarian: he preached the Western model as superior according to scientifically established criteria and he advocated a political activism incompatible with the positivist objectivism of university sociology.

Somló's case was different. He was more detached from politics than Jászi. While teaching philosophy of law at Kolozsvár University, he wrote evolutionist sociological papers. He obtained a scholarship from the Solvay Institute and became acquainted with modern anthropological literature; he then abandoned evolutionism of which he was an ardent supporter and wrote a highly interesting book on the exchange of goods in primitive society (Somló, 1909), anticipating some ideas developed later by Mauss.[6] However, returning home he abandoned sociological research, severed connections with *Huszadik Század* and returned to traditional philosophical problems. At the Solvay Institute,

he had seen the necessary preconditions of professional sociological research, he perceived that these conditions were lacking at home and concluded that he had to accept Hungarian backwardness.

Political and social catastrophe brought an end to the 'first workshop of Hungarian sociology'. At the end of World War I Jászi (and Somló, too), faithful to the democratic convictions, supposed that the victorious Western democratic nations would support the democratic revolutionary regime emerging from the October revolution of 1918. They were terribly disappointed. Jászi and many of his friends went into exile (Jászi after the Communist takeover, many more after the following counterrevolution), and Somló committed suicide.

POPULIST SOCIOGRAPHY

The period 1918–19 in many ways marked a definite break in Hungarian history: the Habsburg Monarchy disappeared, with it the older Hungary too and the impoverished country was reduced to one-third of its former territory. The new regime was authoritarian, nationalistic and anti-Semitic.

The establishment of sociology at the slowly expanding university sector was not favored. In 1942, a chair of 'social science', not sociology, was created at the Budapest university for István Dékány (1886–1965), an eclectic social philosopher. There was a Social Science Society, an assembly of philosophers, lawyers and historians, only marginally interested in social research proper. The Society's journal *Társadalomtudomány* (Social Science) published mainly historical and juridical articles (Saád, 1989). Some research in social conditions was carried out by interested officials and intellectuals in the manner of social survey movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Great Britain and the United States (Bíró, 2006). The interest in 'Western' advances in social research and sociology declined.

In the thirties, a group of journalists and writers created the so-called 'populist' (*népi*) movement. It was not an organized faction, rather a loosely connected web of people who believed not only that the agrarian question was the most important social problem in Hungary (that was conceded by the 'urbans', too) but that it was the peasantry that could become the vanguard of social renewal. It was the Hungarian variant of the widespread *narodnik* tendency, an 'internal' model of development.

Some of the populist writers (Gyula Illyés, Péter Veres, Imre Kovács, Zoltán Szabó and Ferenc Erdei) became interested in social research and published descriptive works (so-called sociographies) on the situation of the agrarian population.[7] These were mostly impressionistic and highly critical accounts, but some of them had scientific pretensions, too. Unquestioningly, it was Ferenc Erdei (1910–71) who had the clearest conception of methods and theories in social science (Huszár, 1979; Némedi, 1985a; Bognár, 2006).

Erdei conceived social change as '*embourgeoisement*', i.e. as the adaptation of rational 'bourgeois' methods of production and marketing by peasants and, at the same time, the development of a bourgeois way of life and public behavior. So far no difference with the 'urbans' appeared. However, Erdei believed that there was among the peasantry a model of *embourgeoisement* different from the way it is understood in Western capitalist transformation. He had a utopian vision of a society – where rationally producing peasants would form urban communities with all the amenities of modern life – a 'third way' between Western capitalism and Marxist socialism (Erdei, 1974, 1977).

The populist movement dispersed in the early 1940s. Erdei was qualified to become a professional sociologist, but he did not pursue it. He became a political ally of the Communists who for ideological reasons were hostile to sociology, which they considered a bourgeois science. Erdei dutifully withdrew for some time from sociology.

In World War II Hungary was an ally of Germany. The Germans and the puppet Nazi regime they had established in 1944 were expelled by Soviet forces. In consequence, Hungary became part of the Soviet sphere of influence. After the collapse of the old regime it was an 'urban' intellectual, Sándor Szalai (1912–83) who created the first short-lived chair for sociology at Budapest University, which was abandoned after the Communist takeover and the establishment of the Stalinist regime in 1948. Szalai was imprisoned. It was the import of an 'external', this time 'Eastern' model of economy and society which put an end to the re-establishment of a 'Western' oriented social science.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Toward the end of the 1950s, sociology reappeared in socialist countries, even in the Soviet Union. In 1960, a sociological research group was created at the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS) (see Szántó, 1998). The three protagonists of this revival were Szalai, Erdei (at that time Secretary of HAS) and András Hegedűs (1922–99), former prime minister, who had abandoned politics and turned to social science.

While there were personal rivalries and mutual antipathy between the three, the real conflict was between the would-be sociologists and some ideologists. The former argued that 'bourgeois' sociology as general social theory should be criticized and rejected, but as a research methodology and a reservoir of particular theories should be studied and adapted (Szalai, 1961). This was their idea of 'Marxist sociology'. This idea was refuted in the party daily *Népszabadság* (Fukász, 1961), where it was declared that bourgeois sociology was in crisis, the only scientific sociology was historical materialism and if concrete empirical research was necessary at all it should be done under the guidance of historical materialism. In a curious way, the debate revived the opposition of internal and external models. The arguments Szalai advanced implied that the import of certain Western models was not only permissible but urgently required, because Hungary was lagging behind as far as the knowledge of social processes was concerned. The opposite view maintained that the dominant 'internal' model of integral Marxism (which was in fact Stalinist Marxism) was adequate and that borrowing from Western 'external' sources was dangerous.

In the early sixties two additional positions, though absent in public discussion, were discussed among researchers. On the one hand, there were scholars, such as László Cseh-Szombathy (1925–2007); István Kemény (1925–); and Rudolf Andorka (1931–97), who thought that Marxism was a pseudo-science and that the only scientific way to do social research was the way in which it was practiced in the West. Their position was made clear among others in introductions they wrote to translations of sociological classics (Cseh-Szombathy, 1982; Kemény, 1967). However, the most important statements were those that were *not* in the introductions. They paid no attention to the demarcation problem of 'bourgeois' and 'Marxist' sociology. For them, sociology was just the social science already established in the West, which should be practiced in the same way in East and West.

On the other hand, some others argued for a need to exploit Marxism as a method of social criticism and to adapt ideas from those used in Western Marxism. This position came to the fore toward the end of the decade.

Although this ideological controversy could not be resolved, an independent Research Group was created in 1963 under the directorship of Hegedűs to discuss and debate these issues. Hegedűs was acceptable to both – to the Party leaders because he was a former apparatchik and to the sociologists because he was by then already adopting critical positions. For the Party leadership, it was important that the first steps toward the institutionalization of sociology was not

done at the universities because they were afraid of introducing a potentially dangerous subject into education. Additionally, the existing conservative leadership of the universities was not pressing this issue.

The fact that sociology developed more in research groups and institutions and less in universities (in 1972 when the first chair of sociology was established to formally initiate the training of sociologists, there were already seven large and eight smaller research institutions with more than one hundred researchers) had a lasting effect on the outlook of Hungarian sociology: it was more open to urgent problems and less inclined to systematization. The early research projects in sociology were sometimes naive, sometimes over-ambitious and mostly in the frame of a subsidiary reformist science (leisure time activities of peasants and workers, social climate in industrial enterprises, etc.). However, soon two problems emerged which had explosive contents.

The first was the issue of alienation and the second was bureaucratization in socialism. Hegedűs, who was interested in industrial sociology, declared that alienation was not absent in socialism. He argued that the study of humanization of work remained an unfulfilled goal and saw in such a study the critical potentialities for Marxist renewal (Hegedűs and Márkus, 1966). Perhaps he was influenced by ideas of Lukács's Budapest School and conceived of sociology as the self-criticism of socialism (Hegedűs, 1967). These ideas were not tolerated by Party ideologues.

Hegedűs's critique of bureaucracy and his assertion for the need for humanization of work were ideological in nature and not supported by empirical research. However, this was not true of the debate on what constitutes socialist 'social structure'. The official version of Marxism maintained the Stalinist thesis that in socialism there were two classes (workers and peasants) and one stratum (the intelligentsia). This thesis was questioned by Hegedűs in a small booklet (Hegedűs, 1966) as it was done everywhere

in the Eastern bloc where sociology was established. Zsuzsa Ferge (1931–), who was working in the Central Office of Statistics at that time, developed a model of social structure called 'type of work model' (in fact, it was a classification of occupations) based on an empirical statistical survey (Ferge, 1969), a discussion of which became the dominant issue in the 1970s and 1980s. Ferge introduced the dimensions of power and the knowledge level required for recruitment for the occupation as significant for the study of social stratification. On this basis, she differentiated the intellectuals from those occupying 'leading' posts (the term 'nomenclature' was practically forbidden) within the intelligentsia. That was an explosive issue because it stated in a modest way that the 'leaders' formed a separate social stratum. On the other hand, she demonstrated that skill level was more important in social differentiation than the nominal difference between state and cooperative property. Due to the impact of Hegedűs's and Ferge's contributions, the debate on the nature of social structure remained at the center of sociological interest for at least two decades.

The year 1968 was traumatic in politics and thus for sociology. Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia had immediate repercussions. Some sociologists, such as Hegedűs, and philosophers, such as Agnes Heller or Ferenc Fehér, criticized the Prague intervention. They were expelled from the Party or received a warning, and Hegedűs was forced to resign as director.

New actors appeared on the scene: Kálmán Kulcsár (1928–) took over the directorship of the group that became in 1971 the Institute of Sociology and obtained greater autonomy and a larger budget. Iván Szelényi (1938–), who was working on problems of urban sociology, became the secretary. Andorka grew in prominence in the sociological field (in Hungary and abroad) with his empirical–statistical approach to social stratification and mobility (Andorka, 1982). Tibor Huszár (1930–) worked on the creation of a chair of sociology at the Eötvös University and succeeded

in 1972. The Party created its own Social Science Institute as a counterweight to the Institute of Sociology, but in fact it became just another center of social research. A new journal, *Szociológia*, was started in 1972.

Two histories could be written of Hungarian sociology in the 1970s and early 1980s; one about the institutional development and the other about the way that Hungarian sociology could not develop a critical sociology.

In 1985 the Sociological Association had 512 members. In the same year, 184 sociologists were employed in the five biggest research and university institutes. Money was pouring into institutions and researches. From the 1980s onwards, twenty to thirty empirical sociological investigations were undertaken every year (Tamás, 1985, 1988). Sociology became more and more a bundle of special researches – as everywhere in the world. Themes such as mass communication research sociology of education and social policy problems were investigated (with Ferge's initiative). Journals publishing sociological articles had an unusually high circulation (reaching in some cases twenty thousand copies). A number of sociological books had a print run of three thousand. In 1981–82 a huge empirical survey was made under the direction of Tamás Kolosi (1946–), interviewing more than fifteen thousand people (Kolosi et al., 1984). Conceived as a continuation of the 1962 research done by Ferge, the aim was to correct it and make it more scientifically precise and ideologically less explosive. This was also true of industrial sociology. In the early 1970s (Héthy and Makó, 1972), research on industrial work was initiated. Although it was more professional and empirically precise than that done by Hegedű, it abandoned Hegedűs's critical ideological ambitions. Hungarian sociology was now well received abroad: Western scholars needing information on social processes in Eastern Europe obtained these from Polish and to a lesser extent from Hungarian sources. In a way, a new sociology replaced the defunct Marxist phraseology.

The other history of Hungarian sociology stressed the suppression of critical sociological discourses. In 1973, the Party condemned Hegedűs (together with members of Lukács's Budapest School). Next in the row was Szelényi. His theoretical work, *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* (Szelényi and Konrád, 1979), was different from earlier critical attempts: Szelényi and Konrád did not look for a renewal of the Marxist utopia, but envisioned a new type of class society emerging in the East. Szelényi was forced to emigrate in 1975. Kemény, too, left the country in 1977 because of his unorthodox research on the workers and of his keen interest in the problems of poverty.

Nobody in the 1980s expected the rapid end of state socialism. True, there were some conjectures about the possible transformation of socialist societies. These suggested that two different 'societies' would coexist side by side over a relatively long period, that is, the state-centered component with redistributive economy and the slowly expanding market-centered 'second. society'. Szelényi, in various publications (Szelényi, 1990), saw this as the construction of two coexisting hierarchies, and Kolosi (Kolosi, 1987) believed that redistribution and the market were to become the two determining dimensions of social structure. Hankiss (Hankiss, 1989) envisioned a coalition between forces of the old order and the newly emerging capitalist classes.

However, in the 1980s it was not mainstream sociology which was at the center of critical intellectual discourse. Sociology that promised expert knowledge on crisis management of recurrent problematic processes was out of the picture, as the 'enlightened' sections of the ruling party looked for help in economics and the nascent political studies. Even the intellectual public turned more and more away from sociology in that period.

MORE EVOLUTION THAN REVOLUTION

The curious fact with the transformation in the 1990s was that while there were profound

and rapid changes in society and politics, sociology itself changed very little, and then only gradually. Earlier transformations in the political and social regime resulted in far-reaching alterations of social scientific discourse. Nothing similar happened in the early 1990s. It is easy to understand why. In the 1980s, there was a slow process of erosion and the field of sociology underwent a structural transformation. While in the 1970s the old tripartite division between 'Marxist sociology', scientific empiricism and critical, sometimes neo-Marxist sociology persisted, in the 1980s 'Marxist sociology' withered away and the field was dominated by a mixture of empiricism and semi-critical approaches.

Institutionalization and professionalization was already well developed – this was an important factor in sociology's continuing existence. From the institutional point of view there was no radical makeover. Sociology, earlier centered in the Institute of HAS, became a more university-centered science.[8] Those who were expelled returned if they wished to do so (as did Kemény); or re-established the official links with Hungarian sociology if they remained in the West (as did Szelényi). There was no political purge or lustration among the sociologists. There was a marked increase in the number of periodicals which occasionally published sociological articles – according to a recent overview there were fifty, out of which ten can be considered as organs of sociological subspecialties.

For a while it seemed that the age-old debate about the 'internal' or 'external' model would reappear. Two middle-aged sociologists proposed that the special East-Central European experiences would be sufficient to create a special sociological paradigm (Wessely, 1996). The reception accorded by Western scholars to Hungarian (and in general all post-Soviet) sociology in the aftermath of the 1990 transformation may have strengthened this attitude. However, the majority of sociologists believed that Western social and scientific models should

be adapted. As the novelty value of Central and Eastern European (CEE) sociology diminished and new problems emerged (particularly after 2001 when it became clear that history did not end with 1990), interest declined in CEE issues. Disillusionment set in. They even suspected that a certain colonial relationship would be established where CEE scholars would be reduced to the role of data gatherers for 'external' scholars (Csepeli et al., 1996).

In the 1990s, the thematic preferences evolved earlier, such as industrial sociology, sociology of organizations and problems of social structure and mobility remained popular as research topics. Later, however, there was a drift to new problems, such as family and gender, ethnicity, theory and history of sociology. The worldwide tendency of sociology to become a congeries of subspecialties could also be observed in Hungary. For example, a few much discussed subspecialties were: national identity (Csepeli et al., 2000); mass communication [which evolved from research conducted in the 1970s by Róbert Angelusz to a kind of synthesis, in the theory of 'social optics' (Angelusz, 2000)] and social mobility studies [(Péter Róbert continued research begun by Andorka (Róbert, 2000)].

Social inequality and problems of social structure remained the center of interest. Models inherited from the socialist period persist – be it those of Ferge, of Andorka, of Kolosi or those of the dual-structure model of Szelényi. These models assessed social structure according to the matrix of occupation. A new version of this model was recently outlined by Ferge (Ferge, 2006). She argues that while in socialism power was the dominant structuring force, it is now replaced by capital. Additionally, another dimension is the position occupied by the individual in the labor market. Accordingly, she differentiates between six groups (capital owners, stable employed, self-employed without capital, unstable employed, those receiving transfer payments and those participating only in the black or gray economy) as located within

varied strata. Ferge bases herself on her earlier argument, and extends it to incorporate growing inequality and poverty (Ferge et al., 2002). She argues that market forces alone cannot guarantee civilized coexistence and sociability. A case study of social exclusion including an ethnic dimension confirms the same trend (Szelényi and Ladányi, 2006). On the other hand, Andorka and Zsolt Spéder (1961–) – while acknowledging that poverty afflicted about a third of society and particularly the old, the children and the Roma population – stressed that poverty was a more transient phenomenon: the majority of those below the poverty line were poor only for a period of time and later climbed out of it (Andorka and Spéder, 1996). By implication, these studies support the continuation of liberal reforms.

The negative side of the 'more evolutionary than revolutionary' process (Némedi and Róbert, 2003) is that sociology is unable to provide a convincing theory of the post-communist transformation. However, new departures in the theory of social structure contain some elements of novel approaches to system transformation.

One approach combines elite theory with an interpretation of neocapitalism. Already in the 1990s, Szelényi outlined a theory of managerial transformation where, in the absence of real property owners, managers would exercise economic power and constitute the new ruling class (Szelényi, 1995; Szelényi et al., 1997) – a theory which was a continuation of the ideas developed two decades earlier concerning the intelligentsia as the new ruling class. However, this line of thought did not find popularity with Hungarian sociologists, although some versions of Erzsébet Szalai's essays on social structure have some similarities with it (Szalai, 2001, 2006).

In her work, Szalai combines elite theory, institutional economics and neo-Marxist analyses, and assesses changes in the system as emanating from the influence exercised by the technocratic elite who had become significant players in the last decades of socialism. Today, the main actors are big international capital and state bureaucracy. Her work is extremely interesting but needs further elaboration, as it is dependent on a more detailed political economic analysis of neocapitalism and its relationship with elite theory. The existing relationships between economics and sociology are not particularly favorable for such an interdisciplinary approach. Presently, there is one representative of the interface between sociology and economics: the rational choice theory, and this is the work of László Csontos and Zoltán Szántó (Csontos, 1999; Szántó, 2006). This paradigm is not particularly susceptible to macro-analyses or to the kind of theoretization which is required by approaches to system transformation.

Recently, a more general criticism of the dominant social structure model was formulated by Imre Kovách and Tibor Kuczi in a volume by a group of mostly younger scholars (Kovách, 2006). Kovách and Kuczi argue (Kovách et al., 2006; Kuczi et al., 2006) that all models of social structure – be they those of Ferge, Andorka, Kolosi or Szelényi – tried to rearrange occupational groups according to one or another dominant criterion. They challenged this principle and suggested that occupation (or socioeconomic status) is no longer the central axis in defining contemporary processes, as it was in the modern age. 'Postmodern' (and by implication post-socialist) developments include the processes of individualization, globalization, the preeminence of information structures and the emergence of risk and experience society. These are international developments, not just Hungarian, and they are not limited to Eastern Europe. They concede that inequalities and power relations exist in these processes but that these are differentially structured than in earlier decades. They propose that social structure studies should take into account all of these changes and should establish a new paradigm, abandoning the earlier focus on occupation.

It is an open question whether in the future the scheme of 'external' versus 'internal' models remains a guide to developments in

sociological thought in Hungary. As a century of social thought demonstrates, it is not just a problem of sociological interpretation. The two sides of the dilemma suggest different types of social developmental projects. It seems that economic integration in the dominant world capitalist system and political integration in the European Union put an end to the age-old problem of Hungarian backwardness and deviant modernization. However, the present is dependent on the past, traces of which cannot be obliterated. To answer the question of whether the dilemma of external versus internal can be forgotten, one would need a credible and convincing theory of postsocialist neocapitalism. To create it remains the main problem of Hungarian social science and that of social science at large.

NOTES

1. Zapadniki and Narodniki can be translated to mean Westerners (from Zapad=West) and Populists (from Narod=people, folk).

2. For general information see Kontler (2002) and Gyáni et al. (2004).

3. On the history of *Huszadik Század* see Litván and Szücs (1973a).

4. On Jászi's visit see Nagy (1993).

5. On 16 February 1905 he wrote to Somló: 'I would not find sociological politics here, my friend. And that is because this hybrid discipline is not taught here' (Litván and Varga, 1991: 71).

6. Mauss acknowledged his debt to Somló. (Mauss, 1950: 150); see also Berthoud (1991).

7. For an overview see Borbándi (1976) and Némedi (1985b).

8. While in 1990 there were only 161 full-time students in sociology, this number rose to 1,140 in the year 2000. The number of teachers of all grades doubled in the same period: from 67 to 120.

REFERENCES

Andorka, R. (1982) *A Társadalmi Mobilitás Változásai Magyarországon* (Changing Patterns of Social Mobility in Hungary). Budapest: Gondolat.

Andorka, R. and Spéder, Z. (1996) 'Poverty in Hungary in 1992–95', *Review of Sociology* (Budapest) (special issue): 3–28.

Angelusz, R. (2000) *A Láthatóság Görbe Tükrei. Társadalomoptikai Tanulmányok* (Visions in Distorting Mirrors: Studies in Social Optics). Budapest: Új Mandátum.

Berthoud, G. (1991) 'Somlo et l'ordre généralisée du don' (Somlo and the Generalized Regime of Gift), *La Revue du MAUSS* (nouv. ser. 14): 83–92.

Bíró, J. (ed.) (2006) *Hivatalos Falukutatók* (Official Rural Researches). Budapest: PolgART.

Bognár, B. (2006) 'Életmű a tanyás mezővárosi társadalmasodás igézetében. Erdei Ferenc társadalomszerkezeti elemzéseinek sajátosságairól' (Enchanted by the Prospects of Social Emergence in Agrarian Townships. The Peculiarities of Ferenc Erdei's Social Structure Analysis), *Társadalomkutatás* 24(3): 431–48.

Borbándi, G. (1976) *Der Ungarische Populismus* (Hungarian Populism). Mainz: v. Hase & Koehler.

Cseh-Szombathy, L. (1982) 'A magyar kiadás előszava (Introduction to the Hungarian Edition), in E. Durkheim *Az Öngyilkosság* (Suicide), pp. 5–28. Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó.

Csepeli, G., Antal, Ö. and Lane, S.K. (1996) 'Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome in Social Science in Eastern Europe', *Replika* (special issue): 111–23.

Csepeli, G., Antal, Ö. and Székelyi, M. (2000) *Grappling with National Identity*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Csontos, L. (1999) *Ismeretelmélet, Társadalomelmélet, társadalomkutatás* (Epistemology, Social Theory, Social Research). Budapest: Osiris.

Erdei, F. (1974) *Magyar Város* (Hungarian Town). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Erdei, F. (1977) *Futóhomok* (Shifting Sands). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Ferge, Z. (1969) *Társadalmunk Rétegződése. Elvek és Tények* (Social Stratification. Principles and Facts). Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó.

Ferge, Z. (2006) 'Struktúra és Szegénység' (Poverty and Structure), in Kovách (2006), pp. 479–99.

Ferge, Z., Tausz, K. and Darvas, Á. (2002) *Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion, I: A Case Study of Hungary*. Budapest: International Labour Office.

Fukász, G. (1961) 'Marxizmus vagy Polgári Szociológia?' (Marxism or Bourgeois Sociology?), *Népszabadság* 1(102): 2–3, l.

Gyáni, G., Kövér, G. and Valuch, T. (2004) *Social History of Hungary from the Reform Era to the End of the Twentieth Century*. Boulder, CO: Atlantic Research and Publications.

Hankiss, E. (1989) *Kelet-európai Alternatívák* (East-European Alternatives). Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó.

Hegedűs, A. (1966) *A Szocialista Társadalom Struktúrájáról* (On the Structure of Socialist Society). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Hegedűs, A. (1967) 'Realitás és Szükségszerűség. A Szocialista Társadalom Önbírálata Mint Realitás és Szükségszerűség' (Reality and Necessity. On the Self-criticism of Socialist Society as Reality and Necessity), *Kortárs* 11(7): 1011–19.

Hegedűs, A. and Márkus, M. (1966) *Ember, Munka, Közösség* (Man, Work, and Community). Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó.

Héthy, L. and Makó, C. (1972) *Munkásmagatartások és a Gazdasági Szervezet* (Workers' Behavior and Economic Organization). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Huszár, T. (1979) 'Tudós és Politikus. Erdei Ferenc Műhelyében' (Scientist and Politician. In the Workshop of Ferenc Erdei), in T. Huszár, *Történelem és Szociológia* (History and Sociology), pp. 249–551. Budapest: Magvető.

Jászi, O. (1973) 'Tudományos Publicisztika' (Scientific Journalism), in Litván and Szücs (1973b) Vol. 1, pp. 51–64.

Kemény, I. (1967) 'Előszó' (Introduction), in M. Weber *Gazdaság és Társadalom* (Economy and Society), pp. 7–39. Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó.

Kolosi, T. (1987) *Tagolt Társadalom* (Stratified Society). Budapest: Gondolat.

Kolosi, T., Kepecs, J., Nemeskéri, I., Baráth, E., Róbert, P. and Bokor, A. (1984) *Rétegződés-modell Vizsgálat II. Eszközök és Módszerek* (Stratification-model Survey. II. Tools and Methods). Budapest: MSZMP KB Társadalomtudományi Intézete.

Kontler, L. (2002) *A History of Hungary: Millenium in Central Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kovách, I. (ed.) (2006) *Társadalmi Metszetek. Hatalom, Érdek, Individualizáció és Egyenlőtlenség a Mai Magyarországon* (Social Cross-sections. Power, Interests, Individualization and Inequality in Contemporary Hungary). Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó.

Kovách, I., Kuczi, T. and Jókuthy, E. (2006) 'Az Osztályok, a Társadalmi Struktúra és Rétegződés Kutatásának Állapotáról és Megújításának Szükségességéről' (On the State of Research in Classes, Social Structure and Stratification and its Necessary Renovation), in Kovách (2006), pp.19–35.

Kuczi, T., Kovách, I. and Kristóf, L. (2006) 'A Szociológia Szerepváltozása és az Értelmiség Útja az Osztályhatalomból' (The Changing Role of Sociology and the Intellectuals on the Road out of Class Power), in Kovách (2006), pp.79–105.

Kulcsár, K. (1984) 'A Magyar Szociológia Történetszemlélete. Gondolatok a Külső Minta Jelentőségéről' (Historical Points of View in Hungarian Sociology. On the Importance of External Models), *Valóság* 27(5): 1–21.

Litván, G. (2003) *Jászi Oszkár*. Budapest: Osiris.

Litván, G. and Szücs, L. (1973a) 'Bevezetés' (Introduction), in Litván and Szücs (1973b) Vol. 1, pp.5–46.

Litván, G. and Szücs, L. (eds) (1973b) *A Szociológia Első Magyar Műhelye. A Huszadik Század Köre* (The First Workshop of Hungarian Sociology. The Circle of the Twentieth Century). Budapest: Gondolat.

Litván, G. and Varga, F.J. (eds) (1991) *Jászi Oszkár Válogatott Levelei* (Selected Letters of Oszkár Jászi). Budapest: Magvető.

Mauss, M. (1950) 'The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies', in M. Mauss *Sociology and Anthropology*, pp. 143–279. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Nagy, J.E. (1993) 'A Durkheim-sokk. Jászi Találkozás az új Szociológiával' (The Durkheim Shock. Jászi Meeting the New Sociology) (1982), in J. Endre Nagy *Eszme és Valóság. Magyar Szociológiatörténeti Tanulmányok* (Ideas and Reality. Studies in the History of Hungarian Sociology), pp. 89–101. Budapest-Szombathely: Pesti Szalon-Savaria University Press.

Némedi, D. (1985a) 'The Contributions of Ferenc Erdei to the Theory of Peasantry', *History of Sociology* 6(1): 87–101.

Némedi, D. (1985b) *A Népi Szociográfia 1930–38* (Populist Sociography 1930–38). Budapest: Gondolat.

Némedi, D. and Róbert, P. (2003) 'More Evolution than Revolution: Sociology in Hungary, 1990–2000', in M. F. Keen and J. L. Mucha (eds) *Sociology in Central and Eastern Europe. Transformation at the Dawn of a New Millenium,* pp.73–86. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Róbert, P. (2000) *Társadalmi Mobilitás a Tények és Vélemények Tükrében* (Social Mobility in the Mirror of Facts and Opinions). Budapest: Andorka Rudolf Társadalomtudományi Társaság-Századvég Kiadó.

Saád, J. (1989) 'Társadalomtudomány 1921–44' (Social Science 1921–44), in J. Saád (ed.) *Társadalomtudomány. A Magyar Társadalomtudományi Társaság Munkássága. Repertórium és Történeti Feldolgozás* (Social Science. The Activities of the Hungarian Social Science Society. Repertory and Historical Description), pp. 5–22. Budapest: Fővárosi Szabó Ervin Könyvtár-ELTE Szociológiai és Szociálpolitikai Intézete. Somló, F. (1909) *Der Güterverkehr in der Urgesellschaft* (Exchange of Goods in Archaic Society). Brussels: Misch & Thron.

Szalai, S. (1961) 'A Szociológia Helyzete Magyarországon' (The State of Sociology in Hungary), *Élet és Irodalom* 5(15;17): 8–9; 9–10.

Szalai, E. (2001) *Gazdasági Elit és Társadalom a Magyarországi Újkapitalizmusban* (Economical Elite and Society in the Hungarian Neocapitalism). Budapest: Aula.

Szalai, E. (2006) *Az* Újkapitalizmus *és Ami Utána Jöhet*.(Neocapitalism and its Aftermath). Budapest: Új Mandátum.

Szántó, M. (1998) *A Magyar Szociológia Újjászervezése a Hatvanas Években* (Reorganization of the Hungarian Sociology in the Sixties). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Szántó, Z. (2006) *Analitikus Szemléletmódok a Modern Társadalomtudományban* (Analytical Conceptions in Modern Social Sciences). Budapest: Helikon.

Szelényi, I. (1990) *Új osztály, Állam, Politika* (New Class, State, Politics). Budapest: Európa.

Szelényi, I. (1995) *The Rise of* Managerialism. *The 'New Class' after the Fall of Communism*. Budapest: Collegium Budapest.

Szelényi, I. and Konrád, G. (1979) The *Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Szelényi, I. and Ladányi, J. (2006) Patterns *of Exclusion: Constructing Gypsy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass in Transitional Societies of Europe*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs.

Szelényi, I., Eyal, G. and Townsley, E. (1997) 'The Theory of Post-Communist Managerialism: Elites and Classes in Post-Communist Transformation', *New Left* Review (222): 60–92.

Tamás, P. (1985) 'Az Új Magyar Szociológia Útjai (Roads of the New Hungarian Sociology), Világosság 26(4): 219–226.

Tamás, P. (1988) 'Egy Szakma "Sturm und Drang" Után (A Magyar Szociológia a Nyolcvanas Években)' (The Profession after 'Sturm und Drang'[Hungarian Sociology in the Eighties]), *Szociológia* 17(4): 455–85.

Wessely, A. (1996) 'The Cognitive Chance of Central European Sociology', *Replika* (special issue): 11–19.

13

Shooting at a Moving Target: Rediscovering Sociology in Bulgaria

Pepka Boyadjieva

INTRODUCTION – ON THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIOLOGY

In the introduction to *What's Wrong with Sociology?* Stephen Cole states that despite his critical attitude to social constructivism in the sociology of science he 'gradually came to believe that although this view was not an accurate depiction of the natural sciences it was a relatively accurate portrayal of sociology'. More specifically, from a cognitive point of view this means 'that what sociologists believe to be true about human behavior has very little to do with evidence from empirical world; rather it is mostly a result of ideology, power, authority, and other social processes' (Cole, 2001b: 8).

It appears that the heuristic possibilities of social constructivism to explain the development of sociology can be verified to the fullest and greatest extent through the instance of development of sociology in the countries of the former socialist bloc. It is well known that in the decades of totalitarian socialism,

sociology and other social sciences and humanities were strongly apologetic, restricted in their research approaches, controlled by single-party communist authorities, and used for ideological propaganda and political manipulation. In this sense the social construction of sociology in these countries during the period between World War II and 1989 is not only 'beyond doubt' but also has similar institutional representations and cognitive results. Observed from this perspective, sociology in different countries is uniform and indistinguishable as long as the choice of problems to be studied and the interpretation of empirical data remain within the framework of a common paradigm – the Marxist one – and have identical social functions, which is to serve the interests of the ruling communist parties.

This general picture acquires specific nuances upon examining its parts separately, i.e. when sociology in different countries is studied. A careful look into the institutional and cognitive development of sociology in

former socialist countries from a comparative perspective is an important exercise (and not only for the sake of understanding individual national sociologies). Such a study is also important from a more general theoretical perspective, since it has a direct link to the discussion about the autonomy of sociological knowledge and to the understanding of the development of sociology. It would allow us to put forward a question about the mechanisms and boundaries of the social construction of sociology, as long as: (a) it would indicate whether and to what extent the process of social construction of sociology – even if it occurs in virtually identical sociopolitical and economic environments and in accordance with the same ideology – can vary; (b) it would outline the conditions and factors which can distance sociological knowledge from political power and/or will reduce its dependence on ideological control; (c) it would reveal whether sociology itself has a role in the construction of the public capabilities of using sociological knowledge.

The paper discusses the main challenges Bulgarian sociology has faced since 1989 in its attempt to gain scientific prestige and public visibility simultaneously. The Bulgarian case allows us to speculate on how the process of the social construction of sociology is realized in different contexts and the factors which influence this process.

SPECIFICS OF THE SOCIAL AND COGNITIVE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF BULGARIAN SOCIOLOGY

In the first years after 1989, publications already were beginning to appear, attempting to analyze the socialist period of Bulgarian sociology, and to assess whether its achievements would lead to the development of sociology in the changed social situation, or whether they were similar to old and second-hand clothes, once useful but now completely worthless – providing neither warmth nor elegance.

The 'sociology of Bulgarian sociology' was stimulated to grow by the dynamics of its subject and the emergence of almost contradictory, often emotionally colored and personally committed assessments of what had happened, and what was happening in Bulgarian sociology. It was also influenced by ongoing discussions about the crisis in sociology in general, which was taking place in a number of Western countries and the USA.

Bulgarian sociology in the period up to 1989 undoubtedly bore the general characteristics of the social sciences and humanities in all countries of the former East European socialist bloc; its development was strongly influenced by the political ideology of the time, and was directly dependent on omnipresent single-party control, theoretically 'uniformed' – wearing the tight 'suit' of the official Marxism – and pressed into the service of social 'party engineering'. This image tells us much but not everything, and what is especially important, it does not reveal the extent to which the organizational and cognitive institutionalization of sociology was achieved, i.e. whether the organizational structures and cognitive paradigms that were created attained their own reality and thus turned into a controlling agency (Berger and Luckman, 1963) for the professional sociological field, having an independent impact on its development. The existence of a similar institutionalization means that sociology has achieved a kind of autonomy with respect to external social influences, and depending on its character can be either a resource or stimulus for its future development, or a barrier which needs to be overcome.

In view of the perspectives outlined it is worth highlighting several important features of the social and cognitive institutionalization of sociology in Bulgaria.[1]

Lack of Pre-Socialist Tradition in the Development of Bulgarian Sociology

The organizational and cognitive institutionalization of sociology as an autonomous

science in Bulgaria took place under conditions of totalitarian socialism. In the period before the so-called socialist revolution in 1944, the first sociological studies were carried out, a sociological society was created, and significant sociological publications (a central place among them has Ivan Hadjiiski's original research – Hadjiiski, 1974[2]) appeared. All these activities remained, however, within the scope of various individuals and were uncoordinated efforts, which allowed them to be quickly neglected, forgotten, and banned after the communist party came to power.[3]

The Dual Paradigmatic 'Entrapment' of Bulgarian Sociology During Totalitarian Socialism

The cognitive institutionalization of sociology in Bulgaria occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. It appeared to be dual paradigmatic 'entrapped' – on the one hand in the framework of official Marxism – on the other hand in the framework of an overall theoretical concept, pretending to be an original Bulgarian contribution justifying the field of sociology – a concept of the sociological system of society. In terms of content, this concept can generally be defined as a simplified Marxist version (without profound historicism and dialectics) of structural functionalism (Koev, 1992; Koleva, 2002). For the purposes of the present analysis it is important to emphasize that throughout the entire period until 1989, this concept determined the main development of Bulgarian sociology in theoretical and educational, as well as in cognitive organizational aspect. At an institutional level it was reproduced through the structure of the Institute of Sociology, founded in 1968.

However, this dual 'entrapment' of Bulgarian sociology through years of totalitarian socialism should not be assessed inequitably. On the one hand, it appears to be instrumentally useful with regard to the institutionalization of sociology as an autonomous science;[4] on the other hand,

it has inevitably restricted its cognitive development by not only excluding polyparadigmality but also by eliminating the possibility of development within the boundaries of the twentieth-century Marxist paradigm.

The Party-Blessed Public Prestige of Sociology

In Bulgaria the 'relation sociology – power' (characteristic of the national trajectory of the discipline in each of the former socialist countries) takes different forms, primarily due to the fact that a great number of Bulgarian sociologists shared the dual status of scientist–politician. This fact has inevitable deontological effects on the realization of the scientific claims of sociology (Koleva, 2005: 18). The close links of leading sociologists with government authorities virtually acted as a political umbrella over sociology, ensuring to a great extent the authorities' favor and creating peculiar 'hothouse' conditions for its development. This 'political umbrella' had decisive significance for the institutionalization of sociology.[5] Owing to leading Bulgarian sociologists' positions in government, party decisions were taken, which made possible the setting up of the Institute of Sociology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in 1968, of a National Research Centre for Youth to the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union, of sociological units to different ministries, and to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party itself. Again, due to assured party support in 1970 the Seventh World Congress on Sociology was conducted in Bulgaria, this being the only international event of this scope taking place in a socialist bloc country until 1989.[6]

Decisions of the governing bodies of the Bulgarian Communist Party underlie the establishment of the status of the professional sociologist and its public legitimization – all district committees of the communist party and most of the large enterprises created positions especially for sociologists. All this

led to significant growth of the sociological community. Here are some staticstics: First congress of the Bulgarian Sociological Association (BSA) in 1969 – 167 delegates and 120 guests participated; in 1971 BSA already had 800 members and 32 societies round the country; Third BSA congress in 1978 – 440 delegates participated, while its members numbered 1,140, united in 33 societies; Fourth BSA congress in 1983 – the delegates were 541, and 300 papers were delivered. It was reported at the congress that BSA had 1,400 members and in the years between the last two congresses 550 empirical sociological studies were undertaken; Fifth congress in 1990 brought together 541 delegates, while the association members were 1,177, united in 35 sociological societies (for more details, see Michailov, 2003).[7]

The significant presence of Bulgarian sociologists in the government during the totalitarian regime (after the mid-1960s) even contributed to 'the emergence of politically protected zones, where a new generation could develop, and try to elaborate a sociology rather than an ideology' (Koev, 1992: 106). There is no doubt that Bulgarian sociology developed in a situation of party-conducted freedom. It is important, however, to note that in a comparative view this freedom was greater than the freedom of sociologists in other countries of the socialist bloc, such as Romania and the German Democratic Republic (Romanian sociologists were banned from participating in the International Sociological Association, while the participation of Bulgarian sociologists in all its initiatives was significant),[8] but more limited than the freedom of sociologists in Poland and Hungary. The political umbrella over sociology also created an artificially privileged status for the sociologist – his/her position was publicly visible, party promoted, and prestigious, and thus attractive to many people. The artificiality of this mass attraction to the profession of the sociologist became immediately visible upon the collapse of communist party rule.

The inclusion of leading sociologists in official government institutions, however, undermined their position and limited the possibilities of even the bravest of them to affect the ongoing processes down to suggesting palliative reforms (Nickolov, 1992: 101). This enhanced the image of sociology even more among the academic community and the general public as a science serving government, and has undermined trust in it, and this persists to the present day.

CHALLENGES AND DILEMMAS FACING BULGARIAN SOCIOLOGY TODAY[9]

According to Peter Berger, a main indicator that something is seriously wrong with sociology is its failure either to predict, or at least to apprehend some of the most significant events of contemporary times, among which was 'the momentous collapse of the Soviet empire' (Berger, 2001: 194, 200).

At first glance, the return of sociology in the countries of the former socialist bloc after 1989 to 'the big questions', and in this sense its process of rediscovering itself, appears to be predetermined: the science of society could not but be of the utmost importance in a society where unprecedented social change was taking place, because of the emerging strong need in these circumstances for understanding and visibility, both of what was happening and of what had been. It seemed there was no way for sociologists to avoid being tempted by the 'hot issues of the day' and to really place the 'big social questions' at the centre of their research studies.

Subsequent developments showed the false pretence of such predetermination. No abstract social need for sociological knowledge exists – there are specific social conditions which make possible or impossible the use of sociological knowledge. Moreover, the choice of 'big social issues' as the subject of investigation for sociologists is hardly unchallenged; or if in place, another question

arises – regarding sociological competence. To express it more clearly, the two main sets of problems on which the rediscovering of sociology in Bulgaria depended were related to: (a) the capability of sociology as a science to produce socially relevant and objectively valid knowledge and (b) the capability of society and social institutions to use socio-logical knowledge (see also Dimitrov, 1995: 117–40).

ON THE CAPABILITY OF SOCIOLOGY TO PRODUCE SOCIALLY RELEVANT AND OBJECTIVELY VALID KNOWLEDGE

The Difficult Road from Ideological Biases to Social Commitment

The extreme sensitivity of sociologists in post-communist countries to the relationship between sociology and ideology is under-standable. For most of them it is not a matter of abstract theorizing but an issue related to decisions made through personal suffering, which have had direct reflection on their own (not only professional) biography. This defined the relation between sociology and power in the period of totalitarian social-ism in Bulgaria and justified the thesis (and initially in the genuine conviction on the part of sociologists) that it is possible to induce changes in a totalitarian regime if scientific research and analyses uncover the severe social problems caused by this regime. This turned out to be an illusive hope and the authorities managed to use even the stud-ies that were critical towards the socialist system to strengthen their power. Therefore, at the beginning of the transition the need to overcome the long 'tradition' of ideological association and dependence of sociology on the government was widely shared.

At the first congress after 1989 of the BSA a critical assessment concluded that the main shortcoming of the sociological studies per-formed so far was their apologetic character

(see Mitev, 1995: 120). Very soon it became clear that de-ideologization of sociology was not a goal easily attainable, and more-over that its attainment was problematic in principle. The dynamics of post-totalitarian reality showed that ideological control on sociology can be not only single-party and dogmatic, but also pluralistic – exercised by many single-party formations (Dimitrov, 1995: 121) – and that sociology can be an 'instrument of agitation and propaganda' (Cole, 2001a; Berger, 2002: 29), not only in totalitarian societies.

In Bulgaria, however, neither the public nor the academic community in general, not even the sociological community, are able to view the relation between ideology and sociology as only a theoretical problem and one that could be easily reconciled to its constructivist interpretation. What we are currently observing looks like self-fulfilling prophecy. The rather vivid memories of the total ideological control on social sciences, the publicly acknowledged failures in some of the pre-election forecasts after 1989, as well as the existence of manipulative opinion polls, on the one hand have raised doubts in the general public regarding party 'servic-ing' of sociology, and on the other hand have fuelled the fear of sociologists that they would fall under ideological control if they dealt with current social problems. Evidently incited by their fear, some sociologists pre-ferred to turn to the much 'freer from values' theoretical problems and large-scope studies of general issues. The field of 'hot issues' remained open and ad hoc researchers who yielded to the temptations of publicity, mate-rial benefits, and ideological service, took their chance. Thus the ideological linkage of sociology unfurled as a spiral.

Based on experience of Bulgarian sociol-ogy, it can be claimed that radical social changes allow classical questions of sociol-ogy as a science to be revived, rediscovered, and reformulated: What are the academic values of sociology as a science and how do they correlate with its social and cultural role? How should sociologists' civic engagement be

expressed – through the choice of problems to be studied and/or through their behavior? When should they speak out or keep silent in public? How can sociology be value free and at the same time socially engaged? Is there a dilemma between civic commitment and a behavior founded on professional expertise on the one hand, and disengagement and commitment to pure science on the other? Should sociologists be involved in public debate on the basis of their professional expertise, or should they retire from the public domain and stay close to their professional expertise? What are the responsibilities of sociologists for the ways in which sociological knowledge is used?

From Paradigmatic Unidimensionality to Poly-Paradigmatic Orientations

As already pointed out, the disciplinary project of Bulgarian sociology was based on the paradigm of a sociological system of society, which set the limits for prompted and privileged sociological thinking. Because of its mono-paradigmatic orientation (ignoring its scientific weaknesses), this disciplinary project gave rise to flawed theory and a sense of crisis in the officially initiated professional standards. In some paradoxical way, however, this fact turned out to be constructive for the development of Bulgarian sociology. First, it became possible at the beginning of the 1980s to outline sociological fields not dominated by a dogmatic concept of the sociological system, such as the history of sociology, sociology of science, phenomenology, and symbolic interactionism. This engaged the efforts of a whole generation of Bulgarian sociologists (Koev, 1992). Second, it became evident – and recognized by different authors – that this concept comprised principles which contradicted the developing social and cognitive trends of the 1990s (Koev, 1992; Genov, 2001: 8). This quick assessment of the theoretical weakness of the paradigm (established as the only one

in Bulgarian sociology in the course of decades) left sociologists without reliable cognitive traditions from which they could draw intellectual resources, but also without the sentiments and loyalty to heritage, which limited the freedom of theoretical research.

The transition from totalitarian to democratic society and market economy turned out not to be a single-track adaptation of external institutional models and normative regulations. It gave way to an unprecedented, complex, and multi-dimensional transformation, resulting in unforeseeable social risks and uncertainties. This generated an acute need for presenting traditional social problems in a new way, of developing new concepts and theoretical models. It is illusive to think that such scientific challenges can find quick and easy solutions. It is evident also that despite the fact that there are Bulgarian scientists with significant scientific achievements of high professional standards, the scope of the challenges cannot be met with individual effort. It requires a qualitatively new kind of professional life – the creation of a common professional space based on real pluralism (both institutional and paradigmatic), on an active academic life, and intensive scientific communication, on the setting of shared standards for professionalism. All this places crucial importance on the issue of socialization of the new generations of sociologists.

Professional Socialization – Towards Institutional and Academic Pluralism

In the initial years of social transition it was clear that the future of sociology as a science and its ability to be socially beneficial depended on the education of the new generations of sociology students (Nickolov, 1992: 102). After 1989 the institutional basis of university education in sociology expanded significantly. If, before the 'velvet' revolution, sociology as an academic discipline was taught only in one university (St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia), today sociology programs are offered by

five more universities (Plovdiv University Paisii Hilendarski, South West University, Neofit Rilski, University of National and World Economy, Veliko Turnovo University, and New Bulgarian University).

Zigmund Bauman points out that the acceptance of many different ways as well as many different philosophies of higher education is a condition *sine qua non* for a university system to meet the postmodern challenges (Bauman, 1997: 25). In other words, the important thing is not so much the quantitative expansion but also the qualitative diversity which it generates. Applied to Bulgarian higher education in sociology, this means that the existing six university programs could only contribute to its vitality if they really diversify the educational and institutional environment, offering education with diverse profiles and creating favorable conditions. Therefore, the ways in which they become legitimate deserve special attention.

The new sociological programs set up after 1989 searched for their legitimacy not by imitating the already existing and highly prestigious education in sociology at Sofia University, but by trying to build their own image and to offer varied kinds of sociological education. This diversity is sought in several different ways: educational philosophy (correlation between theoretical and practical training); educational content (emphasis on different sociological paradigms); and access (more selective or more open). Gradually, however, the development of the sociology syllabi in different universities will become standardized. The factors 'responsible' for this are external to the universities (regulatory changes in the national education system – for instance the state requirements and the introduction of the bachelors and masters academic degrees) as well as reasons related to the development specific to each university (the desire of faculty and students from provincial universities to quickly join national academic networks; difficulties in ensuring an adequate number of lecturers and students for the disciplines; structural changes in the universities, etc.).

At present, education in sociology is in a crucial phase of its development. The existence of possibilities for expansion and for obtaining sociology education is remarkable, given the Bulgarian environment. However, initial hopes that this expansion would be accompanied by the creation of diverse sociological orientations and training profiles is currently stalled by the operating legislative framework, as well as by insufficient institutional and personnel resources. However, a competitive future will encourage programs that follow individual development strategies based on well-defined (own) objectives and innovations.

The Sociological Community – Differentiation Rather than Quantity

The first and most visible change in the Bulgarian sociological community following the 'velvet revolution' was related to its significant reduction in numbers. If in the decade before 1989, the number of BSA members was between 1,000 and 1,400, it came down to between 100 and 200 (110 delegates participated in the seventh BSA congress in 1995; 100 in the ninth in 1999; and 80 in the tenth in 2003). Such demographic change was so drastic that it obviously reflected some qualitative changes in the very social being of sociology.

The most significant development is the changed social status of sociology in post-communist society – losing its state party patronage, sociology was 'normalized' and turned into one of the many social sciences, some of which have undergone an unusual renaissance – political studies, anthropology, and cultural studies, for example.

Most of the Bulgarian academic sociologists were unprepared for the emerging market for social expertise because of the changed circumstances in which they lacked the skills and knowledge to cope, especially in a competitive environment. The 'gaps' were quickly filled by colleagues from other sciences (political studies, cultural studies,

anthropology) some of which were new for Bulgarian society, and because of this were perceived as trustworthy and 'immune' from ideological biases.

The status of the sociological community was also affected by the simultaneous processes of institutionalization and de-institutionalization of sociology – the setting up of private research agencies, the introduction of new curricula in sociology in several universities; and together with this the closing of sociology institutes and units (the National Research Institute for Youth, the sociological units of most of the ministries) and abolishing the positions of sociologists in big enterprises.

Especially important for the Bulgarian sociological community was the issue of its identity and the limits of its boundaries in the changing circumstances. After 1989, a number of private sociological and marketing agencies rapidly appeared, focusing their activity on voting behavior surveys, as well as collecting and analyzing empirical data in the various spheres of social life. Due to factors such as the novelty of these research structures in Bulgarian public and scientific practice, the nascent and limited research market, the link with sociology of most of the founders of these agencies – they were recognized by the public as sociological units: the research they did was defined as sociological and people performing it called themselves sociologists. The media reported a situation verging on the ridiculous, where the label 'sociologist' was applied to everyone who dealt with percentages and presented some data.

There is no doubt that the issue of boundaries of the sociological community has gained in importance because of its link with the problems of setting professional standards and academic values. Defining as sociological various social studies and at the same time identifying with scientists working in neighboring disciplines or conducting research undermines the professional criteria in the field of sociology. From this point of view, regulation of relations within the Bulgarian sociological community and its internal differentiation falls short.

Another factor which affects the status of sociologists and their capacity to produce socially relevant knowledge is the established system of academic promotion and evaluation. The detachment of the sociologists from pressing current problems of their society could be related to the constraints created by evaluation procedures accepted within academic institutions, for example the procedure which aligns academic promotion with publications in top-rated world journals (Azarya, 2008; Tsai, 2008). The situation in Bulgaria is quite different. Until now we have not had an officially accepted categorization of sociological journals, and academic promotion in the social sciences is possible even without any publication in foreign journals. That is why at present there is a need to adopt a policy to encourage Bulgarian scholars to publish abroad and to maintain the high standards of the most prestigious journals. The experiences of other countries could be helpful in order to assess 'the strengths and weaknesses' of different academic evaluation procedures.

ON PUBLIC CAPABILITY TO USE SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Public visibility and, above all, the public benefit and effectiveness of sociological knowledge are directly dependent on the social context of its production and use. The development of Bulgarian society after 1989 and of Bulgarian sociology under the conditions of unprecedented social transition allows us to distinguish several factors on which the social use of sociological knowledge depends.

Social Trust in Sociology

Periods of radical social change and the accompanying social crises naturally sharpened the need for sociological knowledge. After 1989, Bulgarian society sensed its lack of self-knowledge and the strong need for reflection on the total collapse of the half-century old socialist project, as well as on changes in the

perspectives they underlined. In the case of sociology, growing social expectations from the social sciences clashed with the public perception of its socialist heritage. It was perceived – not only by the general public, but by the scientific community as well – as a strongly ideologically oriented subject, and therefore unreliable and needing a radical change in all its aspects. All of this formed an ambivalent attitude to sociology at the beginning of the social transition. Trust in sociologists 'has been deeply undermined and nobody wants to listen to their considered advice' (Nickolov, 1992: 99).

Unfortunately, this ambivalence did not diminish with the passing of years. The main reason for this was the fact that sociology acquired its public visibility primarily through opinion polls, and more precisely through the study of voting behavior. The identification of sociology with public opinion polls limits its scientific value to the making of good or bad guesses about the results of the subsequent parliamentary elections. In a situation of radical change accompanied by social crisis, public opinion is dynamic and difficult to obtain. This undoubtedly reflected on the veracity of sociological forecasts[10] and in the course of several election campaigns, their findings were often wide of the mark. This further fueled hostility against sociologists and what was worse, they were accused of lying. The image of sociology has suffered because people suspect that sociologists have manipulated data to support business interests. Sociologists have been accused of practicing 'fake sociology' marked by poor quality studies, sociological substitutes, and pseudo research (Mitev, 1995: 124). Sociologists were not able to cope with the new and growing demand for sociological information, and the regulatory procedures to maintain quality research were not in place, allowing room for 'fake sociology' to flourish. Only in 2004 did the Bulgarian Sociological Association manage to adopt its own code of ethics. Hopefully, the accusation of manipulating surveys of voting behavior will diminish and social trust in Bulgarian sociology's future will be restored.

Structural and Institutional Prerequisites for the use of Sociological Knowledge

The 'velvet' revolution marked the beginning of a qualitative change in the social role of information and social sciences, including sociological information in Bulgarian society. The social presence of sociology today is directly determined by the structural and institutional characteristics of a society, by the character of power structures, by the model of functioning of the public institutions, and by the maturity of civil society. Post-totalitarian society was simultaneously an opportunity for and a limitation to sociology – an opportunity because the public demands sociological knowledge; a limitation because the same obdurate structural and institutional conditions do not inspire utilization of sociological knowledge. The public's inability to use sociological knowledge is undoubtedly one of the paradoxes of social transition. The results of some studies allow us to outline the specific dimensions of this paradox.

a) The weaker is the administrative capacity of public institutions, the less its readiness to utilize sociological information to comprehend the social processes it is supposed to manage (see for instance Avramov et al., 2004).

b) The more asymmetric and one-way the power relations are within a certain institution and with its addressee, the more 'immune' it is to sociological knowledge (Danchev, 2005).

c) The less developed is civil society, the more vulnerable it is to, and even interested in, distortion and manipulation of sociological information.

'Reasonable Mediation' Between Sociologists and Consumers of Sociological Knowledge

The post-totalitarian development of Bulgarian society provides evidence to support the thesis that sociological knowledge is a resource for 'capturing' and understanding the existing social problems only when those using it realize (and are familiar with) its possibilities and

limitations (Koleva, 2004: 397). In this context, both the public visibility of sociological results as well as their applicability and usefulness in practice appear to be dependent on achieving a 'reasonable mediation' between sociologists and consumers of sociological information. In other words, on the one hand there is the issue of the sociological culture of mediators and consumers of sociological information, and on the other hand is the issue of the social sensitivity and professional commitment of sociologists. Bulgarian experience in recent years shows that if sociologists want their research to have practical applications and socially significant effects, they should undertake, as part of their professional responsibilities, to work toward establishing a sociological culture in different social groups, especially in those which act as mediators between sociology and society, and in reality turn out to be its interpreters. Journalists and politicians have special power over the public legitimization of sociological knowledge. The ways in which they interpret sociological studies and use (or do not use) sociological information have remarkable effect on moulding the attitudes and understanding of other professional groups about sociology.

Blaming the public's inability to use sociological knowledge does not in any case mean that sociology's own development has no relation to this process. Claiming that this process is something external to sociology could be a way of preserving itself in case of public disuse or misuse of its findings. These conditions themselves are socially constructed and what is more important, sociology itself has a significant role in their construction. For this reason it is equally important to understand both the social conditions of producing sociological knowledge and the changing social conditions of its use.

CONCLUSION

This brief analysis of Bulgarian sociology allows us to conclude that even if occurring in identical or similar social conditions, the process of social construction of sociology (both institutionally and cognitively) can have different versions. Two factors are of special importance – cognitive traditions in the field and the position of sociology and its leading representatives within the power structures. The cognitive and social institutionalization of Bulgarian sociology in the 1960s and 1970s took place in conditions of a specific mono-paradigmatic disciplinary project, closely linked to the structures of political power (including the dual status of scientists–politicians of most of its leading representatives). This specific feature not only colored the overall image of sociology in Bulgaria until 1989 but reflects on its present ways of functioning, both as a resource for its development and as constituting a part of its problems; it is a prism which modifies – weakens or enhances – the challenges of the social environment.

Stephen Cole links the failure of sociologists to achieve progress in the development of sociological knowledge with the fact that they, unlike scientists in natural sciences, 'are shooting at a moving target – a target which frequently changed or disappeared by the time the bullet arrived' (Cole, 2001c: 43). The challenge to sociologists in Central and Eastern Europe is still greater. Their research subject – post-totalitarian socialist societies – is not only a constantly changing one, but also undergoing radical, unprecedented historical transformation, accompanied by a multitude of difficult and unpredictable social conflicts, crises, and insecurity. This challenge is an opportunity as well as an ordeal for sociology in our countries. If it manages to be socially sensitive, publicly visible, and academically relevant, then its public prestige will only grow, and the practice of sociology will transform into a meaningful area for personal realization. If, however, it surrenders its social commitment to serving certain ideological or party interests, or if it models its academic criteria according to the social order and for financial benefit, it would risk both its academic integrity and its social legitimacy.

NOTES

1. It should be emphasized that these features are presented in a most general way, without taking into account the changes of each of them throughout the process of development of both society and sociology in the different phases of totalitarian socialism.

2. His works were written and fragments of them were published at the beginning of the 1940s.

3. To a great extent this marginal status of sociology in Bulgaria characteristic for the period before the socialist revolution was socially constructed – sociology could not appeal to the public in a backward agrarian society characterized with state-governed modernization.

4. Some other social sciences – anthropology and political science, for example – were institutionalized only after the 'velvet' revolution in 1989.

5. This statement in no way underestimates the personal contributions of Zhivko Oshavkov and some other scientists for the institutionalization of sociology in Bulgaria.

6. Some Bulgarian sociologists of that time assess this event as a great success (Michailov, 2003: 63–74). However, some leading foreign sociologists perceive it as a 'circus' and are critical of both its organization and scholarly value (Birnbaum, 1993).

7. Very few of the texts written prior to the mid-1980s have preserved academic relevance today.

8. Bulgarian sociologists were even elected in the executive bodies of different research committees of the ISA.

9. As already mentioned, this paper discusses the dimensions of the social construction of Bulgarian sociology. The scientific achievements of Bulgarian sociologists in different problem areas should be analyzed in a separate investigation.

10. Of course, the precision of sociological forecasts is determined by scientific factors too – the quality of surveys depends on methodology, the existing level of dialogue, and criticism within the professional community, etc.

REFERENCES

Avramov, R., Angelov, G., Bogdanov, L., Bojkov, A., Georgiev, J., Danchev, V., Dimitrov, G., Dimitrova, A., Elenkov, I., Kabackchieva, P., Kaloyanchev, P. and Krastev, I. (2004) *Darzhavata srestu Reformite* (The State against Reforms). Sofia: Izdatelstvo 'Iztok-Zapad'.

Azarya, V. (2008) 'Academic Excellence and Social Relevance: Israeli Sociology in Universities and Beyond' (this volume). London: Sage (forthcoming).

Bauman, Z. (1997) 'Universities: Old, New and Different', in A. Smith and F. Webster (eds) *The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society*, pp. 17–26. Bristol: SRHE and Open University Press.

Berger, P. (2001) 'Sociology: A Disinvitation?', in S. Cole (ed.) *What's Wrong with Sociology?* pp. 193–204. NJ and London: Transaction.

Berger, P. (2002) 'Whatever Happened to Sociology?' *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life* 126 (October): pp. 27–30.

Berger, P.L. and Luckman, T. (1963) *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Doubleday.

Birnbaum, N. (1993) 'Circus at Varna', in *Searching for the Light. Essays on Thought and Culture*, pp. 5–15. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cole, S. (ed.) (2001a) *What's Wrong with Sociology?* New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction.

Cole, S. (2001b) 'Introduction. The Social Construction of Sociology', in S. Cole (ed.) *What's Wrong with Sociology?* pp. 7–36. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction.

Cole, S. (2001c) 'Why Doesn't Sociology Make Progress Like the Natural Sciences?', in S. Cole (ed.) *What's Wrong with Sociology?* pp. 7–36. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction.

Danchev, V. (2005) 'Publichna Relevantnost na Sociologicheskoto Poznanie v Procesa na Transformacija na Obstestvenite Institucii v Balgarija'. Doklad, predstaven na 'Chetenija za Mladi Sociolozi' (Public Relevance of Sociological Knowledge in the Process of Transformation of Public Institutions in Bulgaria), Paper presented at 'Readings for Young Sociologists', 17–18 May, Sofia.

Dimitrov, G. (1995) *Balgarija v Orbitite na Modernizacijata* (Bulgaria in the Orbits of Modernization). Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Sofiiskija universitet 'Sv. Kl.Ohridski'.

Genov, N. (2001) Sociologija i Socialno Razvitie, V. N. Genov (Red.) *Perspektivi na Sociologijata v Balgarija*. (Sociology and Social Development, in N. Genov (ed.) Prospects of Sociology in Bulgaria), pp. 1–44. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Sofiiskija universitet 'Sv. Kl.Ohridski'.

Hadjiiski, I. (1974) *Sachinenija*. T. I–II. (Works, Vol. I–II). Sofia: Izdatelstvo 'Balgarski Pisatel'.

Koev, K. (1992) 'Masks and Faces: Bulgarian Sociology in Search of Itself', *International Sociology* 7(1): 102–9.

Koleva, S. (2002) 'The Disciplinary Identity of Sociology: Profiles of Construction (Sociology in Poland, Russia and Bulgaria in the 1950s and 1960s)', *Sociological Problems (*special issue in English): 74–91.

Koleva, S. (2004) 'Diskusija "Grazhdanska Angazhiranost i Academichni Cennosti na Sociologijata v Globalizirastija se Svjat"' (Discussion 'Civic Engagement and Academic Values of Sociology in a Globalizing World'), *Sociologicheski Problemi*, 3–4: 397–400.

Koleva, S. (2005) *Sociologijata kato Proekt. Nauchna Identichnost i Socialni Izpitanija v Balgarija 1945–89* (Sociology as a Project. Scientific Identity and Social Challenges in Bulgaria 1945–89). Sofia: Izdatelstvo Pensoft.

Michailov, S. (2003) *Sociologijata v Balgarija sled Vtorata Svetovna Vojna* (Sociology in Bulgaria after World War II). Sofia: Izdatelstvo M-8-M.

Mitev, P-E. (1995) 'Balgarskoto Obstestvo, Bulgarskata Sociologija, Bulgarskata Sociologicheska Asociacija' (Bulgarian Society, Bulgarian Sociology, Bulgarian Sociological Association), *Sociologicheski Problemi* 4: 120–32.

Nickolov, L. (1992) 'Sociologists in Bulgaria Today', *International Sociology* 7(1): 99–102.

Tsai, Ming-Chang (2008) 'Evaluating Sociologists in Taiwan: Power, Profession and Passersby' (this volume). London: Sage (forthcoming).

Authoritarianism and Challenges to Sociology in Latin America

14

The Five Dilemmas of Latin American Sociology

Roberto Briceño-León

The sociology of Latin America has been a reflection of its time and its society; of the dominant theoretical currents that converted it into an academic and professional practice, and of assessing the spectacle and miseries of a continent full of wealth and yet unimaginable poverty.

The choices the discipline took to respond either to the dominant academic currents or to the need to study its social reality have influenced its practice in Latin America, throwing up five great dilemmas. These five dilemmas influence contemporary sociological traditions. In some senses, these can be considered as universal conflicts, because they form part of the changes and tendencies of social science in general. In Latin America they have acquired an added strength due to the singularity of social reality and the richness of academic life.

The first dilemma relates to tension at the level of practice: Is sociology to be marked by philosophy or does it need to develop a professional practice based on science? The second is an attempt to offer a product that is universally valid or, on the contrary, a product constructed of the singular, which although

scientific, remains differentiated, and at times opposed to any claim of universality. The third dilemma refers to the way in which to draw conclusions in a deductive manner; Do these derive from the general theories, or are they elaborated from the evidence and inductively realized from the particular? The fourth dilemma refers to the practices of presenting papers in scientific journals. Should it highlight ways to conduct investigations and record the results as is done in empirical sociology, or should it use the essay and literary style of analyzing sources? The last dilemma lies in the approach and delimitation of the topic under study. Studies have either emphasized research of a macro-social nature, referring to nation-states or to the continent, while others have focused on specific social groups or particular problems. These dilemmas are present in Latin American sociology sometimes in a simple manner and at others in a creative organic form in varied professional practices, and in differential theoretical and ideological currents.

This paper discusses these five dilemmas through an analysis of the history of sociology through the twentieth century to the present.

The article begins with a brief description of the transformation of sociology in Latin America: the relevant changes in society and how contemporary sociology is responding to those new realities. Then the five dilemmas are discussed, and finally the paper concludes by postulating three features for the new sociology of Latin America, namely, a scientific, eclectic and committed sociology.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By the end of the nineteenth century, throughout Latin America, individuals and groups such as lawyers, politicians and writers had dedicated themselves to the study of history and sociology. During those years, university courses and institutes were created at Instituto de Ciencias Sociales (Social Science Institute) in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1877 and, what is believed to be the first sociology course in the world, in the Universidad de Bogotá, Colombia, in 1882, ten years before the course was introduced in Chicago, USA (Blanco, 2005). Between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the next, the study of sociology was introduced in almost all the universities of the capitals and important cities. In this manner, sociology entered as a body of thought spread among the intellectual elite in the twentieth century in Latin America.

INCIPIENT BEGINNINGS: SOCIOLOGY BY THE LAWYERS

In Latin America, the beginning of sociology is linked to the interventions made by lawyers who devoted themselves to the task of promoting sociological studies. These lawyers were put in charge of humanistic thinking and of philosophy, when theology ceased to be taught in the universities. Thus they represented the humanistic component of the universities which also trained physicians and engineers.

Lawyers were also in charge of developing the curriculum in the Colleges of Law, Philosophy and Literature. In addition to becoming sociologists, at the beginning of the twentieth century they also became novelists, philosophers and politicians. They were instrumental in initiating publication of the first journals, and at the beginning of the 1940s they also published a collection of books on sociology that included Weber's *Economy and Society* (1944), the *History of Sociology of Latin America* by A. Poviña (1941) and *Sociology: Theory and technique* by Medina Echeverría (1941).

One group of lawyers was connected to the Institute Internationale de Sociologie (International Institute of Sociology) (IIS), founded in 1893, while another group affiliated themselves at the beginning of the 1950s to the International Sociological Association, as well as to the Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología (Latin American Sociological Association) (ALAS). ALAS was established in Zurich in 1950, by a group of Latin American attorneys and intellectuals who had previously founded schools and national associations in Argentina, Brazil, México and Venezuela (Scribano, 2005) and organized the first ALAS congresses in Buenos Aires (1951), Rio de Janeiro (1953), Quito (1955), Santiago de Chile (1957), Montevideo (1959) and Caracas (1961).

SCIENTIFIC SOCIOLOGY AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF MODERNIZATION

In the 1950s and 1960s, sociologists studied the modernization of Latin America's traditional society and published books on societies in transition (Germani, 1961). Sociology of the modernization of Latin America reflected the optimism of the times, when economic growth prevailed and when

the rise of the Cold War necessitated a theoretical proposal to counter the soviet model (Hobsbawn, 1995). Latin America experienced a 5.5% economic growth rate after the end of the Second World War until the mid-1970s. In the 1950s, Argentina was considered to be one of the most developed countries in the world (Cepal, 1951), and the per capita income in Venezuela was higher than that of any European countries at the time (Furtado, 1990 [1957]).

Latin American sociology was also fascinated with the development of quantitative research methods developed during the Second World War, and the consolidation of empirical sociology in the United States (Lazarsfeld and Thielens, 1958). The combination of these factors led theorists to argue for a perspective of modernizing Latin America and explaining the problems of the region as those of a society in transition, where rural and urban cultures coexisted, where transition had not been completely achieved and contemporary culture was still not established (Germani, 1961).

However, this led to division among sociologists. The first group continued to assess and work on sociological practice from a philosophical perspective, while the second desired to construct and legitimize a 'professional' practice (Costa Pinto and Carneiro, 1955). In Argentina, this division led to the creation in 1959 of the Sociedad Argentina de Sociología (Argentinian Sociological Society) (SAS), which supported the first view, that of doing philosophy as intrinsic to the practice of sociology. In opposition to this point of view, in 1960 the Asociación de Sociología Argentina (Argentinian Sociological Association) (ASA) was created, which sought to defend the 'professional' character and differentiate itself from being mere 'amateurs' (Blanco, 2005). These associations affiliated themselves to different international bodies, the first to the International Institute of Sociology (which supported the European tradition of social philosophy) and the second to the International Sociological Association (which was dominated by American sociology).

THE CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY OF DEPENDENCY

Despite the optimism of modernization theories, hopes of development were not realized. The theories of modernization and growth delineated as those of stages, did not reflect empirical ground realities (as poverty persisted in urban and modern arenas), nor did it clear intellectual doubts regarding the continued persistence of underdevelopment and its extension in new zones. Although there was urbanization, this did not lead to industrialization and the employment of the displaced from agriculture. In such a context, Latin American sociology offered one of its most important contributions, the theory of dependency.

Regardless of the judgments that can be made today on its relevance or benefits, the dependency theory had two great virtues. It allowed a new conception of historical time as a perspective. Development and underdevelopment were not perceived as distinct phases in the linear growth towards progress but as coexisting social processes, running parallel to each other. Both processes had to be explained jointly and reciprocally. The second virtue was its assertion that sociologists needed to explain the singularity of Latin America and reject the received explanations of development occurring as stages in the theory of modernization, as well as in the theory of revolution postulated by the communist parties. This recognition implied the need to reformulate sociological theory, which until now was seen through the prism of Parsons (1966) on the one hand, and of Lenin (1963) on the other.

Sociology of dependency had two important expressions, one developed from the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL, 1969) and the other by the

academic community. The ideas of the latter were articulated in an organized fashion with the establishment in 1957 of the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences) (FLACSO). Common to both was a critique of contemporary growth theory and the development of a new theorization on the obstacles faced by Latin American society and linking it to the political economy of international economic structures (Cardoso and Faletto, 1969; Torres-Rivas, 1971; Quijano, 1977). Dependency was assessed as being both external and internal: an adjustment of the social organization and culture that allowed for the reproduction of the historical conditions generated centuries back in and through colonialism.

