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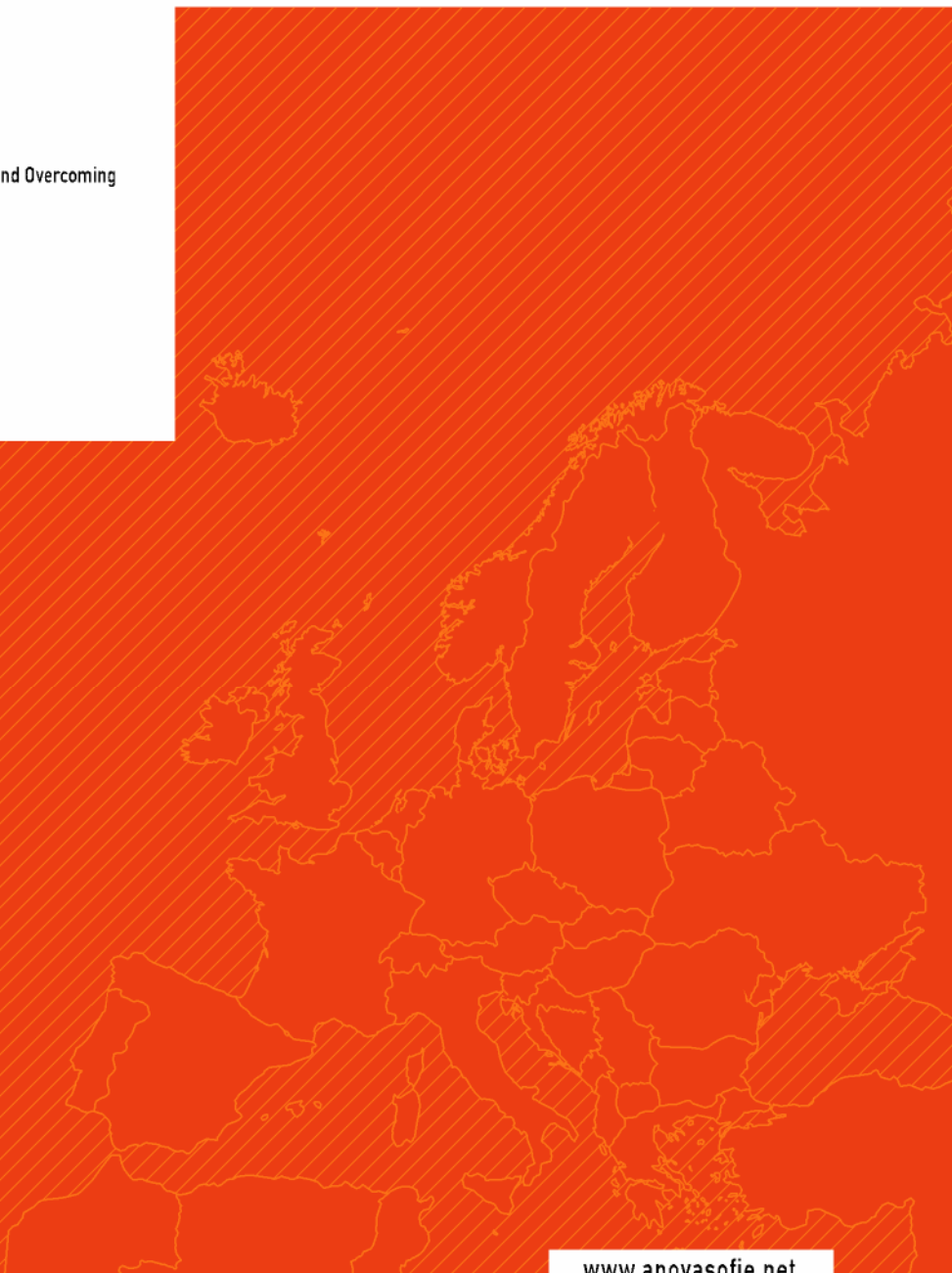
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Introduction

Anovasofie – Analyzing and Overcoming the Sociological Fragmentation in Europe - which started in 2004 and ended in 2006 is more than a mere research project. On the one hand, Anovasofie's goals were in the analysis of the fragmentation of European sociology. On the other hand, Anovasofie tried to provide instruments in order to overcome this fragmentation. The project included, therefore, studies about the status of sociology as a discipline in order to understand its special problems of being fractured into different subfields and national sociologies that do not communicate with each other sufficiently. This is in fact a study about non-communication or about the disability of communication within scientific field. Marx once said that philosophers only want to interpret the world, however, it is important to change it. At least to some extent we wanted to follow this guideline and create instruments to facilitate communication between sociologists of different nations and subfields. Thus, the project has an analytic and a pragmatic aspect. In order to satisfy this two attempts Anovasofie includes two main research packages: 1) the creation of a virtual library (pragmatic aspect); and 2) the study of sociologists who are involved as public intellectuals and the investigation of the structure of some national sociologies in order to address the problem and the processes of transmitting sociological knowledge (analytic aspect). Whereas the second research package helps to understand the fragmentation of European sociology, the first one should help to overcome it.

Anovasofie is in itself an example of European sociology because it is a cooperation of sociologists from eight European nations (Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Poland, Sweden and Turkey). Therefore, the researchers of this project became very much aware of the difficulties of sociological cooperation beyond language borders. In addition to the work packages, the project was organized in five meetings which took place in Graz, Munich, Istanbul, Stockholm and Dublin. At the Dublin meeting a conference had been hosted where invited speakers enlarged our scope of the original theme. The Austrian, the German, the Turkish and the Irish research group organized these meetings. The whole project has not only been coordinated in Graz but also the Anovasofie-web page and internet-discussion forum (www.anovasofie.net) has been administrated there.

This final report contains parts of the executive report. Most of the executive report's points were discussed previously more exclusive in papers produced by the project participants. Therefore, the final report includes selected parts of these papers what makes this report to a kind of reader. The selected parts of papers are termed with the chapter heading "Cases and Comments." The final report contains twelve of such Cases and Comments (C&C):

Poland:	C&C1 - Vilhelm Bohutsky: The working of Paradigms - Paradigm shift in mainstream economics.
Great Britain:	C&C2 - E. Stina Lyon: The concept of the public, the intellectual, the state, and the civil society
Sweden:	C&C3 - Per Wisselgren: The Swedish tradition of governmental commissions: An expanding arena for social research
Ireland:	C&C4 - Tina Kelly: "Catholic Sociology" in Ireland
Austria:	C&C5 - Dieter Reicher: Exports and Imports. A model of fragmentation in European sociology
France:	C&C6 - Laurent Jeanpierre and Sébastien Mosbah Natanson: The nature of the public sociologist in France
Sweden:	C&C7 - Per Wisselgren: The Myrdals as public intellectuals: From social science to social policy
Germany:	C&C8 - Stefan Müller-Dooch: Solidarity with the intellectual at the moment of his fall: contradictions between Adorno's diagnosis of the intellectual and the task of critique in the public sphere
France:	C&C9 - Laurent Jeanpierre and Sébastien Mosbah Natanson: The themes of sociological intervention
Great Britain:	C&C10 - William Outhwaite: The European Media Structure
Sweden:	C&C11 - Hedvig Ekerwald: The private life of a public intellectual
Poland:	C&C12 - Joanna Bielecka-Prus, Aleksandra Walentynowicz: What makes an intellectual? Some notes on the conditions of recontextualisation.