Because of its nature, the sociology of dependency was fundamentally macro-social and managed to balance philosophical tradition with the scientific nature of the studies. It was based on historical information and analyses of secondary data, with a style that at times was close to literary exposition and yet remained strongly empirical in its expression. The theory of dependency was original and helped to resolve contemporary dilemmas in a novel manner.

MARXIST SOCIOLOGY

During the 1970s there were varied expressions of Marxist sociology. Those who had worked on the dependency theory moved in a different direction and formulated a sociology that was Marxist not only in its theoretical conception but also in professional practice, and linked itself with militant politics and armed struggle.

A variant of Marxist theory propagated Soviet Marxism, which was given official sanction when it was supported by the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1975. It remained submissive to Soviet theorizations and dogmatically supported Soviet theses, thereby substituting sociology with 'historical materialism'. Sociology as a subject was criticized for its 'bourgeois' postulates by these orthodox Marxists. No wonder the Department of Sociology of the University of Havana, where a critical voice had developed against dogmatic Marxism, closed down in 1976.

A new current of Marxist thinking was represented through the diffusion of the so-called 'French structuralist Marxism' led by L. Althusser (1965) and N. Poulantzas (1968). It dominated the field of social sciences in Latin America, these ideas being made available in a simple book written by the Chilean, M. Harnecker (1971). This book became a bestseller and dominated social thought in the 1970s (after the students' Paris revolt in May 1968) and early 1980s.

Marxist theorizations became so common among sociologists that to be a Marxist was synonymous to being a sociologist. The popularity of Marxist theories led some academics to return to its universal vision and abandon interest in assessing the unique empirical processes that were being articulated in Latin America. This Marxist perspective functioned deductively and used established universal truths as a basis for deriving conclusions. It discouraged empirical investigations such as surveys. Such research techniques, together with its practitioners, were considered by Marxists as 'positivists', which was – and in many parts still is – the most common insult that could be labeled against an intellectual adversary.

By the late 1970s, Marxist sociology had abandoned the use of received plurality of methods and research techniques to study social processes in use earlier in Latin American sociology. It substituted them with an incisive critique of epistemology and went back to the great theoretical–political discourses. No wonder that sociology students trained in these practices of philosophy had no capacity for field empirical research, but were good at the techniques of demystifications. As a consequence their work was now presented as essays on and of theory, and as philosophical treatises with very few or no

empirical references. This way of practicing sociology was criticized because of its sterility in doing sociology without reference to society.

PROFESSIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Today, professional sociology in Latin America represents a diversity of trends with no one predominant perspective. Some academics use Marxist tendencies while others use neoliberal perspectives to study corporate organizations. Some academics are committed to political intervention participating in anti-globalization critiques while others limit themselves to academia using sociology as a tool to assess how it guarantees societies a better place in a globalized world.

This theoretical, methodological, political pluralism of professional sociology has its downside – it has led to the atomization of the academic communities into separate and distinct groups with little communication with each other. Although there is an attempt within these communities to search for new ways to understand society, to develop new sociological practices, assess problems and creatively reframe theories that they have built, they remain isolated. As a result, the scope of empirical studies and theoretical developments remains limited.

Additionally, the involvement of Latin American sociologists in international events and participation in various international associations has not been high, further restricting the dialogue and debates between them and sociologists from other regions. Despite the earlier rich and varied traditions of sociology in Latin America, its contemporary contribution leaves a lot to be desired (Sonntag, 1988).Thus Latin American sociology carries forward the five dilemmas, structuring them in new ways (Tavares dos Santos and Baumgarten, 2005).

Globalization has created dramatic new changes in Latin America. On the one hand its economy has become fragile, and on the other it has been impacted by high levels of social inequalities and technology-based disparities (BID, 1998). Contemporary sociology of Latin America is trying to respond to this new social situation in a varied and uneven manner. While it is true that in many cases academics are using old theories to assess this new situation – particularly the Marxist sociological theory of globalization – in other cases there is an attempt to make new creative, theoretical interpretations.

The challenges to which sociologists need to respond in a scientific manner are: improvement in the living conditions in many sectors, and the simultaneous increase of inequality (Londoño and Szekely, 1997); the increase in urban violence (Briceño-León, 2005); the decline in the influence of the middle classes and their disillusionment with political parties in the context of increasing democracy, poverty and inequality (España, 2004; PNUD, 2004); the rise of ethnic-based political movements (Maio and Santos, 1996; Dávalos, 2005); the increase of economic, urban informality (Bolívar, 1995; Abramo, 2003;, Calderón, 2005) and juridical informality (Santos and Garcia, 2001; Fernández, 2004) and the territorial and environmental impact in the Amazon basin from increasing exports of raw materials to China.

THE FIVE DILEMMAS AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY

Sociology needs to confront the challenges of the past century to legitimize its social relevance in the new century. However, there are obstacles that pose serious limitations. These arise from its history, which has structured it in context with the five dilemmas mentioned earlier.

The way in which the sociological community of Latin America has approached these five dilemmas has not allowed it to transcend them and create new knowledge to be presented to the global scientific community (Albornoz, 1992). It is not our argument that

these dilemmas be definitely resolved. This will never be possible; but there is a need for resolution of one or the other dilemma. Such a possibility will help to redefine the craft and professional practice of the discipline in Latin America.

More Philosophy than Science

The sociology of Latin America is divided into two professional cultures: the humanistic or philosophical culture and the scientific culture (Berlin, 1979; Wallerstein, 1996). This division creates many difficulties in understanding its craft. For some scholars, sociology continues to be social philosophy dedicated to theoretical reflections and disconnected from the everyday experiences of social life; and for others, it is a science that is technical and disconnected from epistemological or philosophical currents.

The weight of the philosophical humanistic tradition bears a heavy imprint on the sociology of Latin America. This is particularly true of the politicized form that sociology inherited from Marxism and the parties of the left, whose origin is in the philosophical vision. Sociological practices emerging from this tradition are given over to social or theoretical criticism, and have very little to do with empirical analyses.

On the other hand, among young scholars trained in the United States there is a tendency to follow the scientific model and use empirical research with statistical tools. Unfortunately, their research publications and theorizations have little criticality. This contrasts with the former, which is replete with philosophical theorizations and political discussions, and has almost no empirical basis to back them up.

It is interesting to note that these two tendencies are reproduced in two distinct sites of organizational activity in various events of Latin American sociological associations. For example at the round tables and in the plenary of the ALAS Congresses, there is a tendency to discuss philosophical and political topics; but in the research sessions wherein young sociologists participate and present their latest scientific research, there is a generally a vibrant debate on innovative research techniques that is missing in the plenary and round tables. Something similar occurs in the Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (Latin American Social Sciences Council) (CLACSO). Here, the organizers have not yet been able to stimulate discussion in the plenaries on different ideological and political visions of the social sciences. However, in discussions within small research sessions, we can observe the plurality and richness of perspective that is absent from the official positions.

Universal Theories Against Localized Analysis

Latin American sociology has been influenced by many theoretical currents. Unlike in Europe, where national sociologies have been historically faithful to their national traditions (the Germans study German authors and the French study French writers); in Latin America, sociology is influenced by the Germans, the French and also the Americans. Latin Americans do not follow any particular tradition and remain tied to all. There is a fascination for foreign sociologies. Max Weber´s work was first translated into Spanish and then into French; the works of Pierre Bourdieu were translated into Spanish before they were translated into English; and we can repeat the story for many other German and American authors who became known and were first studied in Latin America before their works were studied in other regions.

The 'informal sector' constitutes more than half of the region's working class (CEPAL, 2000). Latin American theorists have studied it through the frame of the functionalist theories of 'marginality' (Vekemans, 1969), or by applying the nineteenth-century conceptualization of Marx, that of 'the industrial reserve army' or of 'relative superpopulation' (Murmis, 1969; Nun, 1969). None have managed to

satisfactorily engage with the contemporary reality of this section of the working class because they are dependent on imported and poorly adapted theories (Lander, 1998).

Scholars have argued that such theories masquerading as universal were often deeply ethnocentric (Quijano, 1998). Unfortunately, Latin American sociologists did not critically reflect and examine how these represented distinctive processes of their own national societies (Akinowo, 1999). This lack of criticality is present in all perspectives irrespective of their theoretical or political lineages. This is true of the theories of revolution articulated by Althusser and those of power by Poulantzas' position, as well as Parsonian interpretations of consensus. The predominance of universalistic theories has resulted in the generalized subordination and intellectual colonialism of sociology.

More Deductive than Inductive Sociology

As a consequence, a large part of the research in Latin America is dependent on imported theories and remains deductive in nature (Popper, 1972, 1977). Latin American sociology does not devote itself to the construction of theorizations starting from empirical observations. This sociology remains isolated and does not substantially add to academic knowledge.

There are universities and research centers all over Latin America where there is some attempt to train sociologists for the development of autochthonous theoretical construction. The increasing interest in qualitative research techniques has helped the cause (Minayo, 1994). Qualitative methodology has helped to interpret and define the particular in new ways and allows for the development of a new perspective on the Latin American condition. Though inductive or constructivist grounded theory procedures are not necessarily identified with qualitative techniques, certainly this kind of methodology has helped in the innovation of new research designs.

However, these attempts remain few and far between and do not have legitimacy within the larger sociological community; nor do they command space in peer reviewed journals and within the congresses. Given this situation, there is no significant impact of these innovative theories on sociology in Latin America. There are more 'Grand theories' (Wright Mills, 1959 [2000]) than 'Grounded theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Predomination of the Essay Style over Scientific Articles

Most sociological literature published in Latin America uses the essay style as a way to present sociological analysis. This is understandable, given the prevalence of the philosophical perspective asserting a need of deductive logic. Such essays assert generalized opinions about society, postulate political positions and do not highlight empirical data nor are concerned with the reliability of their sources.

Certainly, the essay can be a very good working tool for the social sciences (Cataño, 1995), if it avoids dilettantism and is rooted in social reality. The essay remains an excellent technique for the presentation of ideas because it can freely connect the empirical observations of reality with theories; but it must be of good literary quality and ensure that its critical logical connections are organically linked together in terms of its philosophical structure. This makes this form more demanding than the empirically based article. However, over time, the essay as a form has started being used in a populist manner, not incorporating the principles described above. This trend has dominated journals of sociology and is also institutionalized in the learning methods within schools of social sciences of the region.

Since the early 1990s, an important change has been taking place. Academia has employed a number of young sociologists with doctoral degrees who have done empirical work. This has led to the slow

depoliticization of academic activity and to an attempt to upgrade its professional characteristics. Simultaneously, the various governments of Latin America, through its Science and Technology Councils, supported sociological research with research grants. The governments have also initiated a program to pay additional salaries to scholars who publish a significant number of articles in peer reviewed journals, thereby promoting and encouraging scientific research.

Journals of sociology have now adopted a peer-review system for the publication of articles. Editorial guidelines have changed and it has been decided to accept articles based on empirical evidence connected to the theoretical framework. Articles that explain the nature of empirical methodologies that are being used have been encouraged for publication. All this has helped to initiate a trend towards empirical sociology.

Disconnection of macro-sociology from micro-sociology

Some critics think that macro-sociology has dominated Latin American sociological studies and that the new professional practice should emphasize micro-sociology. This is partially true. The problem does not lie so much in the domination of macro-sociology, but in the way it was achieved, that is, macro-sociology was doing philosophy, and debating ideological and political issues. Today we need micro-sociology, but it cannot substitute for macro-thinking, as social processes go beyond local and national frontiers to integrate with global phenomena.

For several decades, an important part of the sociological production of Latin America was dedicated to macro-social studies. This practice has now become sterile and repetitive, because to a great measure it remained trapped in official Marxist thinking. It also dominated academic teaching without encouraging oppositional theoretical debates in the learning process (Briceño-León and Sonntag, 1998).

Micro-sociological studies, such as those that examine changing contours of local culture and power (Fals Borda, 1980; Bruner, 1982; Briceño-León, 1989; Pollak-Eltz, 1994; Da Matta, 1997); the family (Hurtado, 1998; Berquó, 2001; Echeverri, 2004; Robichaux, 2007); the increase of economic and social informalization (Pandolfi and Grynszpan, 2003); and the culture of urban violence (Minayo and de Souza, 2003; Zubillaga, 2003; ERIC-IDESO-IDIES-IUDOP, 2004[1]) have shown great richness, variety and originality. Such studies need to connect with macro-studies. This linkage will help to sustain macro-social analysis and in turn boost micro-investigations.

THE NEW SOCIOLOGY OF LATIN AMERICA: EMPIRICAL, ECLECTIC AND COMMITTED

Contemporary sociology should not fall into the temptation of global-centerism, of thinking that we are all equal. Just as in academic circles we all have to speak English, because this is the common language of science, likewise there is a belief that we all have to think the same and do the same type of sociology; there are universal patterns of science. If sociology were to emulate that, some of the limitations stated in the discussion on the five dilemmas would be reinforced. The sociologist would become a universal scholar, a being of his scientific time, and would relegate the specificity of being a historical person to oblivion. Latin American society has many specificities. For instance, we have different meanings of time; a different meaning of work; the nature and sense of reciprocity and quality that in its essence may be universal, but in the manner of living it, in the way the norms are translated into social bonds, it is distinct. For that reason, the sociology of Latin America needs to take into account the many specificities of its cultural experiences.

The new sociology in Latin America must have three central features: empirical,

eclectic and committed (Briceño-León, 2000). When we say that sociology must be empirical, it implies that sociology must start from the assessment of the reality of each society, it must be anchored in real life and it must give preference to the observations of individuals, social processes and institutions as they are being constructed. While sociology can develop great conceptual elaborations, it needs to have a social theory that relates to society. Latin American sociology, if it wishes to rescue what is specific about itself, needs to promote studies that are inductive in nature and those that assess the construction of the social object. This does not imply that there should be no theoretical context through which the data is sieved; what it does imply is that if the data and the theory do not relate to each other, it is the theory which is erroneous and not the reality.

Sociology has to be eclectic in so far as it can engage with many theories when it analyzes the construction of the social object. It should not be obligated to keep any religious or doctrinal loyalty to any theoretical current, and therefore it can reject or reuse its components in any manner, because what is essential is not to uphold theoretical purity, but rather take cognizance of the richness of the social reality that is being studied. The sociology of Latin America must assume a multi-paradigmatic posture, rescuing what can be rescued from Marxism and from functionalism, from the theories of social learning and psychoanalysis, as it has done in methodology by combining qualitative and quantitative techniques, together with the surveys and life histories.

Finally, it must be committed to the destiny of its people. Sociology cannot be a cultural luxury. When, in Latin America, there are more than one hundred million persons who live on less than one dollar a day, sociology cannot be indifferent to the conditions of exclusions. The sociology of Latin America has always questioned the dictatorships of various political orientations through its concerns for the poor. In this way it has remained political in its orientation. No wonder that Argentina, Chile and Cuba disallowed the teaching of sociology at various points in their national histories.

However, sociology on its own cannot take responsibility for solving social problems: that has to be done through politics and by politicians. Such a position would make sociology political (Wallerstein, 1996). The challenge to sociological knowledge is to ensure that it retains this political agenda and simultaneously to be as scientific as possible, so that political decisions can be based on firm empirical foundations.

A committed sociology not only has to be useful in assessing social developments, but must also contribute to the defense of human rights and freedoms and promote democracy. Sociology has the potential to contribute towards improving social life, to making society a little better, but because it does not have political power, its ethical obligation lies in doing good sociology and thus being able to offer good reasons for why and how to achieve this.

About two hundred years ago, Simon Rodriguez, teacher of Simon Bolivar, wrote that if Latin America needed to become prosperous, 'Either we invent or we err'. The sociology of Latin America must invent a mode to interpret and overcome the limitations inherited from the five dilemmas elaborated above because if not, we will simply err again.

NOTES

1. These are the acronyms for four institutions of four Central America countries that appears as authors of the book 'Maras and Gangs in Central America. Gangs and Social capital'. The institutions are:
ERIC: Equipo de reflexión, investigación y comunicación (Communication, Research and Thought Team)
IDESO: Instituto de encuestas y sondeos de opinión (Institute of Surveys and Opinion Polls)
IDIES: Instituto de investigaciones económicas y sociales (Social and Economic Research Institute)

IUDOP: Instituto Universitario de opinión pública (Public Opinion University Institute)

REFERENCES

Abramo, P. (2003) *A Cidade da Informalidade* (City of Informality), pp.189–223. Río de Janeiro: Sette Letras.

Akinowo, A. (1999) 'Indigenous Sociologies: Extending the Scope of the Argument', *International Sociology* XIV(2):115–38.

Albornoz, O. (1992) *Sociology and the Third World Perspective*. New Delhi: Wiley Eastern.

Althusser, L. (1965) *Pour Marx* (For Marx). Paris: Maspero.

Berlin, I. (1979) *Against the Current*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Berquó, `E. (2001) 'Evoluçao Demográfica' (Demographic Evolution), in I. Sachs, J. Willheim and P. S. Pineiro (org) (eds) *Brasil: Un Seculo de transformações* (Brazil: A Century of Social Transformations), pp. 14–38. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

BID (1998) *Informe de Progreso Económico y Social* (Social and Economic Report). Washington, DC: BID-IADB

Blanco, A. (2005) 'La Asociación Latinaomaericana de Sociología: Una Historia de Sus Primeros Congresos' (Latin American Sociological Association: A History of its First Congresses), *Sociologías* 7(14 Jul–Dez): 22–49.

Bolívar, T. (1995) 'Urbanizadores, Constructores y Ciudadanos' (Urban Planners, Builders and Citizens), *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia* LVII(1): 71–87.

Briceño-León, R. (1989) *La Cultura del Trabajo y la Riqueza* (Work and Wealth Culture). Caracas: LIS.

Briceño-León, R. (2000) 'Por una Sociología Empírica, Ecléctica y Comprometida' (For an Empiric, Eclectic and Committed Sociology), *Fermentum* 10(27): 85–115.

Briceño-León, R. (2005) 'Urban Violence and Public Health in Latin America: A Sociological Explanatory Model', *Cadernos de Saude Pública* 21(6 Nov–Dez): 1629–64.

Briceño-León, R. and Sonntag, H. R. (1998) *Sociology in Latin America*. Montreal: International Sociological Association.

Bruner, J. J. (1982) *La Cultura Autoritaria en Chile* (The Authoritarian Culture in Chile). Santiago de Chile: FLACSO.

Calderón, J. (2005) *La Ciudad Ilegal, Lima del Siglo XX* (The Illegal City: Twentieth Century´s Lima). Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

Cardoso, F. H. and Faletto, E. (1969) *Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina* (Dependency and Development in Latin America). México DF: Siglo XXI.

Cataño, G. (1995) *La Artesanía Intelectual* (Intellectual Craftwork). Bogotá: Editores Colombia.

CEPAL (1969) *El Pensamiento de la Cepal* (CEPAL's Thinking). Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria.

CEPAL (2000) *Estudio Económico para América Latina* (Latin America Economic Report). Santiago de Chile: Onu-Cepal (ECLAC-UM).

Costa Pinto, L. and Carneiro, J. (1955) *As Ciencias Sociais no Brasil* (Social Sciences in Brasil). Rio de Janeiro: Capes.

Da Matta, R. (1997) *Carnavais, Malandros e Heróis. Para Uma Sociologia do Dilema Brasileiro* (Carnivals, Bandits and Heroes: For a Sociology of the Brazilian Dilemma). Rio de Janeiro: Rocco.

Dávalos, P. (2005) *Pueblos Indígenas, Estado y Democracia* (Indigenous Groups, State and Democracy). Buenos Aires: FLACSO.

Echeverri Angel, L. (2004) 'La Familia en Colombia Transformaciones y Prospectiva' (Colombian Family: Transformations and Prospects) *Cuaderno CES* (CES Notebooks) 6: 7–13.

ERIC-IDESO-IDIES-IUDOP (2004) *Maras y Pandillas en Centroamérica. Pandillas y Capital Social* (Maras and Gangs in Central America: Gangs and Social Capital), vol. II. El Salvador, San Salvador: UCA Editores.

España, L. P. (2004) *Detrás de la Pobreza* (Behind Poverty). Caracas: Ediciones Universidad Católica Andrés Bello.

Fals Borda, O. (1980) *Mompox y Loba. Historia Doble de la Costa* (Mompox and Loba. A Doubled History of the Colombian Cost). Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores.

Fernández, M. (2004) *La Ley del Ayllu. Justicia Mayor y Justicia Menor en Comunidades Aymaras* (Ayllu's Law. Major and Minor Justice in Bolivian Aymaras Communities). La Paz: Fundación PIEB.

Furtado, C. (1990[1957]) 'El Desarrollo Reciente de la Economía Venezolana' (Venezuelan Economy: Recent Changes), in H. Valecillos and O. Bello (eds) *La Economía Contemporánea de Venezuela* (Contemporary Venezuelan Economy), pp. 165–206. Caracas: Banco Central de Venezuela.

Germani, G. (1961) *Política y Sociedad en Una Época en de Transición* (Politics and Society in a Transition Time). Buenos Aires: Paidos.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Harnecker, M. (1971) *Los Conceptos Elementales del Materialismo Histórico* (Historic Materialism Basic Concepts). México: Siglo XXI Editores.

Hobsbawn, E. (1995) *Historia del Siglo XX* (Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914–91). Barcelona: Crítica.

Hurtado, S. (1998) *Matrisocialidad. Exploración en la Estructura Psicodinámica Básica de la Familia Venezolana* (Mother-sociability. On the Psychodynamics of the Venezuelan Family). Caracas: Coedición Faces-EBUC, UCV.

Lander, E. (1998) 'Eurocentrism and Colonialism', in R. Briceño-León and H.R. Sonntag (eds) *Latin American Social Thought in Latin America*, pp. 67–75. Montreal: International Sociological Association.

Lazarsfeld, P. and Thielens, W. (1958) *The Academic Mind*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Lenin, V. I. (1963) *El Imperialismo, Fase superior del Capitalismo* (Imperialism: Capitalist Superior Phase). Moscu: Editorial Progreso.

Londoño, J. L. and Szekely, M. (1997) *Persistent Poverty and Excess Inequality: Latin America, 1970–95*. Working paper 357. Washington, DC: Inter American Development Bank.

Maio, M. and Santos, R. V. (1996) *Raça, Ciência e Sociedade* (Race, Science and Society). Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fiocruz e Centro Cultural do Banco do Brasil.

Medina Echeverria, J. (1941) *Sociología. Teoría y Técnica* (Sociology: Theory and Technique). México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Minayo, M. C. (1994) *O Desafio do Conhecimiento. Pesquisa Qualitativa en Saúde* (Knowledge's Challenge. Public Health Qualitative Research). Sao Paulo–Río de Janeiro: Hucitec-Abrasco.

Minayo, M. C. and de Souza, E. R. (2003) *Violência son olhar sa Saúde. A Infrapolítica da Contemporaneidade Brasileira* (Violence at Public Health Glance: Micropolitics in Contemporary Brazil). Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fiocruz.

Murmis, M. (1969) 'Tipos de Marginalidad y posición en el proceso productivo' (Urban Marginal Types and their Place in the Economic Production Process), *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología* 2: 413–21.

Nun, J. (1969) 'Superpoblación relativa, ejercito industrial de reserva y masa marginal' (Relative Overpopulation, Reserve Industrial Army and Marginal Mass), *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología* 2: 178–236.

Pandolfi, D. and Grynszpan, M. (2003) *A Favela Fala* (Shantytowns Speak). Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV.

Parsons, T. (1966) *El Sistema Social* (The Social System). Madrid: Revista de Occidente.

PNUD (2004) *La Democracia en América Latina* (Democracy in Latin America). Buenos Aires: Alfaguara.

Pollak-Eltz, A. (1994) *La Religiosidad Popular en Venezuela* (Popular Religiosity in Venezuela). Caracas: San Pablo.

Popper, K. (1977) *La Lógica de la Investigación Científica* (The Logic of Scientific Discovery). Madrid: Editorial Tecnos.

Popper, K. R. (1972) *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Poulantzas, N. (1968) *Pouvoir Politique et Classes Sociales de l'Etat Capitaliste* (Political Power and Social Classes in the Capitalist State). París: Maspero.

Poviña, A. (1941) *Historia de la Sociología en Latinoamérica* (Latin American Sociology History). México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Quijano, A. (1977) *Dependencia, Urbanización Y Cambio Social en Latinoamérica* (Dependence, Urbanization and Social Change in Latin America). Lima: Mosca Azul.

Quijano, A. (1998) 'The Colonial Nature of Power and Latin America's Cultural Experience' in R. Briceño-León and H. R. Sonntag (eds) *Sociology in Latin America*, pp. 27–38. Montreal: International Sociological Association.

Robichaux, D. (ed.) (2007) *Familia y Diversidad en América Latina, estudios de casos* (Family and Diversity in Latin America: Case Studies). Buenos Aires: FLACSO.

Santos, B. and Garcia, M. (2001) *El Caleidoscopio de las Justicias en Colombia* (Colombian Justices' Kaleidoscope). Bogota: Siglo del Hombre Editores.

Scribano, A. (2005) 'Orígenes de la Asociación Latinoamérica de Sociología, algunas notas a través de la visión de Alfredo Poviñas' (The Origins of the Latin American Sociological Association. Notes Based on Alfredo Poviñas's Perspective), *Sociologías* (Sociologies) 7(14 Jul–Dez): 50–61.

Sonntag, H. R. (1988) *Duda/Certeza/Crisis: La Evolución de la Ciencias Sociales de América Latina* (The Latin American Social Sciences Evolution: Doubt, Certitudes and Crisis). Caracas: Unesco-Nueva Sociedad.

Tavares dos Santos, J. V. and Baumgarten, M. (2005) 'Contribuições da Sociologia na América Latina a imaginação sociológica' (The Latin American Sociology Contributions to the Sociological Imagination), *Sociologías* (Sociologies) 7(14 Jul–Dez): 178–243.

Torres-Rivas, E. (1971) *Interpretación del Desarrollo Social: Procesos y Estructuras de una Sociedad Dependiente* (Social Development Interpretation: Structures and Processes in a Dependent Society). San José de Costa Rica: Educa.

Vekemans, R. (1969) *La Prerrevolución Latinoamericana* (The Latin American Pre-revolution). Buenos Aires: Ediciones Troquel.

Wallerstein, I. (1996) *Abrir las Ciencias Sociales* (Open Social Sciences). México DF: Siglo XXI Editores.

Weber, M. (1944) *Economía y Sociedad* (Economy and Society). México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Wright Mills, C. (1959[2000]) *The Sociological Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zubillaga, V. (2003) *Entre Hombres y Culebras: Hacerse Hombre de Respeto en una Ciudad Latinoamericana* (Between Men and Snakes: Becoming a Man of Respect in a Latin American City). Louvain-la-Neuve: Unité d'Anthropologie et de Sociologie, Université Catholique de Louvain.

Dependency Analysis: The Creation of New Social Theory in Latin America

Fernanda Beigel[1]

'Dependence' has been a recurring concern within the Latin American intellectual community. It began in the nineteenth century when the discussion over national independence was initiated and continued into the twentieth century with the debate on economic development. It eventually appeared as a sociological theme and as a social change theory between 1964 and 1973. It was also during this period that the first democratic socialist government was elected in Latin America.

The Chilean Government encouraged intellectual and institutional autonomy in the universities. During those years, Santiago de Chile became the axis of a dynamic regional academic circuit wherein endogenous sociology was institutionalized. In this paper, I situate the emergence of Dependency Analysis as a critical reflection on the Latin American peripheral condition in a historical perspective.

The theory of Dependency was born against a contested conceptual background. The main dispute between its promoters was

the ultimate source of 'concrete dependent situations'. While some of them claimed that the main contradiction was between the nation and the international system, others contended that priority should be given to internal (national) class conflict. The former implied reforming capitalism, while the latter advocated radical social change. Dependency Analysis appeared, thus, in the midst of the tension between the legacy of the Latin American structuralist school of thought (*Estructuralismo cepalino*[2]) and heterodox Marxism – a critical trend emerging from communist parties.

Given the complexity of this intellectual tradition, it is necessary to distinguish three different uses of the concept of 'dependency' simultaneously at work: (a) *dependence* as a changing *historical condition;* (b) *Dependency Analysis,* as a *social theory;* and (c) *dependentists,* as the *scholars* who developed this study and research area. In the first part of this paper, I discuss the historical context – the intellectual traditions and institutional setting in which

Dependency Analysis emerged. In the second part, I focus on the debates and the process of knowledge production within the *dependentist* working groups in different academic institutions. Finally, I analyze Dependency theory's contribution to Sociology, in order to provide a better understanding of the endogenous process of 'scientific paradigm-building' in Latin America.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF DEPENDENCE/DEPENDENCY

By the end of the nineteenth century, oligarchic families and the military constituted the elite of Latin American nations. They led the traditional parties, leaving little space for political debate in the public sphere. Modernity was seen by this ruling class as a reflection of technical progress, and not a result of increasing political and social democracy. Essayists, poets and journalists voiced an increasingly middle-class discontent toward this highly iniquitous stratified society. In the context of a closed political system, these writers used the media to claim civil rights and social justice. They considered political independence as formal and incomplete, since British and American enterprises dominated the most dynamic sectors of national production. Imperialism was understood as an economic phenomenon, linked to these internal processes. These modernists argued that intellectual dependence was a key problem for endogenous social development. In the words of the Cuban leader José Martí: 'the problem of Independence was not a change of forms, but a change of spirit' (1992[1891]: 484).

In the late-nineteenth century tumultuous processes led to significant cultural and social differentiation. Literary systems emerged out of journalism; poetry and 'essayism' developed as separate practices. National universities began to play a central role in the modernization of the public sphere, training future politicians to lead democratic parties and offer a new path for upward social mobility. Along with the development of higher education, scientific research gained increasing autonomy.

By the end of the 1940s, economic progress and industrialization were central debates within Latin America. While underdevelopment was understood as a backward condition, development was perceived as a theory and a policy to explain and intervene in the Third World's iniquitous social and economic structures. The emergence of regional organizations, such as the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), created by the United Nations, encouraged a critical reflection of the impact of technical progress and involved national governments in developmental policies.

The Latin American structuralist school of thought was born with the publication of ECLA, created by the United Nations and established in Chile, encouraged Raúl Prebisch's 1949 study, *El Desarrollo económico de la América Latina y sus principales problemas* (Economic Development in Latin America and its Main Problems). This Argentinian thinker analyzed the international economy as a set of relations between the industrialized center and a periphery. The structuralists assessed the problems of the periphery at three levels. The first was the analysis of structural unemployment, which was related to the inability of traditional export industries to grow and absorb excess rural population. The second was external disequilibrium caused by higher propensities to import industrial goods than to export traditional agricultural products and minerals. Lastly, there were the deteriorating terms of trade (Love, 1999). According to Prebisch, the implications of this division of labor were disastrous: the standard of living in the peripheries was declining compared to that of the core countries. The solution was agricultural mechanization and industrialization (Prebisch, 1949: 4).

But these expectations were not realized, as industrialization policies in the 1950s did

not lead to development. For a new generation of social scientists, it became necessary to go beyond an analysis of the fruits of industrialization and the policies advocated by ECLA. *Dependentists* assumed some of the premises established by Latin American Structuralism, particularly the segmented labor markets and monopolies in land tenure, inherited from the colonial past. They argued that both the center and periphery were part of a single and long-term international process and constituted a structure of dependence. Like Structuralism, Dependency Analysis articulated its position through historical essays. However, unlike ECLA's scholars, *dependentists* concentrated on politics and class struggle in order to explain underdevelopment. Their main concern was to determine the specificity of the relations between social/political factors and economic development. They examined the diverse national social formations by assessing the historical overlap of capitalist with pre-capitalist modes of production. In some cases, they singled out for analysis different types of dependent relations that had evolved in Latin America during the nineteenth century, those of export-oriented economies (*economias de expansión hacia afuera*) or enclaves based on mines or plantations (Cardoso and Faletto, (1975[1969]). The sociological contribution of Dependency was, thus, to offer a new definition of underdevelopment combining the analysis of society with economy and politics, in specific historical situations.

THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF DEPENDENCY ANALYSIS

In the 1950s and 1960s, many institutional 'titans' competed for cultural and ideological influence in Latin America: public agencies and private foundations, such as US-AID, Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, UNESCO, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Catholic Church. UNESCO's Social Science Department promoted research and the teaching of social sciences, sponsoring programs all over the region. OAS and its Social Science Division also attempted to foster development of these disciplines; and the Society of Jesus created Centers of Information and Social Action (CIAS) as well as Catholic universities. The main concerns of these international projects were economic progress and modernization.

Chile received significant foreign aid as it welcomed these organizations into its territory. Several studies (Brunner, 1986; Devés Valdés, 2004; Garretón, 2005) have found that the exceptional stability of its political system, and the existence of international agencies, such as ECLA, opened up the academic labor market for social scientists, turning Santiago de Chile into an intellectual 'cosmopolis' by the mid-1960s. Moreover, scholars from the Southern Cone exiled from military dictatorships arrived here for institutional affiliation and reinforced intellectual engagement. A whole set of social and political conditions favored the emergence of this country as a regional center of internationalization – all of which was stimulated by the growth of an important movement for social change during the Presidencies of Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964–70) and the socialist experience of Salvador Allende (1970–73).

A brief comparison with Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo or Mexico City shows, however, that these metropolises had much higher cultural indicators than Santiago. While the former had very well-developed publishing markets, the latter only had an incipient graphics industry (Subercaseux, 2000). Foreign social scientists who lived in Santiago at the time describe it as a small, 'provincial' city, with poor cultural life. How did Chile become the axis of this intellectual movement and the laboratory for Dependency's endogenous process of knowledge production?

During the twentieth century, the Chilean State increasingly invested in higher education, with the University of Chile becoming

a nodal point for the modernization and institutionalization of the system. The creation of the Bureau of Higher Education and the Rectors' Council in 1954, together with the granting of administrative autonomy, helped the education system to expand and to reinforce the professionalization of the faculty (Krebs, 1979). University enrollment had an early modern distribution of specializations with concentration on education and social sciences at the expense of law, medicine and other scientific graduate programs (Brunner, 1986: 35). The public expenses on higher education doubled between 1961 (2.8%) and 1964 (5.7%) (Schiefelbein, 1968: 62).

This expansion led to the growth of the university student body which mobilized and gained a strong presence in cities, becoming an increasingly important audience for policy makers and university academics. A generation of students involved with activism emerged with the Cuban Revolution (1959) and legitimized the value of political commitment. The tendency to sacrifice the present gains for the future (a mentality present in the catholic socialization of the Chilean middle class) now materialized as a collective demand for a democratic university. *Militant capital* [3] (Matonti and Poupeau, 2004) spread to higher education, and created the conditions for the Reform movement of 1967, which first succeeded in the Catholic University of Santiago.

The Reform deepened the already existing university autonomy and reinforced a favorable ambience for critical scientific research, allowing for the establishment of interdisciplinary research centers. These institutes attracted scholars who had participated in demanding these changes and who ultimately became the 'think tanks' for national projects. These academics had security of employment through full-time posts and access to resources similar to those who were employed in research centers dependent on international agencies. Social scientists played a key role in organizing these new research centers and in debating the academic rules of work in the field. 'Academic excellence', was thereby redefined and understood as an assessment of 'National Reality'.

This university movement played a central role in the growth of intellectual activism, which now extended into the political arena, leading to the formation of the Movement of Unitary Popular Action (MAPU) – a leftist tendency within the Christian Democratic Party in power. This movement fractured the existing government led by Frei and consolidated the Popular Unity which, as a coalition, won the 1970 election.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE DEPENDENCY PERSPECTIVE

By the beginning of the 1960s, many structuralists concluded that industrialization was not leading to long-lasting economic development. The discussions about whether developmental policies could decrease inequalities found reflection in the Latin American Institute of Social and Economic Planification (ILPES), created by ECLA and the United Nations. These debates gained momentum with the 1964 Brazilian *coup d'état* and the exile of academic scholars to Santiago. The arrival of Celso Furtado at the ILPES and the course he promoted from June 1964 on this theme has been referred to as the founding moment of Dependency Analysis (Garcia, 2005).

Other critical visions had previously emerged in the Division of Social Development, headed by José Medina Echavarría. The latter's work on the *social conditions* of development, presented at ECLA's 1955 Conference, was one of the first threads for the sociological reformulation of Latin American Structuralism. Medina posed a sociological question when he discussed the contradiction between sociocultural indicators and the economic growth index. In order to answer it, he worked with the analytical perspective of economic sociology and the Weberian historical interpretation of causal-significant relations. For him, the historical roots of underdevelopment were not only based on certain economic patterns but also on specific structures of power which could be understood through historical sociology. Finally, he pointed out

that the political instability of Latin American countries was one of the main obstacles to economic development (Medina Echavarría, (1980[1964]). Since 1957, Medina had been training a new generation of sociologists in the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO). Furthermore, he was responsible for attracting many South American exiles to ILPES, all of whom made crucial contributions to the theoretical renewal at ECLA.

While these debates evolved within ILPES, other exiled social scientists arrived at Santiago, and became affiliated to the University of Chile and the University of Concepción. The Chilean sociologist Eduardo Hamuy invited a group of exiles to the Center of Social and Economic Studies (CESO), a research institute of the University of Chile. Most of them were young Brazilian social scientists, socialized in student activism, who had taken part in the student movement at the National University of Brasilia. After the Brazilian *coup d'état*, they participated in the resistance against dictatorship, and some of them were arrested. These intellectuals analyzed Brazil´s structural crisis, since they intended to formulate a diagnosis that could facilitate a revolutionary program, different from the Communist Party's proposal. According to Ruy Mauro Marini, Structuralism became the target of the critiques

> because communists – more dedicated to history than to economics – relied on ECLA's ideas on the deterioration of exchange terms, structural dualism and the viability of an autonomous capitalist development, in order to assert the principles of the bourgeois-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolution, inherited from the III International.
>
> (Marini, 1999: 23)

The Dependency focus arose, therefore, in these academic circles as a *theoretical problem* intending to re-diagnose underdevelopment within a collective and interdisciplinary reflection. Dependence was outlined as a *historical situation*, occurring under certain national and international conditions, as the result of the global structure of underdevelopment. It was not seen as an *external imposition*, but as a *relationship* between industrialized and peripheral countries. The critique of developmental policies and economicism led to

questions on the: (a) rationality of the productive structure, (b) legitimacy principles of Latin American states and (c) struggle for power.

In addition to the reflection on the Structuralist legacy, the heterodox readings of Marxism and the recourse to Weber, there was another theoretical and methodological tradition that gave the final 'stitches' to the new focus. I am referring to a set of knowledges that had previously developed in the region, in analyzing the historical relationship between social structures and political change. One of these efforts was outlined in the book, *Economía de la Sociedad Colonial* (Economy of Colonial Society) by Sergio Bagú, published in 1949. He argued:

> It wasn´t capitalism [t]hat appeared in America in the period we studied, but colonial capitalism. There was no servitude on a large scale, but slavery with multiple shades, hidden very often under complex and fallacious juridical formulas. Ibero-America was born to integrate the cycle of new-born capitalism and not to extend the agonizing feudalistic phase.
>
> (Bagú, 1949:261)

Bagú's project attempted to create a unified history of the continent, on the basis of available colonial documents and the contributions of other Latin American writers.

Osvaldo Sunkel recalls that the textbooks for training courses given at ECLA and ILPES were based on two major sources: (a) CEPAL's 1949 Study; and (b) the curriculum of the chair of Economic History of the Universidad de Chile, where Bagú´s book was read (Sunkel, 2006-07). Bagú's project attempted to create a unified history of the continent, on the basis of available colonial documents and the contributions of other Latin American writers. This historical approach was the basis for the questioning of developmental policies and further provided sociology with a valuable tool to rethink underdevelopment.

DEPENDENCY AND *DEPENDENTISTS*

Considered as a whole, the '*dependentist* group' consisted of about thirty social scientists, born between the end of the 1920s

and the beginning of the 1940s. Except for Celso Furtado and Aníbal Pinto, the majority was between twenty-seven and thirty-seven years of age; half of them were economists and the other half were sociologists, lawyers or political scientists. With the exception of André Gunder Frank, Franz Hinkelammert and Armand Mattelart, the rest were Latin Americans. South Americans made up 90% and half of these were Brazilians. During the most productive years of Dependency Analysis (1964–70), they were all living in Chile and worked as full-time research-ers at national or regional interdisciplinary centers.[4] There was a high degree of inter-institutional circulation. *Dependentists* par-ticipated in these networks, linking multiple institutions through lectures, workshops and informal gatherings. Their work spread as mimeos or as copies within classrooms, and also at meetings, cafés and private homes (Dos Santos, 2006).

The debates were very lively. One of the main disputes was over the socio-historical character-ization of the continent. While André Gunder Frank argued that Latin American capitalism had existed since colonization, most *depen-dentists* claimed that it had become the domi-nant mode of production by the end of the nineteenth century. Another relevant issue was the theoretical position of the national question within the framework of class relations. For Francisco Weffort, 'there was no real contra-diction between national and exterior domina-tion because dependence was generated from within the class structure – as well as social change' (1970: 392). According to Fernando H. Cardoso (1970), dependency showed a particular type of articulation between social classes, the productive system and the state, in a particular historical situation.

There was remarkable consensus between them to assert the 'movement from economic development toward dependency', which involved analysis of historical structures, attention to political power and class struggle. Opposing the idea of a 'universal' methodol-ogy, the new social scientists believed that

the possibility of explaining Latin American reality depended on the determination of its specific problems. The methods had to be adjusted to concrete situations of the region. In short, *dependentists* were not only trying to create a new theoretical perspective, but also a 'new style of research and researchers' (Cardoso and Castells, 1972: 18, 16–18).

FROM STRUCTURALISM TO DEPENDENCY: THE ILPES WORK-GROUPS

Social scientists in ILPES contributed deci-sively to the *dependentist* discussion and gave depth to an assessment of the structuralist experience on developmental policies. Most did research on their own national processes, like Aníbal Quijano, who made a major contribution to the analysis of Peruvian class structure in the context of imperialistic domi-nation. One of Quijano's main interests was social marginality and its structural link with the expansion of capitalism in Latin America (Quijano, 1977). For his part, Aníbal Pinto made incisive observations on the politics of dependence in his *Política y desarrollo* (Politics and Development), published in 1968. With the other *dependentists*, Pinto joined the debates at work in ILPES, and also started lecturing at a postgraduate school of economics at the University of Chile. This contact with national academia helped to spread *militant capital* within international agencies.

One of the work-groups emerged in the training division, directed by Osvaldo Sunkel. With Pedro Paz and Octavio Rodríguez he analyzed the history of the concepts of development/underdevelopment, in order to distinguish them from economic growth and industrialization. The book *El subdesarrollo latinoamericano y la teoría del desarrollo* (Latin American Underdevelopment and the Theory of Development) (1970) published by Sunkel and Paz defined underdevelopment

as part of the global historical process, in which both phenomena were linked and mutually conditioned. As other ECLA's experts, during those years, Sunkel resigned his post in ILPES, and joined the Institute of International Studies at the University of Chile, in order to be more independent and to freely express his personal ideas (Sunkel, 2006–07).

Second, we should mention the group from the Social Development Division, from which numerous *dependentist* contributions as well as mutual criticism emerged. Fernando H. Cardoso and Enzo Faletto played a critical role in this endeavor. Their interventions were significant not only within ILPES but also at Chilean academic institutions. They lectured at the University of Chile, FLACSO, and they discussed with CESO research groups. Cardoso proposed a sociological interpretation of underdevelopment on the basis of his reading of Marx and Weber. He found an excellent complement in Enzo Faletto, who was a historian and was reading Antonio Gramsci at the time. Their famous work *Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina* (Dependency and Development in Latin America), attempted to 'explain economic processes as social processes', in order to express a theoretical intersection where economic power was articulated as social and political domination. They affirmed that it was 'through politics that a certain social group can impose a mode of production on the rest of society' (Cardoso and Faletto, (1975[1969]): 20). The text tried to show the consequences of the relationship between state, social classes and the productive structure in different historical periods. The idea was to explain the form of such relationships in each situation of dependence. They proposed, in this sense, that Dependency should be used as a 'causal-significant' concept, suitable to point out relevant structures of power. Faced with mechanical interpretations, the authors argued that even though external impact was certainly substantial, it did not imply that national history was 'the pure

reflection' of the changes occurring in the central hegemonic pole. International links limited the possibilities of action within the nation-state, but, at the same time, groups, classes and social movements could perpetuate, transform or break those constraints (1975[1969]: 162–3).

DEPENDENCY PERSPECTIVE AT FLACSO

Between 1964 and 1966, other exiles arrived at FLACSO, many of them escaping from Argentinian and Brazilian military regimes, such as Vilmar E. Faría, Regina Faría, Ayrton Fausto, Patricio Biedma and Hugo Perret. The intense inter-institutional circulation of students and lecturers, favored by agreements with Chilean universities, caused a major shift within FLACSO's initial theoretical currents, now inclined toward dependency studies. Enzo Faletto's entrance after leaving ECLA, and the arrival of Sergio Bagú in 1970, reinforced this trend and fostered intense intellectual activity within the centre. Marcos Kaplan and Inés Reca carried out research projects on technological dependence and professional 'brain drain'. Moreover, FLACSO's *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política* (Latin American Political Science Review) played an important part in publishing *dependentist* debates, as it allowed the circulation of ideas between work-groups.

Vilmar Faría had received statistical training, and combined the professionalizing trends at FLACSO with the structuralist approach set forth by Dependency Analysis. He was interested in the relationship between economic development and the legitimacy of the dominant groups. For this purpose, he analyzed the evolution of the role played by the Brazilian business sector in the changes that occurred with their intervention in State decision making (Faría, 1971). By carrying out such surveys of businessmen, he tried to understand the nature

of class alliances that occurred in Brazil after the military coup.

THE CESO WORK-GROUPS

Two centers related to the dependency focus were created between 1964 and 1966 at the University of Chile. One of them was the Institute for International Studies (IEI) and the other was the Center for Socio-Economic Studies (CESO), which was part of the Faculty of Economics. Claudio Véliz played an important role in the development of the first, and attracted Chilean researchers who had made major contributions at ILPES, such as Osvaldo Sunkel, as well as highly prestigious Brazilian exiles, such as Darcy Ribeiro. The second center recruited Chilean economists Roberto Pizarro, Sergio Ramos and Orlando Caputo, as well as numerous groups of South American exiles. At CESO, André Gunder Frank wrote *The Development of Underdevelopment* (1969) and Vânia Bambirra developed her *Tipologia da Dependencia* (Typology of Dependency) (1970).

Militant capital was increasingly relevant in CESO's activity. In fact, under Allende's presidency, the center worked as a permanent assembly – institutional decisions were taken by all members (Reca, 2006). Researchers at CESO conducted major studies on world economy, and wrote on the changing conditions within Chile. Particularly, Roberto Pizarro and Orlando Caputo carried out empirical research *Las nuevas formas del capital extranjero en Chile* (The New Forms of Foreign Capital in Chile), (1970).

Studies on international dependence were carried out mainly at its research department, under the direction of Theotônio Dos Santos. His aim was to give an account of the main trends in economic development in Latin America between 1950 and 1965. According to him, foreign capital no longer played its historical role, which had been to boost the productivity levels of Latin American economies with the stimulus provided by the prospect of high profit. This rendered the autonomous development of a national capitalist economy impossible. One of the main polemical issues of Dependency came up, precisely, in Dos Santos's paper, where he argued that 'dependent nations only expanded as a *reflection* of the expansion in the economies of dominant countries'. In the text, however, he claimed that dependence had to be conceptualized just like a *conditioning situation* that could be modified through radical political change (1968).

THE CENTRE OF STUDIES ON THE NATIONAL REALITY (CEREN) WORK-GROUPS

While the University of Chile had played a major role in the development of social sciences and had exerted great influence on the establishment of FLACSO and ILPES, the Catholic University had remained relatively isolated until the mid-1960s. The University Reform of 1967, which was launched within this Institution, created interdisciplinary centers that enjoyed great autonomy and had abundant financial resources. One of the most important was the Centre of Studies on the National Reality (CEREN). As at CESO, there was an explicit adherence to Marxism and support for the Allende administration.

At CEREN two *dependentist* work-groups were located. Franz Hinkelammert's team confronted economicism and gave greater importance to ideological issues. In consonance with an influential line of thought in Western Marxism that sustained the existence of the structure/superstructure edifice, the *dependentist* work-group gave supremacy to the sphere of consciousness. They pronounced themselves against 'capitalist developmentalism' as they claimed that the foundations of a 'developed' society could only be laid in the context of socialism (Hinkelammert et al., 1970: 13). Armand Mattelart, Ariel Dorfman, Mabel Pichini and

Michèle Mattelart constituted another work-group that did research along these lines. Their studies focused on what at the time was called 'cultural imperialism'. More precisely, they analyzed the role of mass media in the creation of the ideology of American domination (Mattelart, 2005).

WAS DEPENDENCY A *DEPENDENT* KNOWLEDGE?

In September 1973, a military coup dismantled interdisciplinary research centers created in Chile and forced scholars into exile. The analysis of underdevelopment and social change, which had been top priority for the Latin American academy, was substituted with concern for democracy. By the mid-1990s, most social scientists considered Dependency Analysis as an outdated perspective, worn out by globalization, and useless after the so-called 'effacement' of nation-states. This reaction against Dependency within academia took place, paradoxically, when economic and political dependence was reinforced, because of the impact of the Latin American external debt.

This situation raises a set of questions. The first related to its nature. Was Dependency only an endogenous approach and a particularistic argument oriented to Latin American experience or could it be *'unthinked'* so that it could be made universal through an epistemic critique of European nineteenth-century paradigms, as was suggested by Wallerstein (2003)? The second related to its demise. Was the brevity of Dependency's 'vital period' a result of a massive internal intellectual failure? Or was it the consequence of an external factor – the dictatorship and its effect on the loss of academic autonomy gained in the 1960s? In other words, was the defeat of Dependency the result of new theoretical trends and agendas imposed within the *international academic system*?

Dependentists were aware of the dominance of Eurocentric patterns and of the necessity to think autonomously with respect to Northern social sciences. However, with the exception of technological dependence and the 'brain drain', studied by some scholars, they did not analyze *academic dependence* as an empirical fact because their research was focused on political and economic structures of domination. They enriched the structuralist method of historical diagnosis of the region and contributed to the rethinking of the concept of underdevelopment. In order to do so, they critically articulated a set of European and Latin American traditions.

It is well known that academic imperialism has been a matter of concern for the social sciences, at least since the 1960s. More recently, Pierre Bourdieu denounced the existence of diverse mechanisms of domination in the international circulation of ideas. Through 'imperialism of the universal' (2000: 154), a set of categories and theories are imposed worldwide, though these reflect local conditions and contexts, such as those of the United States or France. Accordingly, 'universal sociology' has been a result of the *universalization of a particular path*, emerging at a specific space and time. Syed Farid Alatas postulated various types of *academic dependence*: on ideas; on the technology of education; on aid for research as well as teaching; on investment in education; and others (2003: 604).

At the institutional and financial level, Dependency Analysis was produced within research centers supported by (a) private/public foreign aid, (b) regional resources coming from Latin American states, and (c) national resources provided by the Chilean Government. However, during the period discussed in this paper, the international flows were *nationalized* by the intervention of a strong state. This led to the emergence of an autonomous academic milieu, with a greater intellectual freedom. On the other hand, the partial breakdown of Eurocentric reason promoted peripheral movements and critical thought. This complex experience provided the social frame, the institutions and the *engagement* that were necessary for

the appearance of a theoretical focus that was forged in Latin America.

The passage through Chile was the determining factor for the emergence of Dependency Analysis and the realization of two different processes within Latin American sociology: on the one hand, the consolidation of a set of social knowledges, and on the other, the recognition of a new group of scientists. By the end of the 1960s, dependence was the main topic of Latin American social sciences and Dependency Analysis had a brief international circulation. However, success was more effective for some actors than for the theory itself.

For roughly fifteen years, 'Dependency theory' circulated widely within the field of Latin American sociology, in a limited way within the Caribbean, Europe, Africa and Asia, and only marginally within English speaking academies (Blomstrom and Hettne, 1990 [1984]). In the United States, it was mainly discussed in sociological environments: (a) academic journals, such as *Current Sociology*; (b) Latin American Studies' publications, such as *Latin American Perspectives*; and (c) radical journals such as *NACLA Newsletter* (North American Congress Latin America), the *Review of Radical Political Economics* and *Monthly Review*. Within Europe the circulation of dependency theory was to a great extent due to its promotion by Dudley Seers at the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Sussex. In spite of Seers' efforts, and the fact that some works were translated into English, the writings of Dependency remained available mainly in Spanish (Oteiza, 1978).

Finally, *dependentists* found more recognition rather than Dependency Analysis itself. These young sociologists were struggling to gain a place in the field, and they were able to replace the first generation of so-called 'scientific sociology'. In the 1980s and 1990s, some of them were marginalized, along with the 'defeat' of Dependency. Others reconverted their academic capital into political credit: as a matter of fact, one of them became President of Brazil. In order

to understand the constitution of the new intellectual and political elite in the region this issue has to be taken into consideration but the subject lies beyond the scope of this paper.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Sujata Patel and Verónica Perera for their valuable comments on this paper.

2. Latin American Structuralism is one of a family of structuralisms. This school of thought attempted to explain international economy as a structure of unequal relations. Unlike other kinds of Structuralism, one of its particularities was the historical approach based on Colonial Studies and the long-term overview of economic production.

3. *Militant Capital* is know-how that is forged and put into practice in collective action. Latin American catholic martyrology is an exemplary case of the 'exportable' feature of these dispositions, which were reconverted as a revolutionary commitment within the guerrillas.

4. I have elsewhere presented a panorama of the Latin American *dependentist* tradition including those social scientists based outside Santiago but clearly contributing to the construction of the Dependency approach (see Beigel, 2006).

REFERENCES

Alatas, S. F. (2003) 'Academic Dependency and the Global Division of Labour in the Social Sciences', *Current Sociology* 51(6): 599–613.

Bagú, S. (1949) *Economía de la Sociedad Colonial. Ensayo de Historia Comparada de América Latina* (Economy of Colonial Society. Essays on Comparative History of Latin America). Buenos Aires: El Ateneo.

Beigel, F. (2006) 'Vida, muerte y resurrección de las teorías de la dependencia' (Life, Death and Resurrection of the Theories of Dependency), in F. Beigel, A. Falero, J. Gandarilla Salgado, N. Kohan, L. Landa Vázquez, C. E. Martins, C. Nahón, C. Rodríguez Enríquez and M. Schorr *Crítica y Teoría en el Pensamiento Social Latinoamericano* (Critique and Theory in Latin American Thought). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

Blomstrom, M. and Hettne, B. (1990[1984]) *La Teoría del Desarrollo Económico en Transición*

(Economic Development Theory in Transition). México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Bourdieu, P. (2000) 'Dos imperialismos de lo universal' (Two Imperialisms of the Universal)', in *Intelectuales, Política y Poder* (Intellectuals, Politics and Power). Buenos Aires: EUDEBA

Brunner, J. J. (1986) *Las ciencias sociales en Chile: institución, política y mercado en el caso de la Sociología* (Social Sciences in Chile: Institution, Politics and Market in the Case of Sociology), Documentos de Trabajo (Working paper) 325. Santiago: FLACSO.

Cardoso, F. H. (1970) 'Teoría de la dependencia o análisis de situaciones concretas de dependencia' (Dependency Theory or Analysis of Concrete Situations of Dependence), *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política* (Latin American Journal of Political Science) 1(3): 400–19.

Cardoso, F. H. and Castells, M. (1972) *II Seminario Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo* (II Latin American Seminar for Development). Buenos Aires: FLACSO.

Cardoso, F. H. and Faletto, E. 1975[1969]) *Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina* (Dependence and Development in Latin America). Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Devés Valdés, E. (2004) 'La circulación de las ideas y la inserción de los cientistas económico-sociales chilenos en las redes conosureñas durante los largos 1960' (The Circulation of Ideas and the Insertion of Economic–Social Scientists in the Southern Cone Networks During the Long Sixties), *Historia* 37(II): 337–66.

Dos Santos, T. (1968) 'El nuevo carácter de la dependencia' (The New Character of Dependence), *Cuadernos del CESO* (CESO Notebooks) 10.

Dos Santos, T. (2006) Interview with the author, 20 August, Rio de Janeiro.

Faría, V. E. (1971) 'Dependencia e ideología empresarial' (Dependence and Business Ideology), *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política* (Latin American Journal of Political Science) II(1): 103–30.

García, A. (2005) 'Circulation internationale et formation d'une "école de pensée" latino-américaine (1945–2000)' (International Circulation and Formation of a Latin American School of Thought), *Social Science Information* 44(2&3): 421–55.

Garretón, M. A. (2005) 'Social Sciences and Society in Chile', *Social Science Information* 44(2&3): 359–409.

Hinkelammert, F., Vergara, P., Perret, H. and Biedma, P. (1970) 'Diáléctica del desarrollo desigual' (Dialectics of Unequal Development). *Cuadernos del CEREN* (CEREN Notebooks) 6.

Krebs, R. (1979) *25 años del Consejo de Rectores de las Universidades Chilenas* (25 Years of the Rectors Council of Chilean Universities). Santiago: Consejo de Rectores.

Love, J. (1999) 'Las fuentes del estructuralismo latinoamericano' (The Sources of Latin American Structuralism), in J. Lora and C. Mallorquín (eds) *Prebisch y Furtado. El Estructuralismo Latinoamericano* (Latin American Structuralism), pp. 17–32. México: UAM.

Marini, R. M. (1999) *Hoja de Vida Académica* (Résumé). mimeo.com.

Martí, J. (1992[1891]) 'Nuestra América' (Our America), in *Política de Nuestra América* (Politics of Our America). México: Siglo XXI.

Matonti, F. and Poupeau, F. (2004) 'Le capital militant. Essai de définition' (The Militant Capital. Essay of Definition), *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* (Acts of Research in Social Sciences) 155: 5–12.

Mattelart, A. (2005) Interview with the author, 7 January, Paris.

Medina, E. (1980[1964]) *Consideraciones Sociológicas sobre el desarrollo económico de América Latina* (Sociological Considerations on Latin American Economic Development). Costa Rica: EDUCA.

Oteiza, E. (1978) 'Bibliography of Selected Latin American Publications on Development', in *Occasional Guides*, Institute of Development Studies, 13, CLACSO/IDS: University of Sussex.

Pinto, A. (1968) *Politica y Desarrollo* (Politics and Development). Santiago, Editorial Universitaria

Prebisch, R. (1949) *El Desarrollo Económico de la América Latina y sus Principales Problemas* (Economic Development in Latin America and its Main Problems). E/CN, Santiago: CEPAL.

Quijano, A. (1977) *Imperialismo y 'Marginalidad' en América Latina* (Imperialism and 'Marginality' in Latin America). Lima: Mosca Azul.

Reca, I. (2006) Interview with the author, 28 June, Santiago.

Schiefelbein, E. (1968) 'Un intento de analisis global de la universidad chilena' (An Attempt at a Global Analysis of Chilean University), *Revista Plandes* (Plandes Journal) 28/29: 5–159.

Subercaseux, B. (2000) *Historia del Libro en Chile* (History of the Book in Chile). Santiago: LOM.

Sunkel, O. (2006–07) Interviews with the author, 26 June 2006 and 14 May 2007, Santiago.

Wallerstein, I. (2003) *Impensar las Ciencias Sociales. Límites de los Paradigmas Decimonónicos* (Unthinking Social Science. The Limits of Nineteenth-century Paradigms). México: Siglo XXI.

Weffort, F. (1970) 'Notas sobre la Teoría de la Dependencia: teoría de clase o ideología nacional?' (Notes on the Theory of Dependency: Theory of Class or National Ideology?), *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política* (Latin American Journal of Political Science) 1(3): 390–9.

Development, Dictatorship and Re-democratization – Trajectories of Brazilian Sociology

Maria Stela Grossi Porto and Tom Dwyer[1]

INTRODUCTION

The origins of contemporary Brazilian sociology are associated with two developments: a cultural movement and a failed revolution in the São Paulo state.

In 1922, the modernist movement launched the 'Week of Modern Art' in the city of São Paulo, and this came to have a huge and lasting impact on intellectual life in Brazil. It led directly to the formation, eleven years later, of the Free School of Sociology and Politics (ELSP), which sought to develop a model of professional sociology, dedicated to empirical studies, and to give technical training to students who would become public and private administrators. The school counted on the support of a state government department that saw a need for scientific input into the decision-making and policy implementation processes.

In 1932, the state of São Paulo rose up in arms against the country's dictator, Getúlio Vargas. Known as the Constitutionalist Revolution, it resulted in the victory of the central government forces. Subsequently, the local elite decided that the state of São Paulo would have to rely on its own forces to guarantee development. It was in this context that the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Literature, of what would later become the University of São Paulo (USP), was established. The mission of the USP was very different from that of ELSP. Teaching was fed by theoretical questions and speculative concerns; the aim was to train teachers to raise

general cultural levels in society (Limongi, 1989) and, in a certain sense, to form a ruling elite.

While both institutions were funded with public monies, they also shared another common trait from very early days: both 'imported' foreign staff. Donald Pierson came to ELSP from Chicago. A French mission was sent to USP; it contained some of the most promising minds of that time: Georges Gurvitch, Fernand Braudel, Claude Levi-Strauss, and Roger Bastide, among others. The tension between the utilitarian and the non-utilitarian, between the empirical and the abstract, is present from the beginning of academic sociology in São Paulo and was 'resolved' by attributing different roles to each institution.

Over the years, the discipline also found its place in other states. In the early 1930s social sciences developed in Rio de Janeiro, first in a private institution in 1932, and then in a public institution in 1935 (Almeida, 1989). The early institutionalization of the discipline led to the foundation of the São Paulo Sociological Society in 1937. In 1950, this society served as the legal foundation upon which the 'Brazilian Sociological Society' – (SBS) was built.[2]

From the 1930s, three major processes shaped the future growth of the discipline: (1) the establishment of public universities which encouraged the growth of social science and sociology courses and the subsequent rise of research groups; (2) the participation of foreign teachers and researchers; and (3) the publication of three classic books: *Casa Grande and Senzala* (The Master and the Slaves) by Gilberto Freyre in 1933; *Raízes do Brasil* (Roots of Brazil) by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda in 1936; and *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* (The Formation of Contemporary Brazil) by Caio Prado Junior in 1942.

These authors were part of a group of 'intellectual figures typical of the thirties, modernist men of letters, authoritarian thinkers, reformist educators, political journalists, historians and leaders of the main intellectual circles' (Miceli, 1989). The three authors were social historians and each of their works constitutes an attempt to build a general theory of Brazilian society. They attempted to depict significant developments in the country's history and culture in terms of the operation of general laws of production, maintenance and transformation of modern capitalist societies. Their work revolved around three analytical poles: (1) social class analysis and associated processes of antagonism, alienation and fetishism; (2) rationalization processes, together with secularization and disenchantment; and (3) mechanisms of production, change and destruction of specific milieus associated with certain types of solidarity, cohesion, coercion and anomie. The notions and concepts of these authors, whether in empirical or theoretical terms, were used over a long period to analyze widely differing phenomena.

In this early period of sociology, attempts were made to produce universalistic explanations. On the one hand, Brazil was seen as a part of the movement of world capitalism and of global social transformation. On the other hand, the discipline developed a series of quite precise area studies linked to specifically Brazilian questions: race relations, rural society, class structure and urban issues. This particular period was marked by a more or less linear development until the 1960s. A small number of sociologists were trained and these are considered as the first generation of sociologists.

DICTATORSHIP

In 1964, a populist left-wing government, which had allies in the trade union and rural workers' movements, was overthrown by a right-wing military coup, which had support among the middle and upper classes. As this regime consolidated its power, especially from the end of 1968, the process of sociology's institutionalization was severely debilitated. Some prominent sociologists lost their jobs in

public universities, some were imprisoned and tortured, and many went into exile. The SBS went into hibernation and the sociological community could not organize conferences. Brazilian sociology experienced many other difficulties, both institutional and linked to research and teaching. The subjects studied changed and it became more difficult to carry out empirical research because of a combination of censorship and lack of funding.

During the dictatorship, the Latin American Sociological Association's (ALAS) bi-annual conferences became a significant meeting ground for Brazilian sociologists. This also proved true for sociologists in other Latin American countries under military rule. Other forums were the annual conferences of the Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science (SBPC), which also defended the rights of scientists to freely exercise their professional activities. In 1977, social science postgraduate programs and research centers set up ANPOCS, which promoted scientific activities and interdisciplinary dialogue.

Although the military regime had closed off opportunities for the growth of research, alternative sources of financing were developed. Of particular note was the Ford Foundation, which courageously provided vital resources that funded some private research centers (Miceli, 1993). It supported research on promoting democratic values and the reduction of poverty and injustice. In this manner, and despite military pressures, some research continued to be carried out on themes that the government would not fund; for example, the project funded by the Roman Catholic church that culminated in the book *São Paulo: Growth and Poverty* (Carmargo et al., 1978). This book critically analyzed the dire social dimensions of São Paulo City's rapid economic growth. One reaction to this publication was that the research center responsible was bombed.

In spite of all the difficulties and the limits imposed on its scientific activities Brazilian sociology developed during the military period. On the one hand, critical attention was given to the analysis of the military–authoritarian state and to the future path toward democracy. On the other, the discipline and various institutions paradoxically found support from within the military government, which had embarked on a process of economic development that provided institutional and financial support for science, technology and higher education. The law governing the university system was changed. Also some particularly relevant institutions were given new roles, especially two of them that had been founded in 1951: the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) and the Coordinating Body for the Improvement of Superior Level Personnel (CAPES). The CNPq, which was responsible for stimulating scientific and technological development, saw its role greatly strengthened. CAPES' role was to finance and encourage the development of university level qualifications. CAPES was made responsible for ensuring that university teachers had qualifications of an international standard and for providing guidance for the development of postgraduate programs in all fields of knowledge. Over the years, advanced level training became increasingly available within Brazil rather than overseas, and academic sociology spread its wings. By the early 1980s, many of those who had been exiled or had studied overseas returned home, amnesty was granted to political exiles and new opportunities opened up.

The late 1970s saw in Brazil an increase in people's mobilization through women's groups, urban and rural workers' movements and environmental movements. These 'new social movements' were subject to increasing scientific study. Simultaneously, the military regime's hold on power started to loosen. In the 1980s, this provided opportunities for some prominent social scientists to become key political actors. Among these were Fernando Henrique Cardoso (first elected in 1982 as a deputy senator for São Paulo state and later as President of Brazil); Florestan Fernandes (elected a congressman for São Paulo state in 1986); and Darcy Ribeiro (elected the Deputy Governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro in 1982 and later senator).

RE-DEMOCRATIZATION

In early 1985, Brazil returned to civilian rule and in 1989 the country's president was democratically elected by popular vote. In 1985, the SBS emerged out of its long period of hibernation. Its new president, Gabriel Cohn, observed a movement in sociology towards multiple perspectives, and raised questions:

> Comte made sociology to crown his system of sciences; today it appears to me that that there are a greater number of sociologies than there was sciences in the original Comteian classification.
>
> What is to be done [in this context]? To praise diversity and insert oneself within it according to one's tastes and circumstances? Deplore it and withdraw? Search beyond diversity for a wide ranging unity, by restoring what it originally intended to be, or by innovating and building an original synthesis?
>
> (Cohn, 2003: 83)

Since 1987, the SBS conferences have taken place biannually. The abstracts published in the conference program testify to the trend of increasing internationalization, rigor and diversity of perspectives. The 'essay tradition', previously strong in Latin America, has given way to what can be called a 'scientific tradition,' based on empirical research. It is important to note that quantitative techniques (which many sociologists had earlier rejected because of their association with North American structural functionalism and thereby with 'US imperialism'), gradually came into favor. Change was slow but steady.

The Brazilian tradition seeks to make sociology relevant to society. It found renewed significance, now in the context of increasing specialization. As a result, changes occurred in many areas. Earlier we mentioned that formerly the discipline had built a certain degree of cohesion around three analytical poles. Today, we can see a certain fragmentation, and even pulverization of concepts or key ideas into differentiated categories and specific topics. A range of methods and research techniques such as case studies, exploratory analyses, life histories and in-depth diagnoses are employed. Individual sociologists have changed the themes and methods of study as social reality has transformed.

The latter should not be taken as negative criticism. These changes can be seen as expressions of deep awareness about existing social reality, of views that pay more attention to the empirical and which, in the end, bear witness to the social character of research. What is of concern here is the achievement of a greater comprehension of the contemporary world and the phenomena that characterize it. In Brazil, as in many other developing countries, enormous problems are to be found and changing perceptions of problems transform research agendas.

> One only needs to look at the surrounding world where, side-by-side with conquests in the most diverse areas of life, one finds questions, problems, disorder and ill-feeling that express themselves in many different ways. One thinks of the new international order, of socioeconomic and political processes which are fruits of globalization and which enhance both positive and negative dimensions of this new reality-world. Or one thinks of the advances that come from the techno-scientific revolution and its consequences for life on/of the planet, and we count the splendors and the miseries of these new conquests. The sociological eye is caught and fixes its gaze on the framework of worsening inequalities and wide-ranging social imbalance, especially those related to the satisfaction of basic needs and the exercise of political citizenship. Sociologists seek to understand the rise, the revival and the sharpening of old and new religious, political, ethical and even aesthetic fundamentalisms, which render millions of lives unlivable in various parts of the planet. We can also see that violence has increasingly become banal; it turns into a manner of dealing with problematic personal relationships and of resolving conflicts, whether these be interpersonal, institutional, national or international. Finally, one thinks about moral misery and the absence of sense, and many insist that a lack of sense is the new face of contemporary life. All of these phenomena, whether considered separately or in an articulated fashion, challenge sociology. They demand replies, sometimes immediate replies, ones which are compatible with the building of a reflexive capacity and a methodological distance necessary to construct knowledge as a part of the sociologist's unwavering commitment to the search for truth.
>
> (Porto, 2005)

The challenges raised are a product of society's demands on sociology. Sociology must seek to reply by using the only means which are inherent to it, and through which it

demonstrates competence, that is, through a scientific approach to the study of social reality.

The relevance of sociology's object of study cannot be deduced solely from the seriousness or the urgency of the social problems at hand. Without clarity on this point, it becomes difficult to pursue the goals involved in the search for knowledge, and go beyond the established frontiers. In other words, the scientist's reflection needs to be carried out in light of the instruments available while maintaining its specificity, and reinforce or counterbalance other forms of knowledge, contribute to clarify the results of actions taken, and thereby allow interventions in social processes to be made. This central preoccupation has accompanied sociology since its birth in the nineteenth century, and continues in the contemporary world. This is not different in Brazil; whenever one seeks to analyze the workings of the discipline, one always finds social questions.

Contemporary Brazilian social sciences has become a large undertaking. About 40,000 bachelors degrees and teaching qualifications have been awarded in the three social sciences (sociology, social anthropology and political science; university undergraduate diplomas are awarded in social sciences, and depending on the student's choice sociology can be a designated area of specialization). Today there are 132 degree-awarding programs in 84 tertiary institutions, and 13,000 students are enrolled in social sciences courses. There are about 900 university teachers involved in postgraduate teaching of the social sciences, and a total of 1,700 masters and 1,400 doctoral students enrolled in 51 postgraduate programs. (Liedke Filho, 2005) These numbers constitute evidence of the consolidation and institutionalization of the area, and are reflected in a considerable rise in research activities.

In order to give a picture of what is occurring in terms of research in our country, we intend to present briefly some examples of important changes in themes that have been investigated. The question we ask ourselves is how can we develop systematic and robust

knowledge about Brazilian sociology? To this end we have chosen to use two important national databases, one of the Research Groups registered with the CNPq and the other relating to postgraduate teaching programs recognized by CAPES. The CNPq maintains a register of research groups in all areas of knowledge established in universities and in scientific institutes, and periodically conducts a census of them. We shall analyze those groups that classify themselves as belonging to the area of sociology, although we are aware that many sociologists have projects in areas such as education, health and political science and thus this register may not be completely representative. However, the adoption of this criterion has the advantage of permitting us to analyze a universe which defines itself in disciplinary terms. From a methodological viewpoint, the strategy adopted emphasizes the collective and institutional contexts, which constitute the heart of the system within which most research activity takes place and is legitimized. This strategy permits us to build a view of Brazilian sociology that is not personalized. The existence of a register of research groups also makes it relatively easy to observe, classify and eventually measure activities and changes.

Between 1995 and 2004 sociology went from having 100 to 296 registered research groups. These numbers show vitality and yet, when seen in relative terms, the increase appears to be less significant, as can be seen below. In 1995 sociology accounted for 1.4 percent and in 2004 for 1.5 percent of all research groups in the country. In 1995 the country's Southeastern region had roughly 70 percent of registered groups and by the year 2004, it was just above 50%, indicating that important progress had been made in correcting regional imbalances.

Thinking of the discipline as a whole, it is possible to declare that, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, sociology's initial institutionalization and professionalization had largely been completed. 'In all the regions of the country there were a reasonable number of post-graduate programs that

were in a process of growth or were already consolidated' (CAPES, 2005: 8). An increasing amount of research has been produced and the indicators show that its quality had also improved over time. Also the indicators used to measure both the productivity and the quality of the postgraduate programs in sociology illustrate that these programs have also improved over the years. This development is intimately linked to the growth and transformation of research in this period, which we will examine below. However, before doing so, we shall provide a description of the situation, and then examine predominant contents and themes.

Though sociologists can and should play a greater role in organizing research groups, imbalances exist in the funding of the social sciences *vis-à-vis* other areas of knowledge. This has occurred in spite of positive evaluations of its performance, increasing public and academic visibility and rising demands for sociological knowledge.

Having provided this brief overview of the institutional structure, we can now move on to examine recent tendencies in registered research groups using official records, as suggested above.

RESEARCH GROUPS – CONTINUITIES AND RUPTURES

The history of Brazilian sociology has been marked by continuities and ruptures and this also applies to research groups, especially over recent years. New themes and questions have emerged without the older and more consolidated themes disappearing. Among the latter, we discuss in this paper the traditional areas of sociology: rural, urban, work and political sociology. We have conducted an analysis of research groups over the period 1997–2004, and we have observed that both the approaches adopted by the researchers and the importance given to certain problems have varied over time. In certain cases,

specific approaches and problems disappear. For us such disappearance may be seen as a 'rupture'.

The most visible ruptures are to be found in rural sociology. When the Directory of Research Groups was founded, this area concentrated on themes such as peasantry, modes of production, land ownership, technology transfer and diffusion, agrarian reform and socioeconomic and rural development. These themes were analyzed by applying class analysis and by assessing the evolution of the rural class structure. In these studies one could find reflections of debates on the agrarian question and on the role of rural processes in the development and underdevelopment of Brazilian society. These themes occupied researchers throughout the 1960s, 1970s and even the 1980s, and the vast majority of research was inspired by the Marxist paradigm.

The process of modernization of both agriculture and cattle farming and the consolidation of 'conservative modernization' has led to changes in the direction of research. It is not that the old themes have completely disappeared, but they have been redefined within a context where new analyses and themes achieve a certain visibility, namely: processes of globalization, agro-business, environmental impacts, sustainability and an assessment of the 'new rural'(which is not necessarily related to conventional agricultural activities). The rural question is redefined in terms of 'agrarian social processes'; this is a more dynamic notion that accounts for a range of observed changes. The transformation of cattle raising is one example of a specific social process that has attracted attention. Research seeks to understand the rural world and its new social actors; this constitutes a kind of rupture because earlier studies carried out in the Marxist tradition gave conceptual priority to social classes and class structure in the countryside. Together with themes linked to rural conflicts and violence, investigations of the quality of life and of rural tourism are increasingly found.

Rural studies also examine development and public policy issues.

Urban studies are increasingly involved in assessing public policy. Analyses of the state's role tend to gravitate toward related questions, and these are conceptualized in ways that are more specific and less all-encompassing than in the past. Themes are being redefined; this is particularly true for urban sociology where industrial relations, regional studies, elites, family and population, religion, culture and politics are affected. New directions include themes that are of contemporary importance, but are less all-encompassing than previously. We shall use the following paragraphs to exemplify some of these changes.

Research into the urban question has become increasingly associated with that on violence. Violence has not disappeared in the rural areas, however, it migrates into the urban centers where it is studied from a variety of thematic viewpoints: power and violence, violence and citizenship, police violence, domestic and interpersonal violence, violence and public safety, conflict and violence, among others. In some Brazilian regions urban violence is closely associated with organized crime; in this context drugs and firearms as well as the demand (consumption) and supply (trafficking) sides of the illegal drug trade have been researched. In the case of drugs, research into legalization (called 'decriminalization') and its consequences has featured increasingly on the academic agenda. Research techniques are varied: ethnographic, case studies, survey research and increasingly resort is made to computational sociology to analyze both quantitative and qualitative data on crime and violence. There is also a marked influence of symbolic interaction and ethnomethodology at the micro level. At the macro level, quantitative research techniques reveal trends that contribute to theory building.

It is interesting to note that in the sociology of industrial relations, emphasis has moved from class conflicts toward workplace-related issues. This can be seen in themes such as management and development, management of leisure and tourism, risk society and law, workplace health and safety, social processes and urban issues. Also some older themes, such as poverty and marginalization (which was almost always associated with the unequal character of industrial relations and the exploitation of the proletariat), are assessed in new ways. Re-conceptualized as inequality and social exclusion, these questions are studied in terms of a new perception of urban life, for instance, the lack of adequate housing, employment, leisure and schooling.

Simultaneously, emphasis is given to the history and to the analysis of old and new social movements and of how these together articulate conflicts relating to the productive system, as well as to the dimensions of the 'new urban sociability'. Studies have also tried to delineate the processes that allow this new urban sociability to be constructed, such as solidarity and reciprocity found in movements for peace, dwellers' associations, among homeless people and street children. Urban sociology has been influenced by theoretical perspectives that range from Max Weber and Norbert Elias to Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. In analyzing urban social movements, Alain Touraine has been more influential than North American writers. In many cases, the approaches adopted are ones that appear close to 'middle range theories'.

Current research agendas turn their back on class and class conflict to examine other themes, thereby greatly enriching our understanding of specific dimensions of social life: gender, generations, ethnicity and race. Research on gender-related issues has increased greatly; both continuity and ruptures have marked this area. The changes occurring in society have led to research into sexual difference as well as new family and lifestyle arrangements. One recent major social trend has been a significant rise in the number of female-headed households; this has led to research into the

socioeconomic and cultural consequences of such an arrangement.

Another specific set of issues around gender, linked to policy development and to the education of the general population, has been sexuality and contraceptive use. As a result of the questions raised sociological studies have been conducted into women's health, sexual behavior and reproduction, religion and gender, gender and sexuality, and the family. This research is essentially carried out at the micro level under the influence of both North American and European traditions.

In the area of health, over and above questions related to human reproduction, we also see themes such as drug dependency, medical ecology, new medical technologies, and human ecology and health. In this context, research examining the question of gender and also generations tends to substitute, or is superimposed upon, the older areas of family and population studies.

After the end of the military regime a new, socially progressive, Brazilian constitution was passed in 1988. This document recognized the rights of groups that previously had received little attention from the state. Subsequently, legislation that focused on protecting the aged, adolescents and children was passed. Partly as a result of this process, there is an overall increase in research into ageing, childhood and adolescence and this includes a new area around human rights legislation that protects the above mentioned groups. Youth research examines important questions in the public debate such as the relationships between adolescents and drug trafficking, employment and unemployment, social inclusion and exclusion, drug use and violence. Theoretical focus is on the social representations held by and of protagonists and victims and also on the examination of changing youth values and lifestyles, and research into increasingly lively youth subcultures.

Studies on race and ethnic relations, and their ramifications for questions of Black identity and culture have also emerged. Here with regard to the racial question North American literature has been very influential. Some research now analyzes the question of difference or focuses on the study of relations of equality/difference. It frequently emphasizes the processes of identity construction of specific minority groups, and in doing so calls upon the use of symbolic interaction and postmodern perspectives.

The sociology of communication, which formerly privileged research into the diffusion of information, has exploded into a variety of new specialties. This has, once again, occurred in the context of urban transformation where cultural significations, questions of communication, information society and knowledge come into play. Today the approach taken seeks to describe, understand and explain the power of the media. Above all it examines the vehicles of mass communication in their role as producers of social representations.

The sociology of religion is a field that has changed a great deal. Important questions of the past such as state and religion have lost ground to themes such as Pentecostalism and values, religion and gender, the religious market, religious pluralism and differences, the common peoples' religions, new religious movements, Afro-Brazilian religions and the relationships between religion, social action and politics. Contemporary research incorporates the plurality and diversity of the religious arena. At least two reasons lie behind these dramatic changes. Census data shows that Brazil has gone from being an almost entirely Roman Catholic country to one where a variety of religious expressions are openly mentioned, including spiritism and religions of African origin. Also some white Brazilians practice African religions and some black Brazilians change their religious practices by converting to Protestantism. There has also been a cultural change whereby religious practices have increasingly come to be defined as a matter of private choice rather than being ascribed from birth, and this has consequences for the construction of identities.

In the vast field of culture, approaches that examine the micro level substitute those at the macro level. In this way subjectivity, emotions and the sociology of everyday life become common research themes. Also, research into education has changed; today there is a greater emphasis on the contexts of policy formulation than in the past.

Science and technology studies are constantly evolving. Nanotechnology, bioethics, the information revolution and other new empirical themes have emerged and are increasingly implicated in economic development. The determinants of innovative practices have become a key subject of investigation.

Surprisingly, two areas appear to have altered less than the society around them: sociology of work and political sociology. While many transformations have occurred in work and workplaces, this area does not appear to have undergone major changes. However, some new themes have emerged: precarious employment regimes, informal labor markets (empirically these are not new), part-time work and discrimination in the workplace for ethnic, gender or generational reasons. In a similar way, political sociology conserves a list of themes that are more stable and adds others which analyze the state in narrow terms and the functions of the state in a globalized world.

What stands out in the 2004 CNPq Census are the new topics. While these are frequently linked to all-encompassing themes such as globalization, postmodernity and social fragmentation, they take on a more specific focus when transformed into research problems; there is a tendency toward pulverization. More specialized, more pluralistic, more diversified, indeed it appears to us that the research topics chosen in recent years have taken on characteristics of contemporary international sociological research.

Before writing our conclusions we wish to make some closing comments regarding the international influences on Brazilian sociology. Beyond the founding fathers, Tocqueville and Gramsci, a small list of international scholars, such as Simmel, Parsons,

Merton, Foucault, Bourdieu, Elias, Giddens, Habermas and Touraine have had the most widespread direct or indirect impacts. In addition, each of the above-mentioned specialist fields have been influenced by other international scholars. These fields are characterized by intensive debates and complexity. To discuss scientifically the influences of specific Anglo-Saxon, European and Latin American perspectives requires a detailed study involving specific bibliographic analytical techniques. As such it goes beyond the scope of this article. At this moment, we can safely say that Brazilian sociology forms an open and pluralistic field permeable to and cut through by distinct sociological traditions. This appears one necessary part of the movement that guarantees that Brazilian sociology has a place on the stage of world sociology.

CONCLUSIONS

Brazilian academic sociology has developed as a result of contradictory influences: one of a successful elite cultural movement (modernism) and the other of the São Paulo State government's efforts to combat the negative effects of a failed revolution through the implantation of sociology. The provision of state financing to teaching institutions promoted the discipline's early development. Instead of being inward looking, this early Brazilian sociology received strong inputs from two major metropolitan centers – the United States and France.

The 1964–85 military period, which had forced many scholars into exile, led to a generation of sociologists being trained overseas. However, this had a positive effect. Once these sociologists came back, they integrated various cosmopolitan approaches within Brazilian sociology. This influence continues today.

During the military regime, sociology was under pressure. Regional associations such as ALAS, the Latin American Council of

Social Sciences (CLACSO) and FLACSO (Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, created with government and UNESCO support) played significant roles in supporting and sponsoring sociology, as did the more economically focused United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL). At a regional level, similar political and economic processes within other Latin American countries led scholars in exile to interact and careers to intersect in ways that would not have occurred otherwise, at the same time as, particularly in political sociology, Latin America became an object of inquiry.

As military rule proceeded, 'new social movements' emerged, opening up an area of study. During this period sociology was critical of the state and came to orient itself to public issues. As democracy returned, sociology increasingly turned towards policy issues. In this way the sensitivity to social and political questions has not led to a loss of scientific autonomy in face of public sector demands, and indeed this quality is necessary to guarantee the production of scientifically robust knowledge.

Brazilian sociology has always had a public face and has seen as one of its roles to 'raise the consciousness of the population in general'. As can be found in other nations the discipline faced a tension between 'science' and 'politics'. Yet social scientists such as Florestan Fernandes, Darcy Ribeiro and Fernando Henrique Cardoso were able to transcend these tensions in their different lives and roles. When Michael Burawoy (2004) prescribes public sociology for his North American colleagues he is promoting an agenda which has been part of Brazilian sociology for a long time.

Although Brazilian sociology draws on both international and regional scholarship, it is far less 'international' in its publication record; we believe it needs to orient itself more internationally. The 'syncretic' nature of Brazilian culture has permitted sociologists to be cosmopolitan in their outlook, to creatively and critically integrate perspectives from many disciplines and international theoretical developments.

The need to be relevant has led the discipline to investigate many arenas of national life, and simultaneously to a certain pulverization of topics studied. The historical compromise of the discipline with theoretical rigor has flowed into research and guaranteed respectability. Three characteristics – cosmopolitanism, relevance and rigor – were present from the beginning of Brazilian sociology. The vibrancy of contemporary Brazilian sociology is the result of these factors (and of the tensions between them) and of the recognition that the discipline has acquired. The discipline also reflects the richness and the contrasts of Brazilian society which is simultaneously violent and peace seeking, conflict ridden and compromising, provincial and cosmopolitan, capable of great expressions of collective joy and sorrow, rich and poor; and yet where public opinion polls show that people are frequently optimistic about the country's future.

In his presidential address to the First Brazilian Sociology Conference in 1954, Fernando de Azevedo highlighted a dimension that has been constant throughout the development of Brazilian sociology; while the problems investigated have most frequently been Brazilian, the references used are those of international sociology. He said 'it is this spirit which leads us to rethink the problems, theoretical or concrete, not as a function of overemphasized particularisms, which are to a great extent anachronisms, but in the light of our common destiny and of our universalistic vocation, as men of science' (Azevedo, 2003: 27)

NOTES

2. The São Paulo Sociology Society was founded in 1934 and registered on 4 June 1937. On 19 January 1950 it was decided to transform it into a national society – SBS – and a new statute was adopted on 3 March 1950.

REFERENCES

Almeida, M. H. T. (1989) 'Dilemas da Institucionalização das Ciências Sociais no Rio de Janeiro' (Dilemas of Social Sciences' Insitutionalization in Rio de Janeiro) in S. Miceli (ed.) pp. 111–87.

Azevedo, F. (2003) ´Oração Inaugural´ I Congresso Brasileiro de Sociologia, 1954' (First Brazilian Sociology Conference, Inaugural Address), in C. Barreira (ed.) *A Sociologia no Tempo: Memória, Imaginação e Utopia* (Sociology through Time: Memory, Imagination, Utopia), pp. 19–31. São Paulo: Cortez.

Burawoy, M. (2004) 'For Public Sociology', *American Sociological Review* 70(1): 4–28.

CAPES (2005) 'Relatório Anual: Avaliação Continuada – 2005 – Ano Base 2004, Área de Avaliação' (Annual Report: Permanent Evaluation – 2005 relating to 2004) *Sociologia* (Sociology). www.capes.gov.br.

Carmargo, P. F. C., Cardoso, F. H., Mazzucchelli, F., Moisés, J. A., Kowarick, L., Almeida, M. H. T., de Singer, P. I. and Brant, V. C. (1978) *São Paulo: Growth and Poverty*. London: Bowerdean.

Cohn, G. (2003) ´A Sociologia como interrogação' (Sociology as Questioning), in C. Barreira (ed.) *A Sociologia no tempo: Memória, Imaginação e Utopia* (Sociology through Time: Memory, Imagination, Utopia), pp. 83–7. São Paulo:Cortez.

Liedke Filho, E. D. (2005) 'A Sociologia no Brasil: História, Teorias e Desafios' (Sociology in Brazil: History, Theories and Challenges) *Sociologias* 14 (Digital Object Identifier [DOI]): 10.1590/S1517-45222005000200014).

Limongi, F. (1989) 'A Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política em São Paulo' (The São Paulo Free School of Sociology and Politics), in S. Miceli (ed.) História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil. (History of Brazilian Social Sciences), Vol. 1, pp. 217–33.

Miceli, S. (ed.) (1989) *História das Ciências Sociais no Brasil* (History of Brazilian Social Sciences). São Paulo: IDESP.

Miceli, S. (ed.) (1993) *A Fundação Ford no Brasil* (The Ford Foundation in Brazil). São Paulo: Editora Sumaré and FAPESP.

Porto, M. S. G. (2005) ´Sociologia e Realidade: Pesquisa Social no Século XXI' (Sociology and Reality: Social Research during the 21st Century). Unpublished inaugural address to the XII Congresso Brasileiro de Sociologia (12th Brazilian Sociology Conference), Belo Horizonte.

Dilemmas, Challenges and Uncertain Boundaries of Argentinian Sociology[1]

Diego Ezequiel Pereyra

INTRODUCTION

Traditions are a set of symbols, beliefs and norms that connect the past with the future of ideas, throwing light on what intellectuals should take as valid. They help in the formation and reinforcement of professional identities and reflect upon the field where scholars work. However, the establishment of stable and sustained intellectual traditions requires the creation of enduring and appropriate institutional structures. But, in Argentina, such traditions have not only struggled for survival, but also competed to eliminate and delegitimate rival visions. Here, different national sociological traditions emerged in an institutionally fragmented environment and competed fiercely with each other for a definition of the discipline.

The incapacity of national society to establish a stable and legitimate political system, and the inability of the economic elite to unify their interests and agree upon a national development plan during most of the twentieth century, affected the universities. During the post-Second World War years there was no strong national bourgeoisie to lead the industrialization process, so the army and the state became all-powerful. This led to permanent disagreement between rural and industrial elites, and between workers and the middle classes. As a result politicians were for a long time ineffectual, and economic and political crisis became a permanent feature of the country (Waisman, 1987).

Changing political regimes, which disrupted the smooth functioning of university life, and particularly of the social science departments, led to weak institutionalization of the discipline. Although universities had been formally autonomous since 1918, when university reforms in Argentina began, the frequent changes of regime during the military revolutions of 1930, 1943, 1955, 1966 and 1976 affected the structure and decision-making processes within the universities. These changes were particularly noticeable during the late 1940s and early 1950s, when

the Peron regime tried to control the universities strictly; in consequence, academics led a movement against the government.

The history of sociology in Argentina needs to be understood against a background of this historical process. While the common accounts affirm that the field emerged during the late 1950s, the connection of modern sociology with previous times should also be underlined. That moment of disruption happened in 1956, when Gino Germani led an intellectual movement to re-establish sociology. It was a time marked by institutional and personal competition between the two leading Argentine sociologists, Germani and Alfredo Poviña, who argued with each other and competed nationally and internationally for funds, networking and prestige. The history of sociology in Argentina should not merely focus on the role of Germani; his role was no doubt crucial, but others were equally active (Verón, 1974; Delich, 1977; Di Tella, 1980).

Sociology found institutional space in Argentina rather early, but its professionalization was delayed. Although a first chair of sociology was established in 1898, formal departments were only created much later – just after the 1950s. In 1940, the first sociological research centres were established and in 1957 the first university degree in sociology was granted. But sociology departments were few, and of the small number of sociologists in the universities very few had doctoral degrees. It was slow progress: there were only three sociology departments in Argentina in 1965, ten in 1970, four in 1980, nine in 1990, twelve in 2000 and sixteen in 2007. Since 1960, the number of graduates in sociology has been around 6,500. This weak presence of the discipline was amplified by the lack of a powerful national sociological association and the absence of sociological journals.

Here we examine the history of sociology in Argentina, reinterpreting the traditional historical accounts from a perspective that combines institutional and cognitive factors.

Although some new literature (González Bollo, 1999; Neiburg and Plotkin, 2004; Murmis, 2005; Noé, 2005; Blanco, 2006) has improved the understanding of the evolution of sociology in the country, a study that combines evolution of traditions and institutional development still remains to be done. This paper delineates the different traditions evolving within the sociological field, including its themes and perspectives. It also describes the competition among different cognitive, institutional and professional visions of sociology and sociologists, and assesses how these conflicts made the institutionalization of sociology difficult in Argentina. In addition, it examines how this tension also reflected international trends and internal social demands.

THE INSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATION OF SOCIOLOGY IN ARGENTINA

Sociological teaching began as a result of the modernization of legal studies and efforts to train future bureaucrats to be sensitive to social issues. This was an expression of the rationalization process in Argentinian society, in which the creation of university chairs in sociology and political science played an important part (Zimmerman, 1995: 68–100). Some believed that because sociology was scientific and positivistic it could serve as an appropriate model for the teaching of law and other social sciences. Furthermore, it could be useful to explain the changes of nation and nation-states. Thus sociology was thought to offer ways of dealing with both modernity and capitalism in Argentina.

Although lecturers at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) School of Law started spreading sociological ideas from 1890, the first chair of sociology in Argentina was established in 1898 at the UBA School of Philosophy and Letters (FFyL). This showed a relatively early institutional development in the field, since the first sociological

departments were established in the US at around that time. In this, Argentina was following some other Latin American universities that had already set up chairs – for instance, Bogotá 1882, Asuncion 1900, Quito 1906 and Mexico 1907.

An institutional tradition of 'Chair Sociology' was established. Chairs were created for senior professors, who were vested with considerable powers. Until 1918, chairholders were nominated by the national government from among candidates proposed by each university; later, the universities appointed them without the formal approval of the government. Sociology was taught in Córdoba and La Plata from 1907 and in Rosario later. Sociology lectures were attended by both law and philosophy students, and from the 1920s education and economics students were also trained in sociology. These lectures, together with the appointments to chairs, institutionalized the discipline in the country.

Of the fifteen lecturers who taught from 1899 to 1920, Ernesto Quesada (1905–22), Leopoldo Maupas (1909–15) and Juan A. Garcia (1908–18) had good standing. Their discussions on the study of social classes during the colonial period, the emergence of capitalism in the region and the nature of political reforms in Argentina, contributed significantly to the development of the discipline. The reading lists for their courses included up-to-date references to Marxism, and books by Durkheim, Simmel and Pareto. They also had a clear reformist vision on social conflict and an ambition to overcome the classical positivist explanation of social phenomena.

Their research attempted to analyse the relationship between social integration and political change. Their open-minded perspective enabled these scholars to assimilate different sociological theories. On the one hand, they found Emile Durkheim to offer an answer for upholding an integrated society, while on the other hand they used Karl Marx's ideas to reflect upon the tension in the area of economic and political changes. Their rejection of revolutionary strategy allowed them to rethink their ideas about institutional evolution within the reformist political framework.

Three distinctive intellectual traditions influenced sociological teaching during that period. The first, promoted by Domingo F. Sarmiento, Esteban Echeverría and Juan B. Alberdi among others, laid a strong emphasis on social realism. These authors were known as the generation of 1837, and they devoted themselves to explaining the originality of indigenous development in Latin America. These ideas spread in the region during the nineteenth century after they participated politically from 1853. They used the social and philosophical contributions of their time (historicism and positivism) to draw up a plan to both modernize national society and establish the national state. However, this legacy has not been accepted uncritically; sociologists have criticized the lack of academic rigour and focus in their work (Pereyra, 1998).

Second was the emergence of an indigenous version of the positivist approach. Reacting against naturalism and idealism, this intellectual movement offered practical solutions to social problems. This tradition established a critical vision of society, aspiring for reforms designed according to scientific criteria (Soler, 1959). Finally, it was connected with the third tradition: the sociographic movement. This model of investigation, which especially followed Frédéric Le Play's ideas, contributed to both the creation of the National Labour Department and the emergence of state sociography, which has had an impact on the categorization of social classes in the country from then onwards (Pereyra, 1998).

Sociological teaching expanded rapidly. By 1920 there were four chairs in sociology, and by 1940 there were nine. However, this institutionalization did not lead to the growth of departments. Although from 1920 to 1940 some textbooks and teaching materials were

published, there were hardly any fundamental changes in sociological knowledge articulating innovative theories.

THE EMERGENCE OF ACADEMIC SOCIOGRAPHY

During the 1940s, sociologists started doing empirical investigations and provided new information on the nature of national social structure. Many intellectuals demanded that these investigations be made autonomous from the state. This led to the establishment from 1940 of new institutions in the universities, devoted to research and the training of students in methods of social investigation. The Institute of Sociology (IS) at the UBA, FFyL and the Institute of Economic and Sociological Research (IIES) at the National University of Tucumán (UNT) were set up in 1940. Later, in 1948, similar bodies were created at both the Economic and Law Schools in Buenos Aires. The Institute Orgaz, another social research centre, was established at the University of Córdoba in 1956. IS and IIES contributed decisively to the consolidation of sociological research in Argentina. The IS, in addition to research, also organized a teaching programme, ran conferences, and from 1942 to 1947 published the *Boletín del Instituto de Sociología* (Bulletin of the Institute of Sociology), the first sociological journal in Argentina (González Bollo, 1999).

Ricardo Levene, Director of the IS, set precise aims for the institution. It was planned not only to promote social investigations and research, but also to help the national state to institutionalize research and advise the government on social matters. However, results were not as expected. Thus, in 1941 he selected a young Italian *émigré*, Gino Germani, to design and head a survey on the use of leisure at different educational and professional levels. This helped in assessing the rising middle classes in Buenos Aires and showed the advantages of the use of surveys and statistical analysis. But when

the institute advised the *National Census Bureau* in the design of both the national survey and samples, its recommendations were not taken into account. Additionally, Levene also aimed to establish relevant international networks, although his plan to set up a Pan-American Sociological Institute was not successful (Pereyra, 2005).

IIES was created in Tucumán within a Department of Regional Research. Renato Treves, an Italian sociologist, who had just arrived as a political *émigré*, was appointed its director and together with Miguel Figueroa Román, who had a background in legal studies and was an expert in economics and social planning, made a significant contribution. Its main activities were related to a well-funded research programme that included lectures and social investigation of the region, although like IS it also advised the government.

Though the sociographic model remained paramount within universities, the growth of empirical research by these institutes, especially surveys, changed the nature of sociology during this period. But funding was insufficient, and political instability after 1945 meant that the institutes' research activities were curtailed.

The government, led by Juan Domingo Perón from 1946 to 1955, represented a multiclass alliance supported by trade unions, the national industrial bourgeoisie and the army. Peronism also received support from some traditional political sectors such as the Catholic Church, and from some socialists and minor nationalist factions. Its populist ideology was a confused mixture, which combined corporatism, industrialism, labourism, militarism, nationalism, Keynesianism and anti-Marxism. Initially, Peronism jeopardized the elite's power, but despite this it later enjoyed some passive support from the powerful landowners and the US government, since they saw it as anti-communist. The emergence of such a populist movement, however, was challenged by the urban intellectualized middle classes, and students and scholars accused the government of fascism for its repressive policies.

These groups questioned government control of the university and restrictions on its autonomy, freedom of speech and debates.

But the growth of Peronism restricted, and ultimately stopped, the activities of the institutes, leaving the researchers no option but to resign *en masse* in 1947. Later UNT was given opportunities to reorganize its sociological institute, but UBA was ignored. Thus IS remained weak until 1950, and was only reorganized in 1951. Figueroa Román was reappointed by the UNT in 1948 and founded a new institute, the *Instituto de Sociografía y Planeación* (Institute of Sociography and Planning). He brought together a group of sociologists, psychologists, medical doctors and economists, and made this new institution a leading organization for social research in the sociographic tradition. It published many research reports (Pereyra, 2005), and also played a valuable teaching role. Its main activities were the teaching of sociological methods and the understanding of sociology as a practical subject, research projects, launching of sociological journals and the development of professional groups.

Teaching of sociology spread to all universities. By 1950, there were seventeen chairs of sociology, in departments such as legal studies, philosophy, education and economics, and also in agriculture and architecture. Their sociology courses included not only the assessment of traditional theorists, but also training in research methodology. At Tucumán there was an attempt to integrate state planning and sociological theorizing.

At the same time the increasing potential readership in Latin America, and the collapse of the book market in Spain after the Civil War, led to the expansion of regional publishing in the field. This created a large competitive market for sociological books in Spanish printed in Buenos Aires and Mexico. These included works by local authors as well as translations. Moreover, in addition to the *Bulletin of the Institute of Sociology*, a volume of *Revista Argentina de Sociología* (Argentine Journal of Sociology) was edited but the project was finally discontinued.

During the early 1950s, a serious attempt was also made to organize the national sociological community, with a first meeting of Argentinian sociologists held in Buenos Aires in 1950, in which the idea of creating a national sociological association was discussed. From that, a short-lived *Argentine Academy of Sociology* was set up. This body aimed to coordinate the teaching of sociology in the country, to promote the field through conferences and seminars and to make contacts among different national and international institutions. Also, the first regional Latin American sociology meeting was organized in Buenos Aires a year later, and the *Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología* – ALAS (Latin-American Sociological Association) was established to promote the study of sociology in the region (Pereyra, 2007).

GINO GERMANI AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIOLOGY

Alfredo Poviña, the main promoter of ALAS, had been teaching sociology in Buenos Aires and Córdoba for more than a decade, and had become regionally famous when he wrote *History of Latin American Sociology* (1941). He emerged, after World War II, as the most widely recognized sociologist from Argentina; his writings were translated into English, French and German. However, Poviña's growing reputation and recognition found a competitor in Gino Germani. With Perón ousted from power in 1955 by a *coup d'état*, new political agendas were set. UBA was supported by the government to restructure sociology in Buenos Aires, and at the same time sociological research in Tucumán started declining without government aid. The Institute of Sociography and Planning was closed by the university authorities.

It was in 1957 that a sociology department, offering the first university degree in the subject, was created in Buenos Aires. This happened within a specific political context and was part of an intellectual and institutional

effort to consolidate one distinct academic leadership, that of Germani. Today, Germani is acknowledged as the father of modern sociology in Argentina, because he started the institutional reconstruction of sociology at the UBA. He established and directed a teaching programme which made the UBA department the most distinguished one in Argentina. He also reorganized the IS, and made it one of the most prestigious and well-funded research bodies in the region. Furthermore, Germani was recognized internationally for his contribution to the understanding of the processes of modernization and secularization in Latin America; his reflections on Peronism initiated the study of that political movement from a sociological perspective.

But his appointment coincided with the attempt to exclude all signs of Peronism, allowing a transition from populist to development policies from society and university (Neiburg, 1998). However, the combination of contradictory class alliances promoting these policies made the economy and political system extremely weak. This led both the middle classes and some elite groups to block the electoral participation of Peronist politicians, and the working classes to reject a project that supported industrialization of the country. Germani's project was thus perceived in suspicious terms. This perception was reinforced because Germani was closely aligned with the Parsonian project around which the modern sociological canon had emerged. Strong connections between Germani and American organizations strengthened American influence, and legitimized the expansion of international networks that funded research for Germani's institute.

The situation was further complicated by the competition between two leaders: a declining leader (Poviña) and an emerging one (Germani). The former had long experience in teaching (since 1930), and had been designated in 1956 as Director of the recently created Instituto Orgaz in Córdoba; the latter had been appointed as Director of IS at the UBA in the same year. Their conflict affected the institutional organization of sociology in the country, as well as the international networks in which they were involved. The creation and affiliation to different networks defined intellectual agendas and projects of sociology in Argentina.

Germani reframed sociology in Argentina from a scientific perspective. He believed that sociology was a universal science which could rationally explain the modernization of Argentina (Sidicaro, 1993). It had no linkages with earlier forms of doing sociology and with sociography. His vision (together with his anti-Peronist positions) found institutional expression through the support of the academic elite who came to power in the university after 1955. His major publications are regarded as sociological classics. Hence, *La estructura social de la Argentina* (Social Structure of Argentina, 1955) and *La sociología científica* (Scientific Sociology, 1956), together with his studies on the sociology of modernization (1969) and on *asynchronic* social change in Latin America (1962) were published when there was a new intellectual environment for assessing studies on development.

Poviña did not enjoy such intellectual and political support, although he had been considered the most important sociologist in Argentina for more than two decades. He maintained some institutional power as President of the Argentine Sociological Society (1959–76) and of ALAS (1951–64); he was also an active member of the International Institute of Sociology (President from 1963 to 1966), but his access to the International Sociological Association was blocked by Germani. He directed a postgraduate programme in sociology in Córdoba from 1962 to 1966, but he failed to establish it as a long-term sociology department. While his contribution in municipal planning was recognized, his studies on folklore, sports and history have remained unknown. Despite his contributions, Poviña's intellectual influence declined among young social scientists in Argentina after Germani's rise.

Germani's project emerged victorious at three levels: intellectual, institutional and the

publishing market (Blanco, 2006). Germani was an academic entrepreneur who identified opportunities, engaged in self-promotion and marketing strategies, and managed cultural and social research organizations effectively. He monopolized the main positions in the field, in funding bodies, research and the national association. During the early 1960s he was simultaneously Director of the Department, Chief of the IS, member of the Scholarship Advisory Board at the National Research Council, President of the Argentine Sociological Association, an alternative national association created to compete against the one established by Poviña (1960–1965), and a member and then Vice-President of the executive of the International Sociological Association (1959–1966). Thus his control over home distribution of funds and power became enormous (Pereyra, 2005).

However, Germani's leadership became mired in controversies. He was accused of being responsible for the growing influence of US foundations on research and teaching. Students and scholars, who were against the regime and thus Germani, made demands for innovative teaching methods and the introduction of a dialectical methodology, which he ignored (Verón, 1974: 28–35). He was also attacked by Catholic groups for being a liberal, and they questioned his perspective of the secularization of society (Germani, 2004: 230). In 1963, Germani dissociated himself from the university and established a private sociological centre, within the Institute Di Tella. Later, when a *coup d'état* took place, he migrated to Harvard. Other scholars at the Sociology Department at the UBA followed suit. In contrast, Poviña remained linked with the University of Córdoba in a modest teaching position.

THE EMERGENCE OF TWO NEW TRADITIONS: NATIONAL AND MARXIST CHAIRS

The 1966 military revolution once again destabilized the academic community, leading some academics to seek refuge in private institutions while others emigrated. Vacant positions at the UBA were filled by intellectuals linked with the new government, who criticized the scientific tradition promoted by Germani, calling him a *scientificist sociologist*, and accusing him of abusing the use of American empiricism. The department appointed Catholic scholars Gonzalo Cárdenas and Justino O'Farrell as professors. Politically linked with the new Peronism, they opposed liberalism and promoted corporatist policies. They organized an intellectual movement called *The National Chairs*, which demanded national policies for the university by reinterpreting the Peronist ideology from both nationalist and leftist views and asserting an anti-imperialist position. They held that sociology should be connected with national politics, social demands and popular movements (Argumedo, 1993).

From the early sixties, there was a rapid radicalization of political debate in the region following the Cuban revolution, the process of decolonization and the Vietnam War. Revolutionary ideas and a leftist political agenda influenced many young students, politicians and also Catholic Church affiliates. This process coincided with the growth of Dependency theory. A new vocabulary of social theory was created. No longer were terms such as 'social mobility' or 'social status' in use; they were replaced by those such as 'national liberation', 'revolution' and 'popular movements' which linked politics to sociology. This displaced classical sociology and functionalism by indigenous traditions of thought, rooted in the experiences of popular masses and peripheral countries in the context of imperialism. These changes reinterpreted national history from revolutionary and revisionist perspectives. Paradoxically, these perspectives were marked by an absence of scientific rigour and methodological validation. The debates on sociology were available in cultural and political magazines rather than in academic journals; as a result, these publications became more influential than the few existing sociological journals (Rubinich, 1999).

Hence, academic and professional issues played little or no critical role in the sociology department at the UBA. (An exception was the debate that took place within private institutes and at the University of Córdoba, where Poviña's ideas of scientific sociology were still supported.) From 1967 to 1974 debate raged between those who supported a nationalist assessment of the contemporary situation in Argentina, and those who supported a Marxist perspective (Burgos, 2004). The latter was a heterogeneous group. On the one hand, some scholars believed that sociology could use Marxian ideas from a scientific point of view. This connected them with Germani's tradition. On the other hand, some leftist lecturers distrusted the value of scientific knowledge. Their position was similar to the nationalist critique of Germani. However, when Perón returned to power in 1973, the *National* group finally displaced the *Marxists* in the UBA.

The political agenda of the Peronist government once again affected academia. From 1966 to 1976, every political change had a direct impact on the leadership and the governance structure of academia. The boundaries of the national sociological fields disappeared and the field merged, completely politicized. The tradition of sociological thinking, consolidated over the years, was slowly erased as it was superseded by the political field. Finally, in 1975, the department of sociology in Buenos Aires was closed down.

In 1976 there was yet another *coup d'état*. After that, the social sciences were considered destabilizing disciplines. University departments of anthropology, psychology and sociology were dismantled, especially in the cities of the interior (Rosario, San Juan and Mar del Plata, for instance). Surprisingly, during this dictatorship the UBA sociology department was reopened with a new agenda: sociologists were supposed to become technical advisers. Themes such as social control and moral affirmation were promoted. However, the most prestigious sociologists were forced into exile, and many were killed. More than fifty of the *desaparecidos* were sociologists or sociology students.[2] Those who remained in the country worked in private universities, or conducted research at small private institutions, and became invisible as sociologists (Sábato, 1996). Remarkably, the sociology departments at the two Catholic universities were the only ones which maintained certain academic standards. Unfortunately, this phase of sociological tradition in Argentina has not so far been studied.

TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY: NEW CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES.

Democracy returned to Argentina in 1983. Republican institutions opened the university to scholars who had previously been proscribed. Universities recovered the impetus of academic and scientific investigations. Thousands of scholars returned from (internal and external) exile. Sociology was reorganized in the mid-80s. The field was defined anew, and played a key role in political reconstruction. The research agenda shifted from development and dependency (Portantiero, 2002) to an examination of political, economic and cultural conditions that promoted democracy (Lesgart, 2003).

In 1988, the UBA department of sociology was reorganized into a new institution and renamed as the school of social sciences. This school was also home to the departments of political science, communication studies, industrial relations and social work, and competed for resources and space. The leaders of this school, such as Carlos Portantiero and Emilio de Ipola, followed the Marxist tradition. They reoriented the vision of sociology in Argentina, adding Gramsci to the sociology classics and introducing the reading of Weberian political sociology – an intellectual innovation, since Weber was read in Argentina at that time only from methodological and cultural perspectives. But the task was a difficult one, as they had to interface and negotiate with the other two existing traditions, national and scientific, for the definition of the sociological field.

After a decade, as a result of continuous teaching and research, sociology found a measure of institutionalization that reflected an international orientation. Today, more than twenty institutions teach sociology at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Teaching of the discipline is also included in the secondary level school curriculum. In addition, researchers are trained in the universities, although resources for research have remained insufficient. The professionalization of sociology has opened up jobs for young sociologists in the public and private sectors in fields such as marketing research, voting polls, public opinion surveys and communication.

Sociological meetings have been held since 1994, although they were often institutionally limited and only a few have had a national attendance. A Professional Council of Sociology, aimed to promote the field and regulate the labour market of sociologists, was set up in Buenos Aires in 1992. Sociological journals began to appear; there are currently 73 journals indexed in LATINDEX as sociological publications, although only thirty-three of them are purely academic periodicals or have regular publication.

Despite this organizational development, given the history of sociology and of an academia constantly buffeted by political events and interventions, cyclical crisis and chronic scarcity of resources, the field continues to be fragile. Over the years the mood has shifted from optimism for democracy and the flowering of academic scholarship to a more pessimistic vision of the institutional development of sociology in Argentina. What sustained sociological work through this see-saw battle were the elements of informality and friendship between colleagues.

The interaction of national traditions and sociological contributions will influence the future of the field. Which of them will prevail depends on how they are able to manage the main challenges and transformations of the field: an emergent professionalization of sociologists, the expansion of grants and funding opportunities, and the local development of sociology at postgraduate level. The field will be based on their interpretations, on how they will define sociological boundaries and the role of sociologists in academic and other labour markets. Seemingly, no integration among those traditions is possible; but at least a dialogue and minimum consensus is desirable.

NOTES

1. This paper reproduces some ideas previously discussed in Pereyra (1998, 2005) and Pereyra, Denot and Casco (forthcoming).

2. From 1976 to 1983, 30,000 persons were killed by the armed forces in Argentina, but most of the bodies have never been found. Since the government at that time declared they were not dead, nor alive, but disappeared, the term *desaparecidos* refers to those who were killed but not found, and became a famous reference for diverse human rights organizations and activists to keep the memory of the disappeared alive in order to search for justice for them.

REFERENCES

Argumedo, A. (1993) *Los silencios y las voces en América Latina. Notas sobre el pensamiento nacional y popular* (Silence and Voices in Latin America: Notes on National and Popular Thought). Buenos Aires: Pensamiento nacional.

Blanco, A. (2006*) Razón y Modernidad. Gino Germani y la Sociología en Argentina* (Reason and Modernity: Gino Germani and Sociology in Argentina). Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Burgos, R. (2004) *Los Gramscianos Argentinos. Cultura y Política en la Experiencia de Pasado y Presente* (Argentine Gramscians; Culture and Politics in the Experience of Past and Present Journal). Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Delich, F. (1977) *Crítica y Autocrítica de la Razón Extraviada, 25 años de Sociología* (Criticism and Self-criticism of Missing Reason, 25 Years of Sociology). Caracas: El Cid Editor.

Di Tella, T. (1980) 'La sociología argentina en una perspectiva de veinte años' (Sociology in Argentina in Perspective after 20 Years), *Desarrollo Económico* XX(79): 299–327.

Germani, G. (1987[1955]) *La Estructura Social de la Argentina* (Social Structure in Argentina). Buenos Aires: Solar.

Germani, G. (1956) *La Sociología Científica* (Scientific Sociology). Mexico City: UNAM.

Germani, G. (1977[1962]) *Política y Sociedad en una Época de Transición. De la Sociedad Tradicional a la Sociedad de Masas* (2nd edn) (Politics and Society in a Transitional Time: From Traditional Society to Mass Society). Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Germani, G. (1969) *Sociología de la Modernización* (Sociology of Modernization). Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Germani, A. A. (2004) *Gino Germani. Del Antifascismo a la sociología* (Gino Germani. From Anti-fascism to Sociology). Buenos Aires: Taurus.

González Bollo, H. (1999) *El Nacimiento de la Sociología Empírica en la Argentina* (The Emergence of Empirical Sociology in Argentina). Buenos Aires: Dunken.

Lesgart, C. (2003) *Usos de la Transición a la Democracia. Ensayo, Ciencia y Política en la Década del 80* (Uses of Transition to Democracy: Essay, Science and Politics in the 80s). Rosario: Homo Sapiens.

Murmis, M. (2005) 'Sociology, Political Science and Anthropology', *Social Science Information* 44(2–3): 227–82.

Neiburg, F. (1998) *Los Intelectuales y la Invención del Peronismo. Estudio de Antropología Social y Cultural* (Intellectuals and the Invention of Peronism: A Study of Social and Cultural Anthropology). Buenos Aires: Alianza.

Neiburg, F. and Plotkin, M. (eds) (2004) *Intelectuales y Expertos. La Constitución del Conocimiento Social en Argentina* (Intellectuals and Experts: The Constitution of Social Knowledge in Argentina). Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Noé, A. (2005) Utopía y Desencanto: Creación e Institucionalización de la Carrera de Sociología de la UBA (1955–66) (Utopia and Disenchantment: The Creation and Institutionalization of Sociology School at the UBA [1955–66]). Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila.

Pereyra, D. (1998) *'La Enseñanza de la Sociología en la Universidad de Buenos Aires (1898–1921).'*(The Teaching of Sociology at the UBA [1898–1921]). MA Dissertation, University of Buenos Aires, Mimeographed.

Pereyra, D. (2005) 'International Networks and the Institutionalization of Sociology in Argentina (1940–1963).' PhD Dissertation, Sociology Department, University of Sussex at Brighton, Mimeographed.

Pereyra, D. (2007) 'The Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología. History of Regional Sociological Organization in Latin America (1950s–1960s)', *Sociology: History, Theory and Practices, Russian Society of Sociologists, Moscow – Glasgow* 8: 155–173.

Pereyra, D., Sol Denot, M. and Casco, J. (forthcoming) 'Traditions, Institutions and Profession in Argentine Sociology. A Hard to Solve Puzzle', in J. C. Lagrée (ed.) *Sociology in Context*: *National Sociologies in a Globalised World*. In press.

Portantiero, J.C. (2002) 'Exposición' (A Report), *VVAA, Crisis de las Ciencias Sociales de la Argentina en Crisis,* (Crisis of Social Sciences Critical Argentina), Buenos Aires: Prometeo. pp. 17–26.

Poviña, A. (1941) *Historia de la Sociología Latinoamericana* (History of Latin American Sociology). México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Rubinich, L. (1999) 'Los Sociólogos Intelectuales: Cuatro Notas Sobre la Sociología en los 60' (Intellectual Sociologists: Four Notes on Sociology During the 60s), *Apuntes de Investigación* (Research Outlines) II(4): 31–54.

Sábato, H. (1996) 'Sobrevivir en Dictadura: las Ciencias Sociales y la Universidad de las Catacumbas' (Survive During the Dictatorship: Social Sciences and the University Catacomb) in H. Quiroga and C. Tcach (eds) *A Veinte Años del Golpe, con Memoria Democrática* (Twenty Years after the Coup d'état: A Democratic Memory*),* pp. 51–7. Rosario: Homo Sapiens.

Sidicaro, R. (1993) 'Reflexiones sobre la accidentada trayectoria de la sociología argentina' (Reflections on the Troubled Trajectory of Sociology in Argentina), *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* (Hispanic American Bulletin) 517–9: 65–76.

Soler, R. (1968[1959]) *El Positivismo Argentino* (2nd edn) (Argentine Positivism). Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Verón, E. (1974) *Imperialismo, Lucha de Clases y Conocimiento. 25 años de Sociología en Argentina* (Imperialism, Class Struggle and Knowledge. 25 Years of Sociology in Argentina). Buenos Aires: Tiempo Contemporáneo.

Waisman, C. (1987) *Reversal of Development in Argentina: Postwar Counterrevolutionary Policies and Their Structural Consequences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Zimmermann, E. (1995) Los Liberales Reformistas. La Cuestión Social en la Argentina, 1890–1916 (Liberal Reformists: The Social Issue in Argentina, 1890–1916). Buenos Aires: Sudamericana.

The Colonial Heritage and its Sociological Traditions: Africa, the Middle East/ West Asia, South Asia and the Caribbean

Sociology in West Africa: Challenges and Obstacles to Academic Autonomy

Ebrima Sall and Jean-Bernard Ouedraogo

This paper presents an overview of sociological practice in West Africa and seeks to highlight the main trends and issues in sociological research, rather than a review of the strands in all the countries of the region.[1] We ask what characterizes sociology in West Africa, and whether an autonomous West African sociological tradition has emerged over the years, despite the diversity of historical experiences and social dynamics associated with the large number of states, different colonial regimes, eight currencies and different policies on almost everything.

Generations of African sociologists trained in Western universities have kept the Western traditions alive. However, as a discipline concerned with the scientific study of society, sociology in West Africa is challenged by issues that are posed in particular ways in the region. According to Zeleza,

> the Euro-American epistemological order remains central in the African Academy. Since the colonial encounter, the construction of scholarly knowledge about Africa has been internationalized both in the sense of being an activity involving scholars in various parts of the world and the inordinate influence of externally generated models on African scholarship.
>
> (Zeleza, 2007: 2)

We, therefore, pay particular attention to epistemological issues.

Three factors have contributed to the variety of sociological practices in West Africa, and may allow distinct African sociological traditions to develop: (i) the Western origins and the dominant paradigms of the discipline of sociology as it is practised today in the region; (ii) the local social processes that are objects of sociological research in the region and (iii) the strong demand for some kind of 'applied' sociology coming from NGOs and development agencies in the context of structural problems within the university system.

THE ORIGINS AND DEBATE REGARDING AUTONOMY

The history of knowledge production in Africa is still relatively under-researched. Moreover, there are doubts about the scientific nature of this received knowledge. Therefore, it is difficult to make a statement regarding the originality of theoretical and methodological perspectives postulated by indigenous knowledge. For example, the

knowledge produced by traditional healers and diviners, who wrote in *Ajami,* using the Arabic script and in local African languages, and as well by the Islamic scholars, has not been systematically collected and has not been subjected to methodical and critical reformulation. This absence makes it difficult to assess this indigenous social knowledge. African sociologists outside of the standard Western institutional settings are often faced with a problem of legitimacy. Some contemporary debates among African sociologists and between the latter and their non-African colleagues thus relate to the boundaries of the discipline as constituted within and outside modern educational institutions. Until today, the status of this accumulated knowledge has remained uncertain in Africa.

Colonialism wrought profound changes in African societies and reorganized the purpose and practice of knowledge production in the region. Like ethnology and anthropology, sociology under colonialism became a science in the service of the colonial order, whose main purpose was to study African societies to further the colonial project. In the colonial context, it was unthinkable for the natives to have had any desire to study their own societies outside the political prescriptions of the colonial order – otherwise there would have been no need for the civilizing mission of colonialism. Just as colonialism recruited locals for its armies, this science used 'native' auxiliaries and informants to create knowledge about the 'other'. In the process, it undermined local power structures and institutions and devalued all competing modes of knowing and thinking to be termed as 'magical' and 'pre-logical', and having no claims to scientificity. This page of African history left a lasting imprint on the African elite, many of whom were trained in European universities and used the languages of the former colonial masters.

African sociologists in the post-colonial era had to break with this colonial imprint on the discipline, and connect it with its indigenous and endogenous knowledge traditions Today, several scholars are trying to transcend the colonial heritage and create what Adesina calls 'epistemic ruptures'. 'The "revolutionary imperative" of African sociology is to break with the epistemology of alterity and proselytising' (Adesina, 2006: 139). Archie Mafeje is one of the African sociologists who have most effectively challenged the epistemology of alterity, through his criticism of the ideology of tribalism. Colonialism, Mafeje argues,

> brought with it certain ways of reconstructing the African reality. It regarded African societies as particularly tribal. This approach produced certain blinkers or ideological pre-dispositions which made it difficult for those associated with the system to view these societies in any other light. Hence certain modes of thought among European scholars in Africa and their African counterparts have persisted, despite the many important economic and political changes that have occurred in the continent over the last 75–100 years.
>
> (Mafeje, 1971: 253)

Deconstructing concepts inherited from colonial sociology has been part of the search for autonomy. However, although we deconstruct we seldom change concepts, or construct new ones to replace old ones. Instead, new meanings are infused into the old concepts.

The search for autonomy does not mean a return to a mythic past. The negation of all forms of African social thought by the colonial administrations made people forget that there were valid orders of knowledge and ways of apprehending social reality in Africa. The cognitive heritage of African social thought ought to be valorized, for it can bring new perspectives on social processes when cross fertilized with what has been imported from the West. It is therefore a question of interrogating the indigenous through reason, rather than taking modern intellectual perspectives away from these configurations. It is with these perspectives that new kinds of analyses of contemporary social reality may emerge.

Commentators have suggested that it is important not to collapse African and non-African knowledges with nationalities

and indigeneities. Diop argues that it would be important to recognize that part of the knowledge produced on Africa is produced by non-Africans whose work cannot be discounted or ignored by African sociologists (Diop and Sall, 1997: ii). What Diop says about the diversity of contributions to the study of Africa is true of both North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa.

HISTORY AND IDENTITY

African elite's struggle for a 'civilized' identity as against being characterized 'backward' and 'inferior' made history, and its knowledge the battleground for reclaiming a new singular historical trajectory of glory for itself. African historians demonstrated that African societies not only had a history but that it was not static. Questioning colonialization allowed these elite to assess the relationship between colonized societies and the imperial powers. For the African elite, making a critique of imperial history and reinterpreting it became an organic project. They questioned the binaries of subject and object, between who wrote history and who read it, which led to the creation of a new philosophy of history that interrogated the colonial conquest of territories, bodies and symbolic spaces together with representation of the African past. They challenged the ideological function of imperial history that consigned African history to be part of imperial history. They also questioned the imperative of restricting history to the themes of succession, marriage, chieftaincy and 'customs'. A methodology to chronicle, study and collect local texts evolved. Imperial history exaggerated conflicts, war and pillage[2] within pre-colonial African society to legitimize their rule.

An alternative interpretation of history situated Africa within the globe. 'One of the most remarkable and the most innovative aspects of the pan African thought of Padmore, James and Nkrumah is the central

place that they give to reflection on Africa's history, and the history of people of African origin' (M'Bokolo, 2002). History for them and for Kouyate, Coulibaly and Fanon was a gateway to modernity and built a relationship with the other through the inversion of the power relationship. This claim to historicity was expressed in West Indian and African literature by the concept of 'negritude' invented by Aimée Cesaire and Leopold Senghor. This black literature strives for the recognition of African identity denied by colonialism and slavery.

Anthropology played a similar role in imperialist history. It justified the barbarity of the morals and customs of the natives and for a long time perpetuated the myth of an 'ambiguous Africa'. Anthropological studies continued to collect data, and describe 'traditional' African societies without engaging with African modernity. It was only in the 1960s that a group of sociologists who had trained in sociology departments of Western universities began to break with these anthropological traditions.

Partha Chatterjee (1990) writing about Indian experience argues that 'our modernity is that of the once-colonised'. This partly explains the ambiguity of our attitudes to modernity as propounded by the West. African societies were profoundly challenged when they encountered the West, the East and the Middle East through trade, religion, the slave trades and colonialism. As public spheres were redefined with the birth of the independent states and the spread of educational institutions modelled according to the Christian West or in the Islamic (Middle) East, the search for freedom and the autonomy of the subject in Africa grew. The struggle for freedom and the attempts to produce African modernities were (are being) carried out using partly intellectual as well as other kinds of weapons identical to those of the colonizers and dominant powers of the globe (Macamo, 2005). African nationalist movements sought at once to free their societies from colonial domination, build nation-states and

eradicate the scourges of poverty, ignorance and disease through 'development'.

Hesitant Institutionalization of Sociology

There was a gradual institutionalization of sociology in West Africa when universities were established in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Ghana. Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone is the oldest among them. Social science disciplines in these universities were imported to West Africa as part of colonialism. The use of European languages, such as English, French and Portuguese, in teaching and research, together with institutional and individual linkages with the Northern networks, led to the domination of Western schools of thought. Several African universities were mere extensions or affiliates of European universities. For example, Dakar University until 1971, eleven years after Senegal obtained its independence, remained a French University and was referred to as the '18th French University'. Africanization of the curriculum, the teaching staff and the textbooks began only in 1971.

The former Portuguese colonies of West Africa, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde had no universities until very recently and yet had developed a distinct sociological tradition around the figure of Amilcar Cabral, whose analysis of the social structure of the Balante and other ethnic groups of Guinea Bissau is to this day one of the finest sociological analyses of West African societies (Cabral, 1980). Cabral's works and Marxism allowed these scholars to build a new sociological understanding of contemporary West Africa. In 1984, Guinea Bissau's main research centre, the Institute of Advanced Scientific Studies (ISES), was replaced by the National Institute of Research and Planning (INEP). Today, the country has two universities, one public (Amilcar Cabral University) and the other private (*Colinas de Boé* University).

At the end of the 1970s, the institutional base for sociological practice began to expand. New universities were created in all the countries of the region and enroled a large numbers of students in social science faculties, especially in sociology. The creation of African universities became important in Ghana and Nigeria when these countries became independent (in 1957 and 1960, respectively). The *Universite d'Abidjan in Cote d'Ivoire*, and *Universite National du Benin* were established in 1971.

During the 1980s, with the economy in crisis, and structural adjustment policies in place, the World Bank decided that higher education was an expensive luxury for Africa. Consequently, university budgets were reduced and universities were encouraged to offer more marketable programmes. The teaching of sociology was almost totally banned at the University of Dakar following the May 1968 student uprisings that occurred in France, Senegal and many other countries, before being annexed to the Department of Philosophy.

However, sociology later regained prominence. In 1998, a proper sociology department was reopened at Dakar University, in the meantime renamed *Université Cheikh Anta Diop* (Samb, 2003). Similar developments occurred in many other African countries such as Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo), and Malawi, wherein a newly created Gaston Berger University, Saint-Louis, Senegal (1990), opened up more opportunities for sociological research.

Research themes include ethnicity, religious movements, national unity, regional integration, land and agrarian issues, poverty, gender issues, development, urbanization, youth-hood, conflict and globalization.

Contemporary researchers have used the critical writings of Hountondji, Marcian Towa and Abdou Toure, as well as Marxist theory, to assess whether the study of African societies is best done through indigenous knowledge and its philosophical conceptualizations or through the works of Hegel and Marx. The universities allowed these

researchers through interdisciplinary perspectives to challenge the epistemological, methodological and theoretical academic traditions of the West, of which they were in some respects the African inheritors.

When economic issues forced their way into the discussions over the building of the nation-states in Africa, Samir Amin took the lead in formulating an alternative perspective, and disengaged with the unimaginative liberal precepts. From the economics faculties the debate moved into the sociology and geography departments, all of which needed scientific argument that could carry forward the struggle for emancipation that African scholars sought.

Publication of papers, articles and books, underdeveloped until then, began to appear. However, sociology journals based in the region were few and often irregular (with the exception of the African Sociological Review). Many multidisciplinary social science journals published articles from various disciplines (Chentouf, 2006).

Although autonomous research and higher education institutions have now been established in most independent African countries, the foundations for strong academic cultures and theoretical propositions are yet to take root. The economic adjustments of the 1980s and 1990s came too quickly to restrict development of the institutions and frustrate hopes for progress of the science of sociology. The most severe attacks on the discipline came from the NGOs and international institutions that forced academic institutions to abandon basic research and conduct applied research.

As the researchers themselves became poorer, sociology became an auxiliary of development and began 'accompanying' development projects. Sociology began to be used against the resistance of populations still engulfed in the logic of the past, and who refused the modernity that was being imposed on them. A new phase in the evolution of sociology is emerging and undermining the vitality and inventive nature of the discipline, by imposing standardized methods on it as well as theories that are ordered by experts informing the agencies of the North: their main preoccupation is the impact of their programmes on the African populations. It must be noted that we are still in this new 'impact-driven' and instrumentalist orientation of a sociology that is far removed from its initial vocation: the rational understanding of 'social facts'.

Sociological tradition implies the accumulation and centralization of methods in debate with the outcomes of sociological research and not the freezing of knowledge in terms of religious dogma. Does such a tradition exist in the African academy? Despite efforts that organizations such as the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the national associations of sociology, we are yet to see the emergence of such a tradition. Fragmentation is still the rule, and this fragmentation has led to the creation of micro-academic spaces that are as fragile as they are ephemeral.

INDIGENOUS SOCIOLOGY, AUTONOMOUS KNOWLEDGES AND MICRO-ACADEMIC SPACES

The debate regarding the nature of African sociology, the discipline and what counts for sociological knowledge was sparked off by Akinsola Akiwowo, when he argued that 'mainstream sociology can be enriched by insights brought from African oral literature, in general, and a genre of Yoruba oral poetry, in particular' (Akiwowo, 1986; Akiwowo, 1999: 116). Unlike the contention of some of his critics who argued that Akiwowo was trying to find 'Yoruba equivalents of English concepts', Lawuyi and Taiwo (1990) suggest Akiwowo attempted 'the creation of indigenous sociology in Nigeria', a tradition of sociology that would 'take firm root in the intellectual soil of a non-western society' (Akiwowo, 1999: 119–120). Akiwowo argued that sociology needs 'a shift in the mental orientation of sociologists from the "fuzzy" positivistic universalistic tradition

of sociological explanation to an understanding of the logic of thinking that exists in an oral tradition of knowing' (Akiwowo, 1999: 120).

In Africa, sociology has benefited from the nationalist/post-colonial project. 'Sociology flourished as the number of universities and student enrolments grew exponentially. As an intellectual project, sociology flourished in the wake of the rebellion against alterity. A segment of it took on a radical anti-imperialist orientation' (Adesina, 2006: 138). The 'rebellion' critiqued theories serving the colonial or neocolonial projects and attempted to produce alternative and autonomous theories. Efforts were even deployed towards developing alternative methodologies (Niang, 2000). These efforts went as far as trying to frame 'afro-centrist' paradigms in all disciplines, or at least to break with what Mahmood Mamdani has called science 'by analogy'.

Responses to the different strands took several forms, but, in all cases, the scientific and political motivations were difficult to disentangle. Jean Copans, for instance, has argued that Senegalese scholarship was for a long time driven by political concerns and was therefore overly 'nationalistic', with too frequent references to Cheikh Anta Diop's theses on Ancient Egypt and on the anteriority and greatness of African civilizations and cultures (Copans, 1990).

Nigeria illustrates the plurality of sociological traditions that prevail in Africa. There are three major kinds of tradition in this country. First, there are the more or less local expressions of traditions emanating from European and North American sociologies. After all, textbooks of sociology, until today, include the works of Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Parsons, Bourdieu, Touraine, Lefebvre, Boudon, Mendras, Elias, etc. Second, the tradition started by Akinsola Akiwowo in Ife is still alive; a tradition of seeking to approach issues from locally grounded, bottom-up perspectives. Some of the upholders of this tradition see a link between their approach and the works of Ibn Khaldoun. The sociology of Khaldoun was among the courses taught in Ife and Sokoto, the main aim being to see how to promote it as a way of approaching social processes.[3] Many of the upholders of this tradition are networked with scholars of the south, in part through the International Sociology Association, whose journals have carried articles on themes of indigenous/autonomous sociology (Alatas, 2006a; Alatas, 2006b; Patel, 2006; Sitas, 2006).

A third tradition is that of Islam-informed social science. Efforts were made in the 1980s, particularly in Sokoto, to establish this tradition that attempts to make economics, politics, sociology and other sciences be informed by Islamic perspectives. Upholders of this tradition met with opposition from other scholars who questioned the methodologies it used. This third tradition is more important in North Africa, particularly in Egypt, where Islam has had a great influence on knowledge production (Chentouf, 2006).

The 'natural vocation of sociology is to steep itself in the study of its social environment as a totality with a view to contributing to increasing its understanding' (Samb, 2003). For African sociologists, this means 'taking our locales seriously' (Adesina, 2006). A whole series of ethnographic studies of family structures and castes, and specific cultures, traditions and values have been carried out. Abdoulaye Bara Diop's work on Wolof society and Wolof families (Diop, 1981); and Bubacar Ly's study of honour among the Peul and Wolof are good examples (Diop and Sall, 1997).

In truth, African sociological production has become both more important in terms of the number and range of publications, and is richer than its representation in reviews. Diop and Sall have shown the range of contributors and themes in Senegalese studies (Diop and Sall, 1997). These studies have focused on trajectories of the state and politics in Africa (Diop, 1994; Mamdani, 1996; Diop, 2005). These have analysed the transition from colonial administrations to: the institutionalization of the post-colonial state; the struggles for democracy and full

citizenship rights in the developmental state; and structural adjustment and the state.

The most important themes studied were the processes of building 'nations' by multiple ethno-linguistic groups in context with received colonial administrative and political institutions on the one hand and contemporary structural adjustment and globalization processes on the other. The dominant approaches were somewhat 'statist'. Thus, the study of cross-border networks of traders and religious movements was informed by a state logic in terms of assessing the extent to which interstate boundaries were being redrawn. Rather it should have been analysed as being an effect of the process of colonial partition of West Africa, the failure of effective formation of nation-states and the production of new social spaces, in the context of the newly formed post-colonial states (Igue and Soule, 1991).

Closely linked to the study of the state was the theme of modernity. Mafeje has shown how a number of anthropologists have lamented the '"disintegration" of traditional African societies, the loss of their pristine "equilibrium and cohesion"; and viewed with horror and some concern the "degradation of the African ethic"' (Mafeje, 1971: 255). Several sociological studies were aimed at exploring the various ways in which Africans were coping with/negotiating/producing their own modernity; i.e. confronting the challenges imposed on them by the history of the continent. In the late 1980s, a well-known Algerian sociologist, Ali El-Kenz, led a group of researchers to carry out a series of studies titled *Algeria: The Challenge of Modernity* (El-Kenz, 1990). Similar initiatives, often by multidisciplinary teams of scholars, have been carried out on themes that are basically about the different ways in which societies are grappling with modernity.

Conflict is another important theme. West Africa had a prolonged number of civil wars during the 1980s and 1990s, such as the Liberian and Sierra Leone civil wars, the conflict in Casamance and the Niger Delta conflicts. As has already been noted, nation and state building, like development,

were state projects, the realization of which included the significant expansion of education, health and similar sectors. The issues of social inequalities and the marginalization of large sections of the populations of the region have been key concerns. Violent conflict was the most glaring manifestation of the crisis of the nation-state project (Ouedraogo and Sall, 2008).

These diverse connections show that analysis of the emergence of a common space of debate and the production of collective rules on the practice of the science cannot be confused with a geographical space. The influence of processes and contemporary globalization impact not only the West African region but the entire continent. Thus with others within the continent, West African sociologists engage in the collective endeavour to free the continent from foreign intellectual domination. In these circumstances, the challenges of autonomy remain formidable, but there is an endeavour to make a singular history and to organize anew the role of knowledge.

This agenda has hardly changed with freedom from colonial domination and apartheid. Nation building and development, both conceptualized as short cuts to 'development', itself a shorthand for modernity, are however an unfinished business. If anything, with globalization, the challenges for freedom, and for building independent, peaceful, cohesive and democratic societies, to realize 'development', are even more formidable today. Globalization has both broadened the range of actors and intensified the flows and interactions involving African societies. The challenge of 'controlling one's historic destiny' (El-Kenz, 1990) is therefore becoming more formidable, both at individual and community levels, and at national and continental levels. Particular attention needs to be given to the mediators of social change, such as social movements, whose roles in the invention of 'nations' of liberated citizens and an Africa of autonomous subjects/citizens, have been crucial.

The most illustrative of the 'exemplary ideas' that West African sociology has contributed to

the discipline is in the study of gender issues. Ifi Amadiume's seminal work on gender relations and dynamics among the Igbo of Nigeria is a case in point. Amadiume, in her book *Male Daughters and Female Husbands* argues that gender and sex are not to be confused, and that gender has perhaps much more to do with social roles than biological differentiations. Among the Igbo of Nigeria, gender construction was flexible, which meant that 'gender was separate from biological sex. Daughters could become sons and consequently male. Daughters and women in general could be husbands to wives and consequently males in relation to their wives' (Amadiume, 1987: 15). Certain roles were 'neither rigidly masculinized, nor feminized', given 'the structures that enabled women to achieve power. Women, in pre-colonial society, could play roles that were usually monopolized by men and therefore classified as males for the purposes of power'. Unfortunately, 'pro-female institutions' and women's power were later 'eroded both by the church and the colonial administration' (Amadiume, 1987: 132).

These themes, however, are not always those that could lead to autonomous African research. The demands of international politics (to which African sociology has become hooked) are what determine research themes and modes of valorization of sociological studies. Like African history, much of African sociology is also largely driven by external demands and is becoming gradually disconnected from the real sociological traditions of Europe. It is not always dealing with concrete facts, and it is in some respects too sacralized to be fertilized by locally produced theories that take into consideration the social realities of Africa. African sociology has therefore entered into a phase in which the risks of stagnation and conceptual sterility are high

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, one can see that, prior to the introduction of sociology as a modern social science, there were many ways of reading society, in the form of cognitive sciences. Western sociology that came with colonialism made African subjects into objects. The challenge of autonomy, which is a challenge of (social) transformation, obliges African sociology to look at social processes at local and global levels from below. African sociology has for a long time been dominated by the nationalist/modernist/development/social transformation projects or the responses to these.

The treatment of African societies in contemporary Western sociological practice is informed by distorted perception. Political and social domination requires a knowledge that can assess the conquest and control of individuals and whole societies. Science needs to cater to what can be called *une science du commandment* (a science in the service of power). Bernard Delfendahl suggests that the science of anthropology has become instrumentalized and part of *un savoir-saisie* (catch-control knowledge). In criticizing the transformation of human sciences into some kind of mathematics, he argues that 'when knowledge is conceived of as a control mechanism and the domination of research itself is a route to manipulative power; the importance diminishes if knowledge is conceived of as a means of participation, of communion and enjoyment by the human being' (Delfendahl, 1973).