1. The problem: language, and paradigms

The fragmentation of sociology resembles in many points that of other disciplines. Nevertheless the fragmentation in sociology is more drastic than that of many other sciences because of cultural reasons. Culture, institutions and states' power systems seem to be of high relevance for sociology. Our fictitious sociologist may be able to communicate about some findings of research activities with her colleagues from other countries, whereas physicists are able to exchange new knowledge. Language barriers are much higher in sociology because language is not only the instrument of communication between experts. Because sociologists are dealing with understanding people and because these people use languages to communicate with each other and with sociologists who want to study them, language skills are of primary importance for sociologists. A natural scientist only needs to be able to use some English phrases (the rest is technical terms and mathematical expressions) and some smalltalk to work together with colleagues from other countries (and they do not have to speak with their "subjects" of research like stones, bacteria, stars, light waves etc.). Sociologists have to fully understand the communication of people they want to study. They have to understand the language of their "subjects" of research. They also have to communicate with their colleagues from abroad about their findings (mostly in English). Within this communicative act no information should get lost about the people they studied. Otherwise they would not be able to point out the essence of their research and would in consequence not be able to interpret scientific results satisfactorily together with their colleagues from abroad. Thus, sociologists not only have to fully understand the language of people who are "subjects" of their research but also have to be able to fluently speak the *lingua franca* with which they exchange themselves with colleagues. Furthermore, sociologists have to have knowledge in language and culture beyond that of the individuals they are interviewing or observing. This is the case because sociologists have to reframe the communication of people who are "subject" to their research. Furthermore, each national community of sociologists focuses on different kinds of "social problems". Whereas in some countries, i.e., deviancy and criminality is perceived as a major social problem, these topics are widely neglected in other countries. Like paradigms also national or language

communities of sociologists are relatively isolated from each other. This isolation causes not only differences in the scientific focus, but also in the scientific style. This means that the ways of posing and answering questions and the ways of organizing scientific sociology vary a lot between countries. I.e., whereas English-speaking sociologists (including many Dutch) base their scientific communication on an international based journal system (published entirely in English), German sociologists are more likely to put their focus on publications such as books and anthologies (*Sammelbänder*). Whereas major Anglo-Saxon conferences are attended by high rank English or American professors, German professors are often inclined to avoid appearing at major German conferences (in order to distinct their status from scientific staff lower in rank). The different behaviour of Anglo-Saxon and German professors is rooted in culture. Especially the German status concept of “social rank” (*sozialer Stand, ständisch*) is of great importance to individual orientation in the academic field. This status concept requests distinction in manner and appearance. Its notion of dignity does not allow much fraternization with lower rank scientists. The meaning of *ständisch* is widely unknown to British or American scholars (or may be at least the subject of mockery in these countries) who use different practices to demonstrate dignity or humility (i.e., conversation patterns and degree attention on conferences).

The existence of paradigms, too, is of overwhelming importance for disunity. In sociology a new paradigm does not replace an old one, we cannot speak of a simple “progress”. In sociology, there are many paradigms existing side by side during a probably long period of time. As a matter of fact, there is sometimes no (productive) communication between sociologists holding on to different paradigms.

Summarized, the fragmentation of European Sociology is mainly due to:

language barriers: Relative isolation of language communities. Exists because culture und understanding culture are the main objects of sociology.

relative isolation of national sociological scenes in respect to their “style” of internal communication (their kind of practicing sociology), and the “social problems” they perceive as being important to sociology.

coexisting paradigms.

Case and Comment 1 - Vilhelm Bohutskyy: The working of Paradigms - Paradigm shift in mainstream economics

Thomas Kuhn was among the first to explicitly draw attention to the fact that disciplines operate within 'paradigms' that define what is and what is not considered, implicitly, to be sensible and legitimate at any point in time. The study and practice of economic development is not an exception. Development is envisioned by tradition as a finite, primarily economic, process that follows an orderly path determined by laws of universal applicability. Some countries, it is asserted, discovered these laws and became fully "developed". Others, at present "undeveloped", are yet to go through the same process, guided and helped by the "developed" countries. However, paradigms may undergo radical "paradigm shifts" when it becomes clear that current assumptions are unable to cope with significant problems. Kuhn analyzed scientific revolutions as discontinuous transitions between incommensurable conceptual frameworks. This has opposed an incremental history of science. To Kuhn, during a period of normal science, anomalies are cumulated. These are more puzzles than problematic, until we arrive at a moment when the fundamentals of a paradigm are questioned. This is a moment of crisis, and a number of competing theories are put forward. When one of these wins over its rivals, we reach a new paradigm and a new normal science period. At this time, a new generation of scientists have adapted, and new methods and applications are established.

The period from the late 1970s to the early 1990s witnessed a major upsurge in neo-liberal ideas based on mainstream economic thought concerning the development process and development strategy. The neo-liberal revolution in development theory represented a major challenge to national developmentalism in the context of which the state had played an active role in the developmental process. The emerging neo-liberal orthodoxy advocated a new development model based on the primacy of individualism, market liberalism, outward-orientation, and state contraction. The organizing principle of neo-liberal political economy was the notion of a minimal

state whose principal role was confined to that of securing law and order, macroeconomic stability and the provision of physical infrastructure.

The new orthodoxy identified widespread and excessive state interventionism as the primary cause of weak economic progress. The implication of this diagnosis was to liberate the market from the distorting influences of large public sectors, pervasive controls and interventionism. Neo-liberal thinking, in turn, exercised a key practical influence on the policy discourse of key Bretton Woods institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. The central tenet of neo-liberal thinking and the associated "Washington Consensus" was "getting the prices right". The state, itself, was conceived as the problem rather than the solution. The universal policy proposal was to pursue a systematic program of decreasing state involvement in the economy through trade liberalization, privatization and reduced public spending. Efficient allocation of resources would be guaranteed by relative prices determined through the impersonal forces of the free market. The logical outcome of this line of thinking was that the cost of "government failures" arising from rent-seeking and price distortions associated with excessive protectionism would always outweigh "market failures" associated mostly with imperfect competition and under-provision of public goods. Hence, increasingly the Washington Consensus, as a paradigm of developmental thinking, was based on the understanding that imperfect markets are always superior to imperfect states.

By the beginning of 1990s, however, the hegemonic position of the Washington Consensus neo-liberal paradigm has started to encounter serious criticisms. The growing intellectual challenge to neo-liberal orthodoxy was based on accumulating empirical evidence that undermined the fundamental claim of the Washington consensus that full-scale liberalization at all cost is associated with superior economic performance. These anomalies had grown during the nineteen eighties in African and Latin American countries, for which Washington Consensus were specifically designed and where their application had not fostered growth. However, bad results were often seen as resulting from bad application of good policies. Post-socialist crisis and surprises could not be justified on the same

grounds, since some leaders were notoriously engaged in liberalisation and stabilisation and were closely supported by international organisations. Those surprises, in particular, were:

Early predictions proved to be highly optimistic. Post-socialist economic decline was deeper and longer than anticipated. Ex-post neoclassical interpretation of post-socialist crisis proved unconvincing and particularly powerless to explain why, in some countries, crises returned by the second half of the 1990s.

National economic performance divergence contrasted with the idea of homogeneity in predicted in economics textbooks.

Spontaneous privatization was also an unanticipated result from liberalisation.

Why weren't these results anticipated? Several authors have related these problems to the institution-free character of the neoclassical model and the *tabula rasa* view of post-socialist change. Since the beginning of the 1990s interest in institutions in economics has gradually increased and this interest was merely triggered by the surprises of post-socialist transformation. The real cause of this interest lied deeper in the fact that the paradigm of institution-free approach to development based on mainstream economics gradually accumulated anomalies in terms of Kuhn's paradigm crisis. As we noted in the introduction, we can hardly speak about a genuine and substantial paradigm shift, since mainstream economics is still the dominant theoretical approach to studying development. Yet, it is safe to say that development studies are approaching such a transformation. Leading members of the development establishment, such as Joseph Stiglitz, formerly chief economist at the World Bank, agree with this conclusion. The title of Stiglitz's presentation to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is more than straightforward: "Towards a New Paradigm for Development." In 1999 Stiglitz proclaimed the time for the emergence of a post-Washington consensus, which was mirrored in the "comprehensive development framework", adopted by the World Bank in 1999 to guide its lending and advice. According to James Wolfensohn, the president of the World Bank

"The Comprehensive Development Framework I am proposing highlights a more inclusive picture of development. We cannot adopt a system in which the macroeconomic and financial is considered apart from the structural, social and human aspects, and vice versa . . . What is new [in this proposal] is an attempt to view our efforts within a long-term, holistic and strategic approach where all the component parts are brought together . . . [through] a participatory process, as transparent and as accountable as possible within the political climate prevailing in each country".

Although the paradigm shift seems to be on its way, and although the study of institutions is considered to be the crucial element of the gradually emerging paradigm of development, today we face a great number of research agendas within a variety of disciplines with name "institutionalism" in their titles, with different definitions of institutions, different subjects, levels and scope of study. Are there core criteria according to which we could filter "real" institutionalisms from the "false" ones? Moreover, is there any "core" of assumptions and propositions, which should be satisfied by a given theory in order to be called an institutional theory?

2. Sociology and the rise of the nation state

The rise of the nation states stimulated sociological thinking through the creation of new forms of language, institutions and power. Language barriers limit both the European and the sociological integration process. Unlike many other social sciences sociology seems to be inextricably bound to the destiny of nation states because it is one of their very products. With the rise of nation states in Europe standardized national languages came into existence.