Dominant knowledge's main objective is to anticipate the negative implications that would emerge in societies which are controlled, in order to thwart all forms of protest and revolt before they grow out of bounds. It would not explore ways and means to autonomy and freedom among the conquered, except where such freedom would be in line with the imperatives of those who command. An externalist science that looks out only for visible changes of a structural nature is incapable of reading and understanding the subtle, internal processes in motion deep inside the societies concerned. Dominant ideologies have for long been serving predatory regimes, to which Africa has been a victim.

The radical critic of domination and the effects of unequal access to knowledge are valid and need to make a critique of the epistemological foundations of this domination and particularly the current scientific architecture of the world, within which the formerly colonized is still denied humanity. Knowledge that is meant to facilitate the mastery of minds and bodies would give more importance to knowing and understanding, the key constituent elements of individuals and groups.

The condition for the building of an autonomous sociological tradition is the acceptance of a body of practices, theories and methods which treat and give meaning to the objects of study. The architecture of science ought to be reconstructed. The battle should be about the very definition of the meanings to give to our lives. Sociology is not free from all social determinisms, and many processes in the world of science (the scientific field) are working towards limiting its autonomy. African sociology, like other sciences, because it was born out of the colonial encounter, and due to its history and the social conditions of its emergence and the specificity of its area of study, has not been able to free itself from the original rapport in its object, despite all the efforts to critique dominant paradigms. A criticism of the observer, even when the latter is said to be a native of Africa, is not enough to erase the externalist projection of the object of study.

The renewal of the science of African societies requires that the critic be engaged in a double reflexivity which, after adopting the classic position of the observer, is able to discover in the object an intimate dimension of the 'thing'. It thus takes a step backwards to transform the general process of discovery. We do not wish to claim only that the 'subalterns need to speak' but also to postulate the need to break the dominant normative model. This will subvert the African object that has so far been understood as being indeterminate and a passive 'thing' in the hands of colonial and neo-colonial knowledge.

This will help increase scientific understanding of the world that is opening itself to our curiosity.

NOTES

1. We would like to thank Sujata Patel and the anonymous critics who reviewed our paper for their very useful comments and suggestions.

2. J-L. Monod textbook of West African history, inspired by material accumulated by M. Delafosse on the (Soudan Empires) was re-edited fourteen times between 1926 and 1942.

3. The return to Khaldoun is also seen in North Africa as a precondition for the emergence of a true Arab sociology (Chentouf, 2006).

REFERENCES

Adesina, O.O. (2006) 'Sociology, Endogeneity and the Challenge of Transformation', *African Sociological Review* 10(2): 133–50.

Akiwowo, A. (1986) 'Contributions to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Oral Poetry', *International Sociology* I: 345–58.

Akiwowo, A. (1999) 'Indigenous Sociology: Extending the Scope of the Argument', *International Sociology* 14(2): 115–38.

Alatas, S.F. (2006a) 'Editorial Introduction: the Idea of Autonomous Sociology: Reflections on the State of the Discipline', *Current Sociology* 54(1): 5–7.

Alatas, S.F. (2006b) 'A Khaldunian Exemplar for a Historical Sociology for the South', *Current Sociology* 54(3): 397–412.

Amadiume, I. (1987) *Male Daughters and Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society*. London and New Jersey: Zed.

Cabral, A. (1980) *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar Cabral*. London: Heineman.

Chatterjee, P. (1990) *Our Modernity*. Dakar and Amsterdam: CODESRIA and SEPHIS.

Chentouf, T. (2006) 'La sociologie au Mahgreb: Cinquante ans après (Sociology in the Mahgreb: Fifty Years on), *African Sociological Review* 10(1): 1–30.

Copans, J. (1990) *La Longue Marche de la Modernite Africaine: Intellectuels, Savoirs et*

Democratie (The Long March of African Modernity: Intellectuals, Knowledge and Democracy). Paris: Khartala.

Delfendahl, B. (1973) *Le Clair et l'Obscur. Critique de l'Athropologie Savante, Defense de l'Anthropologie Amateur* (Light and Dark. Critique of Knowledgeable Anthropology, Defence of Amateur Anthropology). Paris: Editions Anthropos.

Diop, A.B. (1981) *La Société Wolof, Tradition et Changement: Les systemes d'inégalité et de domination* (Wolof Society: Systems of Inequality and Domination). Paris: Khartala.

Diop, M.C. (ed.) (1994) *Senegal: Essays in Statecraft*. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Diop, M.C. (ed.) (2005) *Gouverner Le Senegal (*Governing Senegal). Paris: Khartala.

Diop, M.C and Sall, E. (1997) 'Scholarship and Societies in Senegal: A Survey', *Contemporary Sociology* 26(5): 551–6.

El-Kenz, A. (1990) *Algeria: The Challenge of Modernity*. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Igue, J. and Soule, B.G. (1991) *L'Etat entrepot au Benin*: *Commerce Informel ou Solution a la Crise*? (The Warehouse State in Benin: Informal Trade or Solution to a Crisis?). Paris: Khartala.

Lawuyi, O.B. and Taiwo, O. (1990) 'Towards an African Sociological Tradition: A Rejoinder to Akiwowo and Makinde', *International Sociology* 5(1): 57–73.

Macamo, E. (2005) *Negotiating Modernity in Africa*. Dakar and London: CODESRIA and Zed.

Mafeje, A. (1971) 'The Ideology of Tribalism', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 9(2): 253–61.

Mamdani, M. (1996) *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

M'bokolo, E. (2002) 'Padmore, James and Nkrumah', paper for CODESRIA Conference, Accra.

Niang, A. (2000) 'Settlu ou l'observation dis-simulée: une technique traditionnelle d'ob-servation du social qui ne perturbe pas son objet' ('Setlu' or Disguised Observation: A Traditional Social Observation Technique that Does not Perturb its Object), *AFRISOR: Afrique – Sociétés – Recherches, Revue des Sciences Sociales et Humaines* 1(février): 156–91.

Ouedraogo, J. and Sall, E. (eds) (2008) *Identite, Violence et Securite: la Enegociation de l'Appartenance Nationale en Cote d' Ivoir*e (Citizenship and Political Violence in the Ivory Coast). Dakar and Uppsala: CODESRIA.

Patel, S. (2006) 'Beyond Binaries: A Case for Self-Reflexive Sociologies', *Current Sociology* 54(3): 381–96.

Samb, D. (2003) 'Editorial: la vocation de la sociologie africaine' (Editorial: The Vocation of African Sociology), *Revue Sénégalaise de Sociologie* 6 (janvier): 1–6.

Sitas, A. (2006) 'The African Renaissance Challenge and Sociological Reclamations in the South', *Current Sociology* 54(3): 357–80.

Zeleza, P.T. (ed.) (2007) *The Study of Africa Vol. II: Global and Transnational Engagements*. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Dealing With Domination, Division and Diversity: The Forging of a National Sociological Tradition in South Africa[1]

Tina Uys

INTRODUCTION

Sociopolitical processes within South African society since the early twentieth century shaped the trajectory of the institutionalization of South African sociology. In particular, domination, division and diversity are key issues when considering the development of South African sociology. This paper assesses the impact of these issues on the emergence of a national sociological tradition in South Africa.

Nikolai Genov distinguishes between a 'strong' and a 'weak' notion of a national sociological tradition (1989: 16). He describes a 'strong' tradition as 'designating an outstanding contribution to the development of world sociology' and a 'weak' notion as representing the specific constellation of 'the intellectual and institutional development in a given national social and cultural context'. The inward orientation of South African sociology suggests that a 'weak' notion is more appropriate here. Two kinds of social relations are explored in this context, namely those focusing on the production and transfer of sociological knowledge from generation to generation and second, those related to the organization of scientific sociological activities (Genov, 1989: 2).

The South African national tradition will be considered in terms of three dimensions that provide useful ways to examine the social relations and social conditions that gave rise to a particular national formation of these social relations. First, the establishment of a tradition of scholarship will be explored by analysing social relationships as these are reflected in academic sociology at

the universities. Second, the establishment of a tradition of sociological organization and collegial relationships will be considered. Beyond these two dimensions, a third dimension is also crucial in the South African context and that is the development of a tradition of public engagement. In particular, social relations with the state, the private sector and civil society will be considered. It is argued that from its earliest years the focal point of South African sociology was the promotion of public sociology, albeit in different incarnations.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRADITION OF SCHOLARSHIP

The earliest roots of sociology as a discipline can be traced back to 1903 with the founding of The Association for the Advancement of Science in South Africa. This association held annual congresses and published *The South African Journal of Science*, which provided a platform for discussion of sociological themes, thereby bringing the discipline to the attention of the scientific community. Periodically calls were made for establishing sociology at university level (Ally et al., 2003: 73; Groenewald, 1984: 156).

The University of South Africa was the first to develop sociology as a discipline in its own right in South Africa, when it introduced sociology as a one-credit course in 1919 (Groenewald, 1984: 157–9). The initial offering of sociology as a service course at various universities was soon replaced by the establishment of departments of sociology under various names and (at least initially) in combination with other disciplines.

During the 1930s and 1940s sociology as a subject of teaching was institutionalized at universities in South Africa. The first department of sociology and social work was established at the University of Stellenbosch in 1933, followed by the University of Pretoria in 1934, the University of Cape Town in 1936 and the University of the Witwatersrand

in Johannesburg in 1937 (Groenewald, 1984: 401–2; Pollak, 1968: 14–15). By the middle of the twentieth century South African sociology was firmly entrenched at university level with 'twice as many sociology departments as universities in England' (Higgins, 1974: 9).

Since its inception, South African sociological thought has displayed a strong focus on the social problems of the day. It could be argued that South African sociology has cultivated a tradition of what Burawoy (2004) calls public sociology, through acting in the interests of civil society, broadly defined. This is demonstrated by the initial focus of sociological research being mainly on poverty, development issues and race relations, with an eventual shift to other social problems such as 'prostitution, alcoholism and crime' (Pauw, 1958: 1095; Peterson, 1966: 35). For instance, the problems experienced by the 'poor whites', that had its roots in the proletarianization of the Afrikaner group exacerbated by the devastation caused by the burning down of farms and the placing of a substantial part of the civilian population (black and white) in concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902 (Terreblanche, 2002: 237, n. 42: 268, 298). Later, the war figured prominently in the consciousness of academics lobbying for the establishment of sociology as a discipline (Groenewald, 1984: 164). Many Afrikaans-speaking whites (Afrikaners or Boers) left their farms to seek employment in the cities. This was aggravated by the extended agricultural depression and widespread unemployment among skilled artisans in South Africa following the First World War (Peterson, 1966: 34–5). Pauw considers the report of the Carnegie Commission on the Poor White Question, published in 1932, to be 'the first important stimulus to the development of sociology in South Africa' (1958: 1095).[2] Groenewald demonstrates that the Carnegie investigation recognized the importance of including a component of sociological investigation from the outset, which contributed to a growing awareness of the value of sociological insights and research (1984: 411–2).

Four main figures influenced the institutionalization of sociology in South Africa. All four concentrated their sociological insights on addressing pressing societal problems, the most important being poverty, while using different approaches. The first professor of sociology was Hendrik Verwoerd, appointed in 1932 at the University of Stellenbosch. Verwoerd introduced a welfare sociology with a focus on reform through social work He had no formal training in sociology and his background as a psychologist led him to seek solutions to problems of poverty in an analysis of individual behaviour (Miller, 1993: 640–1). His seminal role in the development and legitimization of the ideology of apartheid as editor of *Die Transvaler* from 1937, and especially after he entered politics in 1948, is often attributed to his 'sociological background' (Lever, 1981: 250). However, Roberta Miller demonstrates convincingly that 'the man who was chief editor of *Die Transvaler* in the late 1930s held very different views from the man who worked so effectively as an academic psychologist and sociologist and as a social welfare activist earlier in the decade' (1993: 652).

In 1935 Edward Batson was appointed to the social science Chair at the University of Cape Town. He had received his training in economics at the London School of Economics. Batson addressed poverty issues through the empirical study of social economy with a strong emphasis on the structural causes of poverty, its social consequences and debated the possibilities of societal reform (Groenewald, 1984: 325–31, 337–8). By conducting the first all-encompassing social survey of Cape Town using sampling theory and the poverty datum line, Batson 'highlighted sociology's role as the discipline that would provide the tools to identify areas needing social relief, and to provide such welfare' (Ally et al., 2003: 79).

Geoffrey Cronjé was the only one of the four founders of South African sociology who had a doctorate in sociology (from the University of Amsterdam). He became the first professor of sociology at the University

of Pretoria in 1937. Cronjé focused mainly on white poverty through an emphasis on social pathology and cultural sociology and conceptualized South Africa as consisting of separate racial communities (Groenewald, 1984: 289, 336). His strong support for and legitimization of apartheid policies through academic publications earned him the title 'the mind of apartheid' (Coetzee, 1991).[3]

The first offerings of sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg coincided with the appointment of Professor J.L. Gray as the first head and professor of the newly-established department of social studies in 1937. Gray considered race relations and the living conditions of black people to be the most urgent societal problem and emphasized the necessity of using a comparative sociology to study inequality in terms of wealth and levels of development between black and white (Groenewald, 1984: 283–4, 336–8; Hare and Savage, 1979: 344).

From the 1940s the initial interest in the poor white problem started to fade, and more attention was given to issues related to the black population. Hare and Savage identified two streams:

> One was devoted to the examination of social problems within the black community, such as poverty, the lack of housing, and family pathologies; it embodied the techniques and assumptions first found in the study of 'white' problems. The other stream was devoted to the study of race relations, particularly at the attitudinal level.
>
> (1979: 344–5).

A trend towards specialization also developed during the 1950s, particularly with regard to urban sociology, family sociology and criminology, demographic studies, sociology of medicine and of education, and industrial sociology (Hare and Savage, 1979: 345; Pauw, 1958: 1096). Furthermore, Pauw emphasized interdisciplinary research and teaching, for example in the case of the training of social researchers at the University of Natal (1958: 1097).

The early establishment of sociology coincided with the increasing formalization, expansion and bureaucratization of policies and

practices of racial segregation or apartheid, including an increasingly comprehensive system of racist legislation especially after the National Party victory in 1948 (Terreblanche, 2002: 297–306). Apartheid was not a new invention of the twentieth century but built on segregationist policies which had been introduced progressively since the advent of colonialism. What apartheid did was to consolidate and elaborate an overarching framework aimed at ultimately achieving complete separation of the various 'population' groups into separate socioeconomic units.

As part of this process the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 introduced separate universities for the various ethnic groups in South Africa and prevented black students from registering at 'white' universities without permission from the relevant cabinet minister (Hare and Savage, 1979: 331). This led to the broadening of the teaching of sociology through the introduction of sociology courses at the so-called ethnic universities.

The latter piece of legislation especially, exacerbated the cleavages[4] already existing between the Afrikaans[5] and English-medium universities. The Afrikaans universities justified this legislation as a means of providing to the black people of South Africa the same opportunity to have their own universities 'for the full maturation of a group culture and for helping the group to attain a better life' (Viljoen, 1977: 184). The two 'open' English universities (Witwatersrand and Cape Town) saw the legislation as an infringement of their academic freedom and continued to allow access to black students without applying for the permit required by the legislation.[6]

By the mid-1980s the discipline of sociology was firmly established at university level, with twenty South African universities offering teaching of sociology. Unfortunately, the divisions engendered by the apartheid historical forces were also reflected in higher education. The linguistic and racial divisions in particular had led to the development of

three cleavages within university education in South Africa:

(i)   a grouping of the five Afrikaans-medium white universities (to which the dual medium universities of the University of Port Elizabeth and the University of South Africa (Unisa) were also aligned), mostly conservative and supportive of the apartheid government, if not openly, at least by omission;

(ii) a second grouping consisting of the four English-medium white universities, with a staunch anti-government stance and who considered themselves to be 'liberal' institutions, aspiring to strong international links;

(iii) a third grouping combining the nine black universities created by the apartheid state for instrumental and political reasons through providing training to black people in areas considered useful to the apartheid state and important for the 'maintenance of the overall apartheid socio-political agenda' (Bunting, 2002: 74).

A TRADITION OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND COLLEGIAL RELATIONSHIPS

During the early years of its establishment a distinction could be made between sociology as practised by the Afrikaans and English language[7] universities, with the former following the strong philosophical approach of the Dutch and German universities where their founders had studied, and the latter displaying the more empirical emphasis of universities in England such as the London School of Economics. This distinction was, however, soon erased by the strong influence of American sociology, which led to a general emphasis on empirical research and the use of quantitative techniques (Pauw, 1958: 1095–6). The major theoretical influence of structural functionalism on South African sociology evident during this time continued well into the 1960s (Lever, 1981: 255). As late as 1976 Marshall Murphree, then President of the Association for Sociology in South Africa (ASSA), identified a cognitive conservatism

at ASSA's conferences, especially in its focus on the structural–functionalist paradigm (Hare and Savage, 1979: 343).

During the late 1960s South African sociology entered a phase of increasing division and internal isolation. This is exemplified by the establishment of two separate professional associations for sociology with limited overlap in their membership or activities. These two were ASSA and South African Sociological Association (SASOV). The majority of members of ASSA were associated with the English-speaking campuses, and the support base of SASOV drawn largely from the Afrikaans campuses. There was increasing polarization between SASOV and ASSA that corresponded to a similar divide between Afrikaans and English-medium universities. However, it should be kept in mind that SASOV and ASSA also had some overlapping memberships.

The establishment of SASOV, the first sociological association, was characterized by internal strife with the three members of the committee (Edward Batson from the University of Cape Town, S.P. Cilliers from Stellenbosch and O.J.M. Wagner from the Witwatersrand), who drafted its constitution, withdrawing from the organization before its first congress in 1968 in Bloemfontein. The reason for their withdrawal was related to the inclusion of a clause restricting membership of the organization to whites only. Although some of the members of the new association seemed to support the clause to avoid rifts with the more conservatively-inclined members, the reluctance of many Afrikaner academics to challenge the parameters of operation set by the state created divisions in the South African sociological community that still bedevilled relationships even after the union of the two associations more than two decades later. Frans Maritz of the University of South Africa proposed the scrapping of the racial clause at a congress of SASOV in January 1976. When it was rejected he and three other members walked out. Although SASOV decided to drop the offending clause

a year later, it was too late to prevent an increasing estrangement from developing between the Afrikaans- and English-language campuses (Grundlingh, 1994: 56–7).

ASSA was formed in June 1970 in Mozambique. It was not, as is generally believed today, formed in opposition to SASOV, but was aimed at providing an opportunity for closer contact for social scientists in the Southern African region and was generally in line with the government of the time's emphasis on *détente* (Grundlingh, 1994: 57). It was also not an exclusive initiative by the English universities, as eleven of the nineteen South African sociologists attending that first meeting were from Afrikaans institutions (Hindson, 1989: 70). Its first president was S.P. Cilliers of Stellenbosch University. By the late 1970s and especially in the 1980s, however, ASSA had developed a 'clearly defined oppositional identity' and participation by members from the Afrikaans universities had begun to decline (Grundlingh, 1994: 59).

In an analysis of the state of sociology in South Africa, Kobus Oosthuizen, an Afrikaans-speaking sociologist from the University of Pretoria, argued that SASOV could not lay claim to being a national organization as its support base was restricted to a segment of the Afrikaans-speaking sociological community. He described the sociology practised by this segment as conservative and 'scientific–sociological': 'the sociology practised by SASOV sociologists was generally empirical, 'value-free' and structural–functional' (1981: 35) (own translation).

In contrast, Oosthuizen argued, ASSA had gradually become more radical in its approach (1981: 33–6). Its younger members especially were displaying a tendency towards what he called an 'ideological sociology', with an emphasis on promoting revolutionary change to the existing political and social order. Although Oosthuizen's views were robustly critiqued (Joubert, 1981; Jubber, 1981), there seemed to be general agreement that there were 'serious Afrikaans–English rifts in the

sociology establishment' (Joubert, 1981: 73). This was reflected in the ongoing support for structural–functionalism and quantitative methods by the Afrikaans universities, while Marxism and qualitative and critical methods gained a foothold at the English universities (Jubber, 1983: 54). According to Webster (1985: 45) the favourable reception of Marxism during this time was a response to the relentless accusations by the Black Consciousness Movement from the late sixties to the impotence of liberal institutions in effecting change in South Africa. White academics, therefore, saw Marxism as 'an intellectually coherent political alternative to Black Consciousness'.

Rifts were also apparent in the relations between the white universities and the so-called 'tribal' or 'ethnic' universities. The white English universities especially tended to refer disparagingly to these universities as 'bush colleges', staffed by the 'most reactionary products of the established Afrikaans-medium universities' (Balintulo, 1981: 149). Hare and Savage state bluntly that '[a] substantial number of these [white] staff have low qualifications and would find it difficult to obtain an equivalent post in a 'white' university' (1979: 332). As creations of the apartheid government they were viewed as instruments in the promotion of apartheid policy aimed at providing an education to black students that would 'systematically but subtly . . . indoctrinate them in their own inferiority' and also fragment and 'weaken their collective resistance' (Balintulo, 1981: 147). These perceptions meant that the staff of black institutions (black as well as white) largely found themselves on the fringes of both SASOV and ASSA.

In his presidential address to ASSA in 1984, Eddie Webster (1985) called for a review of the organization's negative attitude towards members who worked in the 'ethnic' universities. Webster supported the Vilikazi brothers' appeal to white liberal scholars to become involved in teaching at the black universities and to refrain from the 'contempt that liberal intellectuals have for what are contemptuously called "bush universities"' (in Webster, 1985: 47).

During the 1980s, the international academic community introduced boycotts, which meant that the vast majority of South African academics were cut off from international networks and were prevented from attending international conferences. International isolation reduced the influence of western sociology somewhat, although South African sociology was still largely exposed to the English world and to a lesser extent to Dutch and German sociology.

A TRADITION OF PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

From its earliest origins South African sociology has been characterized by a strong tradition of public engagement in terms of its involvement with the state, the private sector and civil society, the first being the Carnegie Commission study of White Poverty. It demonstrated the important role that social science could play in assisting the state with policy research (Cloete and Muller, 1991: 145). This orientation led the state and universities to appoint heads of sociology departments as members of commissions of enquiry (Pauw, 1958: 1098).

Some sociologists from the Afrikaans-medium universities aligned themselves strongly with the apartheid government focusing on the 'maintenance, elaboration, and justification of apartheid' (Jansen, 1991: 3). The prime example is of Geoffrey Cronjé of the University of Pretoria who authored such publications as *Regverdige Rasse-apartheid* (1947) ('just racial apartheid').[8]

From the 1960s an 'intellectual and political fissure' opened up between the largely liberal English universities and 'their more conservative Afrikaner counterparts' (Jansen, 1991: 19). One of the most blatant examples of collusion between Afrikaans sociology and the apartheid state to subvert sociological research was exposed in 1977 when

it was revealed that Nic Rhoodie, head of a Pretoria University institute, had received research funding through one of the secret projects of the South African Department of Information, aimed at promoting the public image of the apartheid government (Savage, 1981: 52). While Afrikaans universities were increasingly seen as providing the 'intellectual scaffolding for the justification, pursuit and extension of apartheid policies', the English universities were in the ambiguous position of trying to sustain a critical liberal tradition of research on apartheid, without compromising the advantages of being members of the South African racial 'core', in particular their increasingly strong alliance with big capital in the form of research funding from companies such as Anglo-American (Jansen, 1991: 24–25).

During the 1970s and 1980s, sociologists at the English universities were either disengaged from or actively resisted involvement with the apartheid state. They did not apply for research funds from the Human Sciences Research Council, the nodal agency that allocated funds for academic research in the social sciences. In some instances they also refused to submit articles to so-called 'accredited' journals, for which the state was awarding subsidies to the universities as a 'production reward' system (Cloete and Muller, 1991: 148).

There is an orthodox position that presents South African sociology as divided into two traditions, the one a critical Marxist tradition linked to the liberation movement with a research tradition steeped in historical and qualitative approaches, primarily at the English-medium universities. The other is a conservative, functionalist positivism linked to the apartheid state, with a quantitative research tradition, primarily at Afrikaans-medium universities. While containing some elements of truth, such an account is reductionist and ahistorical, and fails to reflect and to acknowledge the complex array of traditions and institutional formations in which an emerging post-apartheid sociology of liberation and reconstruction is grounded.

For instance, in 1961 S.P. Cilliers was purged from the South African Bureau of Race Relations (SABRA)[9] when a committee that he chaired suggested radical changes to government policy with regard to the so-called 'Cape Coloured'[10] (Adam, 1981: 119). Cilliers was a Parsonian in his sociological perspective and was instrumental in establishing structural–functionalism as the dominant paradigm in South African sociology during the 1960s and 1970s. However, his critical stance towards apartheid and his promotion of a wider South African nationalism 'limited the possibility of applying this model in the service of a narrow Afrikaner nationalism' (Groenewald, 1992: 224).

A number of Afrikaans sociologists were prepared to leave the fold of Afrikaans nationalism and suffer the consequences. Two sociologists from the UNISA in Pretoria, Cornie Alant and Frans Maritz, played leading roles in the formulation of the '29-declaration' issued by twenty-nine Transvaal Afrikaans academics in 1971 in which they called for the integration of coloured people. A similar declaration by one hundred and two Afrikaans academics, including S.P. Cilliers, followed later in the year (Roode, 1972: 11). In 1973, Cornie Alant helped to establish the Verligte Aksie, an organization aimed at providing a non-partisan platform for mobilizing enlightened opinion recognizing the common destiny and entitlement to human dignity of all people in South Africa (Van Schoor, 1973).

From the late 1960s and early 1970s the black universities actively started challenging the apartheid state through their alignment with the Black Consciousness Movement. Despite sporadic incidents of unrest, the institutionalized repression unleashed by the state on these campuses ensured that they remained marginalized with regard to the production and transfer of knowledge. The sacking and deportation of Herbert Vilikazi, the only explicitly Marxist sociologist based on a black campus, during unrest in 1984 at the University of Transkei[11] demonstrated the stranglehold of the state on these campuses

at the time (Balintulo, 1981: 152; Jansen, 1991: 25).

In the 1970s and 1980s the state imposed various restraints on researchers in the social sciences. This included the banning of publications considered subversive, the banning of sociologist teachers such as Fatima Meer and Jack Simons, restrictions on access to places and people and the unstated but nonetheless clear indications that certain research topics were taboo (Hare and Savage, 1979: 347–9). In the light of these impediments, it was perhaps not surprising that the members of SASOV withdrew 'themselves in their departmental ivory towers and . . . left it to others to determine the socio-political developments in South Africa' (Oosthuizen, 1981: 35; own translation).

Oosthuizen (1981: 36) was equally dismissive of the impotence of the radical views espoused on some English campuses. He believed that the ivory tower withdrawal from engagement with government on the part of SASOV members and the contemptuous rejection of government policies by ASSA members meant that sociology played only a marginal role in influencing the direction of sociopolitical developments.

Burawoy (2004: 22) takes a different view. He identifies the 1980s as the time when public sociology flourished, especially in the English departments of sociology, with a close connection between sociology and anti-apartheid struggles and strong links with the labour movement as well as very diverse civic organizations. During this time theorizing of the relationship between sociology and social movements took place.

It could be argued that South African sociology has, since its infancy, focused on strengthening the agencies of civil society. Jackie Cock argues in the case of consultancy work, 'the "client" could be *the vulnerable, the dispossessed, and the marginalised*, who need the expert knowledge of policy sociology to help devise solutions and formulate demands that meet their needs' (Cock, 2006: 305).

POST-APARTHEID SOCIOLOGY: A SOCIOLOGY OF RECONSTRUCTION?

Higher education in general and South African sociology in particular has not escaped the contradictions of transition: an attempt to de-racialize and democratize South African society by a government advancing an aggressive market-driven programme of economic reforms. The release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party at the beginning of 1990 paved the way for the reintegration of South Africa into the international community. The International Sociological Association (ISA) was not prepared to approve collective membership for two associations for South Africa. This facilitated discussions between the two organizations with regard to a possible merger, which came to fruition with the establishment of the South African Sociological Association (SASA) in 1993 (James, 1993: 115). The new association seems to be overcoming the divisions of the past with a representative spread of office bearers and locations for conferences across the spectrum of historically Afrikaans, English and black universities. However, its gender equity record still has a long way to go. So far, the three South African sociological associations have each only had one female president, Anna Steyn (SASOV), Fatima Meer (ASSA) and Tina Uys (SASA).

Although the merger between SASOV and ASSA in 1993 to form the new SASA was long overdue, it did not immediately serve to strengthen sociology in South Africa. The increased global access available to South African sociologists meant that we were no longer dependent on local organizations or journals for the expression of our scholarship. One clear indication of this trend is the fact that in 2007, the South African membership of the ISA was more than double the total membership of SASA.

The confidence and optimism with which South African sociologists, in particular from

the English universities, greeted the new South Africa soon proved to be misplaced. The new democratic government does not seem to show appreciation or recognition of the value that the social sciences, in general, and sociology, in particular, can add to solving the problems South Africa faces in dealing with the apartheid legacy. Like many other governments, they do not necessarily want citizens who 'think critically, . . . transcend local loyalties and . . . become better citizens of the world' (Vale, 2006). Vale's argument that the South African workplace increasingly wants graduates with 'the ability to resolve social puzzles, how to argue, and the ability to express themselves in an articulate and even-handed fashion' seems to escape our new government. In July 2007 Minister Naledi Pandor announced the target set by the Department of Education for students in the humanities and social sciences nationally, which meant a reduction in enrolment from over 500,000 to fewer than 200,000 (Govender, 2007).

Higher education in South Africa has become increasingly hostile to the development of the human sciences. The growing emphasis on the commercialization of knowledge production and transfer, accompanied by the displacement of Marxism and the discomfort of dealing with a government still anchored in the revolutionary activities of its recent past has led many to display 'the marks of a fatigue and exhaustion' (Sitas, 1997: 12). Both Ari Sitas (1997) and Fred Hendricks (2006), past presidents of SASA, lament the decline of the initial vibrancy of sociology during the post-apartheid period. Ironically, Hendricks argued that South African sociology was in decline at precisely the time when it was hosting the ISA World Congress, the first time this event took place in the African continent.

Ari Sitas (2006: 371) identifies three major tasks for South African sociology: the promotion of African continental interactions through welcoming students from the rest of Africa to enhance a project of self-discovery; the exploitation of the conduciveness of South Africa's 'social laboratory' to develop an

understanding of global racism in all its complexity; and the development of indigenous and endogenous knowledge bases focused on exploring 'inequality, interconnectedness, organization and social evolution'. This is in line with South African sociology's enduring tradition of public engagement.

Building on its strengths in the areas of poverty, labour studies, social movements and the heritage of Harold Wolpe in theorizing the race–class debate,[12] South African sociology is particularly well placed in leading the way towards establishing what John Rex calls 'a sociology of liberation and reconstruction'. This emerging national tradition should be nurtured, not by indulging in abstract, esoteric theorizing, but in focusing on what South African sociology does best: the utilization and application of sociological knowledge, based on empirical investigation, in the service of making the world a better place for all. Keeping the lessons of the past in mind, the challenge to South African sociology will be not to 'mindlessly protect the new order, but to relentlessly interrogate it, giving power no place to hide' (Jansen, 1991: 11).

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Andries Bezuidenhout and Irma du Plessis from the University of the Witwatersrand and Charles Puttergill from the University of Pretoria for their valuable comments on this paper.

2. Cilliers (Grundlingh,1994: 52) acknowledges its influence but does not consider it to be critical, while Peterson argues that the inclusion of sociology in university curricula was an indigenous development flowing from 'the insistence of local laymen who needed aid in solving several pressing social problems' (1966: 3).

3. There is a tendency in later writing to exaggerate the influence of Cronjé and Verwoerd on Afrikaans sociology during these early years. Ally et al. (2003: 76) states that they 'dominated Afrikaans sociology between 1920 and 1950'. Apart from the fact that Verwoerd only became professor of sociology in 1932 and Cronjé only in 1937, Verwoerd also left academia at the end of 1936 to become editor of *Die Transvaler*.

4. See Welsh and Savage (1977) for the origins and unfolding of these cleavages.

5. The nine South African universities at this stage were divided into four Afrikaans universities (Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Orange Free State and Potchefstroom), four English (Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Rhodes and Natal) and one bilingual (University of South Africa), which is a distance education institution. Although the University of Fort Hare was established as the South African Native College in 1916, it was only declared an institution for higher education in 1923 and students were awarded University of South Africa degrees until 1970. It only started teaching sociology in 1962 (Pollak, 1968: 14).

6. This access was for academic purposes only. See Welsh and Savage (1977: 138–40) for a discussion on the limited nature of the inclusion of black students at the open universities.

7. The third cleavage identified earlier only developed during the 1960s with the introduction of the ethnic universities.

8. See J.M. Coetzee (1991) for an analysis of the four main publications through which Cronjé attempted to provide a sociological justification for apartheid.

9. SABRA, a think tank aimed at promoting apartheid policy through scientific research, was formed in 1948 in opposition to the more liberal South African Institute of Race Relations (Groenewald, 1984: 377).

10. The designations used for racial categories remain a contentious issue requiring clarification even in post-apartheid South Africa. In general in this article the term 'black people' is used in line with the approach of the South African Employment Equity Act to refer jointly to Coloureds, Indians and Africans. The latter category is however also problematic as it seems to imply that Coloureds, Indians and whites are precluded from being African. Therefore this category is referred to as 'black African'.

11. Although the Transkei was nominally an independent university at this time, it could be argued that it was the lackey of the apartheid state.

12. See Jubber (2007) and Webster (2002) for an overview on some recent research and publications produced by South African sociology.

REFERENCES

Adam, H. (1981) 'The Vocation of a Sociologist in South Africa', in J. Rex (ed.) *Apartheid and Social Research*. Paris: UNESCO.

Ally, S., Mooney, K. and Stewart, P. (2003) 'The State-sponsored and Centralised Institutionalisation of an Academic Discipline: Sociology in South Africa, 1920–1970', *Society in Transition* 34(1): 70–98.

Balintulo, M.M. (1981) 'The Black Universities of South Africa', in J. Rex (ed.) *Apartheid and Social Science*. Paris: UNESCO.

Bunting, I. (2002) 'The Higher Education Landscape under Apartheid', in N. Cloete, R. Fehnel, P. Maassen, T. Moja, H. Perold and T. Gibbon (eds) *Transformation in Higher Education: Global Pressures and Local Realities in South Africa*. Sunnyside: Centre for Higher Education and Transformation.

Burawoy, M. (2004) 'Public Sociology: South African Dilemmas in a Global Context', *Society in Transition* 35(1): 11–26.

Cloete, N. and Muller, J. (1991) Human Sciences Research Council Incorporated (Pty) Ltd: 'Social Science Research, Markets and Accountability in South Africa', in J. Jansen *Knowledge and Power in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers.

Cock, J. (2006) 'Public Sociology and the Social Crisis', *South African Review of Sociology* 37(2): 293–307.

Coetzee, J.M. (1991) 'The Mind of Apartheid: Geoffrey Cronje (1907–)', *Social Dynamics* 17(1): 1–35.

Genov, N. (1989) 'National Sociological Traditions and the Internationalization of Sociology', in N. Genov *National Traditions in Sociology*. London: Sage.

Govender, P. (2007) 'Universities told to cut back on arts', the *Sunday Times*, 29 July.

Groenewald, C. (1984) 'Die Institutionalisering van die Sosiologie in Suid-Afrika' (The Institutionalisation of Sociology in South Africa). Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Stellenbosch.

Groenewald, C.J. (ed.) (1992) *Sociological Perspectives: Essays in Honour of S.P Cilliers*. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Grundlingh, A. (1994) 'Structures for Sociologists: A Historical Perspective on Associations for Sociologists in South Africa (1967–1991)', in N. Romm and M. Sarakinsky (eds) *Social Theory*. Johannesburg: Lexicon.

Hare, P. and Savage, M. (1979) 'Sociology of South Africa', *Annual Review of Sociology* 5: 329–50.

Hendricks, F. (2006) 'The Rise and Fall of South African Sociology', *African Sociological Review* 10(1): 86–97.

Higgins, E. (1974) 'Sociology: Promise and Problems'. Inaugural lecture at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Hindson, D. (1989) 'Putting the Record Straight: The Association for Sociology in South Africa', *South African Sociological Review* 2(1): 69–74.

James, W.G. (1993) 'The Founding Conference of the South African Sociological Association, University of the Witwatersrand, 21–22 January 1993', *South African Sociological Review* 5(2): 115–17.

Jansen, J. (1991) 'Knowledge and Power in South Africa: An Overview and Orientation', in J. Jansen (ed.) *Knowledge and Power in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers.

Joubert, D. (1981) 'Oor die sosologie en sosio-loë in Suid-Afrika' (About Sociology and Sociologists in South Africa), *South African Journal of Sociology* 12: 71–9.

Jubber, K. (1981) 'Want ons is nie mielieboere nie' (Because We Are not Maize Farmers), *South African Journal of Sociology* 12: 80–3.

Jubber, K. (1983) 'Sociology and its Social Context: The Case of the Rise of Marxist Sociology in South Africa', *Social Dynamics* 9(2): 50–63.

Jubber, K. (2007) 'Sociology in South Africa: A Brief Historical Review of Research and Publishing', *International Sociology* 22(5): 527–46.

Lever, H. (1981) 'Sociology of South Africa: Supplementary Comments', *Annual Review of Sociology* 7: 249–62.

Miller, R.B. (1993) 'Science and Society in the Early Career of H.F. Verwoerd', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19(4): 634.

Oosthuizen, J.S. (1981) 'Die toestand van sosiologie in Suid-Afrika: `n kritiese selfon-dersoek' (The State of Sociology in South Africa: A Critical Self-investigation), *South African Journal of Sociology* 12(1): 23–47.

Pauw, S. (1958) 'South Africa', in J.S. Raucek (ed.) *Contemporary Sociology*. New York: Philosophical Library.

Peterson, R. (1966) 'Sociology and Society: The Case of South Africa', *Sociological Inquiry* 36(1):31–8.

Pollak, H.P. (1968) 'Sociology Post-graduates of South African Universities'. Report commissioned on behalf of the Joint University Committee on Sociology and Social Work.

Roode, C.D. (1972) 'Waardebetrokkenheid, die sosiologie en die sosioloog' (Value Commitment, Sociology and the Sociologist), *South African Journal of Sociology* 4(1): 4–13.

Savage, M. (1981) 'Constraints on, and Functions of, Research in Sociology and Psychology in Contemporary South Africa', in J. Rex (ed.) *Apartheid and Social Research*. Paris: UNESCO.

Sitas, A. (1997) 'The Waning of Sociology in South Africa', *Society in Transition* 28(1–4): 12–19.

Sitas, A. (2006) 'The African Renaissance Challenge and Sociological Reclamations of the South', *Current Sociology* 54(3): 357–80.

Terreblanche, S. (2002) *A History of Inequality in South Africa 1652–2002*. Sandton, Johannesburg: KMM Review Publishing.

Vale, P. (2006) 'Profiting from the humanities', *Business Day*, 13 November.

Van Schoor, M. (1973) 'Verligtes face big Nat attack', *Pretoria News*, 30 June.

Viljoen, G. (1977) 'The Afrikaans Universities and Particularism', in H.W. Van der Merwe and D. Welsh (eds) *The Future of the University in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Webster, E. (1985) 'Competing Paradigms: Towards a Critical Sociology in Southern Africa', *Social Dynamic* 11(1): 44–8.

Webster, E. (2002) 'South Africa', in D.B. Cornfield and R. Hodson (eds) *Worlds of Work: Building an International Sociology of Work*. New York: Kluwer.

Welsh, D. and Savage, M. (1977) 'The University in Divided Societies: The Case of South Africa', in H.W. Van der Merwe and D. Welsh (eds) *The Future of the University in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Academic Excellence and Social Relevance: Israeli Sociology in Universities and Beyond

Victor Azarya

INTRODUCTION

Sociology is a well-established field of study in Israeli universities. Four to eight hundred students choose it as their undergraduate majors, together with anthropology, in five universities which offer degrees in humanities and social sciences. Some of these students choose sociology and anthropology together with another subject (such as political science, economics, geography, communications, and psychology) as part of a double-major system. The Departments of Sociology and Anthropology in each university have a teaching faculty of around thirty members, about two-thirds of them tenured. Sociologists outnumber anthropologists among the faculty at a ratio of three to one.

Masters degrees usually specify whether students have specialized in Sociology, Anthropology, Demography or Organizational Studies. While undergraduate studies in sociology and anthropology are considered part of a general non-professional education, at the masters level professional aspects of the fields receive greater emphasis. Masters students in each university range from about thirty to eighty and many of them continue to study for their PhD.

Sociology is also taught in the many colleges that have been established in recent years, usually as part of a behavioral sciences or a general social sciences degree. Sociology is taught in high schools as an elective subject for high school matriculation exams.

About four hundred people are fee paying members of The Israeli Sociological Society (ISS), the professional association representing sociologists in Israel. Despite its various activities, such as the organization of annual conferences, support for a Hebrew language periodical in sociology, publication of books in English language that focus on specific topics of study of Israeli society, publication of newsletters and the preparation of a Hebrew–English dictionary of sociological terms, only a minority of those who consider themselves professional sociologists are members of the association. Even in academic departments only about sixty percent of faculty members from the departments are members of the National Association.

SOCIOLOGISTS BEYOND ACADEMIA

A large number of sociologists are employed as organizational consultants by the armed forces and the police. In fact, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) is now the single largest employer of sociologists outside academia. In the behavioral sciences branch of the armed forces sociologists are replacing psychologists in undertaking organizational consultant responsibilities. Currently, the top position in the branch is occupied by a sociologist. Sociologists are also employed by large companies, immigrant absorption authorities, the Ministries of Housing, Health and Welfare, the Central Statistics Authority of the State and similar public service agencies as well as by a number of non-governmental planning and organizational consultancy agencies.

Despite such a strong presence in society, Israeli sociology faces a number of difficulties both within academic circles and beyond. Sociologists employed outside academic institutions still have to struggle for public recognition, for their professional identity and expertise. They are the first to be laid off in case of financial cutbacks. Even when they work, the apparently innocuous question: 'What do sociologists do besides teaching sociology?' elicits no clear answer. Simple and naive as the question is, it hurts deeply and damages sociologists' self-esteem.

Israeli sociologists are also relatively absent from general public debates. They appear much less frequently in the media and offer much less commentary on 'the state of society' than do political scientists and economists. Even literary and artistic figures get more recognition and are more visible in public intellectual discourse. It seems that sociologists have not yet mastered the art of sound bytes. Their explanations are diffident and convoluted. At times they sound too complex, and at other times too simple. Sometimes, it appears that sociologists are more preoccupied with communicating (and disagreeing) with each other than with a general audience. They seem to forget the basic distinction that the general public makes between the professional stature of physical sciences and what are considered 'hard' social sciences (economics, statistics and perhaps psychology) on the one hand, and 'soft' social sciences on the other. The general public, who do not understand medical, or physical, or even economic explanations, will blame this on their own ignorance in these matters; but when a sociological explanation is not understood, this is attributed to the sociologists' own obfuscation, rather than to the public's professional ignorance of the subject.[1] However, if the explanation were too clear, it would be attributed to simple common sense. 'Anyone could have thought of that', they would say, and 'you don't have to be a sociologist to offer a sociological explanation'. Societal trust in the professional expertise of sociologists is low and sociologists themselves are not devoid of self-doubt.[2]

DOUBTFUL REFUGE IN ACADEMIA

Under such not so congenial conditions that sociologists face outside academia, it may not be surprising that many seek refuge within it. However, life for sociologists in academia is equally harsh and uncertain. Even as it becomes increasingly difficult to publish articles in the leading journals of sociology in the world and to have manuscripts accepted for publication by leading publishers, the Israeli universities have raised their demands in terms of number and place of publications in total disregard for the tightening market in precisely those top publications. What was sufficient a decade or two ago for securing tenure is not enough today, even for obtaining a tenure-track position. This is not a specifically Israeli phenomenon, but I have no doubt that Israeli universities have become especially demanding in this respect in recent years.

We all know how long it takes to have an article accepted for publication in a top sociological journal. The research itself may take years. When a first draft of the article is prepared, we are expected to send it to

colleagues for comments, unless we fear that some of our ideas may be stolen. When we feel confident enough to submit the article to the journal, and it is not rejected immediately, we can expect that two, three, or more external reviewers will be asked to review it. Such reviewers usually do not receive any financial remuneration for the job, and they are overworked in doing their own research and trying to publish their own manuscripts. So it is not reasonable to expect an answer before three to six months, nor is it reasonable to expect that the two or more reviewers and the journal editor will all agree on the academic merit of the article. In most cases, if not outright rejection, a 'revise and resubmit' is in store for the article after six months. If we opt to send it to another journal the whole procedure starts anew. If we decide, as most of us do, to resubmit after corrections, the procedure still repeats itself, perhaps at a somewhat accelerated pace, but still there is a fifty percent chance of rejection. We are then back to square one, and another year of uncertainty with some other journal. Two or three such rounds may mean two or three years, about half the time Israeli universities allow faculty to remain employed without tenure.

Why can we not submit our article simultaneously to a number of journals (or our book manuscripts to a number of publishers) and have the publishers compete with each other on who would publish our manuscripts? Publishers would not agree to this. If they did, they would be flooded with manuscripts even more than they are now. The procedure would be more advantageous to authors than to editors, but it is the latter that set the rules, and since we depend on the editors so much, we abide by those rules. The publication establishment and the university authorities make contradictory demands on us and squeeze us from opposite sides.

After the long arduous process, in the few fortunate cases in which our articles are accepted for publication, How many people will read them? Rumors making the rounds in Israeli university circles assume that a sociology article will be read by an average of fewer than ten people, besides the reviewers of course and unless it is put on a compulsory reading list for students. An article for which we worked for two to three years has a real chance of being read by fewer readers than reviewers! Could we not have communicated the ideas or data put forward in that article in a more efficient manner? In a forty-minute lecture to thirty, fifty, or a hundred people for example? Or contributing an article to one of the leading daily newspapers or to the rapidly developing electronic media? But none of those media would count when we are reviewed for tenure, or for any other academic promotion.

These facts are well known in Israeli academic circles. Nonetheless, the universities have further tightened their criteria for academic promotion. They are no longer content with the number of publications in refereed journals, supplemented by additional external peer reviews of a sample of the candidate's publications (four to six such reviews, preferably from abroad, in addition to internal committee members reading the material). They insist that publications appear in top-rated world journals. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem instituted a few years ago a system according to which journals in a particular field are ranked into four categories, and a candidate's publication record is judged according to the number of his publications in the differently ranked journals. And woe on those whose articles appear in C and D category journals, or God forbid, in unranked journals! Other universities profess not to have such a formal categorization of journals but also admit that they are informally influenced by such rankings.[3]

In other words, a potential candidate has to make sure that his/her article is accepted by a highly ranked world journal. But these are also the journals in which everyone in the whole world wants to publish. Hence, the rejection rate in those journals will hover around ninety percent, and the time it takes for an article to be published there would be much longer. The university forces the young

scholar to send the article to journals where the chances of acceptance are lower; and this while more than doubling its demands on the quantity of publications compared to a decade or two ago.

All this, ostensibly to maintain academic excellence, affects mainly young scholars, who at the same time are also in the process of raising a family, and/or taking out mortgages to buy their apartments or cars; if male and Jewish, being called to reserve military service for about a month every year; if female, still assuming an inordinate share of household responsibilities; or if non-Jewish, probably suffering other disadvantages. Who could then blame such young scholars for thinking that nothing besides adding items of academic credit to their curriculum vitae is worth pursuing in their professional life. Hence, the difficulties of professional life within academic institutions are at least partly responsible for the absence of sociologists in national public discourse.

The strong reliance on peer reviews and publications in professional journals can, of course, be conceived as promoting 'professional' versus organizational or bureaucratic control on the work of sociologists in academic institutions (Evetts, 2003: 403–4, 2006: 40). However, the attempt to set up standardized indicators, such as journal rankings, is a bureaucratic measure that reinforces organizational power (Evetts, 2003: 408). Moreover, not all the committees judging the professional performance of sociologists are fellow sociologists. In some of the crucial bodies making those decisions historians, economists, or even physicists or biologists may well play a crucial role in determining the so-called 'professional' advancement of sociologists in universities.

SOCIAL RELEVANCE OF ISRAELI SOCIOLOGISTS

Israeli sociologists opting for an academic career face an additional hurdle. The academic institutions expect them to compete for excellence on the world stage, not only on the national stage. Articles written in Hebrew, or published in local publications, count for little. To achieve academic recognition the Israeli sociologist has to impress a 'non-Israeli' audience. Studying a problem of great social relevance to the country would be of little academic value to the researcher if it could not arouse interest from an audience of another society and culture. An inevitable disconnection thus develops between the society in which the academic sociologist lives, teaches and conducts research and his/her target audience.

In order to publish in recognized journals, the Israeli sociologist will have to try either to 'theoretize' the problem, to raise it to a higher level of conceptualization that will interest a more general audience and show some potential of knowledge generation that is not culture or society dependent; or else to choose a topic that, while specific to Israel, arouses general interest and curiosity, because the Israeli model has implications for other societies.

In the early years of Israeli independence, study of the kibbutz was such a topic. While specific to Israel, it aroused curiosity and interest in the entire global (Western) academic community. Kibbutz has declined now as a hot topic, both in Israel and outside, paradoxically just as the kibbutzim started to undergo extensive privatization, similar to other communal structures in North America (Amana Colonies, Oneida, New Harmony, Icarians). Another such popular topic that attracted world attention in the early years of Israel's existence was the large-scale congregation of immigrants, and many of the leading Israeli sociologists built their careers studying this subject. But this subject, too, has consumed itself. By contrast, because of prolonged military conflict with its neighbors, military sociology still remains a topic in which the Israeli experience arouses general interest and provides career opportunities for local sociologists. And, since 1967, research findings on the problems of occupation and

the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, with its many political overtones, may enjoy the publication short track in world journals. However, on the whole, subjects specific to Israeli reality arouse limited world interest. Hence the needs of academic survival inexorably push Israeli sociologists into more theoretical writing, which continues to drive a wedge between them and the acute, but academically uninteresting, problems of the society in which they function.

SOME COMPARISONS

It would be interesting, at this juncture, to compare the academic evaluation procedures of Israel with those practiced in some other countries. In Taiwan, for example, a similar categorization of sociological periodicals exists and crucially affects the academic careers of sociologists. Journals are ranked according to whether they belong to the Social Science Research Center (SSRC) list, to the Taiwan Social Science Citation Index (TSSCI), or are unranked (Tsai, 2005). This has created a prestige ranking system for academic journals, and by inference for presumed academic excellence, as in Israel. However, there are also very important differences between the Taiwanese case and the Israeli one.

First of all, while the top-ranked SSRC list is analogous to the US-established Social Science Citation Index and tries to adopt a universal measurement which, in fact, is very strongly dependent on the US, the middle-ranked TSSCI has been created to accommodate publications that are directed also at a local audience and are written in the local language. The TSSCI, to some extent, is a corrective measure to reduce dependence on the US academic world manifested in the SSRC list. The TSSCI thus has a latent function of encouraging domestic researchers to address issues specific to the Taiwanese society (Tsai, 2005: 15). Tsai then concludes that, for this reason, the Taiwanese review

process, despite its strong US dependence, has not led to a detachment from concerns in specific local issues.

In the Israeli case, according to the Hebrew University ranking of journals for sociology and anthropology,[4] the top A category includes thirteen periodicals, none of which is published in the Hebrew language nor does it even include an English language Israeli publication. In the B category, we find three Hebrew language journals out of sixty-two. One of them, *Theory and Criticism*, while being published in Hebrew, is a theoretically oriented journal and does not reflect local empirical concerns. On the contrary, its relatively high status indicates the preference given to theory and abstraction even in Hebrew language academic discourse. Even in the rather despised C and D categories, the ratios of Hebrew language or local journals are, respectively, three out of ninety-seven (one of the three is published in English) and two out of sixty-five. Interestingly, among the C- and D-category publications we may also find journals such as *Man in India* or *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Interest in and appreciation of the 'other' seems to be truly global whereas the local–national engenders a gripping fear of parochialism! It is not too difficult to infer from such figures that they both reflect and further reinforce a singular lack of encouragement for Hebrew language or Israel-based academic publications in sociology and anthropology, and that they promote academic detachment from local concerns.

Another crucial difference between the Israeli and Taiwanese examples is the strong involvement of the Taiwanese state in determining the ranking of academic journals and hence the 'social construction' of academic excellence. The National Science Council, which initiated the ranking system in Taiwan, is a public institution apparently controlled by the Ministry of Education. In Israel, by contrast, as hard as I tried to look for government intervention in this process, I could not find any. The state in Israel crucially influences allocation of university budgets and

faculty salaries. However, it has very little influence in determining academic excellence. The ranking of periodicals has been developed within each university and involved negotiations between university authorities and each separate department.

This reflects power relations within departments and between departments and university authorities. I doubt that the government was even informed of the ranking while it was being developed, and if informed, it probably would have objected to it out of a populist stand, to score political points with the general public. The ranking list was, in fact, incorporated in a more general discourse on academic freedom, attributing to the universities the exclusive right of determining what is academic excellence, and not tolerating any external interference in this matter.

This analysis should not be interpreted, however, as an implicit advocacy for greater state intervention in the academic sphere. We can imagine, of course, the political biases and pressures that such external intervention may entail, whether the intervention comes from government or from some other sectarian market or civil interest outside the government. What is questionable here is the very idea of compiling lists of journals, weighing them by supposed academic value and linking individual academic careers too closely to that instrument. It assumes agreement on what academic excellence is and even tries to standardize its measurement, neglecting or downgrading some aspects, such as teaching, oral presentations, public activities, and even certain types of publications, while focusing too much on just one track: publication in a very specific type of overwhelmingly foreign journals.

This also leads us to a comparison with the current practice and evaluation of sociology in post-communist societies in Eastern and Central Europe. As Pepka Boyadjieva (2005) has shown with regard to Bulgaria, when sociology was allowed to exist under the communist regime, in most cases (except perhaps in Poland) it did so in the service of

the state and of the ruling political party. It was therefore tainted with ideological and political biases. With the demise of the communist regime, sociology faced the challenge of remaining socially engaged while being objective. Furthermore, in the post-communist period, sociology was all too often confused with public opinion polls or other kinds of surveys undertaken by sponsors from various sectors in society, including business interests and political parties. The results of these surveys enjoyed little credibility as they were assumed to have been manipulated to serve sponsors' interests. Sociologists feared that they would fall again under ideological control, however diverse it now may be, if they dealt with current social problems. Under these circumstances, academic detachment and the creation of an independent professional sociological culture became the goal associated with an aspiration for universal criteria of quality and excellence, untainted by local political or economic interests (Boyadjieva, 2005: 10–11).

In Israel, some pro-Zionist ideological bias has been assumed for sociology in the 1950s and 1960s, when it also appeared to be most socially relevant. From the 1970s onwards, a more critical trend developed in Israeli sociology, accusing the earlier works of being too embedded in the Zionist nation-building endeavor. However, whatever their paradigmatic disagreements, adhering to global, i.e. Western, criteria of so-called academic excellence has been the undisputed norm of all sociologists of diverse ideological shades. The rush of Israeli sociologists to become 'more royalist than the king' in maintaining Western academic excellence appears to have created, perhaps inadvertently, quite perverse tendencies of detachment from the concerns of their society. Exaggerated ambition to create the 'little Harvard of the Middle East' has created, at least in Israel, an acute sense of doubtful social relevance.

Incidentally, this also shows, in my view, how much Israeli sociology is *not really diverse*. Despite their running battles on

theoretical, paradigmatic and ideological grounds, Israeli sociologists, of whatever camp, by and large adhere to the same perception of what constitutes academic excellence, a perception that closely imitates what is regarded as American academic values closely tied to the constraints of their career promotion.

UNDER THE SHADOWS OF A GLOBAL IVORY TOWER

A few years ago, Alec Epstein, a young Israeli sociologist, published an article in Hebrew in an unranked journal, in which he claimed, on the basis of topics covered in the annual conferences of the Israeli Sociological Society, that Israeli sociology was progressively detaching itself from relevance to its own society, as it no longer focused on the contemporary problems of the society (Epstein, 2003). Epstein thought that the main reason for this detachment was the over-preoccupation of Israeli sociologists with paradigmatic and ideological debates among themselves.[5] Israeli sociologists are so taken up with the debates that can be traced to their early years of independence, Epstein claimed, that they tend to forget that society has evolved since then, and that the current pressing issues of society are quite different.

Epstein's article has been a subject of harsh criticism from all circles.[6] Nonetheless, many were jolted by the penetrating nature of the attack, perhaps explaining the equally strong criticism. Some of the criticism of Epstein's article has been on empirical grounds, refuting the validity of his data and finding serious methodological flaws in it. Others took issue with the reasons he suggested for this situation.

While Epstein may be right in detecting some social detachment in current Israeli sociology, I think that he is wrong in the reasons he attributes for the phenomenon. The detachment of leading Israeli sociologists

from the current problems of their society is not due to their being too preoccupied with theoretical, paradigmatic or ideological debates among themselves. It is more a reflection of the constraints created by academic institutions whose evaluation procedures have been presented above. Israeli universities are singularly oriented towards maintaining their status in the global, i.e. Western arena. Thus scholars do not have to prove national relevance; they have to prove that they are respected figures in the global arena, measured by place and quantity of world scale publication – to maintain a global network and world recognition is of utmost importance to them.

For this reason, Israeli universities continue to be rather generous in the travel allowances and sabbatical arrangements they offer to their faculty, despite deepening financial difficulties caused by declining government support. Financial difficulties have, however, seriously damaged the provision of basic research tools, from library acquisitions to computer facilities, equipment and research grants. Nonetheless, this diminishing support has not stopped universities from demanding from their faculty greater academic productivity and excellence, judged in a rather narrow fashion, as explained above.

Academic excellence is the key word, no matter how vaguely defined. Organizational and teaching skills play a very small role in it, and so does 'good citizenship', i.e. using one's skills and knowledge to try to explain and perhaps suggest ways to alleviate problems in society. On the contrary, such activities may even be a burden, perceived as an 'easy way out' for those facing difficulties in placing articles in Category A or B journals that probably no one, besides reviewers, would read. The constraints of academic survival lead to theoretization, conceptualization, and disengagement from social concerns. The fear of being accused of mediocrity is stronger than the urge for national social involvement. Most Israeli sociologists, taking their cue from university administrations, truly worship the

Global Ivory Tower. This outlook and not the ideological or paradigmatic disputes among themselves is the main reason for their social detachment.

But why, then, did Israeli sociology flourish in the early years of independence and why was it also considered socially relevant? Was academic excellence less emphasized then? Certainly not! It is true that the number of publications expected was lower, the global competition was less accentuated and universities did not try to create so-called objective criteria of journal rankings that only reflected existing academic power structures. But this was not the reason for the social relevance of sociological research at that time. Academic expectations were still considered quite high and global for their time. What really explains the flourishing of socially relevant and internationally recognized Israeli sociology at that time was the fact that Israeli society as a whole was then seen as a peculiar social experiment that attracted great global interest. A society was being formed out of the ashes of historical persecution and genocide. Communities from all over the world were being brought together and were learning to live together. Old traditions were being challenged; an old language was being returned to life; a new culture was being created; new settlement forms were being experimented with. State institutions were being built and a military organization was being formed to defend the new entity in a very hostile environment. Under these circumstances, it was not particularly difficult to publish a study that highlighted any of these processes in the world academic arena. However, as routinization set in, and as the favorable image of Israel waned and disappeared, such problems ceased to attract the same interest and curiosity. Then the disconnect between target audience and the society on which sociological research was based became more apparent, widening the gap between academic excellence and social relevance, just as academic expectations from the young generation of scholars rose perceptively, setting in motion the 'double squeeze' mentioned above.

ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

This is not the end of the story regarding the employment and evaluation of sociologists in universities. Many of the teaching jobs in Israeli universities are carried by post-doctoral fellows and by so-called 'external teachers' who are not on a tenure or promotion track; they are dismally paid with no job security. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the Hebrew University had, in 2006, twenty-three and a half tenured or tenure-track faculty positions, but it also employed thirteen external teachers and relied on three post-doctoral fellows to fill teaching positions. In other words, forty percent of the teaching force was made up of people who were not regular members of the department, had no role in its governance, had no option of promotion, enjoyed no job security and were not judged by the same academic excellence criteria that applied to the tenured faculty members. But this did not prevent the department (and the university) from giving the external teachers responsibility for some of the largest and most central introductory or methodological courses in the curriculum. Between 1996 and 2006, six faculty members received tenure but five were denied it, i.e. they were not deemed academically excellent enough to be part of the faculty, even though, obviously, an urgent need for teaching personnel existed to cover the curriculum.[7]

At Tel Aviv University, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology had sixteen tenured or tenure-track faculty positions. Post-doctoral students apparently did not teach. As for external teachers, even though the department was not supposed to employ them, in practice, as the Head of Department admitted in 2006, it did, in order to fill the most urgent teaching vacancies. The importance of such vacancies is apparent if we consider that in the ten years between 1996 and 2006 only two faculty members received tenure, while two did not. During the

same period five new faculty members were hired to tenure-track positions but ten faculty members retired.[8]

In Ben Gurion University in Beersheba in 2005, Sociology and Anthropology were still formally part of a larger Department of Behavioral Sciences, but were rapidly growing and were totally autonomous. They had fourteen tenured or tenure-track positions but also employed fifteen external teachers. In other words, they had more external teachers than regular faculty members! This situation is perhaps explained by the huge growth that the department has experienced in recent years, having to fill teaching slots very quickly in order to maintain a viable curriculum. In the ten years between 1995 and 2005, ten people gained tenure in sociology and anthropology and none was denied tenure. Seven new recruitments were made and three people retired. Despite this large growth of regular faculty, though, an inordinately large percentage of the teaching responsibility was still assumed by people who were not properly remunerated and were not being judged by the same academic standards as the rest of the faculty.[9]

The data from these three universities all point to the same double standards that prevail in the faculty employment practices in sociology and anthropology. While the standards of academic excellence rise inexorably and lead at least in two of the three universities to an almost fifty percent tenure refusal rate of young scholars, universities still have to provide a large number of courses for their students in both graduate and undergraduate programs. They do so by filling the teaching slots with underpaid, soft money based teaching personnel (often teaching in more than one university to make ends meet) and who agree to sub-par conditions simply because they have no other options, and hope against hope that perhaps some day their position would be regularized.

Why, though, do universities want to keep enrolling so many sociology students? Why do they not cut the numbers to a size proportionate to the few scholars they want to keep as regular faculty in the name of academic excellence? One reason is that universities are funded by the government according to the number of their graduates (according to a model that weighs more heavily higher degree graduates but is still heavily based on student head counting). Moreover, the scholars who are accepted to the inner circle of regular academic positions are not necessarily the best teachers, and often cannot teach some basic courses that are essential to the curriculum, so that the use of external teachers is indispensable

The reason why so many students are attracted to sociology even though it does not offer any clear professional opening is an interesting question which remains beyond the scope of this chapter. In terms of academic evaluation, however, this situation reveals a troubling inner contradiction. Academic institutions are funded by the public mainly according to the services they provide to the student body. However, those services play a very minor role, if at all, in the remuneration of the service providers and in the evaluation of academic worth. On the contrary, relying on the 'dirty work' being performed by a (yet) undeserving lower tier of external teachers, university departments can continue to raise the academic criteria for regular employment, limit those accepted to a small group of like-minded lucky few, and construct academic excellence in a way that leads to disengagement from national social relevance.

EMERGING ROLES FOR SOCIOLOGISTS?

There is very little reason to expect a significant change in the social relevance of sociologists struggling for survival in Israeli universities. If at all, universities have become even more strident in their demand for what they consider 'pure' academic excellence, by which they also try to protect their academic

freedom and independence, i.e. forestall any possibility of politicization and government intervention. In the deeply divided Israeli society, such political intervention is considered a great threat, far more dangerous than lack of social involvement. Under these circumstances, for social relevance one has to turn, again, to the periphery of sociological occupation, to those colleagues employed in colleges, or outside academic institutions, and to the many graduate students, the great majority of whom have no chance of obtaining a position in one of the country's universities.

Colleges are indeed places where an increasing number of sociologists with PhD degrees are offered jobs, as sociology has established itself as a 'must' subject in departments of management, education, communication, social work and general behavioral sciences. Colleges are indeed places where sociologists engage in more socially relevant research, as well as emphasize teaching. However, colleges, unlike universities, are not independent in their academic promotions. Each promotion to professorship has to be approved by the National Council of Higher Education after the candidate in question is reviewed by a committee of, guess what, university professors! Those professors, naturally, try to apply to college candidates the same criteria of promotion (foreign reviewers, category A journals and so on) that they use for their own colleagues. College professors are, therefore, under intense pressure of 'academization', i.e. following the academic excellence route at the expense of social relevance.

Outside academia, however, sociologists do engage in daily activities that are socially relevant and draw on their professional expertise. They engage in research, teaching, consultancy, planning and other activities. This is seen quite clearly in the great expansion of sociologists working in the armed forces, in government ministries, in large private companies, in NGOs dealing with social planning, organizational consultancy and in other service providers. This is not the critically engaged 'public sociology' that Burawoy has advocated (2005: 4–28). It may be closer to

what he called 'policy sociology' or we may call it, in fact, 'professional sociology', but in a non-academic sense, i.e. contrary to the way in which Burawoy defined the term.[10] In these non-academic units, socially relevant sociological work is done on a regular basis, not in the form of public debate and instant interpretation of social trends, but in the form of the daily tackling of social problems as they occur. This, perhaps, is the ultimate social relevance in a professional sense, but only a very small minority of Israeli sociologists experiences it in their occupational life. And they, too, have to fight constantly for recognition and the legitimacy of their work not only from the general public, but even from among fellow sociologists.

We have thus closed the circle and have returned to our point of departure in this chapter. Paradoxically, those sociologists who are most insecure professionally are also the ones whose work is most directly relevant to their society. In a country like Israel, ridden by conflicts and beset by existential social problems of much greater magnitude than in many other places in the world, prominence in sociological practice means academic detachment and reduced national social relevance while strong bridges are built, completely overflying one's society, with a global reference group of like-minded thinkers. And this occurs in a field of knowledge that claims to be the most 'social' of all.

NOTES

1. This is closely related to the development of professional identity and recognition in society. See Julia Evetts, 'The Sociological Analysis of Professionalism: Occupational Change in the Modern World' *International Sociology* 18(2), June 2003: 395–415; Julia Evetts, 'The Sociology of Professional Groups – New Directions' *Current Sociology* 54(1), January 2006: 133–43; Michaela Pfadenhauer, 'Crisis or Decline? Problems of Legitimation and Loss of Trust in Modern Professionalism', *Current Sociology* 54(4), July 2006: 565–78; Lennart G. Swensson, 'New Professionalism, Trust and Competence: Some Conceptual Remarks and Empirical Data', *Current Sociology* 54(4), July 2006: 579–93.

2. Pfadenhauer calls such doubts 'post-modern professionalism' (see 2006: 566, 573).

3. Reported by the heads of departments (or programs) of sociology and anthropology at Bar Ilan, Ben Gurion, Hebrew and Tel Aviv Universities, 2003–06.

4. Hebrew University of Jerusalem website: http://sites.huji.ac.il/madad/journals1.htm

5. See, Uri Ram, 'The Time of the "Post-": Remarks on Sociology in Israel since the 90s' *Theory and Criticism* (Hebrew) 26, Spring 2005: 241–54; Devorah Kalekin-Fishman, 'Making Sense of Constant Change: Israeli Sociology between Apologetics and Radical Critique' *Current Sociology* 54(1), January 2006: 63–76.

6. One such criticism can be found in Moshe Shokeid, 'Distress in the Discipline: Remarks on the Article by Alec D. Epstein "The Decline of the Israeli Sociology"' *Catharsis* (Hebrew) Fall, 2004: 46–52.

7. Data compiled from my own records and from a report submitted by the head of the department to the Israeli Sociological Society in March 2006.

8. Ibid

9. Data compiled from a report submitted to the Israeli Sociological Society in December 2005 by the head of the Sociology and Anthropology Program, Department of Behavioral Sciences.

10. I am aware that this may open a whole new debate on the nature of 'professionalism' of sociology compared to other occupations or fields of knowledge. I have already referred above to the interesting recent literature that has appeared on theories of professions, some of which could be applied to sociology. However, despite some urging from an anonymous reviewer of an earlier draft of this chapter, I will resist engaging in a full discussion of Israeli sociology in the light of recent theories on professions. I will not do it first, for technical reasons of space limitations, but second also in order not to fall into the trap of doing exactly what I argue against in this chapter: forced theoretization as a necessary condition for supposedly raising the academic value of the text.

REFERENCES

Boyadjieva, P. (2005) 'Social Commitments and Academic Values in Sociology: Rediscovering Sociology in a Society in Transition'. Paper presented at the ISA Council of National Associations meeting, Miami, Florida, 9–11 August.

Burawoy, M. (2005) 'For Public Sociology', *American Sociological Review* 70: 4–28.

Epstein, A.D. (2003) 'The Decline of the Israeli Sociology', *Tehelet* (Hebrew) 15(Fall): 89–117.

Evetts, J. (2003) 'The Sociological Analysis of Professionalism: Occupational Change in the Modern World', *International Sociology* 18(2) June: 395–415.

Evetts, J. (2006) 'The Sociology of Professional Groups – New Directions', *Current Sociology* 54(1) January: 133–43.

Kalekin-Fishman, D. (2006) 'Making Sense of Constant Change: Israeli Sociology between Apologetics and Radical Critique', *Current Sociology* 54(1) January: 63–76.

Pfadenhauer, M. (2006) 'Crisis or Decline? Problems of Legitimation and Loss of Trust in Modern Professionalism', *Current Sociology* 54(4) July: 565–78.

Ram, U. (2005) 'The Time of the 'Post–: Remarks on Sociology in Israel since the 90s', *Theory and Criticism* (Hebrew) 26 (Spring): 241–54.

Shokeid, M. (2004) 'Distress in the Discipline: Remarks on the Article by Alec D. Epstein "The Decline of Israeli Society"', *Catharsis* (Hebrew) Fall: 46–52.

Swensson, L.G. (2006) 'New Professionalism, Trust and Competence: Some Conceptual Remarks and Empirical Data', *Current Sociology* 54(4) July: 579–93.

Tsai, M-C. (2005) 'Evaluating Professions in Taiwan: Power, Professions and Passersby'. Paper presented at the ISA Council of National Associations meeting in Miami, Florida, 9–11 August.

Palestinian Sociological Production: Funding and National Considerations

Sari Hanafi

INTRODUCTION[1]

The teaching of sociology within universities in Palestine is of recent origin. There are eleven universities and colleges in Palestine, the oldest being the Birzeit University established in 1972, followed by An-Najah National University (the largest university). Of these, five offer sociology, which is taught in Arabic. In October 2007, 140,000 students are enrolled in these institutions. Out of these, 11 percent are in colleges, 34 percent in Al-Quds Open University and 55 percent in teaching universities. However, since the beginning of the 1990s sociological research has been increasingly produced outside the university, mainly in non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

In this paper, I analyze how the interface between structures of power within the Palestinian society and state, the international community and the market of research production influence themes of research and the relationship between donors and the NGOs.

To explicate my viewpoint I base my analysis on three sets of documents. These are (a) evaluation of the growth of research in the Palestinian territory and specifically of population studies (Hanafi, 2004); (b) assessment of the project entitled 'Evaluation of Scientific and Technological Capabilities in Mediterranean Countries' (ESTIME);[2] and (c) examination of the relationship between donors, international organizations and Palestinian NGOs.[3]

The production of sociological research has to be seen in the context of occupation and exile, the two processes that have structured the history of Palestine. In 1948, just after World War II and the Holocaust, a colonial project was promoted by the international community that led to the formation of the Israeli state on Palestinian land. In 1993, the Oslo Accord was signed between the Israeli government and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO). Through this accord the PLO recognized Israel and allowed it to share their land, while Israel

agreed to the establishment of a Palestinian state on the land occupied by it during the war of 1967, that is the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The latter did not happen; around four million Palestinians were and still are, in 2008, living as refugees in the Arab world.

THE RESEARCH COMMUNITY

Alain Roussillon (2002) argues that sociology in the Arab World was part of the colonial project. Orientalist texts such as the five-volume *Description de l'Egypte* (Description of Egypt) map out this intent. During the latter part of the colonial period, and especially after independence of the Arab states, an indigenous sociology – *sociologie musulmane* (Muslim Sociology) emerged. It attempted to decipher the specific nature of the segmented Arab society and yet retained an Orientalist position, by investigating its 'exotic' culture. It was only in the 1970s and 1980s that a social science community emerged in the Arab region to examine its own society. This social science community occupied a complex and contradictory relationship with Western social science and scientists. It is structured with an unequal partnership, as their analysis remained dependent on the academic perspectives developed in the West, and yet they shared a relationship of collegiality with them. As a result, social sciences are often taken as a Western discipline, raising a question of their legitimacy.

Before 1990, Palestinian sociological research was mainly being produced in the universities, such as *The Sociology of the Palestinians* written to create an 'attached, committed and action-oriented' (Nakhleh and Zureik, 1980, 11–12) sociology of Palestine that is sensitive to dependency, social classes and colonial exploitation (Tamari, 1980). This received orientation of sociology changed in the 1990s. One of the major reasons is the institutional setting of the research. The increase in the number of foreign donor-driven research

centers is part of the neoliberal agenda. The latter believes in the need to promote local civil society organizations to facilitate the shift from a conflict-ridden society to that of a post-conflict one, aiming to reconfigure the ways in which subordinate classes are incorporated into emerging state-society relations. This is particularly true today in the case of Palestine, which has a long history of internal and external conflicts. This agenda has a direct implication on the structure of social science knowledge. Krishna et al. (1998: 269) argue that instead of creating national institutions that organize their knowledge in coherent structures, it creates hierarchies in the research field. In the context of Palestine, this agenda has serious implications, given the received weak institutional educational structure, the occupation of its territory and the enormous influence of international communities in its internal politics.

By 2008, social science research in Palestine Territory is mainly being done by NGOs. This remains in the form of consultancies (short research projects with unpublished reports) and academic research. Today there are forty-two such research centers having increased from three in 1988. Of these, four are located within universities, while the others are run by NGOs which specialize in development, advocacy and cooperative efforts. As these organizations face scarcity of private and public Palestinian funding, they are forced to depend on foreign funding, which hinders long-term planning and hiring of suitable personnel. This affects the nature of research which remains fragmented, not allowing for consistent involvement in topics, specialization, methodology and theories.

In addition to these centers, there are large research communities studying the Palestinians living in Lebanon and Egypt (and to a lesser extent, in Jordan) which interfaces between local universities and research centers. However, this is not the case of those doing research in the Palestinian territory, where there are few researchers who have attained a professional legitimacy on teaching and conducting research. Indeed, few scholars

can be considered *intellectual entrepreneurs,* (Romani, 2001) that is, those who have shared the major bulk of the research contracts in the Palestinian territory.

It is possible to link the transformations undergone in the donor agenda to three processes (Hanafi and Tabar, 2005):

First, since the early nineties, there has been a fundamental shift in the nature of political economy of aid within the NGO sector. These developments have led to changes in the organization and disbursement of aid internationally. Earlier aid flows were from northern NGOs to southern NGOs promoting individual solidarities between them. Today, aid is promoted through bilateral and multilateral organizations between NGOs and governmental and development agencies. As a result, during the 1980s and 1990s, there was a process of professionalization and institutionalization of NGOs engaged in advocacy and research actions due to their increased interventions in development cooperation. NGOs have taken on new practices in the form of research, civic education training programs and awareness-raising activities (Hammami, 1996).

Simultaneously, there is increasing competition within Palestinian organizations for access to such aid. NGOs established earlier thus had to struggle for organizational survival. A conflict developed between new urban middle-class based NGOs with the traditional charitable societies and those organizing grassroots committees. Also, western donors introduced new criteria of funding along with conditions for dispersing aid. This established a hierarchy among organizations in terms of access to funding. As a result, invariably it was the charitable societies and popular committees[4] that were marginalized. Therefore, the reduction in the overall availability of funding led to a concentration of funds within a few highly competent and professional organizations and research centers which had access to political capital.

Second, the shift in the political economy of aid to NGOs in Palestine created new forms of social and political capital. This led to the encouragement and establishment of research centers at the expense of aid to universities – this being part of the new policy agenda for the empowerment of civil society institutions. International actors perceived the universities less as civil society and more as public institutions. Although they have recognized the institutional pitfalls in moving research outside the domain of universities, they highlight the benefits of doing research within small-scale units that are not hampered by university bureaucracy and are flexible and efficient. These units, they argue, are also able to sustain research when universities close down because of internal political conflicts and curfews imposed by Israeli occupation forces in Palestinian territory.

Further, this attitude is resonated by research centers, whose leadership fears that if they are affiliated with the universities, the latter will take a percentage of their allocated funds as overheads. Consequently, Palestinian universities are impoverished, and unable to generate adequate resources for research. Additionally, the Ministry of Higher Education and the High Commission of Higher Education that fund Palestinian universities do not get access to research funds for universities. The latter become a mere locus for producing graduate students who are disconnected from the research field. This process ultimately disempowers the nation-state.

Some donors, such as the Ford Foundation, have recently recognized this problem, and since 1999 have encouraged young researchers by funding an annual competition in collaboration with the University of Birzeit. As a result some quality oriented sociological articles have been published. Other research agencies such as the Institute for Applied International Studies (FAFO, Norway); International Development Research Center (IDRC, Canada); Population Council (Cairo); German foundations and French Research Center (CERMOC/IFPO) have recently followed suit by financing projects at Palestinian universities.

Third, the entry of local NGOs into aid channels has allowed for the growth of new

actors in this sector, leading to changes in conceptual and as well as in the institutional structures of NGOs. A new transnational elite (Hilal, 2006), connected to a globalized elite, has taken control of these NGOs. This elite assesses issues and problems by foregrounding these in terms of debates and paradigms developed in the international discourse and remains disconnected from the local contexts. Thus contemporary NGOs represent *fragmentary sites,* that is, they are positioned locally, within development channels and networks that operate globally.

Following Jacques Kabanji (2005: 75–7), one can now distinguish between three types of sociologists present in Palestine: first, the committed (or activist) sociologist who is engaged ideologically, politically and nationally in the societal problems. The second group does not believe in the leading role of state in the modernization project of Palestinian society and is in search of new actors in civil society to fulfill this project. The last group consists of experts who are interested in sociological research as a tool of development in order to manage the social crisis, but do not engage in reflexive and critical theoretical research.

Competition between these three groups for resources allows for research to be dictated by an obsessive commitment to the paradigm of identity at the expense of social criticism. Contemporary sociological analysis has overstated externalities – the negative role of colonialism upon the Palestinian society – and understated the internal factors and the contradictions inside this society. Additionally, the themes of study borrowed from the west and promoted by the donors such as democratization, or public satisfaction, do not reflect the internal processes organic to contemporary Palestine. Simultaneously, there is no encouragement for the study of new local themes. Because of this contradiction, the researchers are caught in a trap; a criticism of the lack of democracy would imply a criticism of existing power structures and by implication an acceptance of the positions represented by international

donor communities. The outcome then is often practical knowledge (Romani, 2007), lacking in-depth conceptualization and criticism. In the words of Adorno (1982) 'the danger for politically committed art is that it will end up as bad art, without becoming good politics either'.

In the last four years, after suicide bombing became the main mode of military actions of Palestinians, we can see a new trend among some Palestinian sociologists that criticizes such nationalism and is committed to the transformation of the Palestinian community. But this trend has not led to institutional implication although Palestinian citizens have condemned such acts through petitions and articles in the Palestinian newspapers, labeling it as a war crime.

THE RESEARCH FIELD

The use of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the field (*champ*) helps in illuminating the nature of intellectual production.[5] The field is a result of interaction between the specific rules, the agent's habitus and the agent's capital (social, economic, cultural and symbolic) (Bourdieu, 1990). In the case of Palestine, these rules of the research field are complex and are established not only by local actors but also by the donor agencies.

In this context, the intellectual field is a social arena of struggle over the appropriation of certain types of capital. While scholars often focus on diverging ideas and ideologies to explain conflict within a field, they overlook the power structure shaping it. There are many fault lines inside this structure: between the well-established senior scholars versus junior newcomers and between English speakers versus Arabic and French speakers. The senior researchers and those who speak English impede the latter in establishing themselves. Ironically, after contributing to the marginalization of new researchers and graduate students, these research elite complain about the lack of competent researchers

in Palestine. Most of them are located in the large cities (Jerusalem and Ramallah), where they are in proximity of the donor community, whereas junior researchers are usually located across the Arab region and generally lose out because of geography. These conflicts are embedded within contemporary Palestinian sociological community.

The growth of research groups outside the university has led to three contradictory consequences for the production of research. First, it has discouraged faculty members in universities from conducting research, although some have engaged in collaboration with off-campus centers. Second, access to the resources of the centers is limited – the centers have well-endowed libraries and are better stocked with recent titles than those within the universities. They are however off-limit to university students and scholars; they remain private, not always open to the public and when they are, these libraries have regulated opening hours. Being off-campus and scattered, these research centers have not encouraged graduate and undergraduate students to get involved in research.[6] The third relates to the quality and form of the production of research. Research promoted by these centers is policy oriented, such as the research on population studies (Hanafi, 2004). A majority of these studies remain unpublished, or if published, they do not undergo a proper peer review process. Additionally, this form of funding has encouraged consultancies. Such research is based on low-level generalizations and extrapolates from tables derived from small samples. Some funding organizations do not promote research. Rather they fund only workshops and networking activities as research projects. The research field is thus threatened by a model of market-based research – the production and consumption of this research is for a specific client and not for the public.

There is an overwhelming bias toward physical infrastructure rather than human resources within these research centers. For example, most centers have excellent communication systems, such as the internet,

websites, brochures, publications and newsletters. However their research staff are recruited on contract for the term of the projects (generally eighteen months), while administrative staff are permanent. As a result, researchers shift from one center to another depending on project availability. Since the researchers are hired for short-term contracts there is no continuity within the organization. No wonder centers remain associated with single individuals. Also, researchers are not encouraged to be part of the decision-making process. Rarely do these centers initiate training programs for their researchers. They do not share information and they sometimes intentionally keep discussion, debates and workshops closed to the public or open only by invitation. This situation compels many competent graduates to seek employment in the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) or outside Palestine, in development NGOs. Reflexive research thereby loses out.

NEW FORMS OF KNOWLEDGE

Since the 1990s, we have been able to discern new forms of knowledge emerging in an analysis of research conducted to assess contemporary Palestine. Presently, NGO research centers promoting advocacy and policy-oriented research do it mainly through organization of surveys, the majority of which are based on polls, as these are the only source of empirical data. These inevitably use quantitative techniques to study living conditions. One reason for this is the orientation of funding organizations which prefer research projects with unambiguous quantitative indicators. This 'fetishism of the quantitative' (Tamari, 1997: 33) is devoid of critical interpretation. Currently, eight research centers[7] conduct public opinion polls on political issues. It is a donor-driven methodology which fits a model of 'standardized' project. Poll centers determine sample size, the questionnaire and the budget.

For instance, as a part of the program to promote democracy, one German Foundation has funded opinion polls to seek information on the new elite formation and the political opinion trends. Unfortunately, the methodology used was obtrusive. Instead of assessing opinion, it *generated* and manufactured opinion, legitimizing political discourses and actions of certain political actors, who are the contemporary elite. In the process social scientists became part of the political game (Champagne, 1990).

These new activities are linked to a new notion of the 'public' that believes that citizens need to be satisfied by new policies being implemented in the social and political spheres. They claim that these models are being accepted by the new citizens, thereby indicating the superiority of their analysis over the traditional ways of doing research being advocated by the universities, which use in-depth comparative analysis. To this end, development NGOs have created a new repertoire of concepts, which anthropologist Riccardo Bocco (2006) calls *knowledge society*. This term, he argues, together with concepts such as *knowledge management* and *knowledge sharing* is actively promoted by the World Bank (1998) and has a tendency to valorize knowledge by creating a preconceived theory with its own specific methodology. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has come up with its own repertoire of concepts such as *knowledge-based aid* and added these to those of the World Bank, creating a new perspective to assess and examine social processes in the Palestine territory. These concepts legitimize the interventions of donor-driven aid through scientific tools, measurement and monitoring systems on the basis of preconceived past experiences (Bocco, 2006).

In Palestine territory such surveys are done by FAFO and through the Palestinian Public Perceptions Reports, 2001–06, the latter being sponsored by the University of Geneva. However, for whom and for what is this knowledge being produced? For often times these projects and evaluation reports are only available to the donors and are not shared with the public and the collaborators.

Below we examine three themes that determine the nature of the generated research: (a) research concerning poverty studies; (b) research on refugee studies; and finally (c) research and academic autonomy after 11 September 2001.

a. Research on Poverty: Who and Where Are the Rich?

Poverty studies conducted in the Palestinian territory make a diagnostic survey of 'poverty mapping' and 'poverty alleviation', by presuming that certain neighborhoods are occupied by the poor, without examining why they live there and assessing the root causes of poverty, like distribution of resources and the role of the state and its structural adjustment policies. This research is sponsored by UN agencies and later outsourced to NGOs. The UN has always used quantitative indicators and has emphasized demographic characteristics. These surveys are thus descriptive in nature, based on evaluation of income and consumption, together with life expectancy, child mortality and literacy. It is interesting to note that these studies identify the poor but not the rich; and have postulated policy interventions regarding the reduction of the size of the poor population, while neglecting to assess the wealthy community. The qualitative approach based on in-depth interviews and assessing poverty in specific groups such as youth is seldom taken into consideration. In these circumstances it is impossible to understand the nature of inequalities and the stratification system.

However, there are some exceptions. The urban approach adopted by the International Development Research Center (IDRC) in 2006, as a response to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of UNDP, has dealt with fundamental issues related to the cause of poverty, such as the lack of redistribution of wealth inside each society of the region. The IDRC launched a Focus Cities

Research Initiative for innovative projects that link urban poverty alleviation, environmental management and natural resource use for food, water and income security. Its effort was to advance awareness, think of policy options and create best practices for the reduction of environmental burdens in urban slums through in-depth participatory research with multi-stakeholder city teams. It created a research focus for each city, cataloguing the most pressing environmental issues affecting poor urban neighborhoods, while developing results and creating synergies with ongoing urban development and planning programs.

b. Refugee Studies

The dominant discourses of the Palestinian and humanitarian organizations have been on human suffering and victimhood. This discourse sometimes emphasizes the 'victimization syndrome', allowing researchers to magnify the experience of 'showing your misery to the world' (Tamari, 1997: 21). This orientation to research on refugees caters to the demands that the world ensures that welfare is provided for the victims, allowing for continuous international interventions through organizations, such as the United Nations Relief and Working Agency for the Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). In turn, these organizations further elaborate this discourse by doing surveys of victims and asking them to offer suggestions regarding the provision of welfare. This leads to a standardization of knowledge regarding welfare and refugees, and legitimizes the field-workers' status as 'relevant' researchers (Tamari, 1997: 33).

Related to this discourse is a politics which perceives refugee camps as sites for assessing and examining Palestinian identities. Thus the research has legitimized the camp as a quasi-political entity from where one can analyze the contours and nuances of Palestinian society. The refugee camp also becomes the site to understand and assess the history of the Palestinian people as it

was in the pre-1948 period. It is assumed that Palestinian places, such as Lobieh or Safad, exist in camps such as Ein Al-Hilwa and Yarmouk. As a result, the research process leads to the ethnicization of the history of the refugees and ignores the significance of the economic, social and cultural processes together with their relationships to the refugees with the people of the host countries (Zureik, 2003: 159). Additionally, Palestinian refugee studies have not addressed sufficiently the agency of the refugee within the camps, nor have they studied those who live off-camps. The assumption, in popular thought and within the scholarly community, is that all Palestinians live in camps and are miserable. This helped to popularize the point of view that Palestinians do not wish to stay in their host countries and would ultimately like to return home. On this assumption international policies regarding the Palestinian refugees are being made.

c. Academic Autonomy after 11 September 2001

Since 11 September 2001 there has been further politicization of the research agenda on behalf of international agencies and enormous pressure on local NGOs to conform to the international donors' agendas. Whatever little academic autonomy was prevalent before 9/11 decreased as a result of the campaign titled 'war against terror'. All Palestinians were considered potential terrorists and donors initiated control and surveillance of the community. This affected academic practices including seminars and conferences, which were viwed with suspicion. Scholars who were critical of Israel and Western policies were particularly vulnerable.

For instance, we give below a case of pressures experienced by Palestinian scholars who were organizing a conference at al-Quds University's main campus in Abu Dis, Jerusalem. Such processes would not take place in any developed country and would not even merit a discussion in a paper like this.

The Conference 'The Palestinian Refugees: Conditions and Recent Developments', was held on 25 and 26 November 2006. In the recent past, conferences concerning Palestinian refugees have tended to discuss it as a 'business' thereby not relating it the problem of the need for a Palestine state. This conference was different. Local Palestinian scholars and academics tried to create a new orientation to the refugee problem (as against officials and donor agencies) in order to clarify legal aspects of the return migration and its modalities together with the restitution and compensation for all Palestinian refugees.

The al-Quds University organizing the conference was able to ensure thirty local and international participants. In addition, around two hundred students and refugee community leaders participated. This conference became an event because what were common were closed workshops that invited twenty to thirty experts. No wonder the German foundation, the sponsors of the conference, abruptly withdrew its funding and asked for a postponement of the conference. This was the second time that this donor requested a delay. Postponing is a polite and diplomatic way of canceling a project. But requesting the deferral of an international conference, three weeks before it is scheduled to take place, indicates a clear political interference, in addition to a lack of respect and responsibility for academic work. This action demands an explanation.

Websites of donors state that their main goal is civic education and that their projects are to 'promote democracy'. However, the democracy that they want is from a 'docile partner' – not such as Hamas, the leading political party. Does that mean that their funding is aimed at the demobilization, de-radicalization, de-politicization of the Palestine territory?

The politicization of the (majority of) donors' agendas is not new. However, what is new is the cynicism among quite a few donors. Issues, such as construction of the apartheid wall, Jerusalem, refugees, the confiscation of IDs and the checkpoints that hinder movement of the Palestinians, do not seem to form part of the democracy for the Palestinians. Can promotion of the rights of children, women and people with special needs be achieved without supporting the national rights of the Palestinians? Can donors conceive programs in a way that affirms Palestine as a post-conflict society?

Some Palestinian scholars have tried to augment independent and autonomous sociological research despite the above-mentioned limitations, by evolving a personal relationship with local representatives of these international donors. These scholars believed that the latter are sensitive to the plight of the colonized and therefore can be trusted. However, today they cannot take this for granted, for local representatives have either become hand-in-glove with their government or are pressurized by their superiors. Although these donor agencies give funding for relief from/protests against hardships faced by Palestinians, due to the construction of the wall (known as the apartheid wall), they do not follow the European Union (EU) position on many issues and merely follow their own government dictates. For instance, the Palestinians have now got used to the fact that local German representatives of donors will support the official German position, which is against the publication of the EU Jerusalem report that holds Israel responsible for everyday problems faced by the Palestinians, as a result of the construction of the wall by Israel. They also now take for granted that these local representatives will not support the demand by some EU members, namely that the world community needs to refer the construction of the wall to the International Court of Justice for advice. How can sociology and sociologists do research when aid agencies compartmentalize policies, politics and the struggle for everyday existence of the Palestine people?

The cynicism and double standards of some donor agencies together with their lack of sensitivity to the issues of academic autonomy have reached new heights. There is a high level of suspicion about academics.

An example is the withdrawal of the invitation for a Palestinian economist to attend a workshop about a research study in which he collaborated, simply because he is an employee of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, one of the offices of the PNA. This is because the elected Hamas government is banned by the EU. The EU's position reflects a clear deterioration not only of the relative autonomy of the NGOs but also of the academic world. Currently, both fields are perceived in terms of what Agamben (1998) calls security issues. Can ideas be issues of security concern? In this context, What is the hope for sociology?

CONCLUSION

The Palestinian sociological agenda privileges the paradigm of identity and analysis based on a nation-state framework. Many debates, therefore, in the Palestinian territory end up being parochial, with old debates being reformulated in terms of the exceptionalism, specificity and particularism of its society. Nationalist concerns allow social science agendas and methods to reconstruct a mythology of uniqueness (Hanafi, 1999).

These concerns have created new sociological ideal types: the intellectual entrepreneurs (Romani, 2001); expert sociologists (Kabanji, 2005); or consultants (Al-Kinz, 2005). All of them have become part of the network of donor agencies using their discourse in the research field. Although sociological research has recently flourished in the Palestinian territory (as against the earlier dearth) due to attempts by academics to present plural and diverse approaches, their studies lack critical emphasis because of the donor-driven orientation mentioned above. Thus this research field is not structured by the interests of social classes or ideologies but is an arena wherein researchers compete to maneuver for material resources/contracts. The donor agencies play an important role in setting the rules of the field. This partially explains why current research is policy-oriented, commissioned and packaged to assess the 'pulse of the Arab street', rather than driven by discipline and social demands. The end result is an empiricist-oriented research, often conceived without theorization. Though some authors have tried to transcend these constraints by conducting qualitative, in-depth research, based on theoretical frames, publishers have not encouraged these texts for publication, indicating the close relationship between donors, knowledge and academic culture.

With research being done outside the university, sociological practices have become prone to many pressures. The fragmentation of research sites makes research centers vulnerable to attacks by political and security authorities and also from religious, leftist or conservative groups. Thus the researchers fail to be critical toward their own society. In this globalized order, wherein donors are not interested in empowering the state institutions to conduct research to play a role in social change, this marginalization of the university need not be inevitable. Ali Al-Kinz noticed that the university tradition in Brazil, Argentina, India and South Africa is so strong that universities take leading roles in research production (2005: 35).

Finally, if the current situation continues and research centers remain disconnected from the universities in Palestine, one can eventually expect a research field without professional researchers, mirroring the argument of Ghassan Salameh (1994), who questioned the dilemma of a democracy without democrats. It will be a dark future for the research field itself.

NOTES

1. The author expresses his grateful thanks to all the scholars who discussed the ideas and read various drafts of this paper. I wish to particularly thank Salim Tamari, Sujata Patel, Anne-Sophie Boisard, Rigas Arvantis, Roland Waast and Jacques Gaillard.

2. The **ESTIME** project is headed by The *French Institut de Recherche pour le Développement – IRD*.

3. The research on this program was conducted with Linda Taber and led to the publication of a book (Hanafi and Tabar, 2005).

4. These committees are created by political parties to organize people against the conditions faced as a result of occupation and resistance.

5. A field is a system of social positions (for instant, research field) structured internally in terms of power relationships (the power differential between universities, research centers, senior and junior researchers).

6. One Master student in Ramallah reported sadly: 'They are forced to run around the West Bank from one city to another city to find one book here and another there. While there is no centralized public library (of course the municipality library usually is very poor), the acquisition in university libraries depends entirely on book donation'.

7. These centers are: Opinion Polls and Survey Studies Centre (OPSSC) in Najah University; Development Studies Program (DSP) of Birzeit University; Palestinian Centre for Policy and Survey Research (PCPSR); Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC); Center for Dissemination of Alternative Information (Panorama).

REFERENCES

Adorno, T. (1982) 'Commitment' in A. Arato and E. Gebhardt (eds) *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*. New York: Continuum.

Agamben, G. (1998) *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Al-Kinz, A. (2005) 'al-ulum al-ijtimayaa fi al-'alam al-arabi (Social Sciences in the Arab World)', *Idafat. Arab Journal of Sociology* (Beirut: Arab Association of Sociology):17–48.

Bocco, R., Brunner, M., De Martino, L., al-Husseini, J. and Lapeyre, F. (2006) 'Mesurer la fièvre palestinienne. Notes sur une expérience de monitoring des conditions de vie de la population civile palestinienne pendant la deuxième Intifada, 2000–2006' (Measuring the Palestinian 'Pulse'. About the Experience of Monitoring the Living Conditions of the Palestinian Population During the Second Intifada, 2000–2006), *Annuaire Suisse des Politiques de Développement* (Swiss Annual Review of Politics of Development) 25(2): 79–94.

Bourdieu, P. (1990) *Homo Academicus*. London: Polity.

Champagne, P. (1990) *Faire l'Opinion. Le Nouveau Jeu Politique* (Manufacturing Public Opinion. The New Political Game). Paris: Éditions de Minuit.

Géographes Français (Geographies: Bulletin of the Association of French Geographers). 83(1).

Hammami, R. (1996) 'Palestinian NGOs: Professionalization of Politics in the Absence of the Opposition', *Al Siyyassa al Falistiniyya* (Palestinian Policies) Nablus, Spring(10) (Arabic).

Hanafi, S. (1999) 'The Image of Others, between Arabic and French Agendas', in S. Shamy and L. Herrera (eds) *Social Science in Egypt: Emerging Voices*. Cairo: AUC.

Hanafi, S. (2004) 'Report on the survey and database of research on population issues in Palestine'. Population council, Cairo. Unpublished report.

Hanafi, S. and Tabar, L. (2005) *Donors, International Organizations, Local NGOs. Emergence of the Palestinian Globalized Elite*. Ramallah: Muwatin and Institute of Jerusalem Studies.

Hilal, J. (2006) *The Palestinian Middle Class. A Research into the Confusion of Identity Authority and Culture*. Ramallah: Muwatin.

Kabanji, J. (2005) 'kiyfa taqra' al-intaj al-sociologi al-arabi' (How to Read the Arab Sociological Production), *Idafat. Arab Journal of Sociology* (Beirut: Arab Association of Sociology) 59–88 (Arabic).

Krishna, V.V., Waast, R. and Gaillard, J. (1998) *Globalization and Scientific Communities in Developing Countries, World Science Report*, pp. 273–88. Paris: UNESCO.

Nakhleh, K. and Zureik, E. (eds) (1980) *The Sociology of the Palestinians*, p. 238. London: Croom Helm.

Romani, V. (2001) 'Universités et universitaires palestiniens d'une Intifada à l'autre dans D'une Intifada l'autre. La Palestine au quotidien *(*Universities and Palestinian Scholars: From one Intifada to Another, from one Intifada to Another in Everyday Palestine), in B. Botiveau and A. Signoles (eds), *Egypte/Monde arabe, n° 6*, pp. 55–80. Cairo: CEDEJ and Bruxelles.

Romani, V. (2007) Sociologues et Sociologies en Cisjordanie Occupée: Engagements et Hétéronomies. Etude de cas (Sociologists and Sociologies in Occupied West

Bank: Engagment and Heteronomies). Unpublished paper.

Roussillon, A. (2002) 'Sociologie et identité en Égypte et au Maroc: le travail de deuil de la colonisation' (Sociology and Identity in Egypt and Morocco: The Work of Mourning the Colonization), *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences de l'Homme* 7(Octobre):125–73.

Salameh, G. (1994) *'Introduction',* in Gh. Salameh (ed.) *Democracy without Democrats*? *The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*, pp. 1–12. London: I.B. Tauris.

Tamari, S. (1980) 'The Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza: The Sociology of Dependency', in K. Nakhleh and E. Zureik (eds) *The Sociology of the Palestinians*.

Durham NC: Duke University Press and London: Croom Helm.

Tamari, S. (1997) 'Social Science Research in Palestine: A Review of Trends and Issues', in R. Bocco, B. Destrmeau and J.Hannoyer (eds) *Palestine, Palestiniens. Territoire national, espaces communautaires* (Palestine, Palestinians. National Territory, Community Spaces), pp. 17–40. Beirut: Cahiers du CERMOC, No. 17.

World Bank (1998) *World Development Report 1998–99: Knowledge for Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zureik, E. (2003) 'Theoretical and Methodological Considerations for the Study of Palestinian Society', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 23(1–2):152–62.

Sociology in Iran: Between Politics, Religion and Western Influence

Ali Akbar Mahdi

Sociology emerged in Iran in the context of a Western-oriented modernization program instituted by a patrimonial state. The discipline developed, after it was established in the educational institutions, to train administrators for the emerging state bureaucracies. Despite this official role and lack of a distinct identity, the discipline gained popularity by the mid-twentieth century and soon acquired controversial status because of its ideological and political orientation. Since its inception, the discipline has had to confront not only the ambivalences of a modern social science, but also the ideological and political tensions of Iranian society.

In what follows, I will present briefly the history of the field in the broader context of social sciences within the modern educational system. Although the focus is on sociology, at times I refer to 'social sciences', since in many contexts the fate of the discipline was determined by the other social sciences, such as anthropology, demography, social psychology, social planning, and development. I will also briefly analyze the political and cultural climate within which social sciences have been introduced and practiced,

the paradigmatic changes within the field of sociology, the Islamization of social sciences after the revolution, public and official perceptions as well as some enduring features of the discipline, together with the strengths and weaknesses of the field as it has evolved in Iran. Discussing conflicting ideological and political challenges the discipline has had to confront, I argue that although these challenges have prevented the discipline from forming a cohesive community of theorists and researchers, sociology still remains a source of enlightenment for both public and social elite as a discipline capable of analyzing social ills, and as a field of study for students.

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD: ORIGINS AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Iran's social sciences, including sociology, are linked to the historical development of the country as a modern nation-state. An assessment of Western ideas for understanding the

underdeveloped nature of the country led many to demand the establishment of modern educational institutions. In the 1930s Iran began the process of modernization by creating a centralized state and developing an administrative infrastructure. Designed after Western models, this modernization involved social planning and social research, i.e. the collection and analysis of demographic data as done in the West; this was the beginning of sociology.

Sociology, as a formal discipline, started in 1946 when a course on sociology of education was introduced in one of the colleges in Tehran. Gholamhossein Sadiqi, considered the father of Iranian sociology, wrote the first sociology textbook and incorporated sociological analysis into his course *Societals in Persian Literature*. Later sociological ideas were included in the curriculum of the faculty of letters and humanities in most universities. In 1958, the Institute for Social Studies and Research and afterwards the Faculty of Social Sciences were established at the University of Tehran. The latter offered sociology courses as part of an undergraduate degree. During the 1960s there was widespread expansion of sociology departments and by 1978, most universities had a sociology department (Mahdi and Lahsaeizadeh, 1992). Until the mid-1960s the curriculum was based on the French system and changed to the American one, now taught by Iranian graduates of foreign universities. Later, as students came to be trained at home, Iranian-trained sociologists filled the new departments. Additional courses on Iranian history, human geography, demography, cultural, and social anthropology were also offered.

From the early 1960s onwards, sociology became popular with the expansion of state bureaucracy and developmental projects in the country. The demand for trained employees in human services and social sciences led many to seek higher education. Additionally, the learning of sociology was endorsed because it helped to critically reflect both the nature of underdevelopment and contemporary dictatorship established through the consolidation of power by a young US-backed monarch. The trends in Iran were in continuity with those in the rest of the world wherein there was an appeal for critical studies and Marxist ideas.

By the late 1960s this popularity was reinforced by the emergence of a critical community of secular academic and non-academic intellectuals armed with the New Left perspectives critical of the undemocratic and dependent character of the state. By the 1970s the increase in scholarships for students studying abroad, due to escalating government revenues from high oil prices, added to this popularity. Two critical sociologists with opposing ideological views contributed to this momentum. Amir Hossein Aryanpour, a leading intellectual on the left, promoted critical sociology, especially among students, despite the hegemonic positivist posture of sociology departments within the universities (Mahdi, 2001). Numerous editions of Aryanpour's textbook (1973) popularized sociology. In the early 1970s Ali Shariati, a French-trained Iranian religious sociologist, increased sociology's appeal to religious students by synthesizing sociological theories and radical religious ideas (Rahnema, 2000). Challenging Marxist interpretations, Shariati, along with Ayatollah Morteza Motahri, offered Islamic explanations for the problems of the Pahlavi state. These developments contributed to a revolutionary movement that culminated in the Iranian Revolution of 1979, overthrowing a pro-Western secular monarchy (Keddie, 1981).

Once established, the discipline experienced two contradictory pressures, one from its institutionalized structure and the other from its popular appropriation. Institutionally, it reflected the dominant administrative logic of a modern, Western, and secular, but undemocratic, state. Here sociology was promoted as a positivistic social science which did not tolerate critical pedagogical and curricular approaches. The state had banned Iran's Communist party and discouraged the teaching of Marxist ideas. Conversely, outside of academia, critical ideas against the Shah's authoritarian rule and American

positivism were very popular. While critical and Marxist sociological ideas were prevalent among secular intellectuals and students, radical Islamic ideas were widespread among most first generation college students.

Thus the sociology curriculum came under contradictory pressures from inside and outside academia. The state demanded an apolitical and non-critical curriculum, but the teaching of sociology remained reflexive. Critical ideas were taught cautiously, often clothed in vague language, and without a specific text, allowing teachers to deny having taught those ideas or to claim misunderstanding by students.

THEORETICAL TRENDS

Pre-revolutionary theoretical approaches can be classified as empirical–positivist, critical–ideological, and synthetic–eclectic. The first group included politically disinterested sociologists with functionalist, positivist, and empirical orientations (e.g. Behnam and Rasekh, 1969). Given the pro-Western modernizing bias of the Pahlavis, it was institutionally rewarding and politically safe for sociologists within academia to adopt empirical–positivistic approaches. While some faculty in the empirical–positivist camp served the state in administrative or advisory capacities, radical professors faced intimidation and harassment.

The second group endorsed conflict theorists, either Marxist (e.g. Ashtiani, 2007) or Weberian (e.g. Ashraf, 1980). They drew from German idealism, European Marxism, Marxist-Leninism, and the French sociologist Georges Gurvitch. They had a critical view of the prevailing political and economic policies of the country. The third group questioned the naive application of Western theories to Iranian society (Naraqi, 2007), alternated their perspectives depending on the subject matter, and/or used several theories to explain the same phenomenon. Their shifting theoretical orientations reflected

the politically charged academic environment and the four ideological trends shaping national politics and discourses: two internal to Iran, those of Islamism and radical nationalism; and two external to it, those of socialism and liberalism. Their approaches to sociology depended on the nature of issues, ideologies and political implications.

Radical students viewed apolitical sociologists as either political tools of the state and its Western imperialist allies, or naive individuals with a politically safe approach to the discipline. Conversely, sociologists not affiliated to state institutions were respected and their work considered important to the well-being of society. In such a politically charged atmosphere, teaching critical sociology was easier than writing. To publish was difficult because of the political risks and government scrutiny. Marxist views were presented formally as 'scientific theory', or through underground literature. Non-Marxist critical theorists did not face this difficulty, if their materials were presented in the Third-World, anti-colonial language.

THE REVOLUTION AND ISLAMIZATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES: THE FIRST DECADE

The establishment of the Islamic Republic (IR) in 1979 entailed new challenges for sociology. Senior social scientists in bureaucracy were dismissed or forced into retirement. Many migrated abroad and as many as 220,000 industrialists and university teachers have since left the country.[1] However, in the early revolutionary period, the government encouraged critical teachings and research in academia. As radicalism was popular, even religious leaders found Marxist analysis relevant for exposing the Pahlavi's foreign dependence and explaining the ills of the country, and the causes of poverty, political oppression, and colonialism.

With the demise of the monarchy, academics expected the revolution to reduce

government control of the universities and encourage open and participatory administrative structure. Even though the revolution inaugurated the 'Islamic government', critical sociologists remained optimistic about the future and hoped for the emergence of a new society characterized by freedom and prosperity. Initially events seemed to be moving slowly in this direction. However, soon the new government re-imposed the top-down approach practiced by the Pahlavis and controlled the framing of the curriculum and the practices of sociology in the classroom.

Universities resisted the new changes and became the main battlefields of confrontation among ideological and political factions. The government decided to eliminate these political and ideological rivals by closing universities and launching the Cultural Revolution for cleansing the system of its un-Islamic, Westernized, and secularized elements. In June 1980, the Cultural Revolution Headquarter (CRH) consisting of appointed Muslim clerics, intellectuals, and government officials was established for creating an 'Islamic atmosphere' in the universities, 'Islamicizing' all curricula, and reflecting the revolutionary ethos of new theocracy.

The war with Iraq, and the clerics' need to consolidate power resulted in political repression. The educational system had to be controlled, especially social sciences and humanities – subjects which were closely aligned to religious studies. Social science was colonial in nature and designed to undermine the native moral infrastructure of Islamic society. These sciences treat religion in temporal and spatial terms whereas Islam offers a non-temporal analytical framework capable of overcoming all historical limitations. Ayatollah Mohammad Taqi Mesbah Yazdi and then Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Rajai openly expressed their suspicion of sociology, and the discipline came under severe ideological pressure to 'Islamicize' and 'de-Westernize' itself at both curricular and intellectual levels.

Social scientists were accused of de-sacralizing religious knowledge and mythical

beliefs and were thus subjected to harassment, loss of employment, and public denunciation. The Office of Cooperation between the University and Seminary was charged with reviewing the existing textbooks and to write new ones according to Islamic principles.[2] New texts on Islamic sociology were now written (e.g. Sediqi Sarvestani et al., 1984). Its journal published articles on 'Islamic' sciences, including Islamic methodology for the social sciences (Abdolalavi, 2003).

In 1984, universities reopened under the control of trusted appointees. Seven hundred faculty members, mainly social scientists, were dismissed and the reappointment of the faculty was conditional upon their good behavior and attendance at religious workshops.[3] Current students sympathetic to the left or openly opposed to the IR were dismissed and prospective ones were screened for their moral decency and allegiance to the IR. College deans and department chairs were appointed for their religious devotion and political loyalty, not their scholarship and administrative experience. Educational decisions were centralized in the administrative units supervised by religious leaders.

To further the revolution the regime introduced many new institutions within universities, one of which was 'Jahad-e Daneshgahi' (JD = scholarly Holy War) tasked to 'implement the goals of the "cultural revolution", . . . and move towards "Islamization of universities", by organizing cultural and research activities . . . training committed Muslim students . . . and preparing them for confronting the Western cultural invasion.'[4] Faculty associated with the JD often received official support for their research. The JD engaged in a variety of educational activities deemed important in 'the protection of the revolutionary and Islamic' government and maintained close contact with various military and political arms of the state. Another institution was the Basij (mobilization) enclaves aimed at students. In its latest meeting it has urged faculties to create knowledge for effective governance.[5]

The 1980s was a bleak period for the social sciences, especially sociology. The Cultural

Revolution, in the words of the editor of the leading Iranian social sciences journal, resulted in loss of momentum and mobility for social sciences and 'divorced [them] from other sciences into poverty' (Askari Khaneqah, 1998). The seminary established its superiority leading to a brain drain from the universities. Islamization of the social sciences resulted in production of a few introductory books, insertion of a few Islamic examples into previously written textbooks, and sometimes the addition of a chapter devoted to Islamic societies. In addition, several new courses about the history of Islam and the nature of Islamic social thought were introduced (Azadarmaki, 2006; Tanhaei, 2004). Muslim thinkers, such as Abdur al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun and Abu Nasr Mohammad al-Farabi, were presented in a populist fashion as pioneering social thinkers having relevance to modern societies (Azadarmaki, 1998; Davari Ardekani, 2003; Ṭabaṭabai, 1995). The state and religious establishments often sponsored the publication of slim texts titled 'Islamic sociology', 'Quranic sociology', 'Alavi sociology', and 'mystical-interpretative sociology' – works which often lacked rigorous methodology and a cohesive framework (e.g., Habibi Amin, 2007; Tanhaei, 2005).

Consolidation of IR took place in the context of hopes to establish a new classless society, export the revolution around the world, win the war with Iraq, rid the social sciences of their Western influence, and invent an Islamic sociology. Despite these revolutionary wishes, sociology in its Western format remained influential and the discipline continued to attract high numbers of students. Iranian sociologists of all ideological persuasions made sure that the discipline would survive in these revolutionary experimentations. Their efforts were more focused on the preservation of the discipline, its public credibility, and its distinct identity as a scientific field than its advancement. Also, by the mid-1990s there was a slow realization among the zealots that it is impossible to create an 'Islamic methodology' or 'Islamic sociology', although it is possible to be methodologically sensitive to the Islamic nature of Middle Eastern societies (Azadarmaki, 1999; Malakian, 1999; Taleban, 2003).

Sociologists continued to remain hostage to the pressures of the Cultural Revolution. On the one hand they accepted criticism of Western social sciences but on the other abhorred the impact of the Cultural Revolution on universities and people's lives. The Cultural Revolution made them victims of revolutionary excesses and ideological dogmas, and many abandoned their previous view of revolutionary clerics as a catalyst for progressive historical transformation.

In these circumstances, sociological theorization had to remain opaque. Non-religious scholars who survived the purges were forced to accept 'true Islam as a progressive and liberating force'. Empirical–positivist social science survived by avoiding research on politically sensitive issues. Marxist social scientists who retained their jobs studied nonreligious subjects. Eclectic approaches gained popularity. The new younger faculty focused on marrying Western modernity and science with religion and ethics with methodology.

REVIVAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE SECOND DECADE OF THE REVOLUTION

The end of the Iran–Iraq war, the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the spread of democratic movements in the developing world, and the election of Ali Akbar Rafsanjani to presidency in 1989, set the stage for a new direction in political, economic, cultural, and educational policies in the country. Recognizing the extremity of revolutionary measures, the Rafsanjani administration began a rapprochement with the West, encouraged foreign investment, initiated privatization of the economy and structural adjustment, imported Western technology, removed some of the social and

cultural limitations imposed on public spaces, lured back the educated and wealthy Iranians from abroad, liberalized the educational environment, and re-instituted some of the previously abandoned programs. The transition from war economy to reconstruction and economic development required foreign capital from international agencies. These agencies demanded liberalization of the state and removal of some of the radical ministers and influential deputies in the parliament as a precondition for loans to the IR. These developments had positive implications for the educational system and led to the revival of social sciences departments and an increase in the significance of sociology in the public domain through many interventions.

First, the establishment of a Presidential Center for Strategic Studies attracted a number of young reformist revolutionaries who reflected critically on the war, revolutionary policies, the feasibility of an utopian Islamic classless society, the widespread alienation of the new middle class from government policies, and the yearning for political change. To find solutions to these problems, they studied Western theories of social change, democracy, civil society, and modernity.

Second, a group of young revolutionaries following Shariati's ideas founded the monthly *Kian*. Labeled the journal of 'theoretical left', *Kian* became the citadel of reformist Islamic thinkers associated with Abdolkarim Soroush – an anti-Marxist Muslim intellectual member of CRH, now converted to modernist thinker. *Kian* was successful in reviving the modernist tradition of Islamic thinking and in developing new interpretations of religious texts and ideas – some of which are in contradiction to the views of the traditional religious elite in power. Members of the group, such as Emadeddin Baghi, Hamid Reza Jalaipour, Mohsen Goudarzi, and Hossein Ghazian obtained degrees in sociology and intervened in the public sphere. They taught and did research on social issues, such as the nature of public attitudes in Iran and on politically sensitive ones such as the rights of prisoners.

Third, the biweekly *Asre Ma* of the Organization of Devotees of the Islamic Revolution contributed to the relevance of sociological ideas to current political change and became an influential source of political analysis in the nineties. Drawing on Shariati's ideas, on Marx's class analysis, and on Western sociopolitical theories, the paper offered fresh perspectives on current events and conducted a series of independent surveys assessing youth's inclination to religious, social, and political issues in the country (Shamsi, 2003).

Fourth, the return back of young loyal Muslim graduates who were earlier given foreign scholarships helped to convince the clerical establishment that not all Western secular theories and methodologies were irrelevant to Iran. Some returnees joined the Muslim reformist camp and became advocates for the expansion of 'civil society', thereby supporting the new President, Mohammad Khatami. The Office of Consolidation of Unity, the largest Muslim student association in universities, organized conferences on secularization, democratization, and social reform.

Fifth, Khatami's election in 1977 ushered in a new era of unprecedented openness in the IR. Newspapers and magazines, such as *Jame'eh* and *Iran-e Farda*, publicized social sciences ideas and regularly published tracks covering sociological ideas and development theories.

Sixth, the establishment of the Iranian Sociological Association in 1991 and an associated journal, restarting the publication of the *Name'h Olum-e Ejtemai* (Journal of Social Sciences), and the initiation of a number of sociological weblogs and netzines boosted scholarly morale and strengthened the infrastructure of social research.

Finally, there were secular intellectuals, writers, and academicians who, despite control exercised by the state, presented their views in influential monthly and weekly magazines such as *Adineh*, *Farhang-e Touse'eh*, and *Donya-ye Sokhan*. Although politically powerless, and often intimidated by the

authorities, their publications on democracy, civil society, and modernity, became resources for use by religious intellectuals who had opportunities and political space for publicizing these ideas.

Once Iran broke its isolation from the rest of the world, an atmosphere conducive to the growth of social research and education developed. The reformist movement utilized ideas from social science both to legitimize and further its own cause in society. Sociological methods of survey, field observation, and polling became regular tools for measuring public sentiments about the government, campaigns advice, and organizing public opinions. Local, regional, and international conferences were organized by departments and students, foreign scholars were invited, and funds were allocated for faculty development. Iranian faculty participated in international conferences, and restrictions on the import and export of educational materials were eased.

Diverse ideas in social sciences have found legitimation today. Intellectuals have theorized on globalization in the context of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the decline of communism, and also have reflected on the changes experienced by the Iranian revolution. Many Islamic radicals, earlier staunch supporters of the regime, have now become liberal democrats advocating the need for civil society, democracy, and human rights. Utilizing Western, secular, and liberal ideas, the reformists debated with their conservative colleagues over the future direction of the IR (Jahanbakhsh, 2001). Conservative Islamicists used postmodernist, post-structuralist, and post-colonialist theories without reservation, even though these are Western approaches.[6]

These variations are related to contemporary politics indicating the organic linkages between it and social sciences. In the 1970s, those opposing the Pahlavi regime used Marxist and Western critical social science perspectives and Islamic radicalism to explain political repression in Iran, to question the nature of the modernization policies of the state, and to debunk the dominant Orientalist views of Iranian society. A decade later, the Islamic reformists had reversed themselves by embracing Western social science theories as a tool for delegitimizing the conservative Islamic views of the ruling clerics.[7] Western social sciences are utilized to reject the earlier radical theories used in support of revolution and the establishment of an Islamic state. Also, concepts such as bourgeois democracy, civil society, and individual rights, rejected earlier, are now used as an instrument of change. While the officially sanctioned perspective continues to be religious–ideological, sociologists are using pre-revolutionary sociological traditions. Secular thinking is an undercurrent and both positivist and postmodernist ideas overshadow Marxist and Islamic views.

Khosrow-Khavar (2005) argues that Iranian scientists are divided on the existence of a 'scientific community' in Iran, and Azadarmaki (1999) finds Iranian sociology in crisis. Yet, despite the ebb and flow in the history and state of sociological practice, sociology is institutionalized in the Iranian higher education system and often influences national debates. Neither the unfavorable environment of the early revolutionary period nor the suspicious view of clerical establishment has been able to prevent the public acceptance of the discipline and its influence on public discourse. The expansion of the discipline has been comprehensive. Most universities offer undergraduate and graduate degrees in social sciences and enrollment in sociology has increased. Some areas within the discipline, such as demography, urban and rural sociology, have received official sanction because of their supposed non-political nature and have expanded.

The last decade has seen an unprecedented appreciation for the production of empirical research on public attitudes and socioeconomic problems – e.g., Asadi et al. (1979). Although much of the state research remains out of the public's reach, today there is increasing demand for the teaching of social research, in the form of public surveys, participant

observation, and ethnography. Masters and doctoral theses have started using survey-based field research.

Gender has become an important component of theoretical analysis. Due to the influence of women's movements, and the increase in female students and faculty in higher education, attention is given to gender as an important variable in sociological studies. A number of studies on violence against women, gender bias in family laws, and gender stratification in occupations have been undertaken. The establishment of several institutes for women's studies by government and private bodies has encouraged its popularity.

These developments received a setback with the election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as President in 2005. Education is once again being controlled and Islamic principles being endorsed, to the detriment of the slow growth of the plural trends mentioned above. Elected university presidents and provosts have been replaced by appointed conservatives. The government has appointed a cleric without an academic degree as President of the University of Tehran. Professors with critical views have been forced into retirement.

ENDURING CHALLENGES AND PROBLEMS OF SOCIOLOGICAL PRACTICE IN IRAN

The above developments are indicative of several historical, structural–institutional, and cultural challenges weighing on the development of social sciences, particularly sociology, in Iran (Abdi, 1994; Tavassoli, 1976; Tayefi, 2004). First, from its beginning, the Iranian university system was influenced by diverse local and global directions having complementary and contradictory implications. The introduction of the Western educational system and ideas created cultural ambivalence, social displacement, alienation, and an uneasy alliance of social forces. Numerous swings in national politics throughout the past century have placed obstacles in the production, reproduction, and transmission of social sciences. Nationalist, Islamic, and Western influences have put pressures on social sciences to identify themselves as 'indigenous', 'Islamic', or 'modern'. Despite repeated efforts to reconcile these contradictory demands, social sciences has not been able to achieve a comfortable balance that combines these diverse expectations.

Although institutionalized in the context of Western modernization, sociology in Iran today is pressurized by the forces of politics and religion. Its development has been closely connected with government policies and competing ideological trends in society. During the Pahlavi era, the creation of modern social sciences departments was a necessary aspect of the emergence and expansion of modern state institutions. After the Revolution, the declining fortune of sociology in the 1980s was due to ideological constraints imposed by the new theocracy. Even sociologists supportive of the state complained that they could not study religion objectively and their research is subject to suspicion, interference, and unsubstantiated accusations (Mohadesi, n.d.). The official support of Islam has undermined an assessment of the religion's utopian aspects.

The recent revitalized efforts were due to the ascendancy of state reformists initially under Rafsahjani and later during Khatami's presidency. Sociology's public acceptance and popularity are related to intellectuals who have used it to highlight political causes and ideological concerns rather than to those specialized academics confined to university corridors. Adibi and Ansari (1978) have distinguished between two sociologies: 'official' in universities and 'unofficial' outside them. The bulk of sociological research in pre-revolutionary Iran, they argue, was produced by non-academic intellectuals such as Jalal Al Ahmad and Gholamhossein Sa'edi. Whether formally trained or not, they utilized social science skills and ideas as a means to enhance political and social causes.

Amir Hossein Aryanpour, trained in education and philosophy, developed a sociological language for teaching. In 1970s, Shariati reframed sociology for Muslim youth searching for an Islamic alternative to both Marxism and Western liberalism.

Second, academic sociology has found it difficult to analyze social issues. Government suspicion has restricted its identity to technical descriptions. Some sociologists attribute this to official censorship, while others perceive it as laziness or political cautiousness.[8] It is difficult to expect heroism from academics in a society that denies freedom of inquiry, intimidates those who do not support the ruling ideology, and makes it risky to contact colleagues outside the country.

Despite the opening up of academia mentioned above, studies having political and religious implications often remain unpublished. In 2002, Ghazian and Abdi, the director and managing member of Ayandeh Research Institute, were arrested and jailed for the alleged 'crime' of 'cooperating with a belligerent state [the US] through conducting opinion polls for Gallup Organization and Zogby Polling Institute', and 'waging propaganda against the IR of Iran'; and Baghi, who had previously served a three-year term in prison for his writings, was detained again on 15 October 2007.[9]

Third, an unfortunate aspect of the sociological experiences in Iran is the scattered and unconnected nature of its community. Teamwork is not welcome and researchers rarely build on previously produced works, thus hampering the sustained accumulation of sociological knowledge. Repetition and redundancy are rampant. There is an absence of clear theoretical conceptualization on major national issues. Also, in addition to the above, an inadequate peer review structure, self-reflection, disciplinary and institutional integration, and individual cooperation shape the practices of the discipline (Abdi, 1994; Abdollahi, 2006).

Gains in the development of sociology have been in the area of teaching and transfer of knowledge, and not in substantive research

(Mohadesi, n.d.). Translation makes up much of sociological production. Although the quality of translations has improved, fashionable Western intellectual works receive disproportionate attention.[10] There have been valuable theoretical works on Iranian society and history, however, not being translated these have little outreach. Only four social scientists within Iran have global recognition: Seyyed Hossein Nasr (2002); Darius Shaygan (1997); Seyyed Javad Tabatabai (1995, 2002); and Abdolkarim Soroush (1995, 2000). The weakest aspect of Iranian sociology is theory construction, as the country remains a consumer of Western sociological knowledge.[11] In-depth and original analysis of theoretical sociology is not available. The success of sociology departments remains in the production of necessary personnel for the state bureaucracies and service industries.

Lastly, there is lack of institutional support for research within universities. When and where state funding is available, its disbursement is often determined by practical and security considerations, and substantive research is discouraged. Non-scientific criteria for funding override scientific ones. Further, research institutions rarely communicate their research findings to each other, deterring the growth of a research culture.

CONCLUSION

Social sciences in Iran are intimately connected with the process of modernization and the Iranian encounter with Western modernity. Decades of institutionalized social sciences have been shaped by the major forces in recent Iranian history: state formation; centralization of political power; the emergence of a state bureaucracy and civil organizations; a Western-originated legal system; modern economics; education; and political parties. The limitations, weaknesses, and problems encountered by social sciences reflect conflicting pressures from the above developments as well as the institutional

problems each field has had to face within its own disciplinary environment.

The close association of social sciences and Western modernity has promoted discourse of a clash between tradition and modernity. The overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty by the religious forces resulted in the rejection of Western modernity and its associated products, such as social sciences within the Iranian educational system. In the first decade of its establishment, the IR attempted to cleanse these sciences of undesirable Western elements. These efforts resulted in the loss of human capital, cultural resources, and national talents, as many Iranian social scientists left their jobs for retirement or departed from the country. In the second decade, this trend has reversed itself and social sciences have emerged as a tool for societal development and national integration.

The growth of social sciences during the Pahlavi era was based on a model of modernization from above. Though the Pahlavis found social sciences instrumental in the promotion of national development, they did not expect social science departments to teach students an untainted view of Iranian society and produce students critical of the government – even though that was an unintended consequence. The IR also had similar expectations from social science education, with the difference that this education should conform to the ethical concerns of a theocratic state. Compared to the Pahlavi monarchy, the IR has had more difficulty in achieving its goals. The Pahlavis viewed social sciences as a natural extension of their own modernization efforts and thus had no epistemological difficulty in incorporating them into their intellectual cosmos. The limitations they imposed on the discipline had to do with its political content and implications. As long as social scientists avoided Marxist theories and did not criticize the monarchy, they were free to practice the discipline as they pleased. However, the IR often opposed Western modernity and its associated instruments. It expected social sciences to produce sociologists who appreciated Islamic values and practices. This was impractical and beyond the competence of social sciences. Modern social sciences have proved to be a weak tool for the creation of an ideal society, especially a theocratic one. The Islamization of social sciences has been an historical experiment with few successes and a great toll on the national and human resources of the country.

NOTES

1. *Islamic Republic News Agency*, 1 May 2001.

2. Ayatollah Mesbah Yazdi established the Research Center for Seminary and University in 1982. Since then, the Center has produced numerous publications on the Islamization of the social sciences, attempting to prove the importance and relevance of Islam to modern society.

3. Report by Sadeq Zibakalam, *Hammihan Newspaper*, No. 33, 3 Tir 1386.

4. Statement by the Director of the JD, *Iranian Students News Agency (ISNA)*, 5 August 2007.

5. *ISNA*, 28 July 2007. http://www.isna.ir/Main/NewsView.aspx?ID=News-968506&Lang=P.

6. See Jamileh Elmolhoda, 'Roykard-e postmodernisti be hejab' (Postmodernist View of the Veil), http://old.tebyan.net/Teb.aspx?nId=8076; Faramarz Qaramolki, 'Melak-e akhlaq-e elahi hoqoq-e bashar ast' (Human Rights is the Criterion for Divine Ethics), *Mehr News*, 8 Khordad 1385; and Mohammad Ali Mohammadi, 'Pasa-Islamism modeli bara-ye touse'eh' (Post-Islamism: A Model for Development), *Resalat*, 16 Farvardin 2000.

7. The relationship between political currents and theoretical positions is discussed by the Cultural Deputy of Ministry of Sciences, Mohammad Baqer Khoramshad, *Sharifnews*, 17 Aban 1385, http://sharifnews.com/?21026.

8. See Abbas Abdi's reaction to Parviz Pedram's commentary on Khatami's program, www.ayande.ir/1385/11/post_142.html.

9. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2398329.stm and http://www.worldpress.org/Mideast/2963.cfm.

10. Ali Paya considers intellectual fashions and lack of theorizing as two major problems in Iranian sociology. See Report of the 2nd Academy of Human Sciences, Tehran University, *ISNA, 19* December 2005.

11. In an unscientific poll by a sociology student on his webpage, 88 respondents identified the

following as problems with sociology in Iran: theo-
retical weakness (22%); over-reliance on translation
(16%); institutional inactivism (15%); weak personnel
and universities (13%); conflict with religion (12%);
focus on quantification (9%); and others (10%). See
http://khodayeman.blogfa.com/post-135.aspx.

REFERENCES

Abdi, A. (1994) 'Jameh-shenasi-ye tahqiqat-e
ejtema-i dar Iran' (Sociology of Social
Research in Iran), in *Majmoeh maqaleh-haye
seminar-e jameh-shenasi* (Proceedings of the
Sociology Seminar), Vol. 1. Qum: Mehr.

Abdolalavi, M. (2003) 'Ravesh-shenasi-ye
olum-e ejtemai-ye Eslami' (The Methodology
of Islamic Social Sciences), *Huwzeh va
Daneshgah* 35 (Summer).

Abdollahi, M. (2006) 'The Evolutionary Process
of Perspectives and Sociological Theories in
Iran in a Global Comparison', in *Summary of
Presentations, Issues in Social Sciences in Iran*.
Tehran: Iranian Sociological Association.

Adibi, H. and Ansari, A. (1978) *Nazariye-
ha-ye jameh-shenasi* (Sociological Theories).
Tehran: Jameh.

Aryanpour, A.H. (1973) *Zemineh-ye jameh-
shenasi* (Introduction to Sociology). Tehran:
Franklin.

Asadi, A., Behkish, M. and Mohseni, M. (1979)
*Gerayesh-haye farhangi va negaresh-ha-ye
ejtema-i dar Iran* (Cultural Attitudes and
Social Views in Iran). Tehran: Khordad.

Ashraf, A. (1980) *Mavane-ye tarikhi-ye rushd-e
sarmayehdari dar Iran-e dureh-e Qajar*
(Historical Obstacles to the Growth of
Capitalism in Iran during Qajars). Tehran:
Payam.

Ashtiani, M. (2007) *Karl Marx va jameh-
shenasi-ye shenakht* (Marx and the Sociology
of Knowledge). Tehran: Qatreh.

Askari Khaneqah, A. (1998) 'Sokhan-e sardabir'
(Editorial), *Nameh-ye Olum-e Ejtema-i* (Journal
of Social Sciences) 12 (Autumn–Winter).

Azadarmaki, T. (1998) *Jameh-shenasi-ye Ibn
Khaldun* (Sociology of Ibn Khaldun). Tehran:
Tabyan.

Azadarmaki, T. (1999) *Jameh-shenasi-ye jameh-
shenasi dar Iran* (Sociology of Sociology in
Iran). Tehran: Kalameh.

Azadarmaki, T. (2006) *Tarikh-e tafakor-e
ejtema-i dar Eslam* (The History of Social
Thoughts in Islam). Tehran: Elm.

Behnam, J. and Rasekh, S. (1969) *Muqaddameh
bar jameh-shenasi-ye Iran* (An Introduction
to the Sociology of Iran). Tehran: Kharazmi.

Davari Ardekani, R. (2003) *Farabi filsoof-e
farhang* (Farabi: A Cultural Philosopher).
Tehran: Saqi.

Habibi Amin, M. (2007) *Jameh-shenasi az
didgah-e Qurban va hadis* (Sociology from
the Perspective of *Quran* and *Hadith*). Qum:
Bayan-e Javan.

Jahanbakhsh, F. (2001) Islam, Democracy and
Religious Modernism in Iran, 1953–2000:
From Bazargan to Soroush. Leiden: Brill.

Keddie, N.R. (1981) *Roots of Revolution: An
Interpretive History of Modern Iran*. New
Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Khosrow-Khavar, F. (2005) 'Aya dar Iran yek
jameh elmi vojud darad?' (Does Iran Have
a Scientific Community?), *Iran Newspaper*
3155 (18) Khordad.

Mahdi, A.A. (2001) 'Dar Soog-e barjestehtarin
jameh-shenas-e Iran' (On the Loss of a Great
Iranian Sociologist), *Iran-Emrooz,* http://archiv.
iran-emrooz.net/mahdi/mahdi800512.html.

Mahdi, A.A. and Lahsaeizadeh, A. (1992)
Sociology in Iran. Bethesda, MD: Jahan Book
Company.

Malakian, M. (1999) 'Tammolati chand dar
bob-e emkan va zarorat-e Eslami shodan-e
daneshgah' (A Reflection on the Possibility
and Necessity of Islamicizing Universities),
Naqd'o Nazar 19–20 (Summer–Autumn).

Mohadesi, H. (n.d.) 'Jameh-shenasi-ye din va
mavane-e rushd-e 'an' (Sociology of Religion
and Obstacles to its Growth), http://www.
sociology82.blogfa.com/cat-17.aspx

Naraqi, E. (2007) *Olum-e ejtemai va seyr-e
takwini-ye an* (Social Sciences and their
Evolution). Tehran: Forouzan.

Nasr, S.H. (2002) *Islam: Religion, History, and
Civilization*. New York: Harper One.

Rahnema, A. (2000) *An Islamic Utopian: A
Political Biography of Ali Shariati*. London:
I. B. Tauris.

Sediqi Sarvestani, R., Araqi, M.M., Rajabi,
M., Salimanpanah, S.M. and Mirsepah,
A. (1984) *Dar'amadi bar jameh-shenasi-e
Eslami* (Introduction to Islamic Sociology).
Qum: Huwzeh va Daneshgah.

Shamsi, A. (2003) Sazman-e *Mojahedin-e Enqelab-e Eslami* (The Organization of Devotees of the Islamic Revolution). Qum: Tahsin.

Shaygan, D. (1997) *Cultural Schizophrenia: Islamic Societies Confronting the West*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Soroush, A. (1995) *Dars-ha-i dar falsafe-ye elm'ol-ejtema* (Lessons on Philosophy of Social Sciences). Tehran: Ney.

Soroush, A. (2000) *Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam. Essential Writing of Abdolkarim Soroush*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tabatabai, S.J. (1995) *Ibn Khaldun va Olum-e ejtemai: vaziat-e Olum-e ejtemai dar tamaddon-e Eslami* (Ibn Khaldun and Social Sciences: The Status of Social Sciences in Islamic Civilization). Tehran: Ṭarḥ-e No.

Tabatabai, S.J (2002) 'Je ne crois pas à une réforme de l'islam' (I don't believe in the Reform of Islam), *Le Figaro*, 13 September.

Taleban, M.R. (2003) 'Jameh-shenasi-e Eslami – tarhi bozorg ba beza'ati andak' (Islamic Sociology – Big Idea with Little Substance), *Ketab Mah Olum-e Ejtemai* (Social Sciences Monthly) 67–8 (Ordibehesht-Khordad): 22–27.

Tanhaei, H.A. (2004) *Jameh-shenasi-ye tarikhi-ye nazari-ye-haye motefakerin-e Eslami* (The Historical Sociology of Islamic Thinkers' Theories). Tehran: Bahman Borna.

Tanhaei, H.A. (2005) 'Towards a Mystical-interpretative Sociology', *Fasle-no Weekly* (New Season Weekly) 5–7 (August) and 8 (September). http://www.fasleno.com/archives/000076.php

Tavassoli, G. (1976) 'Social Sciences in Iran', *Social Sciences in Asia*. UNESCO.

Tayefi, A. (2004) 'Farhang-e elmi-pazhuheshi-ye Iran' (The Iranian Scientific-Research Culture), http://www.sociology82.blogfa.com/post-33.aspx

At Crossroads: Sociology in India[1]

Sujata Patel

The teaching of sociology in India started more than nine decades ago – in 1919 at the University of Bombay. However, the discipline (as anthropology) had established its presence decades earlier as a result of the need of the colonial government to classify, categorize and document the people under its rule. After its introduction in Bombay, the discipline's growth as a teaching subject was slow – in 1947, three universities (Bombay, Calcutta and Lucknow) taught sociology and/or anthropology, together with Poona, Mysore and Hyderabad, where there were small centres.

This pace quickened and by the end of the 1970s, there were fifty universities together with many colleges that were floating a Masters course in sociology (Saberwal, 1983: 303). By 2000, sociology was taught in almost one hundred (of the two hundred or so) universities of the country, where a hundred thousand under-graduate students, six thousand post-graduate and two hundred doctoral students passed out with a degree in sociology every year. Additionally, there were around 10,000 teachers teaching sociology at all levels (including schools) across the country (UGC, 2001).

How has this massive production of sociologists been reflected in research teaching and the growth of the discipline? In the early 1990s the journal *Economic and Political Weekly* ran a series of articles on the state of sociological research in India, known in shorthand as the 'crisis of sociology debate'. This debate asked whether the crisis was related to the negative consequences of the sudden expansion of higher education and the bureaucratization of the academy (Das, 1993) or, Was it related to the history of the discipline and its identity with colonial discourses (Giri, 1993; Deshpande, 1994; Bairey, 2004)?

Why was the average student ignorant of the discipline's basic texts, its seminal theses, theories of the specialized areas in which they were doing research, and caught up in generalities and over-dependence on questionnaire as a method? Why was sociological research primarily descriptive and mainly empiricist?

In this I argue that the positions elaborated above – the moorings of the discipline's identity in colonial discourses and its contemporary routinization in terms of

practices of transmission are organically related and are two sides of the same coin. The 'crisis of sociology debate', I argue, relates to the many diverse ways the community is trying to clarify, evaluate and reconcile the contradictory claims concerning its identity as it has historically developed. These can be examined at four levels: Its disciplinary point of reference – Is it affiliated to theoretical traditions of social anthropology or sociology or is it an interdisciplinary social science? Its theoretical direction – Will it follow sociological traditions constructed in Europe and North America or will it create its own indigenous perspectives? Its professional orientation – Is it an academic discipline whose main role is restricted to teaching and research within academic institutions or is it a discipline committed to public and/or radical political concerns? And its geographical compass – Is it concerned with relating its identity to global and/or national issues and processes or regional and local ones? Or should it combine all four?

In order to understand the way these four issues have interlaced, I discuss the history of the discipline in terms of three phases. The first relates to the role played by the discourse of colonial modernity in defining the discipline's identity as anthropology, and the subsequent propagation of the use of its theories and methods to reproduce an upper caste and class colonial discourse of sociabilities. In this phase we also see a challenge emerging to this discourse with the growth of an indigenous sociology rooted in 'Indian' values.

The second phase coincides with the formation of the nation-state, the expansion of the higher education system and the standardization of a 'national' sociology. Sociology now became 'social anthropology', utilizing the methods of ethnography and 'field view' to study the defining character of the Indian structure – the caste system. The focus was to analyse the micro-perspective – the village, its tradition(s); and to assess incremental change within a civilizational perspective from an upper caste and class perspective.

As against this, an alternative sociology based on Marxist interpretations emerged to demand an assessment of nation, class and state from the viewpoint of the working class, but remained marginal to the former.

Since the late 1970s a new phase has been inaugurated, with the community confronting disparate challenges. On the one hand, it had to confront the problems and contradictions emerging as a result of the rapid expansion of the higher education system, routinization of disciplinary theories and practices; and on the other, face the demands of incorporating regional aspirations together with the voices of the various oppressed groups in the country. The paper argues that the community needs to reflect, understand and evaluate these histories in order to organize itself to move forward.

COLONIAL MODERNITY AND SOCIOLOGY

Commentators who have studied the growth of the discipline in India have suggested that many of the contemporary problems facing the discipline today relate to the colonial past and the framing of the discipline's identity as anthropology. For example, Andre Beteille argues that though he perceives himself as a sociologist, 'he is regarded mainly as an anthropologist . . . in the west'. This is because

> in the western world the study of society and culture in general is partitioned in the following way: the study of other cultures is anthropology and the study of ourselves is sociology. Anyone who studies India, Africa or Melanesia is an anthropologist, whereas to be a sociologist one has to be a specialist in western industrial societies.
>
> (Beteille, 2002: 236)

This disciplinary division relates to a discourse of power institutionalized within European modernity. This discourse created a classification system of ranking people on the basis of multiple and repeated oppositions or binaries that placed values on differences

and thus created hierarchies between these oppositions. These binaries classified modern knowledge systems in terms of oppositions within the rubric of the master binary of West and East. This master binary linked the division and subsequent hierarchization of groups within geo-spatial territories in terms of a theory of temporal linearity: the West was modern because it had reason; the East was traditional because it was religious and spiritual positing universality for 'I' and particularities for the 'other'. The seminal assumptions relating to colonial modernity were embodied in the discipline of anthropology, as contemporary sociology was identified in India (Patel, 2006b).