The introduction of national languages also supported a stronger standardization of social settings such as communication, education and research. Not only a small elite of people capable of fluent Latin or French as their second language were now able to communicate, learn and research about social life. Communication was supported through mass circulation of books, journals and newspapers. Education and learning became more democratized through the expansion of schools, colleges and universities. Thereby, a bigger fraction of society became mass consumers of expert knowledge. Research was stimulated through the expansion of university systems and academies. The nation-wide standardization of universities also supported scholar mobility. It was the nation state that provided the cocoon for speaking and debating about society in a modern sense. Millions of people who became connected to each other via the same educational background and a refined language began to debate about what we today would call “social problems”.

2.1 The nation state and the public

What is known today as the “public” is the result of a long formative process. The basis of this formative process was the emergence of national languages that enabled mass-communication and supported interests for the destiny of lower classes (*democratization of feelings*). The first nation wide standardized social settings in which social and political debates were performed do not resemble later forms of public communication like newspapers, books and electronic media. Sometimes, these early social settings of public debates had its national peculiarities, like French saloons, English coffee houses and parliaments or German *Stammtische*.

The structure of these social arrangements pre-modeled the styles of subsequent discussions in newspapers or books. The type of the English gentlemen discussions in the parliament or in English pamphlet literature highly differs from the *esprit* in French salon debates or the ways German scholars (*Gelehrte*) communicated with each other (and – what was even more estranging – with people outside the universities).

Case and Comment 2 - E. Stina Lyon: The concept of the public, the intellectual, the state, and the civil society

To begin with, the concept of “public” has many meanings: as an adjective it is commonly used to describe something which is by or for a whole community, or nation, or people “in general”, but also to that which is known and accessible to all. To do something in public is to do something openly, not secretly or privately. As a noun it refers to a community or nation or any section of the community considered in some way as an audience for information and communications. The expression of “publicness”, as Ryan writes can flourish in a range of distinctive places not only in literary or political clubs and in the culture of print, also in a wide array of open public spaces where matters of general interest are discussed in styles of debate that defy literary standards of rational and critical discourse (Ryan, 2003 p. 390). The concept of a “public sphere” is thus a fluid one with changing boundaries depending on the nature of particular economic and political processes but also on the vagaries of fashion and culture. Habermas presents the optimal function of the public sphere as “a process in which the exercise of social power and domination is effectively subjected to the mandate of democratic publicity”. How effective is not the question here, only to note that what counts as the public sphere is a social sphere with social boundaries, the definition and inclusivity of which are themselves a matter for debate amongst public intellectuals. An “intellectual” is a person having a powerful and trained intellect who is inclined to the activities or pleasures of the intellect with a fondness for the scholarly activities of thought and reasoning. “Thought” is both an activity and the product of such an activity which when written down may remain long after its originator has departed, what Popper described as the “third world” of ideas not reducible to either mind or matter. I chose the word “reasoning” rather than that of “rationality” since the latter is a characteristic of a particular kind of reasoning, not always or necessarily an attribute of someone regarded as an “intellectual”. A “public intellectual” is thus someone who applies intellectual activities for a whole community, or nation, in a way that is open and accessible to the members of

that community or nation however defined. This of course also means that a public intellectual can at times, if his or her views are seen to be dangerous to the community by strong opposing interests within that community or nation, easily become seen as a public enemy. Most often both concepts have also come to have honorary connotations. A “public-minded” person is someone seen to put the interests of the larger community above narrow selfish personal interests. The title of “intellectual” is also seen only to accrue to persons whose reasoning is believed to display evidence of a good intellect, whether defined as well trained in the art of scholarship or in socially acceptable insights perceived to be of value whatever the reasoning underpinning them. As there is also a critical dimension, controversy, inherent in scholarship and reasoning, a public intellectual is also understood as being one who as was once said of the German professor, “ein Mann ist , der anderer Meinung ist”, a man (or a woman) who troubles the status quo. Sociology might be a relatively young discipline, but as Walzer argues, public social criticism is as old as society itself and complaint “one of the elementary forms of self-assertion, and the response to complaint is one of the elementary forms of mutual recognition.” (Walzer, 1989, p. 3).

Intellectuals have a paradoxical status in democratic societies between enlightened intellectual ideals and egalitarian ones. On the one hand they are expected, at times even required, to contribute their special knowledge, creative capacities and communicative skills. On the other, the professed egalitarian tenets of democracies also have an inborn tendency to view them with suspicions for their intellectual skills with reasoning and words. Democracies need both expertise and “normative” insights as provided by intellectuals and the opportunity for public deliberations created by “intellectual contestation”. Thus intellectuals should participate in public life for the sake of good judgement and good governance. But when they do, and when “push comes to shove” the “people” will choose amongst themselves those they will listen too and it may not be those with the wisest or most informed judgement.

In the social sciences such intellectual and scholarly reasoning relates to what we might call “social knowledge”, the production of

descriptions, explanations and perhaps more importantly interpretations of society and its workings. Varieties of such knowledge has always been part of state formation and nation building, for military as much as for civilian purposes, but through the diversification of production and democratisation processes it has also increasingly become part of the everyday activities of citizens, producers, consumers and interest groups of various kinds. There has however always been a tension within intellectual reasoning in general and social science particularly between on the one hand the search for universal principles and abstract conceptualisations, and on the other some passionate commitment to the minutia of local issues and times. When Said and Barenboim were asked where they felt they “belong”, Barenboim answered: wherever there is music and Said chose cosmopolitan New York, because “I can be “in it” but not “of it””. But whatever generalities Barenboim and Said mentioned as their universal intellectual home, their passions have also been very clearly directed at creating a language of discourse across their own conflict ridden local places of identification. As Geertz notes about anthropology, much sociology is a “craft of place” and as much social knowledge is context dependent and “local” as is cumulatively universal and long-term. (Geertz, 1983).

All this of course begs the question what, and who is, the “public”, the community or nation to be served, and what the nature of the influence exerted might be. If by intellectual influence we mean having an effect, direct or indirect, on the beliefs and actions of persons in power and authority, and thereby on the institutions they represent, or on the attitudes and behaviour of sections of the public at large, the question similarly arises which social groupings are involved and how these are defined as funding, supporting, intended or affected audiences, whether in a narrow sectarian or nationalistic way, or in a broader perspective of humanity in general. Finally, if we overlay this with the traditional political value perspectives of radicalism, progressivism, conservatism, socialism, liberalism, feminism, nationalism, racism, imperialism and varieties of “globalism” and religious standpoints, each of which has created its

own “public intellectuals”, we can begin to see some of the complexities in trying to develop a framework for understanding the real and imagined influence of public intellectuals.

I will in the following structure this paper around the three core “legitimizers” and “sponsors” of public intellectuals and their activities, the state, civil society and the public at large and within each section see how the dilemmas generated by different dimensions of sociological “localism” versus “universalism”, the “centre” and “periphery” location of power relations, and top-down and “expert” polemic versus bottom-up “partisan” or cross-community “dialogical” modes of relating to “the public” intersect with each other and the allusive factor of “influence”.

The State

The State in its varieties of forms has always used and paid for public intellectuals as technical strategists and ideological legitimizers. The Prince has always needed his Machiavelli to give advice on the furtherance of his powers, though not all of them have necessarily been “machiavellian” in outlook. Public intellectuals have always obliged, whether as a Leonardo da Vinci with imaginative military machines, or a Giddens with ideas of how to manage welfare states in a capitalist economy. Systematic social knowledge about the ruled realm first gained significance for taxation and military purposes that required detailed information about the population from which levies and foot soldiers were to be drawn. With nation formation, industrialisation and democratisation processes, other aspects of the quality and social well being of populations arising from the needs for military and economic strength and political and social cohesion became important across Western societies, culminating in welfare state systems. Such systems depend for their administration and function as well as for political legitimacy on “social knowledge” as a major part of political governance. Much of this knowledge now appears in the form of social statistics of various kinds to the collection and analysis of which public intellectuals contribute in a variety of ways, directly and

indirectly. In a for these purposes useful book on applied social research Bulmer outlines different modes existing and possible between the social analyst and public policy making. He distinguishes between the “engineering model” of such a relationship, more favored by government for obvious reasons, and the “enlightenment model” in which the social scientist contributes also to goal and agenda settings, not just through information about various means by which goals set elsewhere can be achieved (Bulmer, 1982). There has in the social sciences been a lively debate on the advantages and disadvantages of such different models.