In the late-nineteenth century, anthropological/sociological knowledge dissolved existing differences of cultural practices and ideas between various communities and re-categorized them within four or five major religious traditions, thereby constructing a master narrative of the majority and minority, placing them in a linear time scale, from primitive to civilized (Patel, 2007a).

The use of existing scientific methods constructed in the West was critical in framing this discourse on colonial modernity. The first instrument used to institutionalize colonial modernity and to facilitate rule was the census. Historians and anthropologists have shown how the initial classification and categorization of groups was done from the late-nineteenth century onwards through the mechanics of the making census (Cohn, 1997; Dirks, 2001).

Simultaneously, there was an effort to document social behaviour, customs and mores of some individual communities through ethnographic methods and also to make region-wise analyses of these communities thereby creating spatial–cultural zones (Cohn, 1997). Further refinement of spatial zones was attempted when the need to facilitate clear taxation systems made the colonial authorities create villages, estates and properties in which bounded space, caste and tribes were identified and ethnographical investigation of these groups was undertaken.

This perspective came to be refined as research questions, methods and methodologies were perfected in Europe and came to be adjusted as knowledge production expanded. These informed perspectives and practices of the discipline, and also placed scholars in distinct academic traditions. Anthropology moved beyond classification and ethnographic studies that merely assessed racial stocks, through physical anthropomorphic perspectives.

Now it studied sociocultural attributes in context with the indological approach (the study of India through scriptures). The use of the latter method benefited one indigenous group, the Brahmins, who were now given enhanced status, that of being the 'indigenous intellectuals', and sociology/anthropology came to be imagined in the visions of these indigenous intellectuals, the 'natives'.

Castes were defined in the context of Hinduism as groups who cultivated land, had better technology and a high civilizational attribute, while tribes were defined in contrast to castes as those who practised primitive technology, lived in interior jungles and were animistic in religious practices. In the process, caste and tribe were hierarchically placed and made out to be far more pervasive, totalizing and uniform as concepts than ever before and defined in terms of a religious order, which it was not always so. These perceptions consolidated and hegemonized an upper caste view of sociabilities in India. This was the frame through which G.S. Ghurye, known as the father of Indian sociology and based at the University of Bombay's Department of Sociology, elaborated these principles (Upadhya, 2007).

Ghurye's perspective embodied the orientalist viewpoint and propounded an indological approach to understand Indian society. Analyses of cognitive principles that structured Hindu civilization were encouraged together with an attempt to describe, itemize and collate the various manners, customs and rituals practised in Hindu society. Ghurye's work focused on the continuities of traditions and their persistence in contemporary values, institutions and cultural practices.

Ghurye encouraged a number of his students to do research on different rituals practised by Hindu communities, and as a large number of these rituals were associated with marriage and kinship, studies multiplied in these areas. Additionally, Ghurye did not engage with the theoretical perspectives of the time – including structural functionalism. He and his students accepted naive empiricism and fact collection rather than analytical modes. No wonder in his 31 books and 47 articles every issue prevalent in contemporary India was discussed (Upadhya, 2007).

Thus sociology in India at that time was not only identified as anthropology but reflected categories and conceptual frameworks determined by those that were framed in Europe. Additionally, an affirmation of values embodied in reconstructed Hinduism and reflected in cultural nationalism of the time embodied his perspective. This orientation made the discipline not only empiricist, politically conservative but also *brahminical* and *savarna* (upper caste) in its perspective (Upadhya, 2007).

This framework was institutionalized as practices and became a model for learning sociology in Bombay. But in Lucknow in the 1940s another perspective – a genuinely sociological one – emerged. It was oriented towards the present and the future and not the past. It was modern and demanded that the discipline be focused on social practice, either as social work or as social policy or as political intervention (Joshi, 1986; Madan, 2007).

In many ways the contribution of the Lucknow sociologists, R.K. Mukerjee and D.P. Mukerji was distinctly different from what Ghurye had attempted to put together in Bombay. It did not define the identity of sociology as anthropology and did not use the methods and methodologies of anthropology crafted within colonial modernity. Although there were major differences between them, the sociology constructed by members of this group at Lucknow was visionary, analytical, empirical and interdisciplinary. In this school we see a growth of new sociology confident

of being Indian, modern and simultaneously indigenous (Mukerjee, 1955).

Given its radical and modern concerns the members of this group investigated in great detail the various issues and problems affecting contemporary India. There was recognition that on the one hand India was overburdened with poverty and backwardness and on the other hand that its processes were determined by colonial exploitation. In this context, how does one understand India's problems and what social science language does one need to construct?

This question led these sociologists to engage with the ideas of contemporary economists and sociologists in the West, and position these against the traditions in place in India. These sociologists did not come to a collective conclusion on this question, but they insisted that social sciences should be seen as a unified discipline that is culture-specific and which integrates values with analysis. The power of this indigenous but modern perspective of sociology attracted many in India. However by the end of the 1950s it had lost its appeal with the growth of the 'nationalist' sociology of M.N. Srinivas. This was a moment of triumph for the discourse of colonial modernity.

NATION AND NATIONALISM AND NATIONALIST SOCIOLOGY: M.N. SRINIVAS AND A.R. DESAI

M.N. Srinivas was a student of Bombay University and completed his first doctorate with Ghurye. Srinivas's ideas on sociology and its methods were reformulated as he moved to Oxford from Bombay and registered with Radcliffe-Brown, later completing a second doctorate with Evans Pritchard. After coming back to India, he established the Department of Sociology in Baroda's M.S. University and later at the University of Delhi and played a premier role in legitimizing 'his' sociology. By the 1970s, his ideas on Indian society, elaborated in his various

books, came to be accepted as the staple for all graduating sociology students.[2]

Srinivas's sociology reiterated the values of his first mentor, G.S. Ghurye. His sociological visions asserted civilizational continuity, focused on the caste system and assessed this 'traditional structure' through the prism of the village (Srinivas, 1976). In Srinivas one can see an amalgam of the principles of colonial modernity with the theories and methodologies of Radcliffe-Brown and the Malinowskian tradition of social anthropology. Srinivas's theoretical architecture re-emphasized the disciplinary identity of sociology as anthropology.[3] He also used theories and methods crafted within Europe (as done by his predecessor) and thereby affirmed the continuous linkages of his social anthropology with the principles of colonial modernity and its binaries.

The introduction of functionalist social anthropology did allow Srinivas space to initiate changes in the methods used by Ghurye. While Ghurye's definition of caste remained couched in indological standpoint, Srinivas used the field view, the empirical method of ethnography to study the caste system, and examined it within the village setting. In this, Srinivas's perspective remains in tune with the colonial practice that valourizes space as a site for examining 'tradition' and thus 'society'. For Srinivas, the defining attribute of Indian society is the caste system, the unique structure through which one can delineate the nature of Indian sociabilities (Srinivas, 2002).

Srinivas's empirical work divides the population of the village by caste and by occupation, then examines the relationship of these castes with agriculture, and connects these to their occupations. He elaborates the organic integration of castes with each other, through the prism of the functional perspective. This system is shown to have flexibility because of the integration of the parts to the whole (Srinivas, 2002).

I have earlier argued that the adjustment of the structural–functionalist approach with the colonial modernity leads to methodological confusion between caste and village (Patel, 1998, 2005). It is not clear which is the system that he is studying, that of the village or the caste. This collapse of the social to the spatial also made possible an exclusion of groups and communities within the nation-state whose culture and practices could not be explained by the caste system. Tribes, religious and ethnic groups (other than caste), as well as new emerging interest groups that did not conform to the caste principles in their ways of everyday living, did not figure in his work.

A lack of criticality can derail many a good ethnographical inquiry. Ethnography here was used within a functionalist paradigm and framed in the context of the principles of the British liberal ideology of the nineteenth century. This ideology argued that state and market, politics and economics were analytically separate and largely self-contained domains each with a separate logic. Epistemically, it made a distinction between subject and object and suggested that the subject, the social scientist, should distinguish him/herself from the object that he/she observed.

This aspect of functionalism has been criticized by many who have argued that it creates an epistemic distance between the subject and the object. Functionalism does not accept that the object is the creation of the subject and is always in a dialectical relationship with it. In these circumstances ethnography merely mirrors the subject's ideology and research, and presents an empiricist perspective on the one hand and creates theoretical and methodological ambiguities on the other (Oommen, 2008). No wonder Saberwal (1983: 307–8) argues that participant observation is an eminently flexible methodology. It could be deployed anywhere and utilized without the need for an analytical framework. Research can become a 'soft experience'.

In the later part of his life, Srinivas's ethnography moved away from the study of the social system/structure of the village, and his 'field view' analysed the general changes taking

place in the caste system within the country. At this point he argued that the caste system was resilient, adapting itself to new changes, those being inaugurated through the economy and the polity. Particularly when examining mobility in modern India, he highlighted the continuous adaptive character of the caste system and its ability to adjust to modern processes of change and presented us with the two paths to mobility, those of sanskritization and westernization. Srinivas defined sanskritization as being the mobility path of those within the Hindu fold, and westernization for those outside it (Srinivas, 2002).

There have been extensive critical comments on Srinivas's concepts of sankritization and westernization from Marxists (the lack of recognition of castes placement in the economic structure and the processes of politics and thus its relationship with classes) and from dalit (Parvathamma, 1978; Pandian, 2002) and feminist approaches (Chakravarti, 2003). In Srinivas's work, the structure of Indian society emerges as a kind of adjustment mechanism that expands and fits into macro changes as these envelop castes in search of new status positions.

Sociologists in India have since adopted this perspective as a way of identifying and practising sociology in India, despite various differences regarding theory and approach (Oommen, 2008). This perspective does not perceive a fault line between pre-colonial and colonial periods. Additionally, it naturalizes the so-called 'traditional' features of Indian society and does not recognize that these are attributes constructed by colonial modernity to mask Indian society's modern and colonial character.

It does not acknowledge Indian modernity nor engages with itself as a discipline that studies this modernity. Thus in spite of the fact that India was modern, social anthropologists in India, such as Srinivas, did not study its modernity; rather they studied its constructed traditions, a frame of dominant colonial modernity. Today, however, ethnography has acknowledged this power dimension in the relationship between the insider and the outsider and politics in the construction of knowledge of the other.

This new *savarna* vision of a nation became institutionalized in many ways by the early 1970s, as did Srinivas's views on caste in modern India, his ideas on social change in contemporary India, and his concept of dominant caste soon became part of the representations that defined the changes taking place during the Nehruvian period. It also became the new academic language of practising sociology as he intervened and organized various initiatives that helped to consolidate this position. He saw sociologists taking a proactive role and argued that sociologists needed to assess the processes of change, which he called 'a quiet revolution, bloodless, continuous, progressively more inclusive, and faster' (Srinivas, 1992), and also to mediate between the public and government.

For instance, Srinivas was Chair of the first committee of the University Grants Commission, which drafted the status report on the teaching of sociology. He was also one of the five signatories of the memorandum of association that set up the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) – the others being four economists. He also organized ICSSR's first bibliographic survey of sociology and social anthropology in India, which charted out the specializations in the discipline, thereby directing research in defined areas (Patel, 2002).

Srinivas took an effective part in the public life of the nation, continuing to write comments and short articles in newspapers till his death. He was a public intellectual whose audience was the English speaking elite eager to understand the social and political changes taking place in India. His intellectual stature both in the country and internationally (in the burgeoning South Asian studies departments) aided the process of institutionalizing this language.

Soon he came to be regarded as *the* sociologist of India. No wonder Beteille argues that Srinivas played a major role in the institutionalization of the profession and was a

pioneer 'who changed the face of sociology in India' (Beteille, 2000: 22). In the same article, Beteille suggests that Srinivas, more than any other single person, 'dominated sociology in the country . . . and it is difficult to think of any one who can fill the place vacated by him'. His sociology in this sense can be termed a 'national' sociology, for it defined not only the sociology that 'we want' but also what we need. In the 1970s it was difficult for anyone else to make their presence felt except in tandem with him; such was his power and authority as a specialist and commentator of India's changing social structures.

What is the implication of this sociology?[4] In such sociology, we lose not only a sense of history but also the analysis of colonialism as a force and process of destruction and creation of discourses regarding the binaries of modern-tradition, of capitalism as a generator of change that distributes rewards unequally, and of development and planning as a process of an elite-organized ideology of refashioning society. Srinivas's sociology does not present us with concepts and theories that can evaluate and understand the contemporary processes of change and conflict in society. In order to have this repertoire we have to accept that change, especially in the epoch of the world system, is exogenous, market-oriented and one which distributes rewards unequally and thereby constructs localities and regions, classes and ethnic groups in unequal relation with each other (Patel, 1998, 2005).

Opposition to Srinivas's sociology came from the work of A.R. Desai, Srinivas's contemporary in Bombay and also a student of Ghurye. A.R. Desai was a Marxist and a sociologist who did not see a difference between the two. Unlike Srinivas, who assessed social systems to understand the continuity of the caste system as a specific civilizational social order, Desai was interested in analysing contemporary social change in order to assess how it benefited a few. His work was a critique of mainstream nationalism and its political projects. Its focus was on the nature

of the ruling class, their control of the state institutions and their constant efforts to use developmental programmes to aid their own reproduction. While Srinivas created sociology for the elite, Desai's sociology was on and for the excluded. He was also a public intellectual who wrote pamphlets and booklets in regional languages for those who were struggling, in addition to books and articles for those in academia (Patel, 2007b).

Desai's canvas of sociological interpretation was extremely wide. His project began with a discussion on nation and class in the colonial period and moved on to assess the state in the post-independent era. This analysis led him to examine planning and development in India together with the rise of new classes in agriculture and within the urban industrial structure. The growth of social movements against these dominant classes and the increasing communalization of the state led him to reassess the nature of state-society crises in contemporary India. Later, his sociology debated and discussed the contemporary human rights movements by new social actors.

Desai's work starts with a critique of Indian nationalism, exposing its upper caste and class perspectives. He argued that while nationalism was a movement of various classes and groups forging one nation into a whole, the class at the helm imposed its own class interests on the movement, subordinating those of other classes to its own. Desai's sociology interrogated the normative projects of mainstream sociology/anthropology by redefining them as analyses of the relationship between nation, classes and power through an historical and interdisciplinary perspective (Desai, 1948).

His work presents radical alternate conceptions of doing sociology. It can be said that Desai's work provided sociology/anthropology with a new language to study sociliabilities beyond upper caste and class culturist interpretations inherited from mainstream nationalist imaginations. It defined the focus of the discipline, that of studying social change. It argued that colonialism was a key

fault line in assessing the changes, and that the state was controlled and represented by the projects conceived by the *savarna* upper class. By asserting that sociology was an interdisciplinary social science rooted in the historical method, together[5] with the political economy approach, he questioned the culturist perspectives of mainstream sociology.

If his earlier work attempted to understand and assess the nature of nationalism, classes and the resultant state formation, his later work made an assessment of development programmes and policies and the growth of new social movements which emerged in India after the late 1960s (Desai, 1971, 1984). For Desai, the key to an assessment of all these processes lay in the analysis of the modern Indian state. It was important, he argues, that we ask the question: Why was the state playing an undemocratic role? Why was the state in India using extra constitutional powers to repress the growth of democratic movements in the country? Answers to these questions, he argues, can only come through a historical–comparative analysis of the state civil society dynamics taking place in India (Desai, 1975).

Desai affirmed the need to study power in its various dimensions (within dominant institutions, e.g. the state), in its invisible manifestations (through policies and developmental programmes), as insidious expression (through communalism) together with its emancipatory potential (within social movements). He asserted that the discursive practices of the discipline should be organized around new concepts that draw on the narratives of those who are excluded. For Desai, the sociologist needs to be simultaneously an archivist, an analyst and an activist.

Desai's legacy was different from that of Srinivas. For Desai, the contemporary problems can be located in property relations established in India through colonialism and nationalism. When he is arguing for a class analysis of nationalism or making visible the complexities of peasant movements in India, or assessing communalism and claiming human rights for all, he showed

sensitivity to the new trends emerging in Indian society and remained much ahead of his times. Historians and political scientists have engaged with Desai's theories but for sociologists/anthropologists, his ideas have not paved the way for new arguments to be articulated on themes such as class and the labouring poor; nation and nationalism; development, state policies and poverty alleviation; and social movements. Why has Desai's legacy remained marginal within the sociology/anthropology of India? What has this to do with the continuation claims of the principles of colonial modernity on the discipline?

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

After independence, India launched itself to become a modern nation. The disciplines of economics and political science were reconstituted to accept the challenges that this modernity had produced – to study planned development and the implementation of democracy. Unfortunately, this was not so of the discipline of sociology that remained caught in evaluating its present in terms of its past and in using methods of micro to study the macro. Also, the discipline and its theoretical perspectives did not recognize the significant role of the economic processes of capitalism and the political role of the state in the making of sociabilites.[6]

Simultaneously and crucially, it could not assess the complex process of identity formation taking place in the subcontinent, except within the binary of the East and the West.[7] India represented a geographically vast subcontinent with thousands of communities having distinct cultural practices and ideas that had lived and experienced existence in various forms of unequal and subordinate relationships with each other. There was no attempt to study these formations and the violence that structured their relationships with each other.[8] Sociology/anthropology at best collapsed these differences and adjusted

its analysis within the languages of religion, caste and civilization.

Colonial modernity valorized culture and searched for indigenous religious origins of all traditions. It thus opposed science and its methodologies as a value.[9] The implications of this process were immense. On the one hand, when science developed, its practices were imposed rather than reflexively created, and on the other hand, secularism was perceived as a western import.[10]

Since the late 1960s two developments have created two distinct challenges to the discipline. The first relates to the changing nature of the higher education system and the demands of the emerging elite within different regions of the nation-state for access to education for all goups in India. This demand was in continuity with the ideals enunciated during independence, that higher education and particularly the social sciences can play a definite role in development and planned change. Given that education and its expansion was part of the developmental programme of the state, higher education was to be made accessible to all. From the 1960s onwards the Indian state encouraged the establishment of universities across the country and allowed the states (provinces) to finance them. This introduced the politics of geography into the institutionalization of higher education.

Universities were divided between central and state universities. A central university was funded by the Government of India and was supposed to have a 'national character' while a state university had to project a 'regional' identity. With colleges established by local castes and communities, educational institutions became sites for the play of local and regional politics. Henceforth, educational institutions became institutions of regional power and influence, to distribute patronage and to sway the large constituency that it was mobilizing. Most regional/state universities were now asked to teach in regional languages. This affected the policies and programmes of departments together with syllabi formation, as there were few or no indigenous regional language texts available in sociology. Additionally, because education became a means of representing this power, and substituted the ideals that directed the growth and expansion of the discipline, the goal of using sociology for the development of modernity was displaced to now represent 'regional' interests.

This expansion introduced a new generation of learners into the system, mainly from the excluded communities of the country. This introduction implied a challenge for sociology whose identity was moored in 'traditions'. Instead of taking up this challenge that expansion and democratization of education had created – to frame new ways to define the discipline's identity in tandem with the lives and ambitions of groups in unequal relationships with each other – sociologists asserted the need for the discipline to continue to orient itself to teach 'traditions', those of caste, religion, family and marriage. Issues and themes regarding everyday significance to these first generation learners, such as the interrogation of existing class, caste, religious and gendered organization of the social world, were obliterated and relegated to the precincts within the subject.

When this transmission of knowledge failed, as it inevitably did, sociologists demanded a dilution of syllabi in order to cater to their lack of 'understanding'. Teachers now justified the teaching and learning of the subject at the lowest common denominator. In these circumstances, sociology came to acquire the status of being a non-professional 'soft' and commonsensical subject. This, together with overcrowded classrooms, poorly equipped libraries and overworked teachers, defined the culture of the teaching of the subject. Such a development had deep consequences for the discipline and attests to the organic relationship between the continuous 'downgrading' of the discipline and its history and location within colonial modernity.

The second challenge relates to the demands from below. The 1970s and 1980s had inaugurated new trends and these have

redefined the state–society relationships in India. Social movements of various kinds have emerged, within agriculture (landless and peasant) and within industrial and urban arenas (organized and non-organized working class together with that of slum dwellers). Simultaneously there has been a mobilization of middle and lower castes (the ex-untouchables) and the spread of Dalit and Other Backward Caste movements, together with Adivasi (tribal), and women's movements. Some of these movements (especially in the heartland of India and the North-East) raised new questions of sovereignty and linked the aspirations of these groups to the debates regarding nationality and self determination; the Indian state's policies and programmes of development, planning and industrialization; ecological resource management and social exclusions.

However, now these movements have been replaced by the growth of religious right politics, communal conflicts and pogroms against Muslims and other minorities on the one hand together with the growth of consumption economies, the increasing embeddedness of the Indian economy in global markets and the growth of inequalities on the other.

Since the 1980s, some sociologists have made efforts to integrate these voices and thereby create new sociological traditions. Some sociologists have drawn from an engagement with other disciplines and their theorizations, such as subaltern studies and post-colonial studies, to question Indian modernity (Gupta, 2000; Deshpande, 2003/04). Others have aligned to theoretical positions emerging from feminist thought and Dalit studies to question the *savarna* orientation of mainstream sociology (Oommen, 2008). New nations have been discovered, such as the Adivasis (Sundar, 2007[1997]) and the Dalits, and this development has led to the growth of interdisciplinary areas of research and teaching such as those of cultural and media studies. Simultaneously, older areas have been reconstituted, such as those of the sociology of family and marriage

(Uberoi, 2006) and that of urban India (Patel, 2006b). Additionally, new specializations have developed, such as feminist sociology, environmental sociology and labour studies.

These developments have helped to push into the background the Srinivasian project of sociology. However, they have failed to engage with the paths already navigated by A.R. Desai and those traversed by the Lucknow School in the 1940s. Sociologists in India discuss the need to develop an interdisciplinary perspective and assess subalternity. However, they have not questioned the episteme of colonial modernity – that of the universalization of history, progressive linearity in the growth of science and technology, the creation of the 'other'. More significantly, Have we moved beyond the binaries of anthropology as the 'other' of sociology? Can one reconstruct the discipline without interrogating these binaries?

Beteille (1997) has queried the constant need of new interlocutors to suppose that the present inaugurates a novel situation. He suggests that all new traditions are built on old ones and argues that the Srinivisian perspective was new in some senses and yet it built on older traditions of sociological thought (Beteille, 1997). He would like to see traditions to have continuities. Uberoi (2000) has a different take. Today, she states, the call for indigenization and self-reliance seems 'completely misplaced in a globalised culture of social scientific knowledge' (Uberoi, 2000:19). From this vantage point, recent developments can be seen as a break from the past. Will this position allow the inauguration of a new perspective on the discipline?

This question becomes pertinent because most sociologists continue to argue that there is no difference between social anthropology and sociology. Obviously, part of the problem is the way we assess colonialism and its relationship with sociological knowledge and modernity. From the perspective of colonial modernity we can assess the role that colonialism played then and examine whether it will play a similar role in its new phase, which we term globalization. So the

question remains: What kind of perspective do we need today to explicate the tendentious relationship between sociology, modernity and colonialism?

NOTES

1. This paper draws from those written earlier on the history of sociology in India (Patel, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b).

2. Recently, three sociologists have made an assessment of M.N. Srinivas (see Patel, 1998, 2005; Deshpande, 2007; Oommen, 2008).

3. It is interesting that he does not engage with the views presented by Radhakamal Mukerjee, who had by then elaborated an indigenous and value-based approach to sociology (see his 'A General Theory of Society' in B. Singh (ed.) n.d.

4. In a recent article Oommen (2008) argues that in Srinivas's sociology there is a mismatch between field, method and concept.

5. See D. N. Dhanagare (2007) for a recent evaluation of the many trajectories of historical sociology in India.

6. No wonder economic and political sociology remained weak and these specializations very recently developed in India.

7. A nuanced theory of identity formation emerges only after the late 1970s with the growth of feminist and dalit studies (see Sanghari and Vaid, 1990; Pandian, 2007).

8. Work on communal violence has mainly been done by political scientists and activists.

9. See Meera Nanda's arguments on the implications on the practices of science in India (Nanda, 2005).

10. Caught in the binaries, mainstream sociology (e.g. Madan, 2006) has examined the concept of secularism as western and rarely been able to excavate the manifold ways that secularist perspectives have found expressions in the pre-modern and contemporary processes.

REFERENCES

Bairey, T. and S. Ramesh (2004) 'Rethinking the Debate on the Crisis in Sociology', http://cssh.unipune.ernet.in/HistorySociology/index.html

Beteille, A. (1997) 'Newness in Sociological Enquiry', *Sociological Bulletin* 46(1): 97–110.

Beteille, A. (2000) 'M.N. Srinivas (November 16, 1916–November 30, 1999)', *Economic and Political Weekly* 35(1): 18–22.

Beteille, A. (2002) *Sociology: Essays on Approach and Method*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Chakravarti, U. (2003) *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*. Calcutta: Stree.

Cohn, B.S. (1997) *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Das, V. (1993) 'Sociological Research in India? The State of Crisis', *Economic and Political Weekly* 2(23): 1159–61.

Desai, A.R. (1948) *Social Background to Indian Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Desai, A.R. (ed) (1971*) Essays on Modernization of Underdeveloped Societies*, Vols 1 and 2. Bombay: Thacker and Co.

Desai, A.R. (1975) *State and Society in India. Essays in Dissent*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Desai, A.R. (1984) *India's Path of Development: A Marxist Approach*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Deshpande, S. (1994) 'Crisis in Sociology. A Tired Discipline?', *Economic and Political Weekly* 29(10): 6340.

Deshpande, S. (2003/04) *Contemporary India: A Sociological View*. New Delhi: Viking Penguin.

Deshpande, S. (2007) 'Fashioning a Post Colonial Discipline. M.N. Srinivas and Indian Sociology', in P. Uberoi, N. Sundar and S. Deshpande (eds) *Anthropology in the East. Founders of Indian Sociology and Anthropology*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Dhanagare, D.N. (2007) 'Practising Sociology through History. The Indian Experience', *Economic and Political Weekly* 42(33,34): 3414–21, 3502–08.

Dirks, N. (2001) *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Giri, A. (1993) 'Creating a Community of Discourse in Sociology in India', *Economic and Political Weekly* 28(29–30): 17–24.

Gupta, D. (2000) *Mistaken* Modernity*: India between Worlds*. New Delhi: HarperCollins.

Joshi, P.C. (1986) 'Founders of the Lucknow School and their Legacy. Radhakamal Mukerjee and D.P. Mukerji: Some Reflections',

Economic and Political Weekly 21(33): 1455–69.

Madan, T.N. (2006) *Images of the World. Essays on Religion, Secularism and Culture*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Madan, T.N. (2007) 'Search for a Synthesis. The Sociology of D. P. Mukerji', in P. Uberoi, N. Sundar and S. Deshpande (eds) *Anthropology in the East. Founders of Indian Sociology and Anthropology*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Mukerjee, R. (1955) 'A General Theory of Society', in B. Singh (ed.) *The Frontiers of Social Science. In Honour of Radhakamal Mukerjee*. London: Macmillan.

Nanda, M. (2005) *The Wrongs of the Religious Right: Reflections on Science, Secularism and Hindutva*. Delhi: Three Essays Collective.

Oommen, T.K. (2008) 'Disjunctions between Field, Method and Concept: An Appraisal of M. N. Srinivas', *Sociological Bulletin* 57(1): 60–81.

Pandian M.S. (2002) 'One Step Outside Modernity', *Economic and Political Weekly* 37(18): 1735–41.

Pandian M.S. (2007) *Brahmin and Non-Brahmin. Genealogies of the Tamil Political Present*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Parvathamma, C. (1978) 'The Remembered Village: A Brahminical Odyssey', *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 12: 91–6.

Patel, S. (1998) 'Nostalgia for the Village. M.N.Srinivas and the Making of Indian Social Anthropology, South Asia', *Journal of South Asian Studies* 21(1): 49–61.

Patel, S. (2002) 'The Profession and Its Association: Five Decades of the Indian Sociological Society', *International Sociology* 17(2): 269–84.

Patel, S. (2005) 'On Srinivas's Sociology (Review essay)', *Sociological Bulletin* 54(1): 101–11.

Patel, S. (2006a) 'Beyond Binaries. A Case for Self-reflexive Sociologies', *Current Sociology* 54(3): 381–95.

Patel, S. (2006b) 'Urban Studies. An exploration in Theories and Practices', in S. Patel and K. Deb (eds) *Urban Studies*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Patel, S. (2007a) 'Sociological Study of Religion, Colonial Modernity, and Nineteenth Century Majoritarianism', *Economic and Political Weekly* 42(13): 1089–94.

Patel, S. (2007b) 'Towards a Praxiological Understanding of Indian Society: The Sociology of A.R. Desai', in P. Uberoi, N. Sundar and S. Deshpande (eds) *Anthropology in the East. Founders of Indian Sociology and Anthropology*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Saberwal, S. (1983) 'For a Sociology for India: Uncertain Transplants: Anthropology and Sociology in India', *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 17(2): 301–15.

Sanghari, K. and Vaid, S. (eds) (1990) *Recasting Women. Essays on Colonial History*. Delhi: Kali for Women.

Srinivas, M.N. (1976) *The Remembered Village*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Srinivas, M.N. (1992) *On Living in a Revolution and Other Essays*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Srinivas, M.N. (2002) *Collected Essays*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Sundar, N. (2007[1997]) *Subalterns and Sovereigns: An Anthropological History of Bastar, 1854–2006*, 2nd edn with afterword. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Uberoi, P. (2000) '*Déjà vu* in Situating Sociology', *Seminar* 495: 14–20.

Uberoi, P. (2006) *Freedom and Destiny*: Gender, Family, and Popular Culture in India. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

University Grants Commission (UGC) (2001) *Report of Curriculum Development Committee in Sociology*.

Upadhya, C. (2007) 'The Idea of Indian Society: G.S. Ghurye and the Making of Indian Sociology', in P. Uberoi, N. Sundar and S. Deshpande (eds) *Anthropology in the East. Founders of Indian Sociology and Anthropology*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Ethnicity and Race within Sociology in the Commonwealth Caribbean[1]

Ann Denis

This article, about the Commonwealth[2] Caribbean, discusses ethnicity/race as a basis of analysis which, within sociology/anthropology,[3] has focused mainly on unequal power relations in society. Rather than attempting to provide a comprehensive literature review, the article will, after providing sociohistorical contextualization of the Commonwealth Caribbean and introducing the concepts of ethnicity and race, highlight important contributions and debates in the scholarship about ethnicity/race from and about the region. These include the shift from an initial emphasis on the intersection of ethnicity/race and class to greater attention to the intersection of ethnicity/race, class and gender, and also to Caribbean identity. I shall conclude by arguing how the treatment of these topics has underlined distinctive features of Caribbean society which validate approaches rejecting the uncritical adoption of hegemonic, Eurocentric paradigms. Furthermore, the linguistic, cultural and political diversity of Caribbean societies result in complexities which 'dictate an approach . . . that transcends traditional disciplinary boundaries' (Yelvington, 1993: 16),

so that sociologists often work with scholars from other disciplines.

CONCEPTS OF ETHNICITY AND RACE

Ethnic diversity has been a defining characteristic of most of the societies of the Commonwealth Caribbean and has been a core element in original conceptual contributions made by scholars from and about the region.[4] With such Caribbean scholars as Greene (1993) and Reddock (1993), I conceptualize 'ethnicity' as including 'race' as a possible basis of common identity, along with 'language, religion, tribal ties and cultural institutions' (Greene, 1993: 3). Schermerhorn's postulates that shared origins may be 'real or putative', and that the 'symbolic elements [culturally] defined as the epitome of their peoplehood' can be variable and diverse, and can include phenotypical features, and that there is 'some consciousness of kind among members of the group' (1970: 12) summarize this approach well. 'Ethnic groups (locally [in Trinidad and

Tobago] described as races) are socially and historically defined and have meanings in their locations which may be meaningless outside of it' (Reddock, 1998: 419). Thus 'race' is one possible marker of 'ethnicity'.

In contrast, Mintz (1996: 41) limits 'ethnicity' to 'culturally-determined features . . . which are not determined by physical differences', defining 'race' as referring to 'inheritable physical differences' thought 'to underlie and support' a group's social behaviour. He argues that, although race and ethnicity are intertwined in the Caribbean, 'Caribbean ethnicity has always taken its character in the context of a larger social division, that between "white" and "other", no matter how these bigger categories are conceptualized' (Mintz, 1996: 42). Although I agree that distinctions often are made in terms of 'race', I follow Reddock rather than Mintz, and so argue that 'race' constitutes a privileged criterion for distinguishing ethnicity, not the fundamental conceptual distinction that Mintz posits.

That ethnicity and race are *socially* constructed has been acknowledged in Caribbean social science scholarship from its inception in the late 1940s (see references in Rubin, 1960), while identification, by self or others, may be fluid (for example, Braithwaite, 1975[1953]; Munasinghe, 2001). By the 1950s the concept of a plural society was receiving serious, if contested, attention (Rubin, 1978[1960]). In these respects early Caribbean sociology was in the *avant garde*, adopting approaches now associated with postmodernism, cultural studies and post-colonial studies, which stressed the social construction and fluidity of ethnic/racial markers.

This fluidity is evident in the categories (and in their meanings) used in census data, in scholarly writing and in popular discourse. They vary both among the countries in the Commonwealth Caribbean and over time (Lowenthal, 1972; Reddock, 1994), and their definitions typically include a combination of phenotypical, national origin and sometimes religious criteria.

Ethnicity and/or race have often been studied in intersection with stratification in the Commonwealth Caribbean (Greene, 1993). To say that '[t]he contemporary Caribbean, less a melting pot than a melange, remains a fascinating fusion of race, ethnicity, class and cultures – and the inescapable legacies of slavery and the plantation system have enormously complicated the social stratification of the region' (Knight, 1973: 38, cited in Premdas, 1999: 7) remains true to the present (Hintzen, 2002), although the reference to the 'melting pot' now appears dated. The quotation, however, points to two important conceptual contributions from Caribbean scholarship to the study of ethnicity/race: Beckford's 'plantation society' and M.G. Smith's 'plural society'. After a brief contextualization of the Commonwealth Caribbean, we will examine both.

SOCIOHISTORICAL CONTEXT

Although there are differences in terms of land mass and population composition among the societies of the Commonwealth Caribbean, all are former[5] colonies of Great Britain, whose indigenous population was quickly decimated, directly or indirectly, by the colonizers. All have been societies of immigration, largely forced through slavery or indentureship, with population movements 'motivated by the colonial agenda' (Hintzen, 2002: 475). Until the slave trade was outlawed by Britain early in the nineteenth century, most immigrants were slaves from Africa. Indentured labour, mainly from India, subsequently contributed to the agricultural labour force. There has also been limited immigration from other, largely non-European, regions, in addition to a small population with 'white' British (and in Trinidad and St. Lucia, French) antecedents.[6] By the early-twentieth century immigration from outside the region had greatly diminished, largely replaced by emigration in search of economic opportunities and to

relieve population pressure. There has, however, been ongoing migration, both legal and clandestine, within the region, often from less to more prosperous societies. Finally, there is some temporary migration by managers and specialists employed by transnational firms and supranational organizations.

The societies were initially plantation economies, with very limited permanent settlement by the colonizers,[7] an agricultural labour force of African slaves until emancipation, and subsequently a significant indentured agricultural labour force. Political, economic and cultural influence from the United States began in the late nineteenth century, but had intensified by the beginning of World War II. In 1962, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago were the first to attain political independence. Primary industries, especially agriculture, but also oil and mineral extraction in some societies, provided important economic bases during the twentieth century. By the late-twentieth century, however, the importance of agriculture had sharply declined, while manufacturing, particularly in export processing zones, became more important, and the tertiary sector had expanded (especially in tourism and offshore banking). Much of the investment capital originates from outside the region, and one could argue that the expatriate public service administrators of the colonial period were, to some extent, replaced by the expatriate private sector senior management of the transnational firms.

PLANTATION SOCIETY

The plantation society is one in which race and class intersect within a globalized, colonial economy.[8] Each plantation was a total institution, with the overall plantation society being an overseas extension of its metropolitan colonizer. In what was a mutually dependent, but rigid, racially differentiated hierarchal structure, sometimes characterized by self-interested paternalism, the common economic

activity of the production of the plantation crop was a source of social integration. This plural society consisted of 'different racial and cultural groups which are brought together only in the realm of economic activity' (Beckford, 1972: 79). The legacy of the plantation society provides an explanatory framework for the *Persistent Poverty* (Beckford, 1972) in post-independence societies of the Caribbean and elsewhere. They remain characterized by: a common economic activity, which at one level unites local owners/managers with workers, since it is subject to the control of metropolitan investors; a Eurocentric value of individual achievement; and nationalism. The nationalism is shared across lines of internal class and race cleavage in a common opposition to strong metropolitan and international enterprises whose interests are detrimental to its welfare, and result in the continuing underdevelopment of these plantation economies. Plantation society theories have been criticized for homogenizing the diverse international forms of plantation societies, for not accounting for social change (Yelvington, 1993: 23), for being overly economistic (Smith, 1984) or for being in other ways a partial approach (Craig, 1982).

PLURAL SOCIETY

a. Race and Class: The 'Plural Society' vs 'Stratification' vs Class Debates

A second, somewhat complementary, theory about ethnic and racial diversity is the plural society model, most widely associated with M.G. Smith (1978[1960], 1984, 1991). Whereas Beckford stresses the particular type of common economic activity – and oppression – in plantation society, which binds together those of disparate cultures, M.G. Smith's focus, in the plural society model, has been on the culturally distinct, parallel social institutions within the society. Beckford's analysis provides the sociohistorical context

for the origins of M.G. Smith's 'plural society'. With reference to Caribbean plantation societies, Smith questioned the Parsonian presumption of common values, adopted by Braithwaite (1975[1953]) and R.T. Smith (1970). Instead, he concurred with Furnivall that normative consensus is absent. While the highest ranking Creole 'white' members of the elite held values based on ascription, the 'dark, low-ranking' elite members espoused an individualistic achievement orientation. 'These two value sets challenge and clash with each other [and] . . . represent[] dissensus rather than the prevalence of a common system of values' (Smith, 1965a: 253, cited in Smith, 1984: 12). Racial differences are important markers of cultural difference.

Smith's later work, in which corporation theory, including concerted political action, becomes important, broadens his focus to include social and structural – as well as cultural – pluralism (1984, 1991). Critics of both his earlier (*Race and Society*, 1977) and more recent (Ryan, 1991) formulations remain unconvinced that he has adequately addressed such concerns as how social change occurs and the intersection of class and culture.

Smith's early work was clearly informed by his critique of the application to the Caribbean of Parsonian stratification theory (for instance, by Braithwaite, 1978[1960]; Henriques, 1953; Smith, 1970) with its emphasis on shared societal values which obscured the oppression of British colonialism. Among the debates has been the question of whether Caribbean societies are inherently unstable due to their cultural (and institutional) pluralism (as M.G. Smith argues) or are held together by commitment to a common core of shared values, despite cultural diversity (argued in different ways by Braithwaite and R.T. Smith).

Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, the debate has shifted from pluralism vs functionalism to pluralism vs Marxism. A variety of Marxist and neo-Marxist analyses have been proposed, which, while stressing the importance of class analyses, also accord some place to the superstructure, notably in a Gramscian analysis of how hegemonic ideologies have used race and ethnicity, including the heritage of slavery and colonialism, to reinforce the domination of a Eurocentric, world capitalist system. Hall (1977) provides a nuanced examination of the history of English-speaking Caribbean society from the plantation to the post-independence periods, incorporating both the metropolitan and local class components, with the increasingly complex race/colour/ethnic lines of cleavage within the latter. He points to the necessity, for analysing Caribbean society, of considering 'class fractions and coalitions' rather than 'a single-subject ruling class', and 'modes of production' rather than a single mode (Hall, 1977: 179). In his discussion about whether race and class present conflicting or reconcilable paradigms, Mills (1987) argues that M.G. Smith, to his detriment, never really integrated and reacted to the Marxist currents in economic anthropology, and he misunderstood Hall's analysis. Despite continuing heated critiques, there is also widespread acknowledgement, including by his critics, (for example, Lewis, 2001) of the contributions of Smith's plural society model.

b. The Intersection of Gender with Ethnicity/Race and Class

It has been through feminist analyses within the Caribbean (Reddock, 1993, 2001) that the conceptualization of gender, ethnicity/race and class as intersecting social locations which must necessarily be concurrently taken into account has developed. Taking a different perspective from those of Black women in the United States or in Britain, Gemma Tang Nain argues that in the Caribbean '[t]o the extent . . . that power changed hands, it went from white men to black men; women did not feature in the equation. Caribbean women, therefore, have not found it necessary to differentiate feminism into "black" and "white"' (Tang Nain, 1991: 1). Arguing against the prioritizing by feminist currents

of particular forms of oppression, whether based on race, class or gender, she advocates an anti-racist (socialist) feminism that would incorporate multiple sources of oppression. Eudine Barriteau (Foster) (1992) critiques imported feminist approaches, including black feminism, explaining their limited relevance to the Caribbean experience, with its distinctive demographic, political, economic and cultural characteristics.

In her theoretical stocktaking, Rhoda Reddock argues for the 'Primacy of Gender in Race and Class', noting that a 'major weakness of Caribbean women's studies at this point . . . is the continued projection of the experience of Afro-Caribbean women onto women of other racial groupings' (1993: 50), with much of the limited, early study of women focused on poor Black women as mothers, often with the functionalist subtext of the non-nuclear family as deviant. Dissenting voices have critiqued this approach, without necessarily developing alternative theoretical tools (McKenzie, 1993) while Barrow (1996) provides a helpful overview of both the canon in sociology of the family as developed in the Caribbean and its critics.

Green (1995: 65) sketches a 'multi-layered schematic-analytical description of Anglophone Caribbean social economy with regard to divisions of gender, race/colour and class, especially in the context of local and international centre-periphery relations' in the region. Within a framework informed by Hall's Marxist analysis of the Caribbean as well as feminism, she endeavours to consider 'modes of re/production' – the 'combined activities of goods-production and human reproduction' (1995: 66) – to dialectically integrate 'structuralist' and 'culturalist' perspectives, and 'to treat "equally" all the major social contradictions of post colonial society' (1995: 99). Offering valuable insights into the complex dynamics of Caribbean societies, it converges theoretically with the feminist analysis of intersectionality, which was developing outside the Caribbean (for example Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983).

Informed by postmodernist feminism, Barriteau has developed a theory of gender systems in the Commonwealth Caribbean, with, I think, the potential for fruitful application outside the region. 'Gender systems' refer to relations of power based on gender, with both ideological (or normative) and material dimensions (Barriteau, 2001). Gender relations interact with power relations based on class and on ethnicity/race, are 'continually contested and negotiated' (2001: 31), and change over time. Both theoretically and empirically Barriteau incorporates the complex intersections of gender, class, race and sexual orientation (Barriteau, 1992, 1995, 2001), focusing on agency despite constraints, rather than conceiving of Caribbean women (or men) as victims.

This emphasis on difference is a *leit-motif* of contemporary feminist theorizing and empirical analysis within and about the Commonwealth Caribbean (for example, the *Feminist Review*, 1998). The primary focus on women or gender relations is explicitly contextualized by other positionalities, such as class, ethnicity/race, sexual orientation, age, with their attendant social relations. Although such analyses are not usually classified as studies of ethnicity/race, this is, perhaps, one of the most fruitful sources of contemporary conceptual advances on race and ethnicity in the Caribbean. Recent feminist work (Bailey and Leo-Rhynie, 2004; Barriteau, 2003; Chevannes, 2001; Reddock, 2004), partly in reaction to Errol Miller's (1991, 1994) male marginalization thesis, has also begun to address questions of masculinities, particularly in relation to young, lower-class Black men. Attention to the intersection of gender, class and ethnicity/race is, again, central to these analyses.

c. Selected Post-Independence Analyses of Ethnicity/Race, Stratification, Class – and Gender

Sociological analyses related to ethnicity/race, and concentrating on the post-Independence

period (which began in 1962) in the Commonwealth Caribbean have tended to ignore the continuing economic power of the indigenous, if relatively invisible, 'white' economic elite, and the largely European or American, overseas or transnational corporate elites. According to Ryan, '[t]he stratification system [in Trinidad] which Braithwaite described has now largely disappeared' (Ryan, 1991: 60). '[T]he old male white dominated social order has largely passed away, [replaced by one in which] academic achievement and new wealth are the most important resources' (1991: 77), although some of the historical advantages 'enjoyed by whites, near whites and the coloured gentry and their offspring' (1991: 77) persist. On the other hand, empirical work, both quantitative and qualitative, on occupational distribution, work, and economic control in Trinidad and Tobago, in Barbados and in Jamaica suggests that Ryan understated the continuing importance of the intersection of ethnicity/race and class (for example, Layne, 1990; Yelvington, 1995), with some scholars also recognizing that gender adds to the complexity (for instance, Freeman, 2000). Feminist scholars (Kempadoo, 1999) have critically examined the unequal power relations in cross-racial sexual work by local men and women with tourists. Finally, while the closures of offshore-controlled factories have been of concern in both scholarly and popular literature at various times since the 1980s, the analysis of this phenomenon has not usually been framed in ethnic/race terms.

When I asked, in discussions during May–June 2005 with sociologists at the three campuses of the University of West Indies (UWI),[9] about the apparently limited attention to ethnicity/race in recent years, I was told that it was either simply a 'given' which was not really problematized, or else a topic of low priority, perhaps because political power has shifted away from those of European origin, and there has been considerable educational and economic upward mobility within the Afro- and Indo-[10]Caribbean communities. Instead, social policy issues, including pov-

erty, are prioritized. Although poverty is not defined as a problem of a particular ethnic group, by virtue of most national demographics, it is effectively a problem primarily affecting those of African origin, except in Trinidad and Guyana.

We turn now to two important concepts in Caribbean ethnic relations, and, as a related topic, the study of identities.

THE VARIOUS MEANINGS OF 'CREOLE'

Creolization, the development of a 'creole culture', was identified in Jamaica as early as 1770 by Edward Kamu Brathwaite within plantation society: as a result of an interpenetration of European and African cultures, a distinctive colonial culture was developing there (Brathwaite, 1971). The term 'creole' was derived from Spanish words for founding or settling. Originally it referred to all groups born in the Caribbean region. In contrast to most authors who have emphasized the hegemony of the European, 'white' component of creole culture, Brathwaite has conceptualized creole culture as a process in which African traditions are crucial. More specifically, it involves both acculturation – the absorption of one culture by another – and inter-culturation – 'a more reciprocal activity, a process of intermixture and enrichment each to each' (Brathwaite, 1974: 11, cited in Reddock, 1999: 186). Since the American Black Power and Black Consciousness movements of the 1970s, whose influence extended to the Caribbean (Reddock, 1994: 107), and the influence of Rastafarianism[11] in challenging racism since the 1970s (Chevannes, 2001[1990]), there has been a revalorization of the African-derived elements in the dominant creole culture. The concept of 'creole', most notably whom it includes, remains controversial. For some, it refers to anyone who was born in the Caribbean, while for others, only the Caribbean-born of (at least partially) African origin are included, reflecting

the marginalization of other origin groups from the developing national cultures of the region – or at the least their separation within these national cultures (see, for example, Craig, 1982). In Trinidad 'creole' can also refer to 'an amalgam of European descendants who still dominate the local economy viz. French Creoles' (Reddock, 1994: 106), while, with reference to Indo-Trinidadians, creolization has been negatively 'viewed as synonymous with the absorption of black culture at the expense of one's own [Indian] culture . . . acculturation' (Mohammed, 2001[1988]: 403).

DOUGLA – A NEW OR TRANSITORY IDENTITY?

During the 1980s, Trinidadian academics began examining the concepts of 'dougla'[12] (and 'douglarization'), referring to those of mixed African and Indian ancestry. 'Dougla' is derived from the Hindi word for the child of a (forbidden) inter-caste (inter-varna) union, thus having connotations of bastard. Though used as a neutral descriptive by most (Afro-Trinidadian) creoles, 'dougla' has had negative connotations for Indo-Trinidadians, particularly for those who are Hindu or Muslim, due to taboos of sexual relations with Afro-Trinidadians (Reddock, 1994: 108). Some commentators argue that the concept only applies to a single generation, with subsequent generations being absorbed into either the Afro- or the Indo-Trinidadian communities.

The term is, however, being adopted by some (mainly young) people as an affirmation of their identity. Recent Indo-Trinidadian political ascendancy and 'dougla' contestation in calypso – the quintessential vehicle of Afro-Caribbean social critique and commentary – highlight both the tensions and the new articulations of a unifying inclusive national project in Trinidad with, perhaps, the 'douglas' epitomizing the celebration of racial unity as one manifestation of the shared historical experience of colonial subordination. Such a celebration remains contested, however, both by Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians. Reddock (1994 and 1999) and Stoddard and Cornwell (1999 and 2001) provide nuanced overviews of these issues.

CARIBBEAN IDENTITIES

Ethnographies by anthropologists have focused on identity within individual Caribbean communities. Similarly, discussion of 'creole' and 'dougla' illustrate the contemporary complexity and fluidity of Caribbean identities. 'Negotiating identities' is a recurring theme (Hall, 1995; Khan, 2004; Mohammed, 2002), particularly given the contradictory tendencies to celebrate and either denigrate or deny difference as part of the societal culture, and the impact of extra-regional cultural influences. There are also debates about language hierarchies (notably standard English vs 'creole' or 'dialect'), and analyses of the importance of music in the articulation of social criticism and Caribbean identity, both within the region and internationally. Whereas the study of Caribbean identities is thriving, much of the work is being done outside the departments of sociology in the region.[13] See, for example Courtman (2004), Ho and Nurse (2005) and Shepherd and Richards (2002) for a cross-section of these analyses.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

In fact, whereas much of the early sociological[14] theorizing focused on ethnicity/race, in recent years, explicit attention to ethnicity/race relations has largely come from other disciplines. From my discussions with Caribbean sociologists in May–June 2005 and my reading of recent literature, I suggest that sociologists who currently explicitly integrate ethnicity/race issues into their

analyses are predominantly institutionally based outside the region or in the interdisciplinary Centre for Gender and Development Studies,[15] while ethnicity/race is mainly present as an implicit backdrop to work done by sociologists within the region.

This selective review has tried to identify important currents within the study of ethnicity and race within the Caribbean. Perhaps as a result of the complex ethnic diversity of the region, Caribbean sociology has been in the forefront on several conceptual fronts in this field. Five synthetic points will be made in conclusion. There has been a long-standing understanding of the concepts of ethnicity and race as social constructs rather than primordial, unchangeable characteristics. Due to the concepts of 'creole'and 'creolization', despite their contested natures, there was an early shift from an ascribed and static conceptualization of ethnicity/race (which some critics argue is a weakness of M.G. Smith's discussion of plural society) to a dynamic one, whether in terms of self-identification or identification attributed by others. Second, the possibility of having fluid or diverse identifications in terms of ethnicity, with the visible markers of 'race' as only one criterion of stratification, albeit an important one (Hall, 1977), has also become integral to the conceptualization of the intersection of class and ethnicity. Third, the complexity of ethnic and race relations has been a given in the region, one which has challenged the uncritical application of Eurocentric theorizing about ethnicity and race from the United States and Britain. Similarly, the uncritical use of Eurocentric feminist theories (including American Black Feminism) has been challenged by the way indigenous theorizing integrates the intersection of gender, class and ethnicity/race. Finally, the examination of ethnic/race relations has typically been contextualized regionally, if not internationally: although the impact of globalization may have become more pronounced since the last quarter of the twentieth century, it has been a pertinent reality in the Caribbean since European settlement began in the seventeenth century. In sum, complex intersectionalities of unequal power relations remain an acknowledged dynamic in the study of ethnicity/ race in the Caribbean, whether at the micro (identity), meso (social structure) or macro level.

NOTES

1. This chapter is a revised version of the paper 'Ethnicity/race and gender within sociologies in Canada and in the Commonwealth Caribbean', which was presented at the ISA Council of National Associations mid-term conference on 'Local, Regional and Global Sociologies: Contexts, Perspectives and Practices'. I wish to acknowledge, with thanks, the insights I have gained – since the 1980s, but particularly during 2004–05 when I was preparing the initial version of this text – from conversations with sociologists on the three campuses of the University of the West Indies (UWI), and with other scholars in the region who share my interest in Caribbean race/ethnicity. I also appreciate comments by Rhoda Reddock, Patricia Mohammed and an anonymous reviewer on an earlier version of this chapter. Length limitations have precluded my incorporating their valuable suggestions as much as I wanted to.

2. That is, societies which were previously British colonies and have become members of the Commonwealth.

3. Establishing rigid boundaries in terms of which scholars to discuss in this article has proved to be problematic. Ethnicity/race, and gender (in which valuable work on ethnicity/race is now being done) are both interdisciplinary fields in the Caribbean. Moreover, some scholars with expertise on Caribbean society have their institutional affiliation elsewhere. Most of the scholars referred to in this article are sociologists or anthropologists, but all their work is referenced by Caribbean sociologists and anthropologists working on topics related to ethnicity/race in the region. Similarly, many are originally from the region or have made it their home. The work of the others is valued within the region, as evidenced by its inclusion in books edited by Caribbean scholars, its being published in regional journals or its being cited by scholars from the region.

4. In Barrow and Reddock's (2001) invaluable book of readings on Caribbean society, ethnicity/race is a recurring variable.

5. A few remain colonies or protectorates.

6. See Reddock (1996) on indigenous groups and other ethnic minorities.

7. Except in Barbados.

8. Although developed by Beckford, antecedents of this approach are found in the work of anthropologists Charles Wagley and Sidney Mintz.

9. I was able to meet with virtually all the sociologists on the three campuses who had regular full-time appointments at that time. I am extremely grateful for their generosity in sharing both time and their knowledge with me.

10. Although originally immigrants from India and their descendants were referred to as 'East Indians', in contrast to 'West Indians' of African origin, since the latter part of the twentieth century 'West Indian' has been effectively replaced by 'Caribbean' or 'Afro-Caribbean', 'Afro-Trinidadian' 'Afro-Guyanese'. In other societies in the Caribbean, in general 'Afro' is the implicit norm, and only with reference to other backgrounds are descriptive adjectives, such as 'Indo', used.

11. Rastafarianism is an indigenous religious movement begun in Jamaica in the earlier twentieth century, with roots in pan-Africanism.

12. The term was already current in popular discourse.

13. Rhoda Reddock, one of the few sociologists in the Caribbean explicitly working in the area of ethnicity at the turn of the millennium, described her present focus in ethnic relations to me as 'closer to cultural studies' (private conversation, 18 May 2005), a field whose institutional base, within the Commonwealth Caribbean, is within language and literature rather than social sciences.

14. For purposes of this analysis, I consider social anthropology as part of the same corpus of material.

15. Or are working in other units at UWI, in NGOs or as consultants, in other words, in contexts in which their identification is not necessarily visibly as a sociologist.

REFERENCES

Anthias, F. and Yuval-Davis, N. (1983) 'Contextualising Feminism – Gender, Ethnic and Class Divisions', *Feminist Review* 15: 62–75.

Bailey, B. and Leo-Rhynie, E. (eds) (2004) *Gender in the 21st Century*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.

Barriteau (Foster), E. (1992) 'The Construct of Postmodernist Feminist Theory for Caribbean Social Science Research', *Social and Economic Studies* 41(2): 1–43.

Barriteau, E. (1995) 'Socialist Feminist Theory and Caribbean Women', *Social and Economic Studies* 44(2 & 3): 25–61.

Barriteau, E. (2001) *The Political Economy of Gender in the Twentieth-century Caribbean*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.

Barriteau, E. (ed.) (2003) *Confronting Power, Theorizing Gender*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

Barrow, C. (1996) *Family in the Caribbean: Theories and Perspectives*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle; Oxford: James Currey.

Barrow, C. and Reddock, R. (eds) (2001) *Caribbean Sociology*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle; Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner; Oxford: James Currey.

Beckford, G. (1972) *Persistent Poverty*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Braithwaite, L. (1975[1953]) *Social Stratification in Trinidad*. Mona, Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies. Initially published in *Social and Economic Studies* 2(2&3).

Braithwaite, L. (1978[1960]) 'Social Stratification and Cultural Pluralism', in V. Rubin (ed.) *Social and Cultural Pluralism in the Caribbean*, pp. 816–916. Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co. (Reprint of *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 83(5): 761–916.)

Brathwaite, E.K. (1971) *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820*. London: Oxford University Press.

Chevannes, B. (2001[1990]) 'Healing of the Nation: Rastafarian Exorcism of the Ideology of Racism', in C. Barrow and R. Reddock (eds) *Caribbean Sociology*, pp. 605–21. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle; Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner; Oxford: James Currey.

Chevannes, B. (2001) *Learning to be a Man*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

Courtman, S. (ed.) (2004) *Beyond the Blood, the Beach and the Banana*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle.

Craig, S. (1982) 'Sociological Theorizing in the English-speaking Caribbean: A Review', in S. Craig (ed.) *Contemporary Caribbean. A Sociological Reader*, Vol. 2, pp 143–80. Port of Spain, Trinidad: Susan Craig.

Feminist Review. (1998) Special issue on 'Rethinking Caribbean Difference'. No. 59.

Freeman, C. (2000) *High Tech and High Heels*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.

Green, C. (1995) 'Gender, Race and Class in the Social Economy of the English-speaking

Caribbean', *Social and Economic Studies* 44(2 & 3): 65–102.

Greene, J.E. (1993) 'Race, Class and Gender in the Future of the Caribbean: An Overview', in J. E. Greene (ed.) *Race, Class and Gender in the Future of the Caribbean*, pp. 1–14. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Hall, S. (1977) 'Pluralism, Race and Class in Caribbean Society', in *Race and Society*, pp. 150–82. Paris: UNESCO.

Hall, S. (1995) 'Negotiating Caribbean Identities', *New Left Review* 209: 3–14.

Henriques, F. (1953) *Family and Colour in Jamaica*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

Hintzen, P. (2002) 'The Caribbean: Race and Creole Ethnicity', in D. T. Goldberg and J. Solomos (eds) *A Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies*, pp. 475–94. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Ho, C. and Nurse, K. (eds) (2005) *Globalization, Diaspora and Caribbean Popular Culture*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle.

Kempadoo, K. (ed.) (1999) *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*. Lanham, MD and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.

Khan, A. (2004) *Callaloo Nation*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.

Layne, A. (1990) 'Racial Injustice and National Development in Post-Colonial Barbados', *Bulletin of Eastern Caribbean Affairs* 15(6): 46–60.

Lewis, L. (2001) 'The Contestation of Race in Barbadian Society and the Camouflage of Conservatism', in B. Meeks and F. Lindahl (eds) *New Caribbean Thought*, pp. 144–95. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1972) *West Indian Societies*. New York and London: Oxford University Press.

McKenzie, H. (1993) 'The Family, Class and Ethnicity in the Future', in J. E. Greene (ed.) *Race, Class and Gender in the Future of the Caribbean*, pp. 75–89. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Miller, E. (1991) *Men at Risk*. Kingston: Jamaica Publishing House.

Miller, E. (1994) *Marginalization of the Black Male: Insights from the Development of the Teaching Profession* (2nd edn). Kingston,

Jamaica: Canoe Press, University of the West Indies.

Mills, C. (1987) 'Race and Class: Conflicting or Reconcilable Paradigms?', *Social and Economic Studies* 36(2): 69–108.

Mintz, S. (1996) 'Ethnic Difference, Plantation Sameness', in Gert Oostindie (ed.) *Ethnicity in the Caribbean*, pp 39–52. London: Macmillan.

Mohammed, P. (2001[1988]) 'The "Creolization" of Indian Women in Trinidad', in C. Barrow and R. Reddock (eds) *Caribbean Sociology*, pp. 403–13. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle; Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner; Oxford: James Currey.

Mohammed, P. (2002) *Gendered Realities*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

Munasinghe, V. (2001) *Callalloo or Tossed Salad*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Premdas, R. (1999) 'The Caribbean: Ethnic and Cultural Diversity and a Typology of Identities', in R. Premdas (ed.) *Identity, Ethnicity and Culture in the Caribbean*, pp 3–12. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: School of Continuing Studies, University of the West Indies.

Race and Class in Post-Colonial. Society; A Study of Ethnic Group Relations in the English-Speaking Caribbean, Bolivia, Chile and Mexico (1977) Paris: UNESCO.

Reddock, R. (1993) 'The Primacy of Gender in Race and Class', in J. E. Greene (ed.) *Race, Class and Gender in the Future of the Caribbean*, pp. 43–73. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Reddock, R. (1994) 'Douglarization and the Politics of Gender Relations in Contemporary Trinidad and Tobago: A Preliminary Exploration', in R. Deosaran, R. Reddock and N. Mustapha (eds) *Contemporary Issues in Social Science: A Caribbean Perspective*, Vol. 1, pp. 98–127. St. Augustine, Trinidad: ANSA McAL Psychological Research Centre, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of the West Indies.

Reddock, R. (ed.) (1996) *Ethnic Minorities in Caribbean Society*. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Reddock, R. (1998) 'Contestation over National Culture in Trinidad and Tobago', in C. Barrow

(ed.) *Caribbean Portraits. Essays on Gender Ideologies and Identities*, pp. 414–35. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle.

Reddock, R. (1999) 'Jahaji Bhai: The Emergence of a Dougla Poetics in Contemporary Trinidad and Tobago', in Ralph Premdas (ed.) *Identity, Ethnicity and Culture in the Caribbean*, pp. 185–210. St Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: School of Continuing Studies, University of the West Indies.

Reddock, R. (2001) 'Conceptualizing "Difference" in Caribbean Feminist Theory', in B. Meeks and F. Lindahl (eds) *New Caribbean Thought*, pp. 196–209. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

Reddock, R. (ed.) (2004) *Interrogating Caribbean Masculinities*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

Rubin, V. (ed.) (1960) *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium* (2nd edn). Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Rubin, V. (ed.) (1978[1960]) *Social and Cultural Pluralism in the Caribbean*. Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co. (Reprint of *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 83(5): 761–916.)

Ryan, S. (1991) 'Social Stratification in Trinidad and Tobago: Lloyd Braithwaite Revisited', in S. Ryan (ed.) *Social and Occupational Stratification in Contemporary Trinidad and Tobago*, pp 58–79. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Schermerhorn, R.A. (1970) *Comparative Ethnic Relations*. New York: Random House.

Shepherd, V. and Richards, G. (eds) (2002) *Questioning Creole*. Kingston, Jamaica and Oxford: Ian Randle and James Currey.

Smith, M.G. (1978[1960]) 'Social and Cultural Pluralism', in Vera Rubin (ed.) *Social and Cultural Pluralism in the Caribbean*, pp. 763–77. Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co. (Reprint of *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 83(5): 761–916.)

Smith, M.G. (1984) *Culture, Race and Class in the Commonwealth Caribbean*. Mona, Jamaica: Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of the West Indies.

Smith, M.G. (1991) 'Pluralism and Social Stratification', in S. Ryan (ed.) *Social and Occupational Stratification in Contemporary Trinidad and Tobago*, pp. 3–35. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Smith, R.T. (1970) 'Social Stratification in the Caribbean', in L. Plotnicov and A. Tuden (eds) *Essays in Comparative Social Stratification*, pp. 43–76. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Stoddard, E. and Cornwell, G. (1999) 'Cosmopolitan or Mongrel? Reading Créolité and Hybridity via "Douglarisation" in Trinidad', in R. Premdas (ed.) *Identity, Ethnicity and Culture in the Caribbean*, pp. 211–45. St Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: School of Continuing Studies, University of the West Indies.

Stoddard, E. and Cornwell, G. (2001) 'Miscegenation as a Metaphor for Nation-building: The "Douglarization" Controversy in Trinidad and Tobago', in G. Cornwell and E. Stoddard (eds) *Global Multiculturalism*, pp. 29–50. Lantham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Tang Nain, G. (1991) 'Black Women, Sexism and Racism: Black or Antiracist Feminism', *Feminist Review* 37: 1–22.

Yelvington, K. (1993) 'Introduction', in Kevin Yelvington (ed.) *Trinidad Ethnicity*, pp. 1–31. London: Macmillan.

Yelvington, K. (1995) *Producing Power*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Local or Universal: Identity and Difference in the Sociology of the Far East

A New Agenda for the Sociology of Transformation in China

Guo Yuhua and Shen Yuan
Adapted into English by Ching Kwan Lee

Since the rehabilitation of Chinese sociology in the 1980s, the discipline has gone through two important stages of development. From the 1980s to the early 1990s, Chinese sociologists were preoccupied with practical social problems of the day. The most popular topics for sociological investigation included modernization, family and marriage, township and village enterprises, labor migration and rural–urban relations. Notwithstanding the energetic engagement with social reality, Chinese sociology suffered from a poverty of theoretical resources and a lack of scholarly norms. During this period, the most significant international influence on Chinese sociology was American sociology. Since the 1990s, there has been impressive progress in terms of international exchanges, dissemination of theoretical ideas and establishment of professional norms for sociological research. Yet, at the same time, there is a gradual loss of the essence of a 'Chinese' sociology with a special flavor of the society in which it is grounded. With this background, we propose two core goals for Chinese sociology: tackling real, urgent and important problems in Chinese society, while constructively engaging in academic dialogues with the international community. The agenda for a sociology of transformation is an attempt to combine these two goals. It illustrates how we can think deeply about major and fundamental issues for China at the same time that it offers us the challenge of socially concerned theory building.

TRANSFORMATION OF CIVILIZATIONS

Theoretical ambition of a sociology of transformation is intimately connected to its concerns with the civilizations of capitalism and communism. The historical development of modern social science has its source in the study of capitalist civilization. For sociology, all the three founding fathers problematized major features of capitalism. Karl Marx was concerned with the productive relations under capitalism and how they lead to the formation of classes and class conflicts. Max Weber theorized the cultural foundations of capitalism, especially its affinity with Protestant ethics. Emile Durkheim focused

on the capitalist division of labor and proposed that organic integration is founded on social differentiation and interdependence. These investigations on capitalism have together underpinned the theoretical paradigms for classical sociology. Communism has had broad ramifications in human history. It has introduced totally different institutional arrangements, value systems and logics of practice. Moreover, recent years of reform have also profoundly transformed this civilization from within. This transformation is distinct from general social change; or to put it more precisely, social transformation implies shifts in civilization. We believe that this shift should and can inspire a new sociology, even a new social science (Sun, 1995). The significance of this transformation for sociology as a resource for sociology can only be compared to that of capitalism for classical sociology.

If we think of communism as a special kind of civilization, its transformation represents a special route to modern civilization. We must emphasize that communism, like capitalism, is a way of life. It exists in everyday life, and ordinary practices are organized according to a specific set of logics. We can construct and accumulate systematic knowledge on these practices and logics. For instance, the collection of oral histories among peasants in the second half of the twentieth century provides an avenue to explore the systemic and logic everyday life of communism. Communism as a civilizing process can also be studied through ordinary people's lived experience and common sense. We ask what are the changes in the mentality and life-worlds of peasants in half a century of communist transformation? How did they cope with social structural changes? As social actors, how do they narrate and evaluate half a century of historical progress? Answering these questions with oral history data can provide powerful and organic part and parcel to macro historical analysis. Popular experience and collective memories can break the monopoly of history by official, elite and written records

(Guo, 2000, 2003). Other examples of the Chinese sociology of transformation include the study of working-class formation, urban social movements, the socially disadvantaged and citizenship (Shen, 2006).

Our agenda for a sociology of transformation has benefited from the insights of the Budapest School's market transition studies of former communist societies. Chinese sociologist Sun Liping has summarized this perspective as: (1) the focus on formal organizations and institutions; (2) the use of large-scale surveys to study the social structure; (3) an elitist perspective on social change; (4) Central Europe, especially Hungary, as the main empirical reference of market transition, which is one that is accompanied by political liberalization and the collapse of single-party communist rule (Sun, 2005). But a Chinese sociology of transformation differs from this school in all these respects. We shall turn to these special features below.

FROM COMPARATIVE CAPITALISM TO COMPARATIVE TRANSFORMATION

Sociologists such as Ivan Szelenyi, Gil Eyal and Eleanor Townsley tell the story of the Eastern European formation of capitalism, theorizing the transition from socialism to capitalism. They explore how the primitive conditions of capitalism's emergence in these countries lead to different kinds of capitalisms, but who makes capitalisms? As there was no pre-existing private capital in Eastern Europe, they argue that it was the technical and knowledge elite that strategized transition (Szelényi and Townsley, 1998; King and Szelényi, 2004a, 2004b). Elsewhere, Michael Burawoy extends Karl Polanyi's insight in *The Great Transformation* and suggests the study of the 'Second Great Transformation'. He urges that we should make use of this second great transformation for new sociological theorizing, much as the founders of classical sociology did with the first (Buraway, 2000).

China's market transition does not involve political liberalization and this special feature makes for special processes and logics of social transformation. In the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the collapse of communist states meant that there were tremendous changes in ideology and politics, allowing large-scale transition through legislation. In a short period of time, profound institutional changes were possible. China's transition happened in the context of a continuation of political system and ideology. This has led to the following specifically Chinese characteristics: (1) regime continuity means gradual rather than big-bang reforms; (2) continuity in political authority leads to elite reproduction rather than circulation; and (3) informal practices to cope with social transformation rather than new formal institutional innovation due to continuity of dominant ideology (Sun, 2002).

Another problem for comparative transformation concerns the social structure. How do new elements in the social structure mix with the old? What are their relations and processes of transformation? Some have used the term 'crony capitalism' or 'political capitalism' to describe the entire social structure. Our observation using the sociology of transformation perspective leads to the notion of 'segmented society' (Sun, 2003).

'Segmented society' as a concept challenges and has become an alternative to the social stratification and social mobility studies that have dominated Chinese sociology since the 1980s. The Marxian perspective on class and the Weberian paradigm on status and differentiation are the most widely used theories in Chinese sociology. An exemplary study in the social stratification tradition is Chinese Academy of Social Sciences sociologist Lu Xueyi's Report on the study of Social Strata in Contemporary China (2002). Based on national survey data, regional case studies and in-depth interviews, he and his research team proposed a social structure made up of ten strata. Their basic argument is that a modern social stratification structure is emerging in China. An olive-shaped

social structure is emerging in urban China, whereas the one in rural China will take a longer time to become 'modern'. On the basis of these ten strata, they further categorized four classes: upper, middle, lower and unemployed classes. They identified four characteristics of Chinese society: complex social structure, differentiated social groups, plurality of mobility channels and unequal mobility opportunity. In a nutshell, they are proposing that China is a class society.