Modernity relies on rationality as the main means for making democracy work. The ideal of rationality prescribes that first we must know about a problem, then we can decide about it. Democracy demands that decisions are made only after open and evidenced debate. So, first the civil servants and commissioned researchers investigate a policy problem, then the minister is informed, who in turn informs parliament, who decides on the problem. Power is brought to bear on the problem only after we have made ourselves knowledgeable about it. But rationality is in itself a weak form of power, and the administration of rational planning and implementation is itself a political process. In reality, power often ignores or designs knowledge at its convenience, “the blind spot of modernity” to use Flyvbjerg’s expression (Flyvbjerg, 2001). While power may produce rationality and rationality power, their relationship is asymmetrical. Power has a clear tendency to dominate rationality and knowledge in the dynamic and overlapping relationship between the two. If knowledge is power, than power also defines what gets to count as knowledge. The interpretation of social evidence is not only a summary and a commentary, but an attempt to present a definitive picture, a Foucaultian way of “mastering” the evidence available. It is also in the very nature of social knowledge that evidence collected to disprove something can all too easily be reinterpreted to prove its very opposite. Booth’s path breaking empirical work on poverty in Victorian East London was originally prompted by his desire to refute evidence discussed in Parliament on the extent of poverty in London. Using his own funds he in the end irrefutably proved them right. But the postmodernist

position that therefore “it is all political” however obscures the real observable differences between types of political systems in how social knowledge is collected, used and understood and how public intellectuals enters the political decision-making process, differences worthy of analysis. At present, sociological debates on intellectuals and politics, though important, are poor in real evidence of how knowledge systems work in a complex democratic state rich in contradictory interests and aspirations. British Royal Commissions, Swedish Government Investigative Committee and Congressional Hearings in the US, though similarly evidence seeking, all are very different animals when it comes to who gets access to the construction of interpretations and how.

The concept of “social engineering”, a term often associated with the Myrdals, is of relevance here. At the turn of the last century the concept of “engineer” was associated with the activities of public professionals engaged in making the world a better place through the application of reason and technology. After the Holocaust and the Gulag the term took on more sinister connotations necessitating a reformulation of the role of intellectuals in their relationship to the state. Public intellectuals in serving the state has served totalitarian dictators in their social visions as well as the more enlightened democratic rulers envisaged in the Federalist Papers. Intellectuals can, argues Bauman no longer see themselves as “legislators” over the behaviour and aspirations of the publics they research and write about in the same way as before, but need to take more democratic stances as social “interpreters” to retain their legitimacy in the public domain (Bauman, 1987). Myrdal saw the social scientist as having a two-fold relationship to state policy making. On the one hand the social scientist needed to develop a “prognosis” based on theoretical analysis of empirical evidence of social and economic trends to give a picture of what is, and is likely to happen. But when working in political context it is also of necessity to contribute to the development of “programmes”, plans for action based additionally on political and economic feasibility in terms of conflicting values over both goals and the means acceptable to achieve them. The latter might require a different kind of social research to establish what public acceptability is and might be.

However in neither case, he argued, can the values of a “working scientists” be neatly dispensed with or put aside. That being the case they should be honestly declared in open debate rather than hidden behind abstract rhetoric. But as Myrdal learned at a cost when over time he became seen as a political liability both in Sweden and in the US, the power of rationality is not always the rationality of power. Other “public” sociologists have been caught in the same dilemma. So for public intellectuals, from the point of view of influence vis a vis the state, then both knowledge of the principles of the rationality of knowledge and knowledge of the rationality of power becomes important to be able to “to hang on” in there. Men such as Daniel Moynihan, Robert Reich and Henry Kissinger in the US, all three with some claim to being “public intellectuals” are not just razor sharp in the interpretative skills of turning opposing evidences into supportive ones, they are also tough powerbrokers in presidential back rooms. Razor sharp major public intellectuals such as Sartre and Foucault, though laudable in their academic contribution and radical zeal, have not always been successful in their attempts to become a politically effective force.

The sharpening of disciplinary boundaries between the different social sciences after the war and the institutionalization of their definition in a growing university sector in some ways changed the nature of what public intellectuals in the social domain felt qualified to talk about in the public sphere. With the concept of “expertise” more narrowly defined, and the discipline of sociology itself fragmenting into narrowly defined specialisms, “generalist” social commentators involved in public debates about issues such as welfare, immigration, crime, family policy and so on face a greater risk of putting their own status as reasoning academics on the line within their own specialist community of experts. This one can argue also makes it easier for governments to ignore them, given that the nature of economic and social problems faced by states and their governments do not fall within neat disciplinary boundaries. In modernity’s claim to rationality sociology has never had a strong space of its own in comparison to the “harder” social sciences of economics and even geography. The British sociologist Ray Pahl tells a revealing story from the early days of the redevelopment of

the old dock lands in London. When the Chair of the development corporation was asked if there was a woman on its board he answered: "No, but we have a sociologist". If academics and public intellectuals are paid to produce social knowledge at the highest perceived validity and rationality and that is defined as "scientistic", then the credibility of the status of the sociological contribution may easily be undermined, as well as leading to continuing temptations for public intellectuals to withdraw from the state and its various apparatuses into a more sympathetically grounded and more specialist and academically "local" dialogical domains.

For intellectuals in the scientific enlightenment tradition there ultimately has to be some kind of a tension between the "local" and the "general". If the principles of reasoning are universal, and social relationships can be explained in ways that have some universal applicability, then loyalty to the "nation" and the state in and for itself has to be limited in that it creates the wrong boundaries, accidental as they are. States and governments do not remain the same for long. They change due to both internal and external forces, which creates a problem for public intellectuals whatever their relationship to the state. States occasionally change rapidly, either through the internal institutionalised transfer of power, or through socio-economic crises and political revolutions or through the threat of war. During the last century major wars, the depression, the rise in fascism, the cold war and more recently the fall of the Soviet block and the rise of aggressive world wide terrorism all impacted on thinkers and researchers. By the very nature of their public position, intellectuals become called upon to remain loyal or to break the relationship and risk public dethronement and a fall from grace alongside their work and ideas. Occasionally the nature of the severance has been a secret one only revealed in the records of the secret services once revealed. One can here think of Talcott Parsons, Isiah Berlin, Sartre, and Myrdal as examples of public intellectuals that have been shown either to be closer to the state or more subversive of it in their activities than was apparent at the time. They were, I am sure, not alone in this. And works directed at the state, such as for example Durkheim's work on the French education system or Weber's more political writings may as a result

disappear into the obscurity of history along side the state to which they directed their polemics.

In commentaries on the work of Gunnar Myrdal the strength of both his patriotism and his internationalism is noted as a contradiction. One might argue that from the point of view of a writer such as Fukuyama and his work on “the end of history”, such a combination of sentiments equates with a form of intellectual imperialism. “As it is where I stand so it should be elsewhere”. From the both Myrdals' perspective, the legal and social rights for individual citizens were fairer and Swedes led, and continue to lead, materially better lives than in most other countries and propagating ideas about the means for achieving this for all could not be regarded as entirely suspect. An origin in a small country no longer known for its imperial pretensions allows a different context for the interpretation and dissemination of ideas about justice and social and political governance than those emanating from the heart of an empire with aspirations of global political and economic control.

Finally, the close relationship between states and secular rationality is a Western phenomenon. We owe some greater attempts at understanding the role of public intellectuals in the Islamic tradition, in which a strong integration between political and religious life has always been present, in attempt to carve out a space between on the one hand the economic demands of democratisation and secularism of modernity, and the other the political and religious forces pressuring for the rights to culturally based nation building. The process of secularisation since the Enlightenment has been very different in the Western Christian world, conceived of as a new and better way of being religious since freedom from state control enabled religion to be more true to its spiritual ideas. In the Muslim world secularism developed differently and has on the other hand often consisted of a brutal attack upon religion and the religious as in Egypt or Turkey and early 20th century Iran. The position of public intellectuals in many developing and middle-income countries similarly shows the tenuous relationship between public critical debate, evidence based governance and state power and repression making their dilemmas as harsh and impossible as those

faced by intellectuals in Western Europe during periods of totalitarianism.