Remin University sociologist Li Lulu applies Anthony Giddens's concepts of 'structuration' and 'reproduction' to discuss the consolidation of social inequality into stable social strata (Li, L. 2002). Another important scholar of social stratification is Li Qiang at Tsinghua University. He maintains that the rapidly changing ways in which different social interest groups organize and disorganize invalidated old concepts like class and strata. He proposes the alternative of 'interest groups' to study the fluid, fragmented, incoherent and unstable conditions before the rise of consolidated strata. These interest groups mix and disintegrate according to different issues and do not share common lifestyles or display any class action (Li, 2002). Elsewhere, Li Qiang also applies the International Socio-economic Index to portray Chinese social structure as a narrow column of urban income earners standing over a broad base of low-income peasants. This social structure epitomizes the stark inequality in Chinese society and is a major reason for social conflict and disharmony, as there are too many people at the bottom and there is only a very limited connection between the haves and the have-nots (Li, 2005).

These studies, valuable as they are in providing us with massive empirical data, describe rather than suggest new explanations for the dynamics of transformation. Sun Liping's notion of a 'segmented society' is superior to these other categorizations because it is truer to Chinese reality and offers a new vision that transcends conventional stratification studies. In the segmented social structure in China, there are several

lines of cleavage. First, the urban unemployed population has rapidly increased. Contrary to most analyses claiming that market reform is temporary, for the people who have lost their jobs in the planned economy the loss is permanent and fundamental. They do not have the market capacity to re-enter mainstream production or new occupations. Deprived of the work unit-based welfare protection, they have become permanent losers in the process of transformation. The second line of cleavage in China's segmented social structure is that between rural and urban societies. Due to the large population and its fragmented, small-scale, household-based agricultural land system, agriculture cannot sustain itself as a viable economic sector. Villages and villagers therefore cannot integrate into the increasingly industrialized and modernized mainstream society, but are increasingly marginalized. What people usually referred to as China's 'dualistic rural–urban structure' is the biggest cleavage of our society. Finally, and related to this last point, the household registration system has reinforced the subordination of those rural residents who migrate to the cities as workers. The vast majority of migrant workers are excluded from the primary labor market, and pushed toward inferior work conditions and welfare, with little access to a range of social insurance and benefits, and are discriminated against as second-class citizens. Their marginality also breeds widespread hostility against society, leading to intensified social conflicts.

In general, the rise of a segmented society means polarization – between the rich and the poor, between city and village, upper and lower strata, and the breaking up of a society into two different worlds along these lines of divisions. This segmentation is both spatial and temporal, both economic and social structural. In other words, the essence of a segmented society is the inorganic amalgam of fragments of society from different historical periods. There is very little integration or relation among these various fragments (Sun, 2003). Moreover, in a fragmented society, all kinds of capital – economic, political, social

and cultural – are concentrated into a tiny minority elite. The majority of the populace has few of these capitals and limited channels of expressing their demands or interests. Such gross injustices easily lead to intensified social conflicts.

This perspective is different from that of the Budapest School in that it is concerned with how power and market combine into different models and how this affects social structure, whereas the Budapest scholars are concerned with how societies develop different kinds of capitalism.

FROM ELITISM TO A CONCERN WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE'S EVERYDAY LIFE

As we mentioned before, Eyal et al., (1998) are concerned with elite circulation and formation, a concern that is determined by their observation about the essence of capitalism in Central Europe. It is one where there is 'capitalism without capitalists'. According to them, post-communist capitalism is made by a broadly defined intelligentsia whose vocation was the building of a bourgeois society and capitalist economy. They claim that their central analytical strategy is to look at the social origin of social actors, their class capacity and the history and consequences of their struggles with each other. Their goal is to compare the different types of bourgeois elites.

For Michael Burawoy, this elitist perspective only focuses on former communist elites, especially the technocrats and the dissidents who have amassed cultural capital in the old regime. He is critical of such elitism for it abandons both a critical perspective and a class perspective. As a sociologist and a Marxist, Burawoy is concerned with the historical fate and impacts of the working class and the disenfranchised (Burawoy 2000; Shen 2006). It is apparent how these two perspectives differ: one from top down and the other from bottom up. We at Tsinghua University who are pursuing an agenda in the sociology of transformation

have adopted a 'bottom up' perspective. Our past research has all centered on socially vulnerable subjects: peasants, unemployed workers, migrant workers and the urban poor. They make up the majority group of Chinese citizens, have social, economic and political disadvantages, and lack discursive power. These groups are not the same as the conventional 'impoverished', as they are all products of structural transformation, and are highly homogenous in their vulnerability.

For instance, labor studies at Tsinghua University is undertaken on the premise that labor questions are central to contemporary Chinese development even as labor studies has declined and passed its golden days in western industrialized countries. In these places, the working class is widely considered to have lost its historical mission, or has been stymied by globalization. On the other hand, in China, the working class is in the process of formation under the same conditions of globalization. We promote a sociology that puts the workers back at the center of analysis (Burawoy, 1985) and an analysis of production of the various segments of the Chinese working class. For instance, former state sector workers and migrant workers in private and foreign companies are just two of the many class segments that are in process of formation in China (Shen, 2006).

Since China's reform and opening up, massive numbers of peasants have become factory workers in the cities and in prosperous rural areas along the eastern seaboard. They work in mostly foreign, joint venture or private firms. That means they participate in the classical working-class formation trajectory, entering into a conventional type of 'capitalist' labor relation described by Karl Marx: extensive control over a labor-intensive production process, tight discipline over workers' shop floor behavior, and low wage system, among others. But former state sector workers' pathway to becoming working class in a market society is quite different. Their trajectory conforms more to Karl Polanyi's description: they form a class only when they withdraw from the labor market.

Prior to reform, they lived their experience of production in state-owned enterprises, and did not articulate class consciousness due to the panoply of state-sponsored welfare. Once they became unemployed, deprived of their original 'master' status, and seeing their life course disrupted by state-sponsored reform, they began collective resistance and the process of class formation (Guo and Chang, 2005; Shen, 2006).

The reason for us to choose to focus on ordinary people's everyday life, especially among those who are situated in the bottom of society, is that the logic of practice in a market transition society is always produced there. How then do we examine everyday life theoretically? What is the significance of everyday life? If what is happening in China is comparable in historical significance to Karl Polanyi's Great Transformation, then an analysis of this process without concern with the subalterns will not be adequate. The choice is whether we believe transformation to be a process that only involves the elite, or a process that also involves all social groups including the subalterns. Without doubt, to us, studies of subalterns can enrich our understanding of the complexity of transformation, its processes and outcomes.

Chinese Sociology of Transformation promotes not just a bottom-up perspective, but more importantly it emphasizes the interaction between the seemingly opposite 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' vantage points. The most urgent and important questions that confront us as sociologists cannot be answered from just one of these two perspectives. For instance, who are the change agents of reforms? Who benefit? Who suffer? How does enormous social inequity emerge? Is the social structuralist process in China leading to the formation of strata or classes? Our standpoint is not with either the dominant elite or the working class and peasants, but their relations and interactions, dynamics that have given rise to a segmented society.

A harmonious society does not mean a society without conflict, but a society that allows the expression of different interests,

that has mechanisms for their balancing and bargaining. This relies on having institutional arrangements for interest bargaining, with the state playing a neutral role as defender of the rules of the game, social justice and the broad interests of its people.

FROM NEOCLASSICAL SOCIOLOGY TO SOCIOLOGY OF PRACTICE

Neoclassical sociology promoted by Eyal et al. (1998) aims at theorizing the transition to capitalism. At its heart is this problematic: How can capitalism emerge in the political economic system without a capitalist class? They perceptively realize the collapse of Communism is an invitation to sociologists: 'Just as neoclassical economics arose in response to the decline of the welfare state; the demise of Communism opens up new opportunities for a new research agenda.'

This is the starting point for neoclassical sociology, and it poses new challenges for classical sociology. If Eyal et al. are intellectual heirs to Weberian sociology, then Michael Burawoy is the heir to Marxism and Marxian sociology. Neoclassical sociology and sociological Marxism form the two major theoretical paradigms for studying market transition from socialism. The former is optimistic about the future of capitalism, seeing socialism as an aberration, and capitalism, in various forms, offers an inevitable future for human society. The latter, however, is critical of this capitalist future, and wants to transcend it.

'Sociological Marxism' puts a premium on the historical role of the working class, and it answers the questions posed by neoclassical sociology in different ways: we have to pay attention to the workers' role as change agents. What we need is not more data generated by 'normal sociology', but a critical and revolutionary sociology that allows us to rediscover and rethink what we already know (Burawoy 2000).

Both neoclassical sociology and sociological Marxism subscribe to a duality of agent/social structure perspective. Can there be a strategy of research that can transcend this dualistic perspective? That is why we propose a sociology of practice, and a 'process-event' analysis. Generally speaking, this approach is based on empirical research and focuses on the actual processes of market transition, and its mechanism, techniques and logics (Sun, 2002). Methodologically, this approach privileges in-depth case studies and ethnographic methods as these can reveal and emphasize social processes of change, not only social structure.

Sociology of practice cannot stop at a static and structural view of institutions, organizations and actors; it has to train its analytical eyes on social phenomena as practices. How do social factors actually operate in social life? It also implies a new assumption of social reality or social fact. Contrary to conventional sociology, which maintains that social facts are stable, static and structural 'things', we see social facts as fluid and mobile practices, in a state of becoming. Borrowing Bourdieu's notion of 'practice' for studying market transition practices, we argue that we cannot infer them from structures or reduce them to structures. Alternatively put, structures have their concealing effects. Only when we examine practices directly can we understand the logic of social phenomena. Practices in action are larger than the sum of static structures.

Let us illustrate this with the study of market transition. China's gradual transition has taken place under a continuous political system, without major elite transition or ideological overhaul. This process is different from the one experienced by the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. That is, even after drastic changes in the economy, political authority still retains tight control over other kinds of capital. There is very little independence among social, economic and cultural capitals. Rather, the Chinese elite embodies 'total capital' and as a result the reform has to proceed 'informally', as improvisations within seemingly unchanged formal institutions. No wonder discursive constructs like 'socialism with Chinese characteristics', and 'socialist market economy',

or the vernacular expression 'make a right turn signal to turn left' remain in use while changes take place under cover. Privatization, for instance, has proceeded apace but informally, without being called as such. These reveal the glaring gap between the discourse regarding formal institutions and the necessity of an analysis of how these actually work. If sociologists do not attend to practices, there is no way to understand the real nature of society and social transformation.

More than a methodological position or perspective, we are also making a substantive theoretical argument. Classical theories have often assumed the incommensurability of authoritarianism and market economy. These two have long been conceived as zero-sum games, because they represent paradigmatically different principles of resource allocation. Yet, the reality in China is that politics and the market are intimately tied together, leading to deep collusion of the powerful and rich. Many of the social conflicts and distorted social relations in China today have resulted from the combination and operation of these two factors.

To conclude, sociology of transformation, when compared with the Budapest School of transition, focuses more on the modes of combination between power and market, and how these modes of combination affect the social structure. It does not limit its perspective on either the elite or the subalterns, but emphasizes their relations and how these lead to social segmentation. In terms of methods and research approaches, sociology of transformation focuses on processes and practice, rather than structures.

REFERENCES

Burawoy, M. (1985) *The Politics of Production*. London: Verso.

Burawoy, M. (2000) 'Sociology for the Second Great Transformation', *Annual Review of Sociology* 26.

Eyal, G., Szelenyi, I. and Townsley, E. (1998) *Making Capitalism without Capitalists: Class Formation and Elite Struggle in Post-Communist Central Europe.* London and New York: Verso.

Guo, Y. (2000) 'Minjian shehui yu yishi guojia: yizhong quanli shijian de jieshi – Shaanbei Jicun de yishi yu shehui bianqian yanjiu' (Folk Society and Ritual State: Ritual and Social Change in Jicun Village, Northern Shaanxi, as an Interpretation of Power Practice), in Y. Guo (ed.) *Yishi yu Shehui Bianqian* (Ritual and Social Change). Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Publishing House.

Guo, Y. (2003) 'Xinling de jitihua: Shanbei Jicun nongye hezuohua de nuxing jiyi' (Psychological Collectivization: Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture in Jicun Village, Northern Shaanxi, as in the Memory of the Women), *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue* (Social Sciences in China) 4.

Guo, Y. and Chang, A. (2005) 'Shengming zhouqi yu shehui baozhang: yi xiang dui xiagang shiye gongren shengming licheng de shehuixue tansuo' (Life Cycle and Social Security: A Sociological Exploration into the Life Course of Laid-off and Unemployed Workers), *Shehuixue Yanjiu* (Social Sciences in China) 5.

King, L.P. and Szelényi, I. (2004a) 'Max Weber's Theory of Capitalism and Varieties of Postcommunist Capitalism', first draft paper presented at the 2004 Annual Convention of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, CA, 30 June.

King, L. P. and Szelényi, I. (2004b) *Theories of the New Class: Intellectuals and Power*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Li, L. (2002) 'Zhidu zhuanxing yu fenceng jiegou de bianqian: Jieceng xiangdui guanxi moshi de shuangchong zaishengchan' (Institutional Transformation and Changes in Stratification Structure – Dual Reproduction of the Pattern of Relative Relations among Social Strata), Zhongguo Shehui Kexue (Social Sciences in China) 6.

Li, Q. (2002) *Zhuanxing Shiqi de Zhongguo Shehui Fenceng Jigou* (The Structure of Chinese Social Stratification in the Transformation). Harbin: Heilongjiang Renmin Press.

Li, Q. (2005) '"T Zi" xing shehui jigou yu jigou jinzhang' ('T shaped' Social Structure and Structural Tension), *Shehuixue Yanjiu* (Sociological Studies) 2.

Lu, X. (ed.) (2002) *Dangdai Zhongguo Shehui Jieceng Yanjiu Baogao* (Report on the Study of Social Strata in Contemporary China). Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Publishing House.

Shen, Y. (2006) 'Shehui zhuanxing yu gongren jieji de zaixingcheng' (The Social Transformation and Reformation of the Chinese Working Class), *Shehuixue Yanjiu* (Sociological Studies) 2.

Sun, L. (1995) 'Cong gongchang toushi shehui' (Observe the Society through Factories), *Zhongguo Shuping.(China Book Review)* vol.1.

Sun, L. (2002) Shijian shehuixue yu shichang zhuanxing guocheng fenxi (The Sociology of Practice and the Analysis of the Practical Process of Market Transition), *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue (Social Sciences in China)* vol. 5.

Sun, L. (2003) Duanlie: 20 Shiji 90 Niandai Yilai de Zhongguo Shehui. (Cleavage – Chinese Society Since the 1990s). Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Publishing House.

Sun, L. (2005) Shehui zhuanxing: Fazhan shehuixue de xinyiti. (Social Transformation: The New Issue on Sociology of Development), *Shehuixue Yanjiu (Sociological Studies)* vol.1.

Evaluating Sociologists in Taiwan: Power, Profession and Passers-by

Ming-Chang Tsai

The state in Taiwan plays an important role in promoting research activities in public and private universities. Through a grant competition system that distributes precious research finance, the state is able to exert its influence on most scientists and social scientists. Sociologists are no exception, vying for these competitive grants to increase individual credits and build academic careers. According to the theory of the mounting accountability of science (McDaniel, 2006), academic research is expected to meet the increasing demands of the state, taxpayers, and the university administration. In the same vein, sociological research in Taiwan is also expected to fulfill the need to generate knowledge of society, and sociologists have come under increasing scrutiny and evaluation from the government. The ways in which the state and sociologists of Taiwan interact in an institutionalized evaluation system results in a special accountability model. This paper discusses Taiwanese sociology as a case of how a system of government support and evaluation strengthens both peer review and professional sociology but dilutes sociology's public accountability,

rendering other dimensions of sociological studies (critical, policy and public sociology) less appealing to social researchers.

This paper comprises three sections. The first section provides a general account of current government policies for promoting scientific research in Taiwan. It is argued that the state, by generating a distributional system of research grants and extra payments, is able to activate many research inputs from social scientists that may not have been possible otherwise. The two prongs of government instruments, the National Science Council (NSC) grants and the Taiwan Social Science Citation Index (TSSCI) system, have produced a way of differentiating university faculty in terms of the external finance they mobilize for their institutions, as well as the credits and prestige they gain to enhance personal status within the academic community.

The second section is an empirical study to identify critical factors for winning government research grants. Empirical investigation of one hundred and thirty faculty members in all twelve sociology departments in Taiwan shows that graduates from prestigious US

universities and National Taiwan University (NTU), affiliation in elite institutions, and publications in TSSCI are decisive factors in winning government research grants. Publication in international journals generates only weak influence.

The third section discusses the impact of government policy on the state of sociology in Taiwan. The state-initiated system of performance evaluation and granting research funds have significant impact on the practice of sociological studies in Taiwan. It is argued that while a merit-based evaluation justifies the fame and privileges that prominent sociologists receive, in such academic stratification professional sociology prevails at the expense of 'critical public sociology' (Burawoy, 2005). It also undermines potential interdependence from which these sociologies could otherwise benefit to promote a socially significant practice of sociology – both in academic and public policy.

REWARDS FOR RESEARCH: THE STATE AND SCIENCE POLICY

Inadequate remuneration for scientific research in universities had been pointed out by academics as one hindrance to developing science and technology in Taiwan before the 1960s (Greene, 2000). Every faculty position is tenured, an 'office for life', with a flat salary level for those on the same rank. Although there is a 'seniority pay increase' offered each year (about 0.5 percent), this trivial increment ceases after an academic reaches a certain rank in a span of approximately ten years. It is difficult to ask faculty members to contribute either to research or in teaching, particularly those who have secured a full professorship. This does not necessarily mean that only money matters. Indeed, status incentive plays a central role in an academic career. But as economic development advanced and the average salary increased for the faculty in the past two decades, the issue of lack of incentives comes to the fore. The current salary system

that fails to compensate for faculty members that perform relatively better is a key problem yet to be solved. Moreover, there is a lack of a system of sanction to discipline junior faculty who do not conduct research or publish at all. The rule of 'publish or perish' started to apply only recently, that too in a handful of universities. A faculty member can be dismissed only for criminal behavior. It is not unusual that a junior member secures a tenured position with few research activities.

The Ministry of Education (ME) of Taiwan adopted some remedial measures but it was unsuccessful. The amendment of the University Act in 1994 introduced the position of assistant professor for recently awarded PhD graduates, thus extending the time to reach full professorship. However, this approach of 'downward stretching' frankly affects only junior faculty. The second incentive the ME uses is to allow universities to establish 'Chair Professor' to distinguish between better performers and reward them with honor and increased payments. The ME also invites the faculty from all universities to compete for the 'National Chair Professorship' (NCP) with a prize of approximately US$30,000.[1] The design of chair professorship aims to award a few outstanding professors, and most NCP recipients are from the disciplines of science and technology. No sociologist has so far been awarded an NCP. At university level, in 2005 one chair for a professor was awarded to a sociologist in National Cheng Chi University, a humanities and social science oriented university located in Taipei City, capital of Taiwan. Some proposals for flexible salary systems in the name of 'liberalization' have been suggested (Ministry of Education, 2003a), but most universities have not yet adopted them due to lack of funds.

What is of interest to this study is the 'research project' system the NSC has practiced for over three decades. The NSC, a ministry level organization and the highest government agency responsible for promoting the development of science and technology, encourages the university faculty to conduct research by financing research projects that it

selects with the help of peer review. Initiated in 2002, an extra pay of NT$120,000 (approximately US$3,600) per annum is granted to the faculty that conducts a research project approved by the NSC. It is possible to receive this additional pay each year as long as a new research project is approved.[2] In the sociology discipline defined by the NSC,[3] approximately 50 percent of applicants received this award. Table 26.1 gives the statistics of applicants and grants the NSC offered during 2000–05 in sociology. The average grant for regular applicants is about US$17,500, with new faculty (i.e. assistant professor in the first five years) receiving a slightly smaller grant (25–30 percent less). The approval rate has leveled at 50 percent for the past five years, in contrast to a more generous rate of about 70 percent around the year of 1995 (Chang, 2000:14).

The applicants that compete for these grants have increased, as many sociologists are hired in new universities that have come up since the late 1980s. In 2005, there were thirteen sociology departments in Taiwan compared to seven in 1990. While fewer sociology departments having been added, sociologists are increasingly hired to teach general social science courses in universities of science and technology where there are no colleges of social or behavioral sciences. As a result, the number of applicants for the NSC research grant increased to two hundred and sixty-one in 2004, from one hundred

and eighty-eight in 2000 (i.e. an increase of almost 40 percent; see Table 26.1).

While the NSC grants are like 'carrots' for research activities, ranging from extra income through research equipments to traveling expenses to attend international conferences (Chang, 2000), university leaders use them as 'indicators' to evaluate their faculty. Many second- and third-tier universities, public or private, lacking independent research funds, encourage their faculty to apply for NSC grants even though they may not succeed because of their low performances in research and publication. In these universities the grant is usually counted as an added criterion for promotion.

TSSCI AND THE EVOLUTION OF A NATIONAL JOURNAL RANKING SYSTEM

In order to differentiate better journals from others and accordingly evaluate publication performance of social scientists in Taiwan, the NSC initiated TSSCI in 2000. Analogous to the Social Science Citation Index developed by the Institute of Scientific Information in the United States, the Social Science Research Center (SSRC), a research-promoting agency established in 1999 under the NSC, started a data bank of social science papers published in Taiwan. The SSRC also attempts to design

Table 26.1 Application for sociological research projects of the National Science Council: 2000–05[1]

	Regular applicants			New faculty		
	Applicants	Rate of approval	Average grant (NT$)	Applicants	Rate of approval	Average grant (NT $)
2000	114	57.9%	495,684	74	67.6%	414,874
2001	131	51.1%	580,984	73	53.4%	390,431
2002	169	56.8%	593,150	88	56.8%	458,880
2003	185	51.9%	583,640	86	50.0%	451,593
2004	177	53.1%	587,963	84	46.4%	411,515
2005		48.0%[2]				

[1] Excluding applicants who propose their research projects as social work and journalism.
[2] The figure indicates an average of the two groups.
Note: the current exchange rate of NT$ for US$ is about 33:1.

an impact scoring system to show the relative importance of journals selected in the index system. The SSRC believes that this citation system is able 'to assess the development of social science with quantitative indicators' (SSRC, 2005). As this databank intends to provide only 'better-quality, influential research results from journals that have rigorous reviewing processes' (Kuan and Yur, 2000: 1), most social science journals in Taiwan are excluded. In practice, the SSRC deliberately identifies not more than three 'core journals' for each discipline (Kuan and Yur, 2000) and recognizes these selected journals as 'having adequate quality but are excluded in SSCI due to factors such as language (usage)' (Kuan and Yur, 2000: 1).[4] As social science journals have to apply in order to be included in TSSCI, the SSRC set up regulations regarding the scope of publication, the organization of the editorial boards, and reviewing processes for submitted manuscripts. The journals have to report the yearly rejection rates, which constitutes one major factor in inclusion decision. Additionally, the NSC provides finance to cover the expense of publication for some of the best journals in TSSCI.

Publication in TSSCI becomes an important element with which the Ministry of Education ranks universities in overall performance (Ministry of Education, 2003b). In turn, the university administration uses TSSCI papers to evaluate faculty members. Attracted by the credits generated from publishing in the NSC-selected journals, many faculty members choose them as the primary outlets for research outcomes. Nevertheless, SSCI journals are considered more prestigious and influential in global academic communities (Kuan and Yur, 2000), despite the fact that the papers of Taiwanese authors are often not cited in this databank, perhaps due to high 'local relevance' (Huang, 2007; Su, 2004). Mills (2006) maintains that citation behavior in SSCI is American-based and thus culturally biased against non-English scientists. Furthermore, the omission of books constitutes another major flaw in evaluating significance impacts in the discipline of sociology (Mills, 2006).

Many doubts, criticisms and strife occurring notwithstanding (Chen and Chien, 2004; Huang, 2007), the usage and influence of the citation index as a ranking device for individuals and universities appears to be growing in Taiwan. More often than not, in their curriculum vitae or on personal webpages many university professors carefully mark each entry of publication to identify it as a SSCI or TSSCI paper, a distinct manner of self-presentation never seen in other countries. Needless to say, such information is also required in preparing a list of publications for peer review when applying for NSC grants.

As a result, a ranking system evolved, with SSCI journals being placed at the top of the hierarchy, TSSCI in the middle and the unselected domestic journals at the bottom. However, international journals outside SSCI, particularly those published in language other than English, are not rated, and their significance is subject to assessment by anonymous reviewers involved in the NCS grant application.

In 2004, there were twenty-nine journals in the 'formal list' of TSSCI, and thirty-nine journals placed in a 'reserved list', a second-tiered group that was evaluated as 'less highly ranked' (Kuan and Yur, 2000). In the first more prestigious category two sociology journals were included: *Taiwanese Journal of Sociology*, the official journal of the Taiwanese Sociological Association, and *Taiwanese Sociology*, jointly published by the Sociology Department of National Taiwan University and the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica. Both journals are semi-annuals, and publish approximately five articles in each issue. Thus, about twenty sociology papers are considered quality papers every year. The acceptance rate for TJS has remained low at 30 percent (Tsai, 2004). With publication space extremely limited, acceptance rates are low. Other disciplines in social science encounter similar situations; for instance only one journal in social work, journalism, and urban planning respectively is listed in TSSCI, creating intense competition among participants.

There are three interdisciplinary journals (including a semi-annual for demography) that can serve as potential platforms for sociologists. They have attracted increasing submissions from sociologists as two other related journals listed in the reserved list as of 2005: one that publishes papers about the sociology of education, and the other on social sciences.

The limited space of publication in TSSCI causes much discontent, therefore, in 2005, SSCR decided to expand the selected list by incorporating those in the reserved list. Currently, seventy-four TSSCI journals are included. However, no new sociology journals have been added and publication space remains restricted.

WHO GETS NSC GRANTS AND WHY: A SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIOLOGISTS IN COMPETITION

Possession of an NSC grant constitutes a critical element in evaluating performances of sociologists in Taiwan. Publication in SSCI and TSSCI journals appears to be a strong factor in competing for these grants. Besides articles in important journals, training background and organization affiliation might also have substantial influence. This section empirically examines these potential determinants.

Among one hundred and thirty faculty members from twelve sociology departments[5] in Taiwan during 2002–05, approximately 26 percent were awarded four grants and 18 percent received three grants over the four years. These two groups are successful competitors. On the other side of the spectrum, approximately 28 percent received no grant at all. This latter group also includes those who chose not to apply. In the analyzed period, 28 percent received one (15 percent) or two (13 percent) grants. The pattern of grant distribution is spread in a rather wide circle and is not concentrated on a few 'star performers'.

We use the number of research grants as our dependent variable, and model it on several important factors displayed in Table 26.2. We first consider an individual's *training backgrounds*. The rationale for this consideration encompasses several reasons. First, the possession of a doctoral degree from a prestigious university might reflect a selection process wherein a graduate student's talent is roughly matched with the academic position of his or her department. Second, organizational experiences in a highly-appraised department reinforce conformity to productivity norms, and suggest the influence of early professional socialization (Reskin, 1977). Third, the research projects the NSC supports are primarily 'empirical researches'. Generally, sociologists who are trained in US universities are more familiar with this type of research. Approximately 70 percent of our sample received their PhD degree from the United States, demonstrating Taiwanese sociologists' strong dependency on as well as close linkages with sociological institutes in the United States. Finally, in the context of Taiwan, it is speculated that research work of graduates of prestigious universities receives more attention from their colleagues and that they are more likely to obtain favorable evaluations among them (Su, 2004). This study regroups the samples into four categories according to where their PhD is received: (1) top twenty US programs;[6] (2) the rest of the US programs; (3) Taiwan universities; and (4) Europe and elsewhere (mostly European universities, including Japan and Australia). A set of dummy variables is designed to assess the effect of the training backgrounds, with the fourth group designated as a reference category.

The second factor is *research interest*. A binary variable is generated for those that claim to have interest in pure theory and for those who do not. Data were collected by mailed questionnaires administered during 2002 (Su, 2004; Tsai and Su, 2003). Among the surveyed faculty, 13.8 percent reported social theory to be one of their research areas. It is expected that these theory-interested

Table 26.2   Descriptive statistics of the faculties in 12 sociology departments of Taiwan (n=130)

Background variables and publication performances	Percentage or mean
PhD from	
US—Top 20 grad. schools[1]	36.9%
US—Other grad. schools	33.8
Europe (and other countries)	15.4
Taiwan	13.8
Theory-oriented	13.8%
Elite institutes (Academia Sinica and National Taiwan University)	34.6%
Position as of 2002	
Professor	39.2%
Associate professor	28.5
Assistant professor	32.3
Gender	
Male	73.1%
Female	26.9
SSCI papers since 1996–2002	.35 (sd=.80)
TSSCI papers since 1996–2002	1.55 (sd=2.00)

faculty will be *less* familiar with empirical research methods and that therefore the odds of winning the grants are reduced.

We consider *elite institution affiliation* to be another determinant. Sociologists affiliated to NTU and Academia Sinica (34.6 percent) are expected to receive more grants for several reasons. First, the two institutes are able to recruit productive faculty by providing strong research facilities, smaller teaching workload, better pay[7] and extraordinary prestige. Half of them (53.3 percent) graduated from the top twenty US programs, in comparison to only 28.2 percent in other departments. These two departments are even more exclusive in terms of undergraduate pedigree, in that graduates outside NTU are seldom hired. Second, the two departments have incomparable advantages in formulating scholarly exchanges with foreign researchers. However, their exchanges with domestic departments has been 'one-way': for instance, the NTU has provided newly awarded PhD graduates for junior posts in other departments (downward mobility) while the reverse flow (upward mobility) has not yet happened. Besides these hierarchical differences, research also indicates that once employed in a prestigious department, the individual level of productivity is likely to be in conformity with colleagues, revealing strong organizational influences on scientific productivity (Long, 1978; Long and McGinnis, 1981). Third, the NSC regularly

asks the faculty to carry out large-scale survey projects. These interorganizational connections generate exclusive and favorable influences that are unavailable elsewhere. The two departments constitute what has been termed 'the academic caste' (Burris, 2004) in Taiwan. Last but not the least, faculty members from these two departments regularly serve as reviewers for the NSC grants, or are appointed as coordinators of the sociology discipline in this grant-giving agency. In light of these advantages, affiliation with these elite departments should contribute to receiving grants, other things being equal.

The final factor to be assessed is publication in SSCI and TSSCI journals. We expect these two variables to be positively correlated with the awarding of grants. To avoid recursive causal inference, these two variables are lagged in measurement. In operation, this study calculates publication during 1996–2002 as independent variables. Because many faculty members publish in SSCI journals as co-authors, a weighted method for calculation (the first author scores 1, the second scores 0.5, the third scores 0.3) is adopted for measurement. For TSSCI papers, we calculate the number of articles an individual publishes in both formal and reserved TSSCI lists, disregarding the ranking of authorship, since most faculty are first authors anyway. In the analyzed period, the 'sampled faculty' on average published 0.35 SSCI papers and 1.55 TSSCI papers,

indicating a low rate of publication in international journals.

The result of regression estimation with the least squares method[8] is reported in Table 26.3. Several crucial findings are noted. First, graduates from top US programs perform better in competition for grants. Those having doctoral degrees from Taiwan universities (mainly NTU) are also successful, in comparison to the reference group that comprises primarily graduates from European universities. The 'shortfall' for the latter group is about one grant. The graduates from the second-tier US departments perform only slightly better and this difference is not statistically significant. For crosschecking this effect of US training, I used another variable, that of department prestige (Keith and Babchuk, 1998) and re-estimated. The regression outcomes indicate similar results for the three dummies of PhD origin.

While research interest does not influence receiving grants, institutional affiliation demonstrates significant impact, generating a gap of about one grant. However, the effect of the affiliation factor is attenuated when two publication variables are considered in equations 2 and 3 of Table 26.3. The moderation of institution effect is due to better productivity of the faculty from the two institutions: on an average they produce 1.5 TSSCI papers and 0.23 SSCI papers *more* than faculty members from other departments.

Publication performance accounts for a large variation. In particular, a TSSCI paper contributes to a 15 percent increase of R^2. However, surprisingly, SSCI papers produce weaker influence, although its coefficient edges on significance level (p=.064) (equation 3). Note that those who publish more in TSSCI do not necessarily do so in SSCI

Table 26.3   Regression results of receiving NSC grants among sociology faculties, 2002–05

	All samples			Have one grant or more (n=94)
	1	2	3	4
PhD from (*Europe and Japan* as reference group)				
US—Top 20 grad. Schools[1]	1.39**	.96**	.84*	1.06**
	(.40)	(.36)	(.37)	(.37)
US—Other grad. Schools	.76†	.45	.36	.61
	(.40)	(.37)	(.37)	(.39)
Taiwan	1.33*	.99*	.97*	1.02*
	(.46)	(.42)	(.42)	(.40)
Theory-interested	−.34	−.49	−.46	−.63†
	(.39)	(.35)	(.34)	(.33)
Elite institutes affiliation	.99**	.57*	.51†	.12
	(.28)	(.26)	(.26)	(.23)
TSSCI papers in 1996–2002		.34***	.33 ***	.15**
		(.06)	(.06)	(.05)
SSCI papers in 1996–2002			.27†	.11
			(.15)	(.12)
Gender dummy (*female* as reference group)	−.38	−.40	−.39	−.12
	(.29)	(.26)	(.26)	(.23)
Position dummy (*assistant prof.* as reference group)				
Professor	−.64*	−.75**	−.72*	−.30
	(.31)	(.28)	(.28)	(.26)
Associate professor	−.70*	−.69*	−.68*	.02
	(.33)	(.29)	(.29)	(.29)
constant	1.49***	1.51***	1.49***	1.90 ***
	(.41)	(.37)	(.36)	(.35)
R^2 adjusted	.20***	.35***	.37***	.24***
Increase of R^2		.15***	.02†	

* p <.05; ** p <.01; *** p <.001; † p <.10

Note: Figures in parenthesis are standard errors

(r=.15); therefore, for most Taiwan sociologists, these two publications constitute separate outlets. Since the approval rate of the NSC grants is over 50 percent, publication in international journals is not a necessity. To restate, it is not that a SSCI paper is not important in grant competition (the opposite is true, to my knowledge), but that a 'generous' level of acceptance rate as previously indicated renders it a weak predictor in grants outcomes. Publication other than the two citations, such as referred journal articles, books or book chapters, are not considered owing to lack of data, and their influence in receiving grants are thus not assessed in this study. In practice, these research outcomes are evaluated by NSC reviewers. It is speculated that they are less highly regarded in comparison to SSCI or TSSCI publications.

Note that Table 26.3 includes gender and differential positions (assistant professor being a reference group in the position dummies) as two controls. The regression outcome shows that gender does not reach statistical significance. In comparison to the assistant professors, full professors and associate professors receive grants less often. This is most likely because the junior faculties compete for grants among themselves and because the NSC deliberately increases the odds for this group at least during the analyzed period (see Table 26.1).

Since not all faculty applied for NSC projects, we might include a number of sociologists that perform less well and choose not to apply, and thus overestimate the effects for the proposed factors in regression estimation. For cross-validation, we conducted an additional analysis that includes only those having (at least) one grant during 2002–05, assuming that this sub-sample constitutes 'serious competitors' for grants. Equation 4 of Table 26.3 reports the results. This re-estimation replicates two important findings – TSSCI papers account for most variation; and graduates from both the top twenty US departments and from Taiwan universities perform better. The institution affiliation, however, is quite insignificant; neither do SSCI papers generate notable impacts. In general, the explained variance is reduced to

23 percent because there is less variation of NSC grants among these competitive professors. Another analysis we conducted relates to one that omits assistant professors, as this group had fewer publications at the initial stage and thus might have diluted the effect of journal articles. However, this additional analysis once again reveals the strong influence of TSSCI papers, in contrast to those of SSCI. These checks demonstrate the robustness of the association of domestic publication and the receipt of NSC grants.

DISCUSSION: GOVERNMENT POLICY, ACADEMIC HIERARCHIES AND INTERACTION WITH GLOBAL SOCIOLOGY

The state in Taiwan has succeeded in decisively activating research efforts by rendering social science research reliant on state finance. To do research means to do it with government (rather than university) funds, and this competition attracts numerous faculty – at least over two-thirds of sociologists in Taiwan.[9] Competing for NSC grants becomes an indispensable part of academic life. Research activities flourish as a result. The state grants are not channeled into an exclusive club in which only a few prominent scholars win. On the contrary, the NSC distributes grants widely to support many small research projects for the majority of sociologists.

The NSC and TSSCI awards combine to encourage social scientists to undertake research on issues of importance to Taiwanese society. Indeed, such a trend of researching locally and publishing locally should be desirable as a stage preceding the huge efforts that are spent on what is called 'internationalization' of publication (Chang, 2000: 19). Those who acquire a reputation from international publication are confronted with 'double jeopardy': they are infrequently cited both in SSCI as well as in TSSCI papers (Chang 2000; Su, 2004). More importantly, as a growing number of sociologists decide to publish outside Taiwan,

the focus of their research is all the more removed from the local environment. Such a shortage of 'embeddedness' has caused similar concern in other countries (see Azarya, 2005, for the case of Israel).

Indeed, junior faculty members, ambitious to climb rapidly up the academic ladder, have adhered to the social *scientific* research as defined by the NSC evaluation system. This does not indicate that the 'jurisdiction' that defines sociology as an academic profession is encroached on (Abbott, 1988). The NSC does evaluate research outcomes of fund grantees, yet what McDaniel (2006) highlights as a trend of growing accountability in academic evaluation is not happening. That is, social sciences research is not assessed by an objective of accountability to the state, public purse, or even to the market. Indeed, inattention toward clinical sociology has existed for a long time, and the NSC should not be solely responsible for such a 'self-made' academic climate. Yet the way the NSC operates in grant distribution appears to deepen such unfortunate distractions. This is because the reviewing process is usually conducted by research-oriented peers alone. Moreover, even though the NSC has recently set priority issues of research, they are proposed by a committee of senior sociologists for whom the NSC is willing to offer independence in agenda setting. Sociology as a way of producing knowledge is not managed by state bureaucratic administration to meet the market demands.

One notable consequence, perhaps an unintended outcome, of the incentive policy of the state is the focus on professional sociology to the neglect of other dimensions of sociology, such as critical or public sociology (Burawoy, 2005) To qualify as core journals, TSSCI publications increasingly concentrate on theoretical debates (mainly with foreign paradigms), conceptual elaboration, model building, and exercising advanced techniques on large-scale national (or cross-national) data. Paradoxically, little attention is paid to policy implications and potential audiences to sociology journals. Critical and reflexive discussions are also held at bay – such practice might be

considered as marginal rather than helpful by other colleagues. The genre of a public sociology that Burawoy (2005) has advocated, a sociology that engages with multiple publics in intensive dialogues about values, goals and social progress, has been considered as less professional in the pursuit of academic excellence. As a result, empirical sociology dominates among the NSC research projects, and so do most articles based on these projects published in TSSCI journals.

Sociologists who seek state funds necessarily have to accommodate their projects into a procrustean bed of pure science protocols: any research proposal, qualitative or quantitative, is required to illustrate how it collects and analyzes data with certain techniques. Such a format of research proposal tends to ignore and discourage potential researchers who attempt 'pure theorizing'. It is perhaps in this sense that sociology in Taiwan is 'disciplined,' into a shell of a rational scientific model.

CONCLUSIONS

While in some Asian countries such as India, privatization of higher education is paralleling the depleting of public finance (Patel, 2006), the government in Taiwan is deciding to finance more research for science and social science. What makes Taiwan a unique case of accountability is the way in which the NSC operates; it strengthens the roles of peers rather than the public or state in monitoring social research activities. In addition, the NSC recently launched a program of academic book reviewing to improve peer review quality in this type of publication. The state of Taiwan not only initiates and finances scientific research, it also directs the outlets of research outcomes.

The NSC system largely operates on the basis of meritocracy, as our empirical analysis of one hundred and thirty sociologists indicates. Our findings showed that strong publication is the most decisive factor in determining who gets extra governmental

rewards for research. Certain factors such as training (particularly graduates from prestigious US institutes) and organizational context (two elite institutions identified in this study) also matter, although they appear to be secondary in the order of importance. At any rate, the state-financed research system avoids certain sociologists who perform less well in publication. However, as the research award system is designed to be inclusive, rather than to identify a few 'star performers', those who do not receive grants from the NSC are in a minority.

State involvement in social science reinforces empirical/professional sociology in Taiwan. The outcome is an unintended consequence of state policy. Doubtless, such evolution risks narrowness both in theoretical and methodological terms. Some sociologists recently responded by enthusiastically promoting public sociology *á la* Burawoy as an alternative; others strongly advocated refocusing on policy sociology (Tsai, 2006). How Taiwanese sociology can diversify into these domains and develop the necessary accountability to the public rather than merely to peer reviewers within its own community remains to be seen.

NOTES

1. The National Chair Professors have a term of three years. Half of the prize is offered in cash, which equals an increase of 37.5% of the yearly salary for a full professor (roughly US$40,000). The other half has to be spent in research-related activities.

2. In 2005, the NSC decided to increase its rewards to NT$240,000 so that 'top' performers receive a better prize to match their research outcomes. However, this differential prize system was cancelled in 2007, with no explanation provided from the NSC.

3. The NSC includes sociology, social work, criminology, journalism and public health in the same discipline.

4. To rank the sociology journals, NSC conducted surveys among the university faculty as well as researchers in Academia Sinica. On the basis of citation records and reputation evaluation, the top-tier journals are considered as candidates in TSSCI. I thank a reviewer for providing this information.

5. The faculties in the sociology department in Fo Guang College of Humanities and Social Sciences were not included due to their newness (established in 2000) while data were collected.

6. The top twenty PhD programs of sociology listed by USNews (2001) are: Berkeley, Madison, Chicago, University of Michigan, Stanford, UNC-Chapel Hill, Harvard, University of Calfornia, Los Angeles, Northwestern, Princeton, Indiana University, University of Arizona, University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, Cornell, Duke, University of Texas-Austin, Washington, Johns Hopkins, and Penn State.

7. The faculties in Academia Sinica do not have teaching obligations and have approximately five percent more payment compared to their counterparts in other universities. The faculty in National Taiwan University teach two courses in a semester while elsewhere three course is common practice.

8. As the dependent variable is a *count* variable and has no negative figures, the poisson modeling can be more suitable for estimation (Wooldridge, 2002). However, re-estimation by poisson regression arrives at a similar conclusion. To save space I report only OLS outcomes.

9. My estimate is as of 2004, 65%=261 applicants for the NSC sociology projects/roughly 400 members in the Taiwan Sociological Association.

REFERENCES

Abbott, A. (1988) *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Azarya, V. (2005) 'Academic Excellence and Social Relevance: Israeli Sociology in Universities and Beyond' (this volume, forthcoming).

Burawoy, M. (2005) 'For Public Sociology', *American Sociological Review* 70: 4–28.

Burris, V. (2004) 'The Academic Caste System: Prestige, Hierarchies in PhD Exchange Networks', *American Sociological Review* 69: 239–64.

Chang, Y-H. (2000) 'Xue-shu Chu-ban Ping-shen yu Xue-shu Fa-zhan: Yi ge She-hui-xue-jia de Can-yu Guan-cha' (Publication, Evaluation and Academic Development in the Sociological Community of Taiwan: A Sociologist's Participant Observation), *Tai-wan She-hui Xue-kan* (Taiwanese Journal of Sociology) 23: 1–24.

Chen, K-H. and Chien, S.Y-S. (2004) 'Xin-zi-you Zhu-yi Quan-qiu-hua zhi xia de Xue-shu Sheng-chan' (Knowledge Production in the Era of Neoliberal Globalization), *Tai-wan She-hui Yan-jiu Ji-kan* (Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies) 56: 179–206.

Greene, J.M. (2000) 'The Greening of Taiwan's Scientific Desert: Science and the State in the Republic of China, 1949–1969', *Harvard Studies on Taiwan* 3: 67–94.

Huang, S-j (2007) 'Xiao-guo de Xue-shu Kun-jing: Tai-wan She-hui Ke-xue Yan-jiu Jiao-xue yu Ping-liang de Fan-sheng' (The Predicament of a Small Nation: A Reflection on Research, Teaching, and Evaluation in Taiwan's Social Science), *Tai-wan She-hui Yan-jiu Ji-kan* (Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies) 65: 117–80.

Keith, B. and Babchuk, N. (1998) 'The Quest of Institutional Recognition: A Longitudinal Analysis of Scholarly Productivity and Academic Prestige among Sociology Departments', *Social Forces* 76: 1495–533.

Kuan, C. and Yur, R. (2000) 'Tai-wan She-hui Ke-xue Yin-wen Suo-yin Zi-liao-ku de Jian-zhi Gai-kuang' (A General Statement on the Current Condition of the Establishment of 'Taiwan Social Science Citation Index'), *Ren-wen yu She-hui Ke-xue Jian-xun* (Humanities and Social Sciences Newsletter) 3(2). http://www.nsc.gov.tw/hum/message/doc/0302/3211.doc Accessed 01/09/2005.

Long, J.S. (1978) 'Productivity and Academic Position in the Scientific Career', *American Sociological Review* 43: 889–908.

Long, J.S. and McGinnis, R. (1981) 'Organizational Context and Scientific Productivity', *American Sociological Review* 46: 422–42.

McDaniel, S. (2006) 'Escalating Accountability in the "Impossible Science": Perils and Pitfalls', *International Sociological Association* e-bulletin 5: 3–14.

Mills, M. (2006) 'The Journal Impact Factor and Citation Rankings in Sociology: Nonsense or Necessity?' *International Sociological Association* e-bulletin 4: 46–55.

Ministry of Education (2003a) *Wo-guo Gao-deng Jiao-yu Fa-zhan Gui-hua Yan-jiu Zhuan-an Bao-gao* (Special Report on the Planning of Higher Education Development). Taipei: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education (2003b) *Cu-jin Gao-deng Jiao-yu Guo-ji Jing-zheng-li Zhuan-an Bao-gao* (Special Report to Congress on the Advancing International Competitiveness of Higher Education). Taipei: Ministry of Education.

Patel, S. (2006) 'Challenges to Sociological Practices in India Today', *International Sociological Association* e-bulletin 3: 51–4.

Reskin, B.F. (1977) 'Scientific Productivity and the Reward Structure of Science', *American Sociological Review* 42: 491–504.

Social Science Research Center (SSRC) (2005) *Tai-wan She-hui Ke-xue Yin-wen Suo-yin Zi-liao-ku* (Introduction to the Databank of the Taiwan Social Science Citation Index). http://ssrc.sinica.edu.tw Accessed 01/09/2005.

Su, K-H. (2004) 'She-hui-xue Zhi-shi de She-hui Sheng-chan: tai-wan She-hui Xue-zhe de Yin-xing Xue-qun' (Social Production of Sociological Knowledge: Invisible Colleges among Sociologists in Taiwan), *Tai-wan She-hui-xue* (Taiwanese Sociology) 8: 133–92.

Tsai, M-C. (2004) 'Zhu-bian de Hua' (Notes from the Editor), *Tai-wan Se-hui Xue-kan* (Taiwanese Journal of Sociology) 33: i–iii.

Tsai, M-C. (2006) 'She-hui-xue yu Gong-gong Ying-xiang-li: Xin-zheng-ce She-hui-xue de Yuan-jing' (Sociology and its Public Influence: The Vision of New Policy Sociology), *Tai-wan She-hui Xue-kan* (Taiwanese Journal of Sociology) 37: 1–31.

Tsai, M-C. and Su, K-H. (2003) 'Wo-guo She-hui-xue Xi-suo Qi-kan Zhe-zuo Xue-shu Biao-xian zhi Yan-jiu' (Contributions to Journals by Sociology Departments and Research Institutes in Taiwan). Unpublished research report for the Social Science Research Center, National Science Council.

USNews (2001) Best Graduate Schools: Sociology (Ranked in 2001). www.usnews.com/usnew/edu/beyond/gradrank/gbsocio.htm Accessed 21/07/2001.

Wooldridge, J.M. (2002) *Econometric Analysis of Cross Section and Panel Data*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

27

Sociology in Post-World War II Japan[1]

Koto Yousuke

THREE PARADIGM SHIFTS

This paper reviews the developmental process of social theory in Japan since World War II. In the sixty years that have elapsed, Where has Japanese sociology been and where is it going? To outline the direction of change I will group works by the paradigms on which they rely.

There are two forces working in paradigm shifts in Japanese sociology. First are changing social realities (which provide sociology with practical problems to solve), and the second are trends in American and European sociology (which set forth theoretical problems). When the society we study changes, the framework for sociological analysis must change. It is natural and healthy for sociology to be strongly influenced by shifts in reality. Nevertheless, changes in social realities do not have immediate consequences for sociology. For example, Japan's period of high-speed economic growth began in 1955 and is said to have ended in 1965. However, the transformation that high-speed economic growth brought to sociology only began to manifest itself in academic work when the

boom period ended. As Hegel says, 'The owl of Minerva flies at dusk'.

Achieving mastery of European and American works is the indispensable premise for promoting sociological research in Japan. Learning to read Western sociology accurately is the most important foundation for the training of young researchers. Even if one dwells within the course of Japanese history, it is difficult to understand the necessity of paradigm shifts in Japanese sociology. The reason is that moments of academic development in Japan are far more powerfully influenced by the introduction of new Western knowledge than by native intellectual traditions or dissents. It takes considerable time to comprehend Western theory, modify it through application to Japanese reality, and then bring a clear, academic work to fruition. New Western knowledge goes through a cycle of digestion and absorption, in which it is introduced and translated, before subsequently becoming the subject of comment and criticism, and the basis of research. This process of internalization, of making foreign work part of the domestic body of knowledge, takes at least ten years.

The post-World War II history of Japanese sociology has three developmental periods. I will give a brief overview of each before explaining them in more detail. In retracing the path of Japanese sociology, the reader may be assailed by a feeling of *deja vu* as actual developments run roughly ten years behind the West.

Democratization and Sociology (1945–60)

Democratization was seen as the path to reconstruct Japanese society in the wake of defeat in the war. Sociological research was essential to the enterprise of solving the problems of transition to democracy. For sociologists, the key research models were Freud and Marx.

Rapid Growth and Sociology (1960–80)

During this period, the driving theme of social research shifted from democratization to industrialization. The government carried out a plan for high-speed economic growth and it achieved notable results. But this success gave rise to new social problems associated with rapid growth. In rural and/or urban areas, rapid development provided the conditions under which sociologists could observe social change. These conditions opened up the problem which new sociological researches should cope with and also the stage new sociological theories had to develop on. The key foreign models for this period were Parsons and Weber.

Postmodern Sociology (1980–2000)

After industrialization made Japan an economic superpower, it entered a new age in which the demand was for studies of the effects of the information revolution. As the distinction between reality and information became blurred, the main theme of sociological analysis shifted to the study of signs and meanings. In pursuit of this work, the methods of information science and semiotics were introduced into sociology. During this period, the key theorists were Foucault and Luhmann. Now, Japanese sociology seems to be entering a new, yet-to-be-named fourth period, which could be known as 'Globalization and Redefinition of the Social'.

The aim of this paper is an historical reconstruction of Japanese sociological theories since defeat in the II World War. In order to identify the characteristics of sociological theories, I propose an analytical framework, which is composed of seven variables: sociological themes, actual themes, definitions of science, images of society, images of

Table 27.1 Paradigm shifts in postwar Japanese sociology

Period	Sociological theme	Actual theme	Concept of science	Concept of society	Concept of human nature	Key figure	Key concept
First Period 1945–60	Reconstructing sociology as an academic discipline	Democratization	Empirical science, laws, induction	Opposition of the state and the economy	Individuality	Marx and Freud	Social character
Second Period 1960–80	Establishing sociology as a normal science	Industrialization	General theory, hypotheses, deduction	Interpenetration of the state and the economy	Purposeful individuals	Parsons and Weber	Social system
Third Period 1980–2000	Deconstructing sociology as pluralism	Coming of Information-Society	Semiotic turn, meaning, interpretation	Society subsumed by culture	Postmodern people	Foucault and Luhmann	Social constructionism

human nature, key figures, and key concepts. Using this framework, I can discern three developmental periods and now an ongoing stage.

DEMOCRATIZATION AND A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF MARXISM (1945–60)

The defeat in World War II provided Japanese sociology with a new starting point. Postwar opinion leader, Fukutake Tadashi, explained the situation as follows:

> The democratic ideal has been achieved, but unfortunately, rather than achieve it for ourselves, it has been *imposed on us from outside* as a consequence of losing the war. The difficulty of the challenge before us originates here. . . . *Democracy implies the establishment of human freedom*, but it is clearly something that must be won, not something that can be given.
>
> (Fukutake, 1975, emphasis added)

In the wake of Japan's defeat, old Japanese society was broken into pieces. A new Japanese society had to be built upon the ruins. Democratization was the guiding premise of reconstruction. However, this democratic ideal was not a product of Japanese society. Both the death and rebirth of Japanese society were the result of foreign pressure. The tragedy of Japanese society was doubled.

Fukutake saw how these tragic circumstances might become a path to reconstruct sociology. Democracy was ordinarily seen as one political form. As a political system, democracy could be imposed forcibly from outside, as seen in the postwar revision of the Japanese constitution. But to escape the image of democracy as 'a borrowed coat' it was necessary that it became an integral part of people's lives and way of living. Only with the foundation of a democratic populace could democratization be a homegrown guide to social reconstruction. Sociology's new mission was to outline how democracy could be a guide to human remodeling.

The transition of democracy from foreign imposition to domestic product would use sociology as a lever.

With democratization being the key word, the reconstruction of sociology and Japanese society were carbon copies of each other for the first decade after the war. The same is also clearly seen in the images of science, society, and humanity. Across the postwar social sciences, Marxism's overpowering influence was a prominent characteristic. Marxism entered Japanese academic life along with democratization of polity during the Taisho Period (1912–26).

Economic and political changes were created due to outside pressure. Social democratization helped to change traditions and customs produced domestically, and was initiated as a voluntary choice. Sociology's object of study, 'society', was defined in opposition to capitalism (the economic system) and the state (politics). To dissect capitalism and the state it might be enough to extend the existing Marxist theory. But to analyze society, a new science of sociology was necessary. Narrowly distinguished in a strict sense from economics and politics, 'society' referred to the location where human transformation occurred and to the 'modern type of Individual' nurtured. Whether modern types of Individual existed or not, depended on the special characteristics with which 'society' was endowed. Independent and autonomous Individuals could only be the result of socially formed 'collective consciousness'. Marxism's concern for solving the problems of human nature justified sociology.

From efforts to somehow translate the philosophical term 'Individuality' into sociology came various schools of thought. There were two responses when Marxism was incorporated into sociology. One was the 'culture and personality' theory of American cultural anthropology. Here, 'Individuality' was initially translated into 'pattern of behavior' and then the pattern of behavior was analyzed from two angles: (i) as originating in the culture of a society and (ii) originating in the 'personality' of individuals. With behavioral pattern as intermediary, it was possible to

insist that culture was a human product at the same time that personality was a social product. This approach made class analysis a secondary concern, but in the works of Hidaka Rokuroh and Fukutake Tadashi (1957–58), this shortcoming was presented as appealing and being full of possibilities.

The other response was the 'Marx and Freud' perspective. Freudian psychoanalysis made possible a new interpretation of Nazism, and from that came Erich Fromm's notion of 'social character'. It was argued that people's personalities were formed in conflict between the superego and libido within a certain social context, and that Nazism was not created by history transcending iron laws about personality, as Freud seemed to think. Rather, Shimizu Ikutaroh (1951) explained that social psychology could be located in the context of the development of a sociological perspective on the ego, as in American and European sociology. The problem of the Nazis' sudden rise to power could thus be easily formulated as an episode in the transformative process of modernity from citizens to mass, or from society of the public (civil society) to mass society. Terms such as culture and personality, social character, social psychology (social consciousness), and social forms, could not be reduced to economy or politics and remained as the essence of 'society'.

There was another issue that was addressed in the context of Marxism, that is, the relation of sociology to science. This related to the use and significance of social surveys, particularly statistical survey research, for social science as a whole. Why was prewar sociology so powerless to resist wartime fascism? The answer was that, in their diligent absorption of Western theory, prewar sociologists had neglected the analysis of Japanese reality. From stern self-reflection on this history came the slogan 'sociological positivism'.

Sociological survey research could teach how to identify barriers to democratization and suggest ways to eliminate them. Only methods of sociological surveys could provide knowledge of the realities of Japanese society. Unless due thought was given to the context of Japan, democratization would likely end in failure. Carrying out survey research became the hallmark of mainstream members of the sociological community. Their motto was, 'Without a survey, one cannot speak and or have an opinion'. In order to realize this ideal, Yasuda Saburoh (1960) elaborated the quantitative methodology and taught sociologists how to do the questionnaire method.

Social surveys were indispensable intermediary devices for applying universal Marxism to particular concrete circumstances of Japanese society. By grappling with social surveys, Marxism, too, had to become somewhat 'positivitized'. It is ironical that the postwar history of Japanese sociology was an attempt to combine the polar opposites of Marxism and American sociology.

RAPID GROWTH AND THE SOCIAL SYSTEM THEORY (1960–80)

Rapid economic growth achieved between 1955 and 1965 completely changed the context for sociology in Japan. There is broad agreement that the change can be expressed as a shift from 'democratization' to 'industrialization'. 'Economics' replaced 'politics' as the phenomenon that most strongly captured people's interest. Protests against the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, known as AMPO, marked the beginning of this shift. In the AMPO strife, the defeat of 'democratic forces' confirmed the correctness of the 'mass society theory' of a transition from 'citizens to mass' and also proved that the ideal of homegrown democratization had collapsed. As the sociology of democratization fell into theoretical and practical confusion, new sociological projects arising from extraordinary economic development grew simultaneously.

Industrialization posed twin problems for sociology. The first was how industrialization

could be possible – What sort of 'social' conditions were required to maintain high-speed growth? Comparative sociological investigations were made of the preconditions required for the 'take-off' of high-speed economic growth. What was the nature of industrial society's built-in 'social' problems, and what prescriptions should be drafted? The other important problem was the consequences of industrialization. Were the consequences of 'industrial society' the same in the context of Japanese society as in others? It was argued that the sociology of Talcott Parsons helped to answer these questions.

According to Parsons, the differences between capitalism and socialism were no more than a struggle over the path toward industrialization, with the destination being the same regardless of which route was taken. These separate systems would converge on the (high) ground where industrial society was generated. This trend permeated modernity. For industrial society to work smoothly, shared values were indispensable. Thus, Parsons offered a concise sketch of the 'conditions for and consequences of industrialization'.

Furthermore, Parsonian sociology was erected upon the foundation of a new scientific theory. Parsons constructed a social theory that incorporated new trends of science seen in the first half of the twentieth century. From reflections on the developmental process in the shift from Newtonian dynamics to quantum dynamics in physics, 'philosophy of science' emerged as a new school in scientific theory. In place of the positivistic view of science, in which induction and deduction were opposed, the definitive significance of the formulation of hypotheses through deduction was emphasized. According to 'philosophy of science', the program that had advanced positivism in sociology could be scrutinized. For the overreliance on first-hand data alone had gone too far and the need also to coax out inferences had been neglected.

Tominaga Kenichi's *Theory of Social Change: Economic Sociological Research* (1965) heralded the advent of this new age of Japanese sociology. 'Society' was no longer defined by the divide between 'state' (politics)/'capitalism' (economics). The focus of interest was instead the realms of mutual interaction and degrees of overlap between economy, politics, and culture. Society was defined as having economic, political, and cultural layers. To analyze these different but mutually interacting realms required the concepts of a 'systems' perspective. Society was a system made up of economic, political, and cultural elements. In other words, it should be seen as a 'social system'. Bringing a systems perspective to bear on the conditions for and consequences of industrialization was the leitmotif of *Theory of Social Change*. In plain language, doing sociology meant the application of 'social' systems theory. Therefore, the essence of Tominaga's book could be more accurately presented as *A Social Systems Theory Approach to Economics*.

The main theme of this age was the 'systems theory analysis of the causes and outcomes of industrialization'. This reverberated through Shiobara Tsutomu's *Developing Processes of Social Movement in Periods of Transition* (1967[1976]). In this book, Shiobara tried to elaborate the natural history of social movements, from their birth to disappearance, and during the period of fluctuation demarcated by the rise and decline of industrialization. While social movements were necessary causes of industrialization, they were also among its consequences. Shiobara emphasized the cyclical nature and mutual interaction between social movements and industrialization against the economic determinism in theories of the class struggle. The natural history of social movements, Shiobara discovered, contained evidence of the powerful effects of cultural factors, such as religion, and political factors, such as nation-state formation. The adjectival aspect of the 'social' in social movements was brought into relief by the mutual interpenetration between economics, politics, and culture within the processes of

the genesis of a single system. In this work also, 'social system' was the key concept. Under the umbrella of this key concept, the two intellectual traditions of collective behavior theory and social movement theory were successfully reconciled.

Through the efforts of talented young researchers fascinated by the latest knowledge, Parsonian sociology grew to replace Marxism as the new paradigm. But the student uprisings and pollution problems that erupted in the late 1960s and early 1970s brought forth critics of Parsonian sociology. Although criticisms of Parsons came from many quarters, those expressed by Weber scholars best captured the tenor of the times.

The hundredth anniversary celebration of Weber's birth in 1964 spurred a re-evaluation of Weber's sociology. Instead of 'the last great master of Bourgeois sociology', he became the most trenchant critic of 'modernity'. Using rationalization as an axis, Tokunaga Makoto (1965[1968]) and Orihara Hiroshi (1969) began a painstaking re-reading of Weber. Just at that time, university campuses across Japan were hit by strife, which further stimulated interest in Weber, whose concepts framed the students' central concerns. Was not the end result of rationalization the subjection of science to technology, with researchers becoming servants of the bureaucratic organization, and the university itself simply a conduit for passing out qualifications? Had not Weber anticipated these trends? Rationalization was seen as giving rise to universal bureaucratization holding sway over all aspects of modernity, and represented by the image of the 'iron cage'.

POST-MODERN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM (1980–2000)

After shaking off the effects of the two oil crises of the 1970s, Japan's economy rose to global prominence in the 1980s. Against a backdrop of trade surpluses so great that the country became the target of harsh criticism, Japanese society experienced an unprecedented boom known as the 'economic bubble'. For the generations raised in the period of high-speed growth and after, starvation and poverty were mere concepts in comparison with the self-evident reality of life amidst a wealth of goods. 'Production' and 'labor', and broadly, 'economics', lost their appeal as subjects of sociological interest. A smoothly functioning economic system became the premise of data frameworks. What now attracted sociologists was 'information'. The first personal computers were sold in Japan in 1979. The 1980s saw information processing devices, such as computers and word processors, spread from offices to homes in an explosion that rivaled the earlier rapid diffusion of television. 'Informationalization' replaced 'industrialization' as the topic of the age.

The information revolution also transformed politics. Voters did not rationally compare the promises and policies put forth by the political parties and vote on them. Instead, voter preferences were largely determined by their impressions of political discussions on television or scandals exposed in the press. The revolution was fought in the media, not in the streets. As seen in the case of Eastern Europe in 1989, revolution was not a result of battles between parties and ideologies. Television brought news of the rise of revolutionary movements outside, which encouraged people to align with it, resulting in the fall of the political system. Now we see a reframing of the concept of 'Society'. It could not be defined in terms of the differences between 'politics' and 'economy', nor by their overlap. Like 'economics' and 'politics', 'society' became a kind of 'culture' that could be communicated through the media. 'Society' lost its own, distinctive territory and was swallowed up by 'culture'.

'Semiotics' provided the methodological foundation for the constructive transformation from 'society' to 'culture' in the latter half of the 1960s, pushed by the revival of

linguistic science and the rise of information science in the first half of the twentieth century. All scientific fields concerned with people, culture, and society were swept up by this theory and methodology called the 'semiotic turn'. The latter first arrived in Japan in the form of Levi-Strauss's structuralism. Then, in the 1970s, through the reading of the popular works of Michel Foucault and others, semiotics made deep inroads into Japanese sociology. By the 1980s, 'semiotic' ways of thinking had become commonsense, especially among young sociologists.

The representative figures of this period, Hashizume Daizaburoh, Uchida Ryuzoh, and Osawa Masachi, had tried to escape the modern by following methodological demands of semiotics, but Inoue and Maki found the postmodern vein by digging deep into their personal interests. Hashizume (1986[1988]) was employing a language-game model to analyze religion, and Osawa (1988), as well as Hashizume, built up the fine-grained, systematic development of sociological principles. Uchida (1980) has developed an acute theory of consumer society by using Foucault's framework. It is certain that each is an original and impressive work.

As a result of this development, the goal of scientific research changed. Earlier, the goal was to construct laws dependent upon abstraction through induction or deduction. Now, it was argued that people in their daily lives were seen as unconsciously following rules, which they attempted constantly to reproduce. Just as in the rules of grammar, to understand and assess rules of everyday life, 'interpretation' was the most effective method.

This 'moment' restored 'understanding' and 'interpretation', which had been earlier belittled as non-scientific by the model of the natural sciences. Imada Takatoshi (1986) did the most systematic research on the reason why a new philosophy of science was necessary for sociology to truly move beyond structural-functionalism. For him what was most necessary was not the mutual exclusion of the three methods, those of observational induction, hypothetical deduction, and interpretation of meaning, but rather the free use of each in response to the problem or situation being studied. It was precisely this 'convertability' through which interpretation of meaning could be included in empirical laws and formal theory that would be demanded of the new generation of sociologists.

In the 1980s, Japanese sociology was conquered by a new perspective termed social constructionism. This sociological perspective emerged from the confluence of two streams: one which transformed the social image of 'society' into 'culture', and the other that used the methodology of semiotics. It originated in debates with Schutz's 'phenomenological sociology', Garfinkel's 'ethno-methodology', and Foucault's analyses of 'culture and power'.

What research problems did social constructionism set for sociology? It was to clarify how the cooperative work of humans, 'the symbol using animal', created social reality through the construction of meaning. Sociology would show that the system was not a 'thing' but had a 'meaning'. Such meaning was not something one could realize alone, but was formed through intersubjectivity. Even a 'bad' system was not something created by a bad person; just as with a 'good system', the complicity of many people was required.

There was no impartial and valid standpoint to perceive a particular form of institution as superior to other forms. There was no ideal to guide to social action. Behavior patterns were perceived as if individuals were passing through the system rather than remaking the system. In fact, the social movements that had been powerful in Japanese society from the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s – the student movement, citizens' movements against pollution, environmental preservation movements, feminism, and so on – all these were at low ebb in the 1980s. It can probably be said that social constructivism was the ideology of the generation and the age that 'turned off' to social change through collective action.

As in Western countries, Japan also saw the growth of students' movements. Feminism, too, was a powerful stream of thought. As a result of the 1978 publication of the first *White Paper on Housewives*, feminist influence swelled into public sectors and led to the growth of the sociology of gender and inequality. Ueno Chizuko (1985) and Ehara Yumiko (1985) made major contributions to the sociological study of gender – the former from a Marxist, macro point of view, and the latter employing the perspective of phenomenological sociology. Additionally, the postmodern standpoint on culture and power pioneered the opening of gender problems as a new field of sociological inquiry. However, other than feminism, theories that linked the postmodern sociology and minority problems remained weak in Japan. A rare field that did have a postmodernist slant toward re-conceptualizing minority problems was the perspective of 'sociology of deviance'. Starting from labeling theory, Ohmura Eishou (1989) attempted to develop a theory in which 'crime equals drama'. The crime was considered not as a deviant behavior but as one version of self-presentation.

Unless the researcher adopts the standpoint of the minority, Foucault's perspective on 'culture and power' does not seem to produce concrete sociological analysis. When practiced from the majority point of view, social constructionism legitimizes existing conditions; the minority point of view alone can shake the legitimacy of the dominant system. Because Japanese postmodern sociology was established in the 1980s, when social movements were in retreat, its impact remained within the institutionalized sociological community.

The 1980s were also the time when the icons on whose shoulders Japanese sociology was organized began to be replaced. This was true not only of Parsons and Weber, who had dominated the previous period, but also of Marx, the founder of postwar social science. The same Marx and Parsons who had been seen as polar opposites in almost every way for more than twenty years were

now lumped together and criticized as being 'modern', and both were buried and abandoned. Sociologists studied changes in the character of production, and suggested that there was an historical shift from 'the modern to the postmodern' or 'from industrial to post-industrial society'; 'The postmodern condition' was the diagnosis of this age.

It is not to be forgotten that N. Luhmann, P. Bourdieu and A. Giddens are also studied eagerly by Japanese postmodern sociologists. Atarashi Mutunndo (1995) summarized main currents in western sociological theories from the theory of mass society to postmodern sociological theories. The theory of Luhmann was most influential in his image of postmodernity. Luhmann's sociological theory was thought to be derived from Parsons's social system theory. By tracing the transformative process of sociological theories he could accent stress not on the breaking point but on the continual process.

What were the characteristics of 'postmodern sociology'? Inoue Shun (*Play and Sociology* 1975[1977]) who led Japanese sociology's trend towards postmodern transformation argued for the importance of the category 'play' for sociology, proposing that play be added to the dichotomy of the sacred and profane that existed since Durkheim. On the other hand, Maki Yusuke (*The Sound We Can Listen in the Air Currents,* 1976[1977]), attempted to conceive of non-modern ways of living by theorizing 'feelings'. This concept emerged from his analysis of the experiences of the elderly of the Yaqui tribe in northern Mexico. Maki wrote, 'I seek to exhume the *human* way of living. In particular, I wish to excavate the *feeling* of fulfillment in that way of life'. Analyzing the world of the Yaqui made possible a retrospective on human life and uncovered the 'sense' that living fulfilled.

The epoch-making properties of Inoue and Maki's work are clearest when we examine their assessment of human nature. The base of the first postwar period was the 'modern type of individual'. The important theme was how humans who believed in their own

reason and could act socially, could arise and take root in Japanese society. In the second period also, although the urgency was somewhat diminished, the premise of autonomous human was unchanged. In Parsonian terms, the essence of human behavior was in the mediated opposition between normative elements and environmental elements, while in Weberian terms, it was ascertained in the intrinsic tension between value-rational and goal-rational types of action. The premise was that humans could employ 'reason' to go beyond the duality of the sacred and profane.

As Inoue pointed out, there was no room for 'play' in this image of human nature. 'Play' was not a constitutive part of 'individuality'. Likewise, 'feeling', the focus of Maki's interest, was ignored by theories of modern individuality. In the earlier theories, 'Reason' was the element that made people active and 'feeling' was that which was 'passive'. The latter needed to be processed appropriately by reason in order for it to become a part of individuality. Because reason held feeling in contempt, it was necessary to 'excavate' it using 'the indigenous' as a clue. If we call human beings who are guided by reason 'modern', that is, 'contemporary' humans, the human nature that Inoue and Maki represented was completely different, as mentioned above. We can be forgiven for naming this representation 'postmodern'.