Civil Society

Whatever definition we choose to give to the concept of "civil society", it has always been a locus for the funding and legitimation of the activities of intellectuals and it has often been an important base from which ideas have entered the public sphere. Civil society has and does facilitate the role of public intellectual as "partisan" involved with the "local" or the "sectional" as an alternative way of exercising power and influence. This has been especially so for social thinkers and analysts with a critical and reform oriented agenda. There can be said to be at least three kinds of civil service organisations: a "communitarian" one of social groupings for togetherness and the sharing of responsibility for others than ourselves, the loss of which in the West is bemoaned in the West, and the need for which is propagated in the post-communist societies. Recent research into the history of civil society throws some doubt on such assumptions, most societies having some form of social groupings for community affairs and influence outside the remit of the state with which public spokespersons are associated. There are also interest group organisations such as trade unions, employer organisations, political parties, chambers of commerce, and specialist interest groups etc all on the assumption of strengthening a collective voice against the state and state policy. The Myrdals' close association with the reformist Swedish Social Democratic Party and the platform this provided for their ideas is well documented. In the history of sociology, "the woman question", "the black question", "the poverty question", "the homosexuality question" to name but a few have been social issues that have formed the discipline. What were initially objects of social research and analysis have over time become participating subjects in the development of the discipline itself. With globalisation, the organisation of sectarian interests is no longer confined within the borders of the nation state but also reflected in the lobbying work of international organisations and NGO's in areas such as human

rights, environmentalism and anti-poverty movements. Alva and Gunnar Myrdal's fame as public intellectuals stemmed partly from their eagerness to see fundamental social issues as having a global, or as Alva Myrdal called it a "planetary", dimension and from their many intellectual and public activities to further their ideals and passions in the international domain.

Finally there are and have been varieties of societies for mutual benefit and financial support, e.g. mortgage societies, charitable trusts, funeral and insurance societies. Each has spurned their own intellectual advocates and spokes persons on issues of social relations, community, class, welfare and environmentalism. Some of these have been major funders of critical social research such as the Carnegie Corporation, which funded Myrdal's critical study of race relations in the US, much to the displeasure of many of its citizens, the Ford Foundation which funded Bowles and Gintis' very influential critical Marxist analysis of the education system in the US, and in Britain the Rowntree and Leverhume Trusts which have done much to keep the issue of poverty on the public agenda, and the Runnymede Trust which has done the same for immigrant and minority communities in Britain. Such funding has in many instances enabled public intellectuals, and ordinary academics, to speak with a voice independent of the state. As Gunnar Myrdal argued, such independence is a crucial factor in the pursuit of intellectual critical debate about social affairs. If such freedom is curtailed, or censored and over managed in academic context, the presence of alternative sources of funding is crucial for vigorous informed debate.

It is in this context important to note that the route to fame through the organisations and institutions of civil society has been particularly important for women intellectuals, for a long time excluded from the state and its various administrative apparatuses as well as from sociological discussions about the role and social location of public intellectuals. Women philanthropists in their concern about social problems and social reform have played an active role in laying the foundations for what was to become the discipline of sociology (Wisselgren, 2000). Dale Spender has argued that modern feminist theorists have repeatedly reinvented their feminist rebellion, largely because women have had so little control

over the knowledge produced about them in its many misrepresentations. Women must first, she argued, unlearn what society has taught them about themselves, to reject prevailing wisdoms and begin afresh with their own experiences. As late starters they have sought to question, reject and re-conceptualise. Women intellectuals have repeatedly been confined to cycles of the lost and found, only to be lost and found again. In her work on women's public access to politics in 19th century America, Ryan rejects Habermas' account to the decline of the public sphere during this period. She shows how the women's movement "injected considerable feminist substance into public discourse, articulating concerns once buried in the privacy of one sex as vital matters of public interest" (Ryan, 2003, p. 389). By occupying scattered "public spaces" outside regular political organisations women enlarged the range of issues that weighed into the "general interest" and opened up the public space to a vast new constituency and found circuitous routes to public influence. The tenacious efforts of women and other groups to subvert restrictions on full citizenship in the public sphere and to be heard in public in her words "testify to the power of public ideals, that persistent impulse to have a voice in some space open and accessible to all where they could be counted in the general interest" (Ryan, 2003, p. 393).

Like many marginalised populations, the empowerment of women has necessitated the construction of a separate identity and the assertion of self-interest through the development of a civil society of their own. Famous women sociologists have disseminated their work and gained fame through varieties of women's organisations, trade unions, political parties and professional interest groups. Not all of these have shared the same goals, purposes and visions for female emancipation, but the public debates generated have themselves brought female intellectuals and thinkers into the public domain. The political power and influence of the women's movement as a whole, and of social science women within it, is perhaps best evidenced in the way in which the European Union has taken on board issues of equal opportunities, especially in the domain of labor market regulations and parental rights. In the case of Alva Myrdal this route to public fame also involved her in creating new national

and international networks, voluntary organizations, and movements for mothers, teachers and pre-school educators. When her influential book *Nation and Family* (1941) was published in America there was already a rich network of organizations ready to disseminate its ideas for a more women and family friendly welfare state. The ideas presented in the book have passed in and out of academic favor but continues to frame an ongoing debate about the role of women and child bearing and rearing in democratic societies aiming for gender equality. But by bringing aspects of the female condition into the public domain, women intellectuals such as Alva Myrdal with her work on children and the family, Simone de Beauvoir on gender roles and ageing, Susan Sonntag on caring, cancer and aids, have also suffered the experience of intellectual marginalization precisely because of their emphasis on issues seen to lie outside the core business of intellectual affairs. Similarly the involvement of "minority" intellectuals such as Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy and Patricia Collins, whose work on the complexities of identity and identity politics, has transformed the debate on race relations in Britain and the US, and William Julius Wilson in the US on the social and economic geography of race, have been strongly anchored in the experiences of the communities they see themselves as representing. Like the work of du Bois before them, their intellectual work has not always been equally recognised by the majority communities of which they are part.

The sociologist as partisan is a folk hero or heroine, and his or her perceived power base's closeness to the "people" have led to a fair amount of sociological romanticism about the moral virtues of "local" and "participatory" social science knowledge making. "Local knowledge" easily turns into "universalising" knowledge without the required universalising evidence, even when it comes to the analysis of that local community itself, its internal social fault lines, self-perceptions and understandings. Reversely, the claim to universal scholarly rationality can collapse when "local" interests can be shown to have contributed to the use of rationalising evidence in favour of a particular cause. The strongest critics of female public intellectuals such as Alva Myrdal and Simone de Beauvoir have come from within the feminist movement itself. This has often

invoked aspects of their personal lives and its relationship to their writings about the private sphere of women they worked so hard to make a legitimate object for public concern. Many public intellectuals in social science like the Webbs and the Myrdals in the early half of the last century were tainted in some way or other by their real, or assumed, association with for example the eugenics movement, now seen as a precursor of later more sinister racist organisations.

The Public

With the advance of communication technologies the opportunities for “publicness” have grown dramatically. But when it comes to critical intellectual debate on matters social, the position of intellectuals remains a privileged one, whether defined by communality of education, status, class, power position or celebrity. Access to platforms for the dissemination of ideas and information depends not only relationships to networks of power and to information “gate keepers”, but also on varying degrees of public receptivity to critical thought and new ideas. Legitimacy with the public at large has to be earned, and what is seen to accrue such legitimacy varies with social and political contexts. Part of this relates to being at the scene at the right time when there is a hunger for new ideas and new solutions. In a recent BBC interview Putnam, the author of the famous book *Bowling Alone* (1999), expressed great surprise that his scholarly and argumentative book on what he saw as the major change in social and community relations in the US, brought him such immediate fame, not only in the US but across the world. There were continuing invitations to talk not just to high-powered politicians and governments but to the press and the media. His ideas were obviously timely and struck a chord with policy makers and a populace facing varieties of problems over the funding of care and an economic desire for the community and families in the provision for it. Giddens' writings on the third way similarly hit the British and American public at a time when both societies were reeling under the social shock of harsh conservative free market economics, yet aware of the economic gains it had brought to ossified labour markets. They both write in an easily

accessible style, and were both helped by the media and the press, in Giddens' case by the publishing house of his own creation. Economic depression and a national hunger for social change in the 30s formed the background against which the Myrdals' easily accessible writings on the welfare state reached initially national and later international fame. Marx's communist manifesto may not have been a great work of sociological thought, but its timely arrival, aided by its rousing language and an improved printing technology, made it a best seller with some impact.

Not all societies value intellectual debates in equal measure. The public debates generated in France by Sartre, de Beauvoir, Foucault, and Bourdieu, and I believe in Germany by Adorno, Horkheimer and Habermas, have no equivalence in for example Britain where intellectuals traditionally have less of a social standing. But academic status undoubtedly helps in much of the public domain. Chomsky's work on linguistics bears little relationship to his very public and much disseminated views on the future of the world and the negative role of the US within it, but it has afforded him a social status with some right to the pulpit. It has been said that thinkers like Berlin and Popper in Britain and Marcuse in the US gained some of their status in the Anglo Saxon world by virtue of the German accent, and occasionally idiom in which they spoke. They were of course also helped by the ease with which they spoke and wrote in English, making their writings accessible to a wider audience than had they stayed within their language of origin only. The rise of English as a world language enabled Giddens' lecture series on globalisation to be broadcast simultaneously on networks across the globe. The theoretical and professional specialisation of sociology as a discipline has not only led to a fragmentation of social knowledge, but also to a greater specialisation of language creating obstacles to the ease with which new ideas can be understood by a general public. Alva and Gunnar Myrdal's public fame and influence must partly be explained by their shared conviction that popular dissemination and accessible forms of writing were vital preconditions for intellectual influence the public. Their archive is astonishingly rich in pamphlets, articles and essays written for the popular press and public meetings in a variety of contexts. In his

large study of American race relations, Gunnar Myrdal adopted the strategy of leaving academic debate, methodological and theoretical depth discussions, to footnotes and appendices making the main text one that could easily be read by politicians, policy makers and the public at large.

In the knowledge society the premium on knowledge and knowledge producers is high. In management speech it is seen as an organisational challenge to generate value from knowledge and that knowledge and knowledge production needs to be managed for maximum effect and return on investment. But as organisations go through life cycles, so does knowledge. As contexts change so knowledge ages, particularly so when it comes to social knowledge. Evidence becomes out of date and theories no longer politically or socially acceptable. Knowledge progresses go through several stages: creation and acquisition, sharing, mobilization, diffusion and media commoditization. It is not equally exciting to a public audience at each stage. Ideas can lose their excitement once wide spread and well known, as much as for reasons of having been proven wrong or useless. In sociology it is often new concepts in terms of which social phenomena are described that remain. The founding fathers, and a few mothers, would have been amazed to discover how key concepts in longstanding arguments on the causes and consequences of social inequality such as class, gender roles, status, and more lately social capital, at one time new, socially threatening, politically mobilising, and diffused with missionary zeal by many a public intellectual have entered common parlance to the point where they now go unnoticed. Another area in which sociological works have infiltrated the public domain is that of research methods techniques, now part and parcel of the regular activities of most organizations in the public and private sphere of the economy as well as in organisations of civil society. In the light of recent work by the UN in disseminating good research practice in development contexts, Alva Myrdal's dream of an international bank of social sciences information and a methodological "tool kit" capable of serving policy makers in all fields and across all national boundaries, today seems less of a utopian fantasy, than her faith that politicians would make effective use of it.

2.3 The nation state and social engineering

Whereas public debates about social problems promoted sociological theories (which became sometimes intellectually well-organized weapons for certain political argumentations) managing the poor inspired quantitative research methods. The necessity of social engineering supported sociology as a technique of domination (*Herrschaftstechnik*). Matters of drafts, population control, public administration, policing, registration, official statistics, surveys or the organization of the welfare state could only be handled through detailed knowledge about the society.

The role of techniques of domination for sociology can be demonstrated by several cases. In the course of the Anovasofie-project case studies of sociology in three countries (Austria, Ireland and Turkey) were carried out along two lines a) analyzing the Internet discussion forum, and b) researching the institutional history in these countries. Above all, additional information from the Swedish case can be gathered by research about the Myrdals. Thus, some techniques of domination in the form of reports (Sweden), nation building (Ireland) and state ideology (Austria) can exemplify the interrelation between states and sociology.

2.3.1 Social reporting

In the nineteenth century detailed social reports (or *enquetes*) were made to document social problems for the purpose of governmental interventions, in some European countries, like Sweden and England,. These reports were mainly concerned with issues of poverty and the growing working-class population of the new industrial zones. The Myrdal's activities in Sweden of the 1930's represent, thus, more as a continuation than the beginning of making governmental reports. They were concerned with matters of population control and the introduction of new welfare programs. The Myrdal research activities went together with the rise of the social democratic party that governed the country for many decades. Alva Myrdal's later work for the United Nations documents the continuation of her former studies in an even bigger scale. Post World War II UN tried to copy nation-state strategies either by gathering worldwide statistical information about social problems or by stimulating applied sociology in

order to fight these problems. This attempt demonstrates that state-like international organizations are able to copy elements of nation states' techniques of domination. Thus, the technocratic aspect of sociology can be applied for activities transcending nation-state borders.

Case and Comment 3 - Per Wisselgren: The Swedish tradition of governmental commissions: An expanding arena for social research

[from: Per Wisselgren: Regulating the Science-Policy Boundary: The Myrdals and the Swedish Tradition of Governmental Commissions. The paper was produced within the project Anovasofie]

Like in most other industrialised countries, Swedish government used, has been informed by and funded social scientists for long a time. One of the most important arenas for this mutual relation between social science research and government has without doubt been the institutionalised tradition of governmental commissions. In the Swedish case, this tradition stretches far back in time, maybe all the way to the early formation of the state bureaucracy in the 17th century, or at least to the constitution in 1809, which required the king or the formal holder of power *Kungl. Maj:t* to collect necessary information on all commissions of importance. It has also been suggested that the Swedish system of governmental commissions is unique in its kind, since in no, or few, other countries so much preparatory work is done outside the departmental organisation, and that the commission system constitutes a fundamental component in the Swedish political culture. It should however be emphasized that the departmental commission institution is a multi-purposed creature; the commissions are not only concerned with investigating the social conditions in order to prepare policy-decisions. Instead it is possible, following Johansson to discern at least three different primary aims and functions: (i) to promote knowledge on public policy issues, (ii) to resolve conflicts and for building consensus building, (iii) to act as an governmental vehicle for policy planning. Another important point in this context is that the emphasis on these different aims have shifted historically, depending on the political and bureaucratic contexts, and consequently been peopled by different groups of actors. During certain periods, like in the 19th century the commissions were often dominated by civil servants with knowledge in jurisprudential issues and administrative matters, while during other periods, like in the early 20th century, parliamentary laymen have been more mixed up with specialised experts. Two

general patterns are however worth being considered: the number of commissions has generally grown, and so has the number of civil servants. In that sense, the development of the commission system has to be understood in the context of the rise and expansion of the modern state and its successively developed bureaucracy.

But with these different functions and historical changes kept in mind it is still possible to point at a long tradition of governmental fact-gathering. In that context the commissions often have had the function of an arena for collaborative action between social scientists, intellectuals, reformers and policy-makers in the production of policy-relevant social knowledge as well as knowledge-based social reforms. As a trading zone between different political and scientific cultures, the commissions have also been a place where the spheres of actions for social experts have been shaped, negotiated and regulated. How these patterns should be interpreted is however a contested issue. While some argue that the main trend is that this co-evolution has resulted in politics being more and more scientific, others argue that it is the social sciences that have been politicized. Easier to conclude is that there is an important history to be told about the role of the governmental commissions within the context of the history of the social sciences. A few observers have pointed at their profound importance in the early history of Swedish sociology. Political scientists, like Premfors, argue, that there are no other arenas where the social sciences have had such an impact on the policy-making process as in the governmental commissions. Andrén (1968) goes one step further and claims that the very majority of Swedish social science research have been pursued within the context of the commission system, rather than in the academies.

A few earlier studies have also recognised these aspects and studied the commissions as a meeting place between science and policy and as a place for social scientific research, although they are primarily concerned with the development in more recent years. Still missing is a more substantiated historical study of how the spheres of action and the more exact relationship between social science

and social policy have changed over time. The intention of this paper is of course not to drastically change this situation. What though is possible to do in this context is to briefly overview the general quantitative development of Swedish departmental commissions in the first half of the 20th century, and to comment on one of the more important commissions initiated in the first decade of the century in order to use it as a historical point of comparison, before turning to the actual case study on the Myrdals and their contribution to the Population commission in the 1930s.

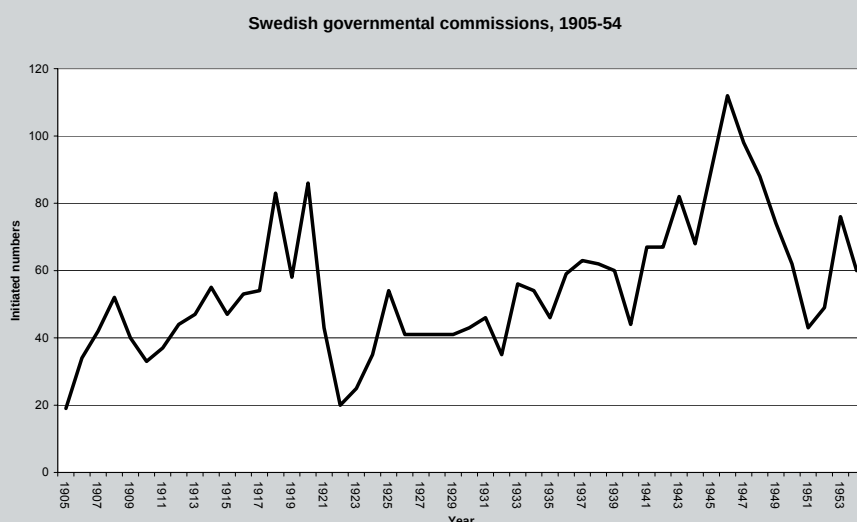


Figure 1. Numbers of initiated Swedish governmental commissions in the period 1905-1954, based on Hans Meijer, *Kommittéväsens utveckling 1905-1954* (Lund: Gleerups, 1966).