GLOBALIZATION AND REDEFINITION OF THE SOCIAL (2000–)

In the 1990s, the term globalization became a key word for analyzing the societies of that period. Japanese sociology, too, was influenced by this worldwide trend. By the year 2000 it was clear that the fundamental framework was shifting from postmodernism to globalization.

The process of globalization provides Japanese sociology with a new starting point. Most sociologists now agree that a new Japanese sociology needs to be established. Some are searching to assess the evolution of Japanese sociology from the national to the global.

Tominaga Ken'ichi (2004) believed that global sociology needed to affirm universality of science. He argued that the first thing that contemporary sociologists needed to do was to transcend the bias against this scientific ideal that has been part of Marxist sociology. Empirical sociological researchers were inclined to pay too much attention to a specialized field to have an interest in constructing grand theories. Tominaga attempted to combine sociological surveys and macro-sociological theories based on liberalism which were represented by G. Simmel, E. Durkheim, M. Weber, and T. Parsons.

On the other hand, Shoji Kokichi (2002) presented a new global sociology based on the concepts of global citizens which seemed to be derived from the internationalism of the working class presumed by Marxist theory.

Koto Yousuke (2006) suggested that the relation between postmodernism and globalization could be understood by using modernity as an intermediary concept for theorizing postmodernization and globalization as twins. Owing to globalization, modernity has been penetrating into local elements of every society in the world. Now modernity seems to be an integral part of all of contemporary societies.

It was recognized that the first problem to be countered was the weakness connoted by sociology's conception of society equated with the nation-state or national society. To elucidate 'globalization' the concept of 'society' (macro-society or society as a whole) needed to be changed, because it did not have the effective analytical tools to study phenomena that crossed national borders or could not be subsumed within the nation-state. Taking this self-criticism as their starting point, scholars, principally Miyajima Takashi and Kajita Takamichi, pushed forward a program of cooperative research exploring transnational phenomena in Europe. Building on these efforts,

Kajita (1996) has continued to systematically theorize a trans-national sociology using the problems of the European Union as a frame of reference.

Globalization also opened a new point of view on modernity. Throughout the three periods of Japanese postwar sociology, the focus was on the various intrinsic forces that motivated progressive change in the transformation of modernity. However, globalization theory emphasized interaction between trans-social forces that crossed boundaries. Modernity was expressed as influences that invaded from outside and the native reaction to them. Restated as a spatial metaphor, modernity's transformation was promoted by competition between global pressures and local resistance. Therefore, key concepts for sociological analysis are those that set the stage for evaluating the coexistence of qualitatively different things. Hybridity, post-colonial, and multicultural are examples of terms that have gained favor.

Studies by Inagami Takeshi (Inagami and Whittaker, 2005) have splendidly documented the interaction between global and local in the field of Japanese corporations. Through a study of the Hitachi Corporation he showed how the two elements of the global and the local were integrated in the community firms (company as community). This type of enterprise organization should not be understood as being unique to Japanese society.

The paradigm shift in sociology driven by globalization is an ongoing project. For the first time, the most important issue seems to be how to conceptualize society. The choice of this issue probably originates in the failure of the previous period to adequately solve the problem. It is crucial to know whether we can imagine society separate from the nation-state, or the national society. At the next stage of growth of the discipline, changes in conceptions of society will inaugurate the new choice of key concepts, leading sociologists together with new conceptions of humanity and science. The singular challenge for today's Japanese sociology, as Ichinokawa Yasutaka (2006) also clearly stated, is how

to grasp interaction between globalization and the social as an important theoretical problem.

NOTE

1. This paper is a revised version of Koto Yousuke (1998) 'Sociology in Post-World War II Japan', from 'Introduction: Sociological Theory and Methods,' which is Chapter 1 in Koto Yousuke and Kosaka Kenji (eds) (1998) *Sociological Theory and Methods (Sociology in Japan Series, 1)*, pp. 19–42, trans. Scott North.

REFERENCES

Atarashi, M. (1995) *Kindai syakai no riron kouzou* (Social Theory and Modern Social Structure). Tokyo: Koseisha Koseikaku.

Ehara, Y. (1985) *Josei kaihou toiu shisou* (Social Philosophy of Women's Liberation). Tokyo: Keisou Shobou.

Fukutake, T. (1975) *Fukutake tadashi tyosaku syu* (Collected Edition of Fukutake Tadashi's Works). Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.

Fukutake, T., Hidaka, R. and Takahashi, A. (eds) (1957–8) *Kouza syakai gaku* (The University of Tokyo Press Sociology Series) (9 vols). Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.

Hashizume, D. (1986[1988]) *Bukkyou no gensetu sennryaku* (Language-games in Buddhism). Tokyo: Keisou Shobou.

Ichinokawa, Y. (2006) *Syakai* (The Social). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Imada, T. (1986) *Syakai riron no hukkatu* (Self-organization: Revival of Social Theory). Tokyo: Soubunsha.

Inagami, T. and Whittaker, D.H. (2005) *The New Community Firm: Employment, Governance and Management Reform in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inoue, S. (1975[1977]) *Asobi no syakaigaku* (Play and Sociology). Kyoto: Sekaishisousha.

Inoue, S, Ueno, C., Osawa, M., Mita, M. and Yoshimi, S. (eds) (1995–97) *Iwanami kouza syakai gaku* (Iwanami Shoten Sociology Series) (26 vols). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Kajita, T. (1996) *Kokusai syakai gaku* (Transnational Sociology). Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.

Koto, Y. (2006) *Modaniti no syakai gaku* (A Sociology of Modernity: From Modernization to Globalization). Kyoto: Minerva Shobou.

Maki, Y. (1976[1977]) *Kiryuu no naru oto* (The Sound We Can Listen in the Air Currents). Tokyo: Chikuma Shobou.

Ohmura, E. (1989) *Shinpan hikou no syakai gaku* (The Sociology of Deviance) (New edn). Kyoto: Sekaishisousha.

Orihara, H. (1969) *Kiki ni okeru ningen to syakai* (Men and Academics in Crisis). Tokyo: Miraisha.

Osawa, M. (1988) *Shintai no hikaku syakai gaku* (Comparative Sociology of the Body). Tokyo: Keisou Shobou.

Shimizu I. (1951) *Shakai shinri gaku* (Social Psychology). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Shiobara, T. (1967[1976]) *Sosiki to undou no riron* (Theory of Organizations and Movements: Sociology of the Process Mediating Contradiction). Tokyo: Shinyousha.

Shoji, K. (2002) *Nihon shakai gaku no chousen* (Japanese Sociology Tracks Japan's Predicaments). Tokyo: Yuhikaku.

Tokunaga, M. (1965[1968]) *Syakai tetugaku no hukek* (Rehabilitation of Social Philosophy). Tokyo: Serika Shobou.

Tominaga, K. (1965) *Shakai hendou no riron* (Theory of Social Change). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Tominaga, K. (2004) *Sengo nihon no syakai gatu* (Japanese Sociology after World War II). Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.

Uchida, R. (1980) 'Kouzou syugi igo no syakai gaku teki kadai' (Theoretical Sociological Problems in the Era of Post–structuralism), *Sisou* 676.

Ueno, C. (1985) *Shihon sei to kaji roudou* (Capitalism and Domestic Labor). Tokyo: Kaimeisha.

Yasuda, S. (1960) *Shakai chousa hando bukku* (Handbook of Social Research). Tokyo: Yuhikaku.

28

Sociology, Society and the State: Institutionalizing Sociological Practice in the Philippines

Emma Porio

INTRODUCTION

Within the framework of capitalist development and the modernity project of the state, sociology and sociological practice was established in several universities in the twentieth century (1900s–1970s), and afterwards in the institutions of government, civil society, and the private sector (1970s–2000s). Building on previous assessments of sociological traditions (Abad and Eviota, 1982; Bautista, 1994, 1999; David, 1982; Lamug, 1999; Miralao, 1999), this paper elaborates the political, economic, and institutional contexts of the development of sociology in the Philippines. Interviews with social scientists and sociologists affiliated with the Philippine Social Science Council and the Philippine Sociological Society supplement these assessments.

INSTITUTIONALIZING SOCIOLOGY UNDER THE COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL STATE

Alatas (2001) has argued that the national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal, is an 'exemplar for autonomous sociology' for his pioneering counter-Eurocentric analysis of Philippine colonial society in the late-nineteenth century. But the institutionalization of sociology was, however, part of the American colonial project, with the establishment of the modern education system and its social engineering program (1900–46). After WWII, the rehabilitation and growth of educational institutions saw the establishment and expansion of sociology departments and research institutes in several universities in different parts of the country (1946–70).

The introduction of sociology into the Philippine education system began over a hundred years ago. Dr. Jose Rizal's writings represent one of the early counter-Eurocentric social analyses in Asia. Rizal's novels, *Noli Me Tangere* (Touch Me Not), *El Filibusterismo* (The Revolutionary), and other essays analyzed the problems created by the Spanish colonial social structure during the late-nineteenth century (Alatas, 2001). Rizal's execution in 1896, however, cut short the development of this counter-hegemonic discourse. Interestingly, most chronicles of Philippine sociology do not mention this part of the genealogy (e.g. Abad

and Eviota, 1982). The failure to recognize this as part of the Philippine sociological tradition could be that while Rizal had many professional qualifications (medical doctor, essayist, novelist, linguist, etc.), he did not have any formal training in sociology. Bautista (1999: 382) also argues that early thinkers may have reflected the state of social thought but anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology as academic disciplines with defined theoretical and methodological perspectives, did not exist in the Philippines before the 1900s.

The failure of contemporary sociologists to recognize Rizal's writings as foundational for an autonomous sociology also reflects the Eurocentric influences on education. Moreover, the continuing contentious debate among Philippine historians and nationalists on whether Rizal, a reformist (as opposed to Andres Bonifacio, the leader of the Philippine Revolution) installed by the American colonizers as national hero, is the deserving one of this recognition, may have contributed to his writings being ignored by sociologists. But regardless of the politics of recognition surrounding these heroes, Rizal's social analysis, just like the writings of Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, and Isabelo de los Reyes (Mojares, 2006) can be regarded as a genealogical strand of Philippine social/sociological thought.

Formal sociology in the Philippines can be traced to early courses in penology, criminology, social ethics, and social philosophy offered at the University of Santo Tomas (established in 1611 by the Dominican friars) from 1896 to 1900 (Catapusan, 1954, cited in Bautista,1994). The teaching of these courses generally reflected a social philosophy orientation. In this context, Rizal's writings and those of other intellectuals could not be seen as foundational materials for teaching sociology, because their counter-hegemonic character rendered them at that time 'subversive' to the educational authorities.

As mentioned earlier, while sociology emerged in the West to explain large-scale social changes and upheavals in society,

Philippine sociology was part of the American colonial project (1900–46). This approach finds resonance in other third world societies where the modern education system, and social science in particular, were established under the colonial rubric. As argued by Abad and Eviota (1982: 31), 'the social sciences, notably sociology and anthropology, were not used as intellectual hardware for reordering society but, as prescriptions for living or as tools for colonial administration. As such, the introduction of sociology into the well-respected academic mainstream met no intellectual resistance'.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Philippine sociology was largely shaped by the dynamic growth and expansion of US sociology. The University of the Philippines (UP) in Manila, established in 1908 as the educational flagship unit of the American colonial government, served as a foil to the heavily sectarian education system dominated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy (Abaya et al., 1999). In 1911, UP offered the first course in sociology and in 1914 established the first sociology department, whereas Silliman University, founded by Protestant missionaries in the Central Visayas region, offered their first sociology course in 1919.

To equip the colonial bureaucracy, many Filipino scholars (*pensionados*) received study grants in the US for advance professional training. Returning scholars established teaching and research programs in the top universities of the country (Lamug, 1999). Serafin Macaraeg, the first Filipino to obtain a PhD in sociology (from the USA) in the 1920s, also became the first Filipino to head the sociology department at UP. He published the first sociology textbook on societal norms and cultural traditions in 1936 (Lamug, 1999). Reflective of the times, most of the teaching and research at that time focused on social problems and social philosophy.

From the late 1940s to the 1970s, sociology and other social science disciplines were introduced in universities in Metro Manila

and in regional centres such as Baguio, Cebu, Dumaguete, Cagayan de Oro, and Davao. During this period, structural–functionalism dominated the sociological imagination of many Filipino teachers and researchers. Sociologists trained in the US under the Fulbright study grants and other similar programs brought neo-positivism (e.g. Lundberg); functionalism (e.g. Durkheim, Parsons, Merton); and social psychological theories (e.g. Cooley, Mead). The early issues of the *Philippine Sociological Review* (Saloma, 2005) reflect these orientations. Filipino sociologists, trained in American universities with their heavy reliance on textbooks from the US, reinforced American influence on these disciplines (Lamug, 1999).

The need of the post-colonial bureaucracy for research and scientific information also led to the growth of research institutes in the national capital and regional centres, in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. The increasing emphasis on empirical research was supported by grants from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. The university-based research institutes created under this rubric, however, are currently facing a crisis of legitimacy, identity, and survival reflecting the tension between teaching and the demands of external donors whose interests could change rapidly, marginalizing institutes that are unable to move with the times.

These developments marked the start of systematic teaching and research programs in the universities, thus professionalizing and legitimizing sociology as a field of study. The presence of many social scientists and/or US trained sociologists led to the founding of the Philippine Sociological Society (PSS) in 1952 followed by the publication of the *Philippine Sociological Review* (PSR) in 1953. A pioneering social science organization, PSS, continues to be one of the pillars of the Philippine social science community today.

The collegiality and dynamism of social scientists made it possible for the establishment of the Philippine Social Science Council

(PSSC) in 1968. Sociologists[1] assumed leadership in the training and organization of young social scientists, with the formation of the PSSC Social Science Research Network (Bautista, 1994) and the institutionalization of social science research in universities outside the national capital.

With the exception of a few universities located in Manila and in regional centres, the faculty of most sociology departments are focused on teaching and administration. Until the 1960s, there was little systematic research conducted, as teaching was the main preoccupation of sociologists (Lamug, 1999). The development of a strong research tradition among social science and sociology departments has been hampered by the deployment of newly minted PhDs in teaching and administration:

> In the UP at around this time, returning PhDs were kept busy performing administrative tasks as deans, directors or heads of department – for these were the usual roles into which new PhDs returning from abroad were cast. The emphasis was to open master degrees – in a word, teaching rather than research. There was almost no time for them to do any serious writing or research after finishing their obligatory dissertations.
>
> (David, 1982: 15).

Although David (1982) was describing the academic situation at UP from the 1960s to the 1980s, this situation persists in most universities today. Sociologists are often called on to perform a wide range of social and political roles in teaching, research, administration, policy, and advocacy (Arce, 1969).

HEGEMONIC CHALLENGES UNDER AUTHORITARIAN RULE

By the 1970s, challenges to the functionalist hegemony and positivist methodologies became more visible, partly keeping pace with the worldwide trends, but more importantly because of the political repression and economic crisis experienced under the Marcos authoritarian regime. Marxist-inspired

theories challenged the dominance of structural–functionalism or systems theory, along with the increasing popularity of symbolic interactionist and phenomenological schools (Bautista, 1999).

This period also witnessed the rise of the national liberation movement and the search for alternative social science frameworks for analyzing Philippine social realities. The declaration of martial law in 1972 intensified the application of social science perspectives and techniques for the purposes of the state (Miralao, 1999). The rise of Marxist-inspired theoretical formulations in international social science, while providing exciting alternatives, also provoked intense debates and divisions among sociologists and political scientists. Meanwhile, the search for relevance found expression in analyzing pressing social issues like the agrarian unrest which culminated in the Marxist-inspired critiques and countermovement toward Marcos's authoritarian regime in the 1970s and 1980s (Bautista, 1999).

The martial law regime (1972–86) created fertile ground for Marxist and other brands of critical sociology. Randy David's advocacy for the dependency perspective and his scathing critiques of conventional sociological productions inspired many young sociologists (David, 1982, 1998). Responding to the poverty studies conducted by the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) in the 1970s, David argued that this type of sociology of poverty reflected more the poverty of sociology in the Philippines, for failing to provide an alternative theory to Oscar Lewis's culture of poverty. The IPC, with sociologists like Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner and the anthropologist Frank Lynch, has been accused by nationalists as being a conduit for American-sponsored research funds. But IPC, with its focused research on smooth interpersonal relationships (SIR), reciprocity, and other values marking Philippine society and culture, has been instrumental in shaping a generation of social scientists.

Another Marxist sociologist, Walden Bello, head of Focus on Global South,[2] wrote searing critiques of the Marcos regime during his self-imposed exile in the United States. The challenges posed by the likes of David and Bello were well known in public debates but these were not reflected in PSR during this period (Miralao, 1999). But in Bautista's (1999) assessment, among the social science disciplines, in the 1970s political science and sociology were influenced most by Marxism. This led to debates in public fora, the teaching of theory and praxis in classrooms, and students going underground to fight the Marcos regime.

While the authoritarian regime created, paradoxically, spaces for critical and public sociology, it also established several government agencies and research institutes to provide the technocratic base of the 'New Society' of the Marcos regime: Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP); National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA); UP Asian Center; and the Population Center Foundation. The demand for sociologists in different government planning and policy programs was greeted with enthusiasm or outrage, depending on one's political persuasion (Lamug, 1999). But many social scientists during Marcos's regime exercised self-censorship to survive the repressive dictatorship (Makil and Hunt, 1981). Critical and public sociology during this period was mainly articulated by sociologists at the UP, Third World Studies Center, and the IBON Data Bank.

To what extent have Marxist and neo-Marxist perspectives influenced Philippine sociology? Chester Hunt, one of the pillars of Philippine sociology, reflecting on his thirty years of sociological engagements, stated:

> While impressed with the survival of the association and the journal over the years, I remain sceptical of the Marxist and neo-Marxist perspectives that have attracted young sociologists because there are more basic problems like rapid population growth, poverty, etc. which need urgent attention. There is pressing need for more research on these problems and more mutual criticism among scholars.

(Hunt, 1984, cited in David, 1984)

Hunt's (1984, cited in David, 1984) assessment seemed a little harsh; he could have been more appreciative of the efforts of young sociologists to apply the Marxist framework to prevailing social issues, although their productions did not find print in the PSR.

Talledo (1993), reviewing Philippine sociology, concluded that by the end of the 1980s, the functionalist hegemony had been largely eroded. In his critical reading of articles in the PSR, he noted the dwindling influence of functionalism through advancements in the area of theory and political economy. He urged his colleagues to develop an emancipatory sociology to counteract the elitist tendencies of contemporary sociology. Bello (1997) echoed this view by urging fellow sociologists to analyze the politics and society that would lead to the weakening of elite control in Philippine political and social life.

Marxist and neo-Marxist discourses, challenging the dominance of structural–functionalism and positivist-oriented methodologies in sociological practice, marked this period. Ironically, the role of sociologists during this time also increased in the formulation and assessment of policies/programs of both government and non-government organizations (NGOs), especially in overseas development assistance programs (ODA). In subsequent decades, this pattern of sociological practice became more intense and complex.

DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSES, PLURALISM, AND CONVERGENCE IN THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

Several forces in the last two decades have shaped contemporary sociological practices. These include: (1) the increasing democratization and decentralization of political and civic life; (2) the declining dominance of the university as the centre of knowledge production; (3) increasing privatization and commodification of knowledge production; and (4) the emerging theoretical and methodological pluralism in sociological practice.

The 1986 People Power Revolution ushered in a democratic regime that led to the decentralization of politics and civil society participation in political affairs, coinciding with the neoliberal discourses of democratization, decentralization, and privatization that swept the world to inform social science discourses and practices. The end of authoritarian rule in 1986 also blurred the lines between critical sociology and policy sociology, because the new democratic regime created spaces for collaboration with the state. The growths of development-oriented NGOs also facilitated many underground activists' move to parliamentary struggles and their engagement in development-oriented research. The ascendance of participatory development approaches in research displaced positivist-oriented methodologies (e.g. surveys) and opened up spaces for meaningful engagement and opportunities for social scientists to apply them to problems of development and nation-building.

Partnership with the subjects of research and development marked a new ethos in research practice in the 1990s. There was a premium for action oriented research to aid development programs (Porio, 1998). New intervention strategies were identified by researchers, clients, and subjects of development; participatory research tools were in the forefront in bringing development to the people. Process documentation, one of the key participatory tools, provided policy directions and critical inputs in reorienting development programs (Veneracion, 1989). Participatory action research, then, became the politically correct research mode during this period, in part due to the creeping anti-intellectualism that started in the 1970s and was fed by the increasing dissatisfaction with universities, largely perceived as ivory towers, wherein research was far removed from social realities.

The development agenda and its discourses, to a large extent, shaped the research priorities of Philippine social science. This can be seen in the population studies of the 1970s to studies on social forestry, irrigation,

and agrarian reform of the 1980s; and the research and advocacy on gender, reproductive health and sexuality, environment, HIV-AIDs, street children/child labor, and civil society participation, in the last two decades. Perhaps with the exception of economists, participatory development approaches became the major trademark of most studies of development-oriented projects, largely supported by the government and ODA.

This trend is not unique to Filipino sociologists. Mukherji (1997[2001]) described Indian sociologists as having to attend to necessary 'distractions' such as evaluations and consultancies that leave them hardly any time to write theoretically-oriented research and pursue high-quality teaching. Shamsul's (1995: 101, cited in Alatas, 2001) notion of 'kratonization' or fragmentation of the social sciences in Malaysia into government, academic, or private sector types of engagement; where research and writing is largely driven by the interests of these sectors, confirms this.

The 1980s also saw the convergence of seemingly opposing theoretical and methodological perspectives as reflected in Gidden's theory of 'structuration' – integrating the political–economic structures with the symbolic interactionist's and Weberian emphasis on human agency or the integration of Marxian and Weberian perspectives with a macro–micro approach to the understanding of social order and action (Bautista, 1999). Following the Marxist and feminist revolution of the 1970s and 1980s, sociology has found a more convivial ground for theoretical and methodological convergence. Increasingly, multidisciplinarity, coupled with methodological triangulation, characterizes sociological practice from the 1990s to the present (Bautista, 1999).

Another factor that contributed to the theoretical and methodological pluralism in sociological practice was the emergence of an alternative training ground for Filipino sociologists. Up until the 1970s, most sociologists pursued their graduate studies in American universities, but during the last few decades, many sociologists have increasingly

gone to universities in Europe, Australia, and Singapore (Lamug 1999; Porio, 2006).

The declining dominance of the university as a center of epistemic culture also affected contemporary sociological practice. Evers and Gerke (2006) argued that in the contemporary knowledge economy, universities have lost their traditional monopoly of knowledge production. Accordingly, the mode of production has become polycentric, with knowledge networks becoming linked to organizations outside academia, with many research engagements and other forms of knowledge production moving to government, the private sector, and civil society organizations (CSOs). Social scientists are increasingly engaged outside academe (e.g. CSOs, ODA programs, or government) where they use their expertise from knowledge production to application (i.e. formulation, administration, and implementation of policies and programs). This global pattern, observed by Evers and Gerke (2006), also applies to sociological practice in the Philippines.

Restrictions imposed by donors on research/consultancy contracts limit access and dissemination of these types of knowledge production. Moreover, academic consultants are too busy to translate or codify their works for publication and dissemination, reinforcing the traditional inability of universities to keep pace with the latest researches. With multiple research actors and sites of production, there is a growing pluralism and convergence of theoretical and methodological perspectives in sociological research and other professional engagements.

Gibbons et al. (1994) observed that research outside academia has increased because academic rhythms and interests make it difficult to synchronize with the priorities and demands of multilateral institutions and the private sector for fast-track research, thus there is a proliferation of consulting firms, NGOs, and academics engaged in commissioned work where control of research and dissemination belong to the donor agency. Continuing demands from civil society groups

for more relevant research anchored on their advocacies of gender/human rights, agrarian reform, environmental/urban issues, and ancestral domain claims reinforce this trend. Sociological research, then, is shaped by demands for relevant and fast-track research by development-oriented agencies and CSOs.

Paradoxically, local sociological practice and knowledge production have become increasingly linked and tied to epistemic centres in the US, Australia, Singapore, and Europe. Through ODA research funds, certain segments of academia are linked to global or regional centers of knowledge production. In the process, selective incorporation and stratification among sociologists have emerged, with some more linked than others. Extra-academic considerations such as policy or economic issues thus dominate priorities in knowledge production, research agendas and social science writing (Shamsul, 1995: 101, cited in Alatas, 2001).

CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICS AND PROSPECTS FOR SOCIOLOGY

What is the contribution of sociology and sociologists to politics today? Randy David asked this question in a plenary session on sociological practices during the 2006 PSS National Conference held at the De La Salle University (Manila). He pointed out that sociology has been a force both for conservatism as well as for radical politics:

> Our graduates have no trouble finding secure positions in both the corridors of private corporations and public bureaucracies and in the dimly-lit 'safehouses' of the underground. . . . Whether sociology yields more technocrats or more activists, I think that will ultimately spell the difference. In periods of relative stability, the various tasks of social planning create ample opportunity for professionals with sociological vision. They work quietly in the (government and corporate) boardrooms. In times of political turmoil . . . the spotlight shifts to public intellectuals. Media audiences hang on to every word they speak or write as political analysts.
>
> (David, 2006)

By using Burawoy's (2004) division of labor, we can state that Philippine sociology is largely dominated by professional and policy sociology. It is only during brief historical moments (e.g. during the Marcos's authoritarian period (1972–86); People Power II in 2001 that saw the replacement of Estrada by Arroyo); or during the political–economic crises that have dogged the political administrations of Aquino, Estrada, and Arroyo) that critical and public sociological practices and practitioners become prominent in the media, exemplified by the political engagements of Randy David and of Walden Bello. They are often sought by the media because of their searing critiques of the government or of ODA (World Bank, the International Monetary Fund [IMF], and the Asian Development [ADB]). But with the exception of David and Bello, very few critical sociologists or public intellectuals want to be subjected to the appropriative tendencies of the media, specifically, and generally, the state.

In addition, Focus on the Global South, a transnational NGO dedicated to critiquing such neocolonial capitalist structures as theWorld Trade Organization (WTO), occupies a significant role in global advocacy initiatives like the World Social Development Forum and in ADB annual meetings. Research and advocacy institutes like The Third World Studies Centre and the IBON Data Bank provide critical analyses of mainstream sociological engagements. But, in spite of these initiatives, critical or public sociology is still not visible. Instead, sociologists have been central in institution-building, for example, in UP's Center for Integrative Studies, the Population Institute and Third World Studies, or at the Philippine Social Science Council.

What are the prospects for Philippine sociology in the twenty-first century? Bautista (1999) and Lamug (1999) predict that theoretical and methodological pluralism will blur theoretical boundaries, with debates focused on global–local intersections of the political economy and their implications for the Filipino's human security, social

welfare, and development. Research trajectories will continue to be problem-oriented, field-based, and multidisciplinary in character. Meanwhile, theoretical and methodological innovations focusing on trans-local modernities and practices will attract the attention of the younger cohort of sociologists.

Sociology today is also being renewed by the challenges posed by postmodernism and other forms of relativism. On the one hand, the struggle between scientific quantification and the explanatory subject and the interpretive bent toward cultural studies, on the other, continues to make the field more dynamic (Wallerstein, 1999). Debates and controversies about how to integrate concerns with subjectivity, objectivity, intersubjectivity, and practicality in theory and research have resulted in the emergence of critical theory and public sociology, emphasizing the usefulness of sociological analysis to various social groups. The challenges posed by postmodern and post-structuralist approaches have enlivened these ongoing debates. These challenges and debates are not only reflective of Philippine sociology but also find resonance in other parts of the world (Alatas, 2001; Mukherji, 1997[2001]).

Meanwhile, the call for relevant/pragmatic Filipino sociology will continue among some sectors. David (1998), for example, argued that the professional mantle of sociology prevents sociologists from addressing the urgent tasks and concerns of Filipino sociology. For him the development of a pragmatic Filipino sociology includes the following agenda.

(1) Research that focuses on national purposes and priorities aimed at provoking and enriching a broad public debate
(2) Study the factors impeding the attainment of these purposes at various points in history
(3) Craft programs, policies, and institutions aimed at solving the problems that have troubled the nation.

David's pleas for a pragmatic sociology reflect the hope of many Filipinos – that education and development research seek solutions to the poverty and increasing social inequality, and the crises of political and economic institutions that have plagued the nation. A growing body of studies has emerged on the issues identified by David (1998) but unfortunately, the studies lack the rigor and theoretical depth necessary to make a significant theoretical contribution, having been commissioned by funders to provide practical policy and programmatic solutions.

There is also a hierarchy among universities and research institutes, with the elite institutions in the metropolis able to give higher pay, more research opportunities and better working conditions for their academic staff (Lamug, 1999). Sociologists in these institutions have more opportunities to forge academic networks and consultancies with social scientists based in Europe/USA or are supported by multilateral institutions. The hierarchy among universities is, in part, a function of the distribution of government and private resources, including those of ODA programs, which support scholars and research institutes mainly from the metropolitan centres.

Sociology in the Philippines, however, despite its colonial background, has slowly broken from its colonial roots and strives for greater indigenization (Abad and Eviota, 1982). Philippine sociologists have also increasingly crafted relatively autonomous scholarship, exploring Philippine social transformations, anchored on global society as a point of departure for new spaces for sociological theorizing (Saloma, 2005). It is in the forefront in critiquing that globalization discourse and practices have resulted in a greater social divide in the Philippines and the Asian region. Sociologists have also made an impact in the area of policy and development research, where sociological frames, categories, and concepts have been applied to lend a broader insight to social realities. This can be seen in the participatory development researches of the IPC on the formulation of micro-policies in irrigation, gender, and social forestry, among others.

Do we have an indigenous or autonomous sociological tradition? Alatas (2001) recognized Jose Rizal's pioneering social analysis in

late-nineteenth-century Philippines. In keeping with this tradition and developments in other parts of the underdeveloped world, Philippine sociology continues to craft relatively autonomous spaces. Three major strands of counter-hegemonic discourses can be seen in today's sociological practice: (1) Marxist or neo-Marxist inspired critiques of mainstream sociology and development sociology; (2) alternative theorizing and methodological pluralism in development-oriented research; and (3) a move toward an indigenous sociology anchored on the use of the Filipino language and ethno-methodological approaches.

The first strand is exemplified by the writings of David (1982, 1998) and Bello (1997), while the second is illustrated by the development works inspired by postmodernist, feminist, and environmentalist critiques. The third is seen in the efforts made by some sociologists to resist the dominance of Western-based sociological theories and methodologies, through the use of the Filipino language and ethno-methodological approaches in the analysis of Philippine society and culture (Aquino, 1999). But the third strand of analysis has not yet influenced sociological theorizing among Filipino sociologists, such as in the disciplines of anthropology, history, and psychology. It has not made inroads in professional sociology (i.e. teaching and research in the universities) or in PSR, the official journal of the PSS; nor has this strand generated substantial publications and adherents to the movement.

To what extent, then, has Philippine sociology crafted a relatively autonomous tradition? Compared to the first half of the twentieth century, the last few decades have been marked by efforts to develop locally sensitive concepts and approaches. Some researchers use the national and/or local languages in which to publish (e.g. Pilipino, Cebuano, Kapampangan) and emphasize the richness and appropriateness of local conceptions for understanding Filipino culture and identity. But these efforts leave much to be desired.[3] Similar efforts, however, are also being made in other parts of the Asian region (Lee, 2000).

Sociological practice in the Philippines today is distinctly pluralistic, with its utilization of theoretical and methodological models from functionalist, critical, constructionist schools, enriched by participatory concepts/methodologies and trans-local applications. This pluralism is reflective of the increasing democratization as well as privatization of research in multiple sites of knowledge production.

Sociology in the Philippines has also slowly broken from its colonial roots and is striving for a relatively autonomous scholarship in analyzing its society and culture. It is relatively independent from the state and enjoys academic freedom, including publication of sociological work critical of the government, academic establishments, and other institutions of society. The inability to fully exercise its freedom is hindered only by a lack of resources. Philippine sociology is heavily dominated by professional and policy sociology, with critical and public sociology being visible only at certain critical historical junctures, such as during the Marcos authoritarian regime and in times of political and economic crisis.

As in other Southeast Asian countries, there is an increasing tendency toward localization of knowledge production in the Philippines. Ironically, this trend is also accompanied with increasing dependence on global support (Evers and Gerke, 2006).

NOTES

1. Sociologists and anthropologists like Dr. Mercedes of the UP Population Institute and Frank Lynch of the Ateneo de Manila's Institute of Philippine Culture were among the key social scientists who pioneered in the organization of the Philippine Social Science Council, a non-government organization of social science disciplinal organizations.

2. Focus on Global South, based at CUSRI, Chulalongkorn University, is an NGO focused on eroding the politics and programs of neoliberal development regimes of the global, political, and

economic order and providing counter-alternatives to the hegemony of these structures (e.g. WTO, World Bank, IMF).

3. Based on interviews with Dr. Clemen Aquino of the Sociology Department, University of the Philippines-Diliman and Dr. Erlinda Alburo of the University of San Carlos, Cebu City.

REFERENCES

Abad, R. and Eviota, E (1982) 'Philippine Sociology in the Seventies: Trends and Prospects', *Philippine Sociological Review* 30: 131–50.

Abaya, E., Lucas-Fernan, M.L. and Noval-Morales, D. (1999) 'Changing Terms of Engagement: A Review of the History of Anthropology in the Philippines', in J. Miralao (ed.) *The Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation, Vol 1*. Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council.

Alatas, F. (2001) 'Alternative Discourses in Southeast Asia', *Sari* (19): 49–67.

Alatas, F. (forthcoming) 'Religion and Reform: Two Exemplars for Autonomous Sociology in the non-Western Context' (this volume).

Aquino, C. (1999) 'Mula sa Kinaroroonan: Kapwa, Kapatiran at Bayan sa Agham ng Lipunan' (Origins of Identity: Self, Citizenship, and the Nation in Social Science), Professorial Chair Papers, Series 1999, University of the Philippines.

Arce, W. (1969) 'Keynote Address in the 1969 PSS National Conference', University of the Philippines, Manila, 20 October.

Bautista, M.C.R.B. (1994) 'Reflections on Philippine Sociology in the 1990s', *Journal of Philippine Development* 38(21): 1–25.

Bautista, M.C.R.B. (1999) 'The Social Sciences in the Philippines: Reflections on Trends and Developments', in V. Miralao (ed.) *The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation*, pp. 381–409. Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council.

Bello, W. (1997) 'Sociology and the Centennial: Considerations on Democracy in the Philippines and Southeast Asia', *Philippine Sociological Review* 45(1–4): 216–31.

Burawoy, M. (2004) 'Public Sociologies: Contradictions, Dilemmas, and Possibilities', *Social Forces* June 2004 82(4): 1603–18.

David, R. (1982) 'Sociology and Development Studies in the Philippines', *Philippine Sociological Review* 30(1–4): 15–32.

David, R. (1984) 'Philippine Sociology in Search of an Alternative Paradigm: Trends in Philippine Sociology', Diamond Jubilee Lecture Series, Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines.

David, R. (1998) 'Philippine Sociology in Search of an Alternative Paradigm: Trends in Philippine Sociology', Lecture Series, Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines.

David, R. (2006) 'Public Sociology and the Political Role of the Intellectual', paper presented at the plenary session, The Practice of Sociology, Philippine Sociological Society (PSS) National Conference, De La Salle University, Manila, 19–20 October.

Evers, H.D. and Gerke, S. (2006) 'Glocalizing Local Knowledge: Social Science Research on Southeast Asia, *Sojourn: Journal of Social Science in Southeast Asia* (21): 1–21.

Gibbons, M., Nowotny, H. and Limoges, C. (1994) *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage Publications.

Lamug, C. (1999) 'Towards a Filipino Sociological Imagination', in V. Miralao (ed.) *The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation*, pp. 270–85. Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council.

Lee, S-H. (2000) 'The Rise of East-Asian Social Science's Quest for Self-Identity', *Journal of World Systems Research* VI(3) (Fall/Winter): 768–83. Special Issue: Festschrift for Immanuel Wallerstein.

Makil, P. and Hunt, C. (1981) 'The Impact of Martial Law on Sociologists in the Philippines', *PSSC Social Science Information* (January–March).

Miralao, V. (1999) 'The Philippine Social Sciences in Balance: Reflections at the Close of the Century', in V. Miralao (ed.) *The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation*, pp. 344–73. Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council.

Mojares, R. (2006) *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge*. Quezo City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Mukherji, P.N. (1997[2001]) 'Introduction', in P. N. Mukherji, J. Aikara and C. Sengupta (eds) 'Sociology in South Asia: Heritage and Challenges', proceedings of the ISA Regional Conference for South Asia, Mumbai, 25–27 March.

Porio, E. (1998) 'Participatory/People-Centered Development: A Social Science Discourse in Philippine Politics and Governance', paper presented at the National Social Science Congress IV's Pre-Congress III on Philippine Social Sciences and Public Policy and Practice, Philippine Social Science Center, Quezon City, 22–23 May.

Porio, E. (2006) 'Globalization and Vietnamese Sociology in the Asian Region', Keynote Address, First Congress of the Vietnamese Sociological Association, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, 5–6 Dec.

Saloma, C. (2005) 'Sociology's Promise', paper presented at the 2005 meeting of the Philippine Sociological Society, Philippine Social Science Council, 17 March.

Talledo, T. (1993) 'Philippine sociology in the nineteen eighties: A review', PhD thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines.

Veneracion, C. (1989) *A Decade of Process Documentation: Synthesis and Reflection*. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture.

Wallerstein, I. (1999) *The End of the World as We Know it: Social Science for the Twenty-first Century*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

29

Reproducing the Centre at the Periphery: Antipodean Traditions of Sociology

Charles Crothers[1]

Although Australia and New Zealand (NZ) are the antipodes to Europe, and are also far away from North America, they are nevertheless strongly linked to them, especially the 'mother country' UK and the western hegemon USA. Although as 'settler capitalist' countries they include novel features arising from their shorter history and particularities including their interactions with the indigenous peoples, their social formation is similar in many ways to the metropolitan countries.

Both Australia and NZ have had long periods of indigenous settlement, followed by extensive settlement of almost entirely British migrants who were involved in farming, mineral extraction and small-scale import-substitution industry. The populations of both countries have grown steadily from continuing migration and internal population growth with British stock supplemented since the mid-twentieth century by southern European and then Asian migrants, together with Pacifica people. The last four decades have required major economic and political shifts, with the antipodes being excluded from their traditional British markets for farm produce and the substantial impact of neoliberalist doctrines.

The relationship between the metropolitan core and this periphery also extends to cultural matters. Indeed, Connell suggests that this relationship is central: 'We cannot begin to understand the history of antipodean sociology without recognizing it as a story about colonial and post-colonial intellectuals, in a setting that was created by settler colonialism and continues to be structured by marginality in global economic and cultural networks' (2005: 4). Instead, Connell advocates that 'Austral[as]ian sociology should come home to the south' (2005: 24). This chapter will flesh out the history of Australasian sociology with particular reference to the theme of the core and the Australasian periphery.

New Zealand, while smaller and yet even more distant, shares the same culture and, given a high level of interaction between the two counties, their social structures interpenetrate to a considerable degree. With more limited mineral resources, NZ struggles economically and has a stronger relationship with its indigenous people: the Maori. Therefore, coupling the two into a single

historical account of sociology is relatively easy even though the situation is parallel, rather than a similar development joined by common history.

SOME HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ISSUES

The history of sociology in Australia and New Zealand has not yet been the focus of sustained attention, although there has been a gradual accumulation of material and the beginning of substantial historical investigations such as the very useful source-book which was assembled by John Germov and Tara McGee (2005), and other sources.

This history can be seen to take place in four phases: a long and very uneven pre-history of early development; a short sharp development phase; a long period of relatively constant reproduction; and the latest period of re-adjustment.

A LONG PRE-HISTORY: 1769–1960

During the nineteenth century Australasia provided the raw social research data which was then deployed by intellectuals of the metropole. There was also writing in which locals participated in metropole debates, with varying inclusion of local material. Australasia also has a long story of supplying some of its more talented local intellectuals through migration to the bright intellectual lights of the metropole.

Social thought in Europe had long been strongly influenced by an array of different societies and civilizations discovered through voyages or expeditions to Asia, Africa and America, and then Australasia. Connell (2005: 5) suggests that this has been the major theme in sociology, although other sources of experience came from Europe's own history and preceding societies and cultures, and also the convulsions of internal class situations.

The usual roster of 'colonial' knowledge providers were present in Australasia: explorers, settlers, colonial administrators, missionaries, travellers, scientists (e.g. Charles Darwin's journals). While this material was of some local relevance, it was mainly destined for consumption in the metropole. Unfortunately, many errors were also exported or arose in interpretation. One particular thread arose from Spencer and Gillen's expedition to central Australia in 1899, which was seen as very important by the Durkheim circle and others. Durkheim saw Australia as a strategic research site containing the most primitive and simplistic of all societies. By this time, though, local anthropological establishments had been set up and had checked the extent of error. Subsequently, Australasian (including Pacific) data and research activity have had marked impacts within particular periods of anthropology (see, for example, Kuper, 1996), but that is not part of the present story.

Some Australasian settlement was as 'designer societies', which attempted to implement their underlying theories. The repressive theory behind convict settlements needs little attention, but the colonizing theory of Wakefield is more interesting (Pappe, 1951; Prest et al., 2001; Turnbull, 1957). Several NZ settlements as well as Adelaide were founded by companies which deployed Wakefield's partially successful ideas about the way in which a full slice of a capitalist economy needed to be transported in order to allow the proper economic development of the settlement through the availability of an appropriate mix of capital and labour, together with the necessary back-up of financing infrastructure and the continuing migration of further settlers. Wakefield's theory was also triumphantly seized upon by Marx (Part VIII, Chapter XXXIII 'The Modern Theory of Colonisation' in Vol. 1 of his *Capital* 1967 [1990]), who claimed that Wakefield partially confirmed his own ideas about the composition and dynamics of capitalism.

There was also local writing. William Jevons (an economist) carried out a pioneering

survey of Sydney in the 1850s along the lines of those conducted earlier in UK industrial towns, anticipating some of the conceptual and methodological innovations of later UK surveys. However, the manuscript apparently lay unheeded until rediscovered in the 1920s (Davison, 2005 [2003]). In 1878, W.E. Hearn (an Irish classicist and lawyer) published *The Aryan Household* in Melbourne, which compared different civilizations. Another antipodean 'outlier' was James Collier (1846–1925) who moved to the antipodes (first to NZ as parliamentary librarian and then to Sydney in 1882 for health reasons) having served earlier for ten years as Herbert Spencer's research assistant (Waterhouse, 2006 [1981]). Collier published historical sociological commentaries (on colonization) in various journals including the *American Journal of Sociology*. New Zealand's early period contribution was the Inspector of School's civics textbook (Pope, 1887), which had a broad concern with social integration.

It was not entirely surprising that such early emanations of sociology arose in the antipodes, since books by Comte, Spencer, Marx and others circulated very widely beyond the metropole, and social issues were taken up by Australasian universities and newspapers.

During the 1890s and the 1900s, the antipodes became a hotbed of pragmatic social reform which drew on theorists such as Edward Bellamy, Henry George, Karl Marx, and John Stuart Mill (Coleman, 1987). Under New Zealand's Liberal governments, and also the State of Victoria, there were a few statistical research projects carried out by government officials (e.g. studies of household budgets). The range and speed of antipodean reforms attracted a raft of metropolitan observers, for example the Webbs in 1907 (Hamer, 1974). Such visits did not inspire local social science research activity, although their accounts, together with those from local commentators, were widely discussed abroad.

During the early-nineteenth century, interest in a sociological viewpoint was occasionally expressed. For example, Andersen (a professional philosopher) picked up on US (European) developments in sociology in his 1911 address to the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science and suggested that sociology would be a useful addition to other social science studies. Clarence Northcott wrote (and then published) his Columbia University dissertation supervised by Giddings (1918) on 'Australian Social Development', and later returned to Australia.

During the pre-war and inter-war periods, sociology was somewhat mysteriously included as a university subject; it appeared in 1909 in the philosophy calendar at the University of Sydney, and then remained in the MA as a substantial option until 1925. Other explorations of sociology included the Melbourne Workers Education Association (WEA). In the then federal University of New Zealand's curriculum, a diploma in social science was offered, and although this was not formally taught, apparently several students each year took the examination (Timms, 1970).

However, by the end of the 1920s these torches of sociological illumination were extinguished, partly in clashes with academic economics and then political science, with a partial exception of some sociology apparently submerged within anthropology curricula at the University of Sydney. Although there was concern about social conditions during this period, intensified by the deleterious depression, Australian urban social conditions were not dramatic enough until the 1930s to inspire moral reformers and then lead to social science activity. Sociological perspectives had to compete with alternative framings of social problems: because of the widespread resort to eugenics thinking, social difficulties were often framed more as medical concerns than being socially pertinent.

For intellectuals, because of the very limited local intellectual activity, isolation from Europe and also from other centres within Australasia was keenly felt, and there were no local arrangements which compensated

for this; there were no research institutes or philanthropies to fund research. As a result many locals (who might otherwise have helped build an indigenous sociology) left, for example Gordon Childe in 1922 – later to develop scientific prehistory; Elton Mayo – later to develop industrial sociology in the US – and others. New Zealand lost Peter Buck to US anthropology and Condliffe to US economic history.

In the mid- to late-1930s, the development of sociology in a broader sense was given a definite fillip, in part through the establishment of the Australian and the New Zealand Councils of Educational Research (ACER and NZCER) with Carnegie money, and under a general influence exerted by the Institute of Pacific Relations (Thomas, 1974), and through a visit to both countries by American rural sociologists Kolb and de Brunner. Some of the work of these CERs was distinctly sociological and they sponsored the work and publication of sociological community studies (Somerset, 1938 [1974]). In New Zealand a social research unit was established within the government, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR), and this investigated the living standards of dairy farmers and tramway workers, until it was (somewhat mysteriously) closed down, in part because of the controversial findings, and in part because of the general decline of government energy with the advent of World War II (Robb, 1987). Even so, during WW II, an industrial psychology unit attempted to facilitate New Zealand's industrial war effort and rural sociology was developed within the Department of Agriculture (Carter, 1986). During the immediate postwar years, at Victoria University of Wellington, an ethno-psychology 'school' studying Maori communities and 'character' had considerable influence.

There was even more activity in Australia during this period, although mainly a few years later during WW II. The Kolb and de Brunner visit inspired some rural surveys. In Sydney during the 1940s, Elkin (Professor of Anthropology) directed some ethnographic studies of a New South Wales (NSW) mining town and of kinship and family life in rural NSW, and also used survey data to study wartime social integration (Connell, 2005: 16). In Melbourne, the Professor of Psychology (Oscar Oeser, originally South African) with UNESCO funding 'conducted elaborate observational and interview studies in a Victorian country town, in schools and communities of suburban Melbourne, and in seven factories. The topics included class-consciousness, job satisfaction, industrial relations, family life and so on' (Connell, 2005: 17). Roy Morgan poll data was available from the 1940s and there was also scholarly use of census data. This network of research activity continued until a decline set in during the 1970s, undermined in part as more theoretical and macro-level issues loomed larger in sociologists's eyes. Davison argues that sociology's late appearance in Australia 'had been preceded, and possibly delayed, by the vitality of an earlier tradition of social investigation – Christian, amateur, empirical and often paternalistic: the social survey' (2005 [2003]: 171). Surveys were carried out from a wide range of academic departments, covering community studies, immigrant studies, social grading studies; voting behaviour, social area analysis, sociology of religion and the study of power elites. (These topics and methodology continued to be the meat of young Australasian sociology departments when these were established.)

As the period following WW II lengthened there was an increasing move away from broad concerns with social reform towards the more limited concerns with conformity and consensus. Moreover, for much of this period and especially during the early 1960s, state security concerns, during a time rife with paranoia about communism, hovered close to sociological work. For example, Bryson (Germov and McGee, 2005) recounts the history of her experience of surveillance.

Over a century proto-sociology had unsteadily developed in the antipodes in uneven growth spurts and retreats across a range of sites and topics, and taking markedly divergent forms.

THE FOUNDING PERIOD: 1950–60

More formal development of sociology did not really 'kick in' until the late 1950s, when it began to be taught at several universities – sometimes within departments of social work, psychology, anthropology or political science. Then, in something of an unseemly rush, almost all of the other universities plunged into the provision of sociology, and in particular, the appointment of chairs.

Sociology expanded rapidly by capturing, to some very considerable degree, the great outpouring of interest in things social that accompanied student unrest and the social movements of the 1960s. The expansion of the welfare state, rising social liberalism, democratization of universities and also rising nation-building concerns brought with them a broad interest in the study of social change.

All the Australian and New Zealand departments passed through rocky gestation periods, with high staff turnover and sometimes difficulties with activist students. Sociology was very much a brash young discipline, somewhat marginalized for its wilder proclivities, and often housed on the edges of campuses in makeshift accommodation. The early period was bumpy in some part because the new sociology departments were competing in a world market gutted by the demands of very many universities for new staff. When staff were hired many did not stay long. As Hancock et al. (1996: 330) comment, referring to Canterbury University: 'Our first appointments came from the Netherlands, the USA, India and Czechoslovakia. It was not until late in 1969 when they were able to make two good English appointments from one advertisement that the staffing crisis ended'.

Several commentators (Timms, 1970) developed an 'Oxbridge' or 'Ancient Universities' theory which posited that sociology's late development, and in particular its exclusion from the oldest Australasian universities, stemmed from stonewalling from conservative senior dons with Oxbridge backgrounds. (Politicians on State University

Councils also may have inhibited possibilities, especially earlier in the interwar period.) Sociology indubitably was regarded with some suspicion as a patently exuberant American subject, which magnetically drew in a nervousness-inducing fringe of radical students and (some) staff. But this interpretation has been hotly disputed: rather, it has also been argued that gatekeepers from other disciplines were in fact kindly disposed and many acted as sponsors for the development of sociology. Clearly, both processes were at work, with several 'sponsoring' disciplines also providing new sociology staff converted over from these other disciplines.

The reasons behind the late timing of the local development of sociology are difficult to pin down. Compared to the postwar period in the UK, where town planning, social services and the management of various nationalized industries led to the employment of sociologists, this demand did not exist to the same degree in Australasia. On the other hand, a more positive influence on sociology's development came with more rational university planning from this period (1960s) onwards, which provided a framework that allowed the establishment of new departments.

Connell argues that 'Australian sociology constituted itself as a branch office of metropolitan sociology, importing metropolitan methods and topics in order to address a local audience about local versions of social problems' (2005: 18). But there was neither a metropolitan audience for local contributions nor a local interest in the implications of the local for the metropolitan. This pattern locked in as the quality of Australasian sociology improved, since more successful Australasian sociologists published overseas, leading to further conformity to the metropolitan standards required. Now, Australasia was treated as similar to metropolitan societies and differences were resolved.

Topics prominent in earlier years included 'religion, status and prestige, social stratification, divorce, marriage and family, urbanization, prostitution, political leadership, women, mass media, immigrants and sociology itself'

(Connell, 2005). During the 1960s, the expansion of the welfare state and rising social liberalism (and democratization of universities) brought with them a broad concern for the study of social change, especially urbanization and migration, together with a growing concern with nation-building.

Australasian society was treated as an outpost of Europe, sharing many common features, rather than as a settler colony. Aboriginals and Maori were not seized upon as foci of attention which would have aided a unique antipodean sociology, but were instead relegated to anthropology. (However, sociology sometimes included Aboriginals or Maori as 'migrants' or 'minorities' within their own society, alongside the study of the most recent overseas-born settlers: Connell, 2005: 21).

Local empirical studies of sociologists support this portrait. In a 1974 survey, Baldock and Lally found that of those local sociologists who claimed explicit theoretical positions there were three symbolic interactionists, two functionalists, three Marxists, three Weberians and one Durkheimian. Most respondents did not provide any theoretical affiliation. Not only were such affiliates all dead but even radical antipodean sociologists followed European figures and US trends. Moreover, 'Baldock and Lally dredged hard for original theoretical contributions by ANZ sociologists, but their bucket came up practically empty' (Connell, 2005: 3).

Bottomley (1974), replicating a US study, suggested that the climate of opinion among the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand (SAANZ) members is more towards what we might call the 'humanistic' view of sociology (and away from the 'scientistic' view) than was the case in the USA in 1964. 'Local feeling is strong that the "value-free ideal" is no longer tenable, as is local scepticism of traditional scientific method as an adequate epistemological paradigm for sociology' (Bottomley, 1974). In Baldock and Lally's survey (1974) some respondents saw New Zealand sociology as functionalistic, pragmatic and involved with low-level empiricism, and such comments seem fair.

The distinctiveness of Australasia sociology was a concern in the 1960s and 1970s but beyond 'busting "myths" about Australia' (Connell, 2005: 21) did not produce solid sociological knowledge. During the 1970s there was a short-lived debate concerning local hiring preferences. However, this took a different twist when some migrant sociologists who had taken up local citizenship saw themselves as local.

THE 'GOLDEN AGE': 1970S THROUGH MID-1990S

Once the teething problems of the founding period had been overcome, Australian and New Zealand sociology settled down to a period of 'sustainability' – its golden age – in which the discipline was washed by slow-moving currents, but without any seismic disturbances. Baldock's broad summary of Australasian sociology (2005[1994]: 590) holds true for the period of some thirty years between the early 1970s and mid-1990s.

Baldock (2005[1994]) suggests that developments in Australasian sociology were framed within four imported traditions each of which was centred on particular sites: positivist (located particularly at the Australian National University, also Queensland although here positivism took an Erik Olin Wright related Marxisant twist); Marxist (Macquarie); Weberian (Flinders, and also University of New South Wales where Encel also provided Weberian elite analyses); and feminist (supported by a network rather than any one centre).

In a somewhat overlapping analysis, Austin-Broos (2005 [1989]) identified a particular Australian tradition arising in reaction to work in Australian history and political economy. A central point of departure was Hancock's *Australia* (1930) which argued for the centrality of the state in underwriting capitalist developments. Concerns with inequality moved beyond class to ethnicity and gender.

In the early stages of its postwar development, sociology in Australia and NZ was heavily influenced by American sociology. This situation has changed markedly, with very few exceptions; textbooks are produced locally or come from Britain, and staff members are no longer recruited from the US.

(Baldock, 2005 [1994]: 286)

Katy Richmond saw the most important feature then as British dominance. 'Not only were Australia academic connections mostly with British sociologists and British institutions until the end of the 1970s, but also the structure of university life and the general ethos about what it was to "be" an academic were British to the core' (2005: 60). Therefore, postgraduate links with UK universities were strong.

Only a few specialist US theorists were subsequently drawn upon (Garfinkel, Erik Olin Wright). Instead, there has been a strong European and UK influence (with the UK influence often mediating theoretical ideas developed in Europe). Moreover, this was backed up through migration patterns. 'In recent years there has been a new wave of such immigration. A number of influential British theorists, already well known internationally, have moved to Australia or New Zealand; all are British men in their early forties who have been appointed to professorships' (Baldock, 2005 [1994]: 287). However, many of these have not been too locally engaged and their appointments may have cut off promotion routes for local staff. Australian sociology departments have also been host to a set of scholars with wider ranging interests, many refugees from Hungary; hence some mention is made of a 'Budapest School' (Beilharz, 1995).

Some sociologists contributed to the development of interdisciplinary Australian (and New Zealand) studies, although worldwide there are only six or so centres, either in the USA or the UK. While this area studies approach carried some sociological material, this is marginalized.

Baldock and Lally (1974) suggested that New Zealand and Australian sociology has been dominated by studies in the following areas (and Baldock repeats this listing in her 1994 treatment):

- demography and family-related studies
- studies of ethnic minorities
- areal and community studies
- social stratification
- sociology of education
- study of political behaviour.

On the other hand, Scott (1978) and later Crothers and Gribben (1986) show that New Zealand sociology topics sprawl across the full range of topic areas. (For an updated bibliometric study of the whole period for both countries, see Crothers, 2007.) The variety is too great to be readily summarized. 'Antipodean sociology had developed new areas of specialisation since the 1970s: deviance and social control, sociology of sport and leisure, rural sociology, work and industry, social policy and interdisciplinary work in cultural studies, health studies, socio-legal studies, youth studies and women's studies' (Baldock, 2005 [1994]: 288).

ASSOCIATIONS AND INFRASTRUCTURE

From the time of its more formal establishment, sociology in Australia and New Zealand has been flanked by supporting associational structures. SAANZ was set up in the early 1960s, with a federal structure guaranteeing New Zealand representation (there was a New Zealand Vice-President and another New Zealand representative). A New Zealand branch of SAANZ was formed in the early 1970s with an inaugural local conference and an unbroken stream of annual conferences since, following a vague geographical schedule of circulation among centres. A portion of the SAANZ fee was funnelled back to the local branch. The two structures did not entirely fit together, however, with the New Zealand representatives

to the parent body not being tightly tied to the New Zealand executive. On the whole, though, intellectual contact between the two countries across the Tasman Sea was not intensive (and that remains largely true). The two bodies were able to continue to work with, and alongside, each other for over two decades. Nevertheless, through the 1980s, pressure built for a separation, which was completed by decade's end. The Australia/New Zealand difference supposedly lay in the higher proportion of non-academic (government) sociologists amongst the NZ membership and in its heightened focus on ethnic relations; but such emphases have proven quite ephemeral.

There has been an only limited Australasian involvement in the International Sociological Association (ISA) and especially with ISA Research Committees. Presumably, holding the ISA 2002 conference in Brisbane has severely abated this international linkage deficit.

The widening development of sociology in the early 1970s saw challenges to the intellectual authority of the older professors, especially through the management of the journal, and those running the association. These changes increased democratization and feminization. Despite reasonably small bases, Australasian sociology had had various special interest groups, but these come and go, such as feminist, medical, etc.

Antipodean sociology has been underwritten by supportive local book publishing. Melbourne University Press was the original publisher of sociology books and then the local Allen and Unwin Australia branch took over. 'But it is hard to see in Allen and Unwin's "study in society" series any intellectual program. It looked like a shelf of unconnected PhD theses . . . few discussed each other' (Connell, 2005: 21). Moreover, although the local sociology journal, the *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* (ANZJS) published a solid stream of local studies, there were few locally-based controversies or cumulations in the journal's pages.

In Australia (but not New Zealand) academic sociology journals are supported by a small raft of more general cultural and social commentary journals. Beilharz and Hogan remain pessimistic about the quality of social criticism in Australia:

> In the absence of a French culture of criticism, an American tradition of public intellectuals and independent magazines or philanthropic funding, a German tradition of foundation funding or a British tradition of independent journalism there are relatively few resources for public intellectual work. (2005 [2004]: 412)

Until very recently, Australasian sociology was hampered by limited funding opportunities. Often, the assumption from potential funders was that social research is cheap. More recently, there has been an increasing setting-up of research teams and organizations. Even so, there have been very few think tanks, although political ones have played a highly visible public role since the 1990s. Some research institutes have established very solid reputations. The development of a more generous funding environment has been accompanied by a heightened pressure to 'publish or perish'. These larger potential hoards of research funding treasure have allowed the setting-up of several important research projects. However, material from these large-scale projects seems yet to penetrate into broader sociological discussions, let alone the undergraduate curriculum or texts.

CIRCA-MILLENIUM: DOWN TO THE PRESENT

Since the early 1990s, several developments have affected Australasian sociology. Sociology is now taught in a slightly wider range of tertiary institutions. However, in many sites, university reorganization has often seen sociology as a discipline absorbed into broader 'schools', although it may continue to enjoy some autonomy as a 'programme' within the school: only a few universities

hold out with a continuing stand-alone sociology department. The one professor per department rule has now been breached in both directions with some sociology programmes remaining 'chairless' for extended periods while others have sprouted several.

It is always difficult to measure the extent of involvement of sociologists in other 'disciplines' or subjects, but this is likely to be considerable. In this most recent period sociology has increasingly had to fight against a closing-in horde of speciality interest subjects (women's studies, criminology, cultural/communication studies). One result of this competition, coupled with internal tendencies within the discipline, has been the widespread abandonment of compulsory teaching curricula (except for those intending to pursue the discipline at postgraduate level) so that requirements for compulsory courses in theory and methods have been dropped by many departments, and there is a premium on developing 'sexy' courses (or courses with 'sexy' titles) to attract recalcitrant student demand. Whereas formerly

> the curriculum of the sociology major in most Australian universities was relatively settled and standard. This consisted of a general 1st year topic with the uninviting title of sociology 1; second year sociology constituted by a mixture of more theory and social research methods; a third year composed of different sub-topics: a rather solid and stolid undergrad training.

> (Anleu, 2005 [1998]: 314)

New curriculum areas include citizenship and human rights, the body, food and eating, risk, women's health, feminism, media, law, consumption, globalization . . . bioethical, security . . . Moreover, 'Sociology . . . now appears again as it did earlier before the 1960s in other places – in public health, in legal studies, cultural studies, political science, poverty and policy research' (Beilharz and Hogan, 2005 [2004]: 294) Larger sociology departments are adding such auxiliary courses to capture student numbers.

Since the 1980s especially, some global publishers have identified Australian writers in culture and theory as central actors in these fields internationally. Several journals, such as *Cultural Studies*, were founded in Australia (Frow, 2007). There have also been strong international feminist contributions from Australian sociologists. Regarding local creativity and international significance, Connell rather vaguely suggests that 'things have moved on since 1974, and the bucket would not come up quite so empty now' (2005: 4).

Crook on the other hand, while agreeing that sociology needs to tell better stories, suggests some that might be more grounded in applied aspects.

> A diet of unrelieved gloom focused on the evils of class, patriarchy and racisms or the threats posed by environmental crisis and the global economy has a strong appeal to me, but not, I think, to most 18-year old North Queenslanders. . . . Perhaps we need to tell them stories about the skills they can acquire to help them make what they want of their lives, or about the ways their communities can be strengthened, or the types of translational institutions that might promote ecological sustainability. (2005[2003]: 427)

Organizational arrangements have also settled down. Anleu ends her historical commentary ironically, pointing out that long after the 1970s revolution in the Sociological Association there has been a re-professionalizing of the Association: for example in the appointment of editors from the council rather than the general membership. However, book publishing is contracting, especially among some university presses. Nevertheless, some marginal and aggressive publishers continue to put out local sociology material.

Interestingly, a study of the 'Most Important Books in Australian Sociology' (MIBAS) carried out in 2003 (Skrbis and Germov (2004) allows a partial retrospective on what has been achieved to date. (It has also generated follow-up exercises: Glaser, 2004; Phelan, 2000) Books were nominated by The Australian Sociological Association (TASA) executive and then the top ten voted for on line by TASA members. In the end, no books from the 1960s were found to be prominent, and the focus was on those from the 1980s (with no subsequent books

being included). The age of important books was younger than that found in other overseas studies. Connell was prominent in writing four of the top ten books voted for. Skrbis and Germov (2004) comment that, 'His popularity derives from a combination of the intellectual depth of his scholarship, his timely research interests and appropriate attention to the interconnectedness of various sociological dimensions and problems'.

Over the last immediate period (since the millennium) the two countries have differed considerably in terms of the general political situation. In Australia there has been open hostility to sociology from the Howard government. The reverse has been true in NZ, where sociology is supported by and to some extent implicated in the Labour government program. New Zealand sociology has long had some flirtation with those in power (especially in national politics) and this has perhaps escalated in the recent period, with two senior cabinet ministers having sociology backgrounds Within universities there is a widespread trend, too, for sociologists to be sucked up to become academic bureaucrats. While this should represent a major opportunity for sociology to have a positive influence, there are no obvious signs of any advantage, and indeed it is at least as likely that these links have distracted from disciplinary progress.

CONCLUSION

The relationship between Australasian sociology and the sociologies of North America and of the UK and continental Europe has changed markedly over time. The indigenes of Australasia attracted considerable early attention, extending earlier core interests in other peripheries, while in the same broad period the early settlers and then later the turn of the century 'progressive movement' attracted much low level but also some theoretical concern. Over the period since initial settling the strengths and self-consciousness of local sociology has steadily grown.

Early social science was a comprador activity linking local scholarship with immediate phenomena, usually ignored at the metropole. But occasional local scholars also contributed to the centre, or at least attempted to, often with little linkage with local phenomena. As local historical and economic – even political science – expertise grew in the early decades of the twentieth century, attempts were made to harness local sociological expertise, although this was counterbalanced by resistance to the new-fangled subject. Early attempts to establish a sociology foothold around WWI and the immediate postwar period were too weak and were snuffed out, so that it was not until the late 1950s that a more successful establishment took place, quickly spreading and deepening with the wave of establishments of new universities and the growth of older ones. Once established, several decades of a steady-state low-intensity system of sociology ensued, with varying flavours derived from the UK, USA, Continental Europe and local sources. Apart from sociological commentary in a broadly political economy mode and a strong Australian development of sociological cultural studies, Australasian sociology remains very largely directed by overseas trends locked into a (partially successful) division of labour. Nevertheless, its capacity to contribute to core sociology has risen, although this may (as Connell has pointed out) be an ironic trap that locks antipodean sociology even more into a core framework.

NOTE

REFERENCES

Anleu, S. (2005[1998]) 'Refashioning Sociology: Disciplinary and Institutional Challenges', in

J. Germov and T. R. McGee (eds) *Histories of Australian Sociology,* pp. 307–20. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Austin-Broos, D. (2005[1989]) 'Australian Sociology and its Historical Environment', in J. Germov and T. R. McGee (eds) *Histories of Australian Sociology,* pp. 245–66. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Baldock, C. (2005[1994]) 'Australian and New Zealand Sociology', in R. P. Mohan and A. S. Wilkes (eds) *International Handbook of Contemporary Developments in Sociology*. Westport, CT: Greenwod Press, reprinted in J. Germov and T.R. McGee (eds) *Histories of Australian Sociology*, pp. 267–306. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Baldock, C. and Lally, J. (1974) *Sociology in Australia and NZ: Theory and Methods*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Beilharz, P. (1995) 'Social Theory in Australia: A Roadmap for Tourists', *Thesis Eleven* 43: 120–33.

Beilharz, P. and Hogan, T. (2005[2004]) 'The State of the Social Sciences in Australia' in J. Germov and T. R. McGee (eds) *Histories of Australian Sociology*, pp. 387–418. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Bottomley, W.J. (1974) 'The Climate of Opinion in Australasian Sociology', *Australia New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 10(1): 64–9.

Carter, I. (1986) 'Most Important Industry: How the New Zealand State Got Interested in Rural Women, 1940–1944', *New Zealand Journal of History* 20: 27–43.

Coleman, P. (1987) *Progressivism and the World of Reform*. Kansas, KS: Kansas University Press.

Connell, R.W. (2005) 'Australia and World Sociology', in J. Germov and T. R. McGee (eds) *Histories of Australian Sociology*, pp. 3–28. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Crook, S. (2005[2003]) 'Change, Uncertainty and the Future of Sociology', in J. Germov and T. R. McGee (eds) *Histories of Australian Sociology*, pp. 355–86. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Crothers, C. (2005) 'History of Sociology in New Zealand', in J. Germov and T. R. McGee (eds) *Histories of Australian Sociology*, pp. 67–80. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Crothers, C. and Gribben, C. (1986) 'The State of Sociology in New Zealand: Some Preliminary Observations', *New Zealand Sociology* 1(1): 1–17.

Davison, G. (2005[2003]) 'The Social Survey and the Puzzle of Australian Sociology', in J. Germov and T. R. McGee (eds) *Histories of Australian Sociology,* pp. 171–200. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Frow, J. (2007) 'Australian Cultural Studies: Theory, Story, History', *Postcolonial Studies* 10(1): 59–75.

Germov, J. and McGee, T.R. (eds) (2005) *Histories of Australian Sociology*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Glaser, J. (2004) 'Why Are the Most Influential Books in Australian Sociology Not Necessarily the Most Highly Cited Ones?', *Journal of Sociology* 40(3): 261–82.

Hamer, D. (ed.) (1974) *The Webbs in New Zealand, 1898: Beatrice Webb's Diary with Entries by Sidney Webb* (2nd edn). Wellington: Price Milburn for Victoria University Press.

Hancock, W.K. (1930) *Australia*. London: Ernest Benn.

Hancock, M., Robb, J. and Thompson, R. (1996) 'The Establishment of Sociology in New Zealand: A Founder's Retrospect', *New Zealand Sociology* 11(2): 317–33.

Hearn, W.E. (1878) *The Aryan Household*. Melbourne: George Robertson.

Kuper, A. (1996) *Anthropology and Anthropologists: The Modern British School* (3rd rev. and enl. edn). London and New York: Routledge.

Marx, K. (1967[1990]) *Marx, Karl. Capital*, Vol. I, trans. B. Fowkes. London: Penguin.

Northcott, C. (1918) *Australian Social Development*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pappe, H.O. (1951) 'Wakefield and Marx', *Economic History Review* 4(1): 88–97.

Phelan, T.J. (2000) 'Bibliometrics and the Evaluation of Australian Sociology, *Journal of Sociology* 36(3): 345–63.

Pope, J.H. (1887) *The State: The Rudiments of New Zealand Sociology for the Use of Beginners*. Wellington: G. Didsbury.

Prest, W.R., Round, K. and Fort, C.S. (eds) (2001) *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*. Kent Town, S. Australia: Wakefield Press.

Robb, J.H. (1987) 'The Life and Death of Official Social Research in New Zealand',

Victoria University Wellington, Sociology working paper 7.

Scott, W.H. (1978) *Australia and New Zealand Sociology, 1971–78: An Introduction.* Clayton, Victoria: Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Monash University and SAANZ.

Skrbis, Z. and Germov, J. (2004) 'The Most Influential Books in Australia' History of Sociology in New Zealand, reprinted in J. Germov and T. R. McGee (eds) *Histories of Australian Sociology.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press

Somerset, H.C.D. (1938[1974]) *Littledene: Patterns of Change.* Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Thomas, J. (1974) *The Institute of Pacific Relations: Asian Scholars and American Politics*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Timms, D. (1970) 'The Teaching of Sociology within New Zealand', in J. Zubrzycki (ed.) *The Teaching of Sociology in Australia and New Zealand*. Melbourne: Cheshire.

Turnbull, M. (1957) *The Wakefield Theory in Practice: A Re-interpretation of the Colonisation of New Zealand, 1839 to 1843*. Wellington: Price, Milburn.

Waterhouse, J. (2006[1981]) 'Collier, James (1846–1925)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* on-line edition at *www.adb. online.anu.edu.au/*

Name Index

Subject Index