Illustrated above is the general growth of governmental commissions in the period 1905-54. The total number of commissions initiated during this fifty years period is 2.729, which can be compared to the 531 commissions which were initiated during the fifty years before. In that sense, 1905 marks the beginning of a period characterized by a strong expansion. In the ten years period before 1905, 181 commissions were initiated, whereas in the following ten years 401 commissions were initiated (while in the last ten years of the period, 1945-54, the number of initiated commissions doubled). Basically these numbers indicate the governmental activities, in the sense that the more active the

state has been, the more commissions have been initiated. But the expansion of the commissions does also reflect the limited flexibility of the bureaucratic apparatus. In that sense the commissions have offered an arena for governmental action outside the departmental organisation. When this has grown, several of the issues which the early commissions dealt with were later taken care of by the ordinary governmental departments, in the form of “in-house” investigations. The extreme growth of the departmental offices is clearly illustrated by the fact that while in 1910 there were only 4.000 ordinary civil servants, at the end of the period in 1954 there were as many as 95.000! A third reason behind the rise of numbers was that especially the small one-person commissions became more common in this period. Hence it is worth to notice that the figure above does not make any difference between small one man’s commissions and large commissions like the huge Emigration survey, initiated in 1907, or the Population Commission of 1935.

When considering the fluctuations in the figure, especially two patterns are worth commenting: the impact of the world wars and the significance of political stability. In the first case the explanation is that the world war crises fostered insecurity which were followed by periods of intensive postwar recovery efforts, including a rapidly rising number of initiated commissions. In the second case, minority governments, like in the period 1922-35, have not due to political instability had the chance to initiate future-oriented planning in the same way as majority governments have had. Hence, in the Swedish case it is important to consider the effects of the Social Democratic Worker’s Party’s extremely long period in power 1932-1976 (the first three years period in coalition with the conservative party).

Having commented on these quantitative patterns, the important aspects in this paper are however of a more qualitative kind, i.e. how the commission system functioned as an arena for social research. In that respect it is important to remember the varying and changing functions of the governmental commissions. Meijer touches upon these issues (in his analysis of the “typological development” and in

his discussion on the different uses and functions of expertise knowledge), but does not really have so very much to offer on that point. He mentions that when considering the constitution of the individual commissions, the group of external experts has tended to grow on behalf of the group of parliamentary representatives (Meijer 1966: 12-17; 1956: chapt. 4, pp 38ff.)

On that point it is however of interest to take a closer, but still brief, look at the huge so-called Emigration Survey (*Emigrationsutredningen*), which was initiated in 1907 and in the following seven years to come produced no less than 21 volumes of reports. In this large-scale investigatory work, where the demographic, economic and social state of the nation was mapped in order to find remedies against the emigration problem, governmental state action was intimately bound up with the new academic social sciences. As a matter of fact this commission can be seen as one of the first public performances of a new policy-relevant academic social science, but also as a representative of the new strivings for scientifically based reforms. More or less every single representative of the academic social scientific community was involved or represented in the huge staff of commission members. The chairman and leading force behind the whole organisation was Gustav Sundbärg, first a civil servant in the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics (*Statistiska centralbyrån*, SCB), and from 1910 onwards Sweden's first professor of statistics. The three new professors of economics and sociology -- Knut Wicksell, the holder of the chair in Lund University since 1901, Gustaf Steffen, professor of sociology and economics in Gothenburg since 1903, and Gustav Cassel, professor of economics in Stockholm since 1904 -- all participated in the missionary work, as did Nils Wohlin, the secretary of the commission, and Eli Heckscher -- of whom both became professors of statistics and economics (and, Heckscher later the first holder of a chair in economic history) -- and the two political scientists Pontus Fahlbeck and Rudolf Kjellén. Furthermore, the Emigration Survey became an important platform for younger scholars like Gösta Bagge, later professor of economics and social policy in Stockholm, and Kerstin Hesselgren, later head

and a kind of “research leader” of the Female Factory Inspectorate, as well as “amateur sociologists” such as E.H. Thörnberg. Considering the small size of the professional academic community at that time it is no exaggeration to say that more or less every social scientist was in it. Their presence gave the results produced and the political reforms based on them an important scientific credibility. But it was not only the social scientists who legitimized the political reform initiatives. At the same time the commission offered the young social scientists a chance to prove that their competence and skills were both socially useful and policy-relevant. In that sense, the Emigration Survey was an arena or trading zone where science and policy could meet and where scientific legitimacy and policy-relevance could be mutually exchanged. Consequently there are definitely reasons to speak about a co-evolving social science and social policy discourse. Malmberg & Sommestad have argued that the Emigration Survey laid the foundation for a long-standing tradition of policy-relevant social knowledge production and a “rationalistic approach” to social problems, which have encouraged a dialogue where the social scientists often regarded themselves as central agents of change. In that sense the Emigration Survey can be seen as a model for later investigations, including the Population Commission.

The observation made by Meijer, that the proportion of the group of external experts have tended to expand, while the portion of parliamentary members tended to decrease in the subsequent development of the departmental commissions, strengthen this impression. Another trend is that the boundary between these two groups tended to blur partly due to the fact that a third in-between group has been more and more important, namely representatives of external interest groups relevant for the issues focused upon, for example the women’s issues etc. This trend accelerated after the mid-1930s (Meijer 1966: 86 and 93). At that time the traditional practice of special investigative commissions was to study a given issue, utilizing the services of commission members, paid staff and supplemental experts, and that way providing tangible employment for younger academicians. These

panels prepared formal reports, including proposed legislative changes that were widely distributed and taken seriously by the Riksdag. This close collaboration between social science and the political system was also something that Alva Myrdal characterized as a unique trait of the Scandinavian democracies.

A preliminary conclusion or rather hypothesis at this early stage of the argument may thus be formulated in the way that an analysis of the sphere of action of the social scientists within the growing arena of departmental commissions, has to take into account the strong expansion within the political sphere as well as the limited size of the academic sphere. Interpreted that way, in terms of an academic supply and an external demand, the commissions offered social scientists a widened sphere of action. To understand the motivation and interests of Gunnar and Alva Myrdal to take the step into this sphere of policy-relevant social knowledge production and science-based reforms, it is however important to know a little bit more about their biographical backgrounds.

2.3.2 Nation Building

The two cases of Austria and Ireland give some evidence that the creation of state building and national sociology was somehow linked to each other. Early Irish university sociology functioned as an important intellectual movement to support the young Irish independency (with the help of the Irish Catholicism).

Case and Comment 4 - Tina Kelly: History of Sociology in Ireland

[from: Tina Kelly: Summary Report of Workpackage 1, Ireland.]

The origins of social inquiry in Ireland can be traced back to the 1800s when Ireland was still governed from Westminster. The early forms of inquiry were very much of an empirical nature focusing mainly on statistics in an attempt of trying to understand Irish culture, religion, demography and economic conditions. The issue of poverty also remained paramount. Much of this type of inquiry was carried out by the Dublin Statistical and Social Inquiry Society (established in 1847). The Dublin Statistical Society later became the Statistical & Social Inquiry Society (in 1862) and continues to function until the present day. However, there is also evidence of some pioneering sociological writings trying to combine political economy with what today we would call political sociology (Gustave de Beaumont's 1839 book on Ireland is a good example).

Throughout the 19th century the political economy tradition - sometimes mixed with statistical evidence provided by the Dublin Statistical Society - maintained a strong position; it was only towards the turn of the century that this approach was increasingly replaced by more evolutionary, Spencerian approaches.

The early part of the 20th century saw a shift in terms of following a more nationalist line of inquiry. The sociological tradition at the time was also deeply influenced by the Catholic Church. The discipline called 'Catholic Sociology' originated in St Patrick's College Maynooth and had its origins

in the Catholic social movement of the late 19th century. The movement's intention was to counteract the growing socialism and secularism in Europe at the time. Dr. Coffey, a Catholic priest in Maynooth, argued for what he called 'Christian socialism', publishing pamphlets such as *Between Capitalism and Socialism: Some Landmarks for Irish Catholics* or *The Social Question in Ireland*.

In 1944 the first Irish sociology textbook appeared. Peter McKeivitt's *The Plan of Society* is an account of a course he taught in 'Catholic Sociology' at Maynooth College. Around the same time, the Christus

Rex Society, which had its base in Maynooth, was formed. The society published the first sociological journal in Ireland, Christus Rex: Journal of Sociology.

Mid 20th century Ireland also witnessed the emergence of anthropological studies mainly carried out by American social scientists (Arensberg and Kimball's Family and Community in Ireland from 1940 is probably the best example). This type of social anthropology led to a new interest in studying rural Ireland, to such an extent that over the years rural sociology has become a prominent sub-discipline in Irish sociology.

The 1960s and 1970s saw the proper establishment of sociology as a distinct academic discipline being taught at Irish universities. However, the first chairs within the universities remained under direct control and supervision of the Catholic Church. However, other institutions, more secular in their outlook - such as the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) - were established, focusing on large-scale social research of a primarily empirical and positivistic nature. Social issues including emigration, social class and mobility, education, family problems and poverty were of primary concern. Most of the research had a strong policy orientation – the gathering of information in relation to issues recognised by the state, the Church or other pressure groups. Research carried out in both the Republic and Northern Ireland also addressed and covered those issues that related directly to the conflict in Northern Ireland.

An important step forward was the establishment of the Sociological Association of Ireland in 1973. The establishment of the SAI opened up a new arena for sociological discussion and research. Much of the debate, including issues pertaining more to social policy, can be found in the journal Social Studies: Irish Journal of Sociology, (which by then had become the successor to the Christus Rex Journal).

During the 1980's, sociology in Ireland experienced some stagnation. There was hardly any development in terms of professional expansion. (Most academic sociology appointments

had been made in the 1970s). However, the emergence of more contemporary textbooks dealing with Irish society, and a series reader stimulating debates ranging from 'gender' and 'culture' to issues of crime and social control demonstrated that the field was alive and well.

The 1990's saw a renewed surge of interest in sociology, partly spurred by new funding sources. Sociology expanded and sociological thought and practice even expanded beyond its own discipline (the success of women's studies and feminist debates along gender and identity questions serve as a good example). Issues of a more international nature, especially globalisation, media influence and European integration, were increasingly discussed.

The year 1991 saw the founding of the Irish Journal of Sociology (as a successor of the Social Studies). The journal together with the publication of some key books, which looked at Irish society more critically, were crucial for establishing sociology as a 'normal' discipline (in the sense of Thomas Kuhn's 'normal science'), a constellation in which the burden of Catholic and nationalist influences was still felt but where the discipline was no longer totally controlled by those forces.

2.4 Transcending the nation state – culture, public, power on the international scale

Sociology was never so deeply fragmented to inhibit sociologists from having international contact with colleagues. Ratzenhofer, Weber or Pareto are only some examples of early sociologists who traveled abroad for having talks with foreign colleagues. However, internationalization in sociology means more than sporadic visits and casual talks. Internationalization in sociology means that international contacts have to be organized in permanent and institutionalized meetings. It includes the creation of international societies of sociology and international publication systems. Amongst countries that belong to the same language family internationalization of national sociologies was always an undeniable reality. In that sense there was never fragmentation in sociology between these nations. Take for example the German language community that is nowadays mainly divided into three nation states in which German is the majority language. Before World War II Austrian sociologists were self-evidently members of the German Association of Sociology.

Internationalization, however, does in many cases not mean that totally equal partners establish contacts. Domination is an unavoidable element of internationalization. There may be status differences between nations (and their members) which are in permanent and tight contact with each other. I.e., in comparison to Germany, Switzerland and Austria are the lower ranked partners in both the media system and the system of higher education. Our case study of Austrian sociology demonstrated that the relatively low rank of Austrian sociology resulted in weak coherence and self-esteem and a strong orientation towards Germany (without being able to formulate and to defend its own standards successfully). To internationalize in this case means that the dominator absorbs the lower ranked sociology of the weak country, which means *Germanization*. Another case was Ireland. Out of historical reasons, Ireland did not manage to establish a distinct Celtic culture. Therefore it became the weakest part of the vast English language community dominated by the United States (and to some degree by England). Internationalization of sociology in the case of Ireland meant trying to balance American and English influence. On the one hand, Irish sociologists participate in the American journal and department structure, on the other hand they orientate themselves also to

England. Before the internationalization of Irish sociology took place it mainly followed the guidelines of the Irish Catholic Church. The tragedy of small countries' sociology lies in its natural narrowness compared to the alternatives of internationalization. Integrating national sociologies, however, should not become an aim without regarding the two major perils of this endeavor.

- Internationalization may lead to a system of domination.
- Transcending national language communities may result in misunderstanding or non-understanding social phenomena.

The first peril leads to a core problem of the European Union. Standardization processes within the Union like the Bologna-Process or trade liberties promote internationalization of sociology and other scientific fields. It breaks up national narrowness and ends the fragmentation of science. The EU standardization processes, on the other hand, also promote the dominators within language communities to further extent their domination. Internationalization and EU standardization processes, therefore, can lead to new forms of domination (and not only in sociology). There is the peril of *Europeanization* as unintended forms of *Germanification*, *Franconization* or *Americanization*.

The second peril describes the methodological problem of understanding. Since understanding social behaviour is strongly linked to the sociologist's ability to share the language of the individuals who are considered as objects of the investigation, transcending this language leads to mis- or non-understanding. Thus, the first peril of domination may also stimulate a non-understanding because it is the language of the dominator that becomes standard *lingua franca* amongst sociologists. Out of these perils, integrating national sociologies should be done carefully and with the respect of national peculiarities. The concept of Anovasofie is such a careful approach.

Our third case study was that of Turkey. Due to the uniqueness of its language Turkish sociology seems to be far away from internationalization. However, Turkish sociology is perhaps big enough to become self-sufficient. In today's world internationalization of European sociology does not lead to Europeanizing sociology. It rather leads to Americanization. In this context it is interesting to study cases of states bound together in the

same language communities. Here we find internationalization processes of sociology in a smaller scale.

The next article focuses on the international and intra-national relationship of sociology. The paper stresses the fact that exchange and dissemination of sociological knowledge happens not between equal “knowledge-producers”. In reality, there are strong status hierarchies between particular “locations of sociological knowledge-production” (like universities, and national sociological scenes). Thus, not every location of “sociological-production” gains the same sum of sociological knowledge from other locations than it gives to other locations. The paper describes this unequal relationship with an import-export and a center-periphery model. Therefore, some universities and national sociological scenes give more sociological knowledge to others than they gain from them. These are the self-confident centers of sociological production whereas marginalized peripheries are more or less imitators and importers. On the national level, there are three main centers of sociological production (USA/England, Germany, and France) dominating their particular peripheries. These peripheries are countries belonging to the same linguistic group than these centers.

Case and Comment 5 - Dieter Reicher: Exports and Imports. A model of fragmentation in European sociology

[from: Dieter Reicher: The International Status System of Sociology and its Hindrance to create a common European Scene. Summary Report of Workpackage 1.]

The model bases on assumptions about status differences in sociology on local and national level. The approach comprehends three main arguments:

1. Exports and imports: Unlike physics or even economics, sociology did not provide a unified scientific approach. Thus, sociology is not a culturally neutral or antiseptic endeavor. Exporting and importing ideas means also to transfer cultures.
2. Centers and peripheries: The European fragmentation of sociology reveals status differences and dependencies between different countries. International sociology is not a form of cooperation between equal partners. The case studies indicate that there are centers and peripheries in sociology. The peripheries try to imitate what is going on in the centers. Thus it is necessary to study status relationships and dependencies between sociologists of different countries.
3. Equals and Missioners: Like the relationship between countries also that of university departments within countries is important. In some countries equal relationships between departments of sociology prevail. In other countries there may be stiff hierarchies. Some departments may dominate others entirely (they are missioners).

Exports and Imports

Like every other science and occupation also sociology has its unique procedures, goals, definitions, and social roles etc. On the other side, national specific cultures are not typical for all kind of

sciences to that extent they are for sociology. Here sociology has more in common with disciplines like history, literature and law. It is different to other social sciences like economics or political sciences. LePenies distinction of national cultures are today more true for sociology than for natural sciences which seemingly becomes entirely international. In sociology, like in many human humanities national styles and national languages seem to be of utter importance. Due to national styles of sociology there are import/export relationships between countries. Some countries produce unique types of sociology, which were exported to other countries.

In economics there is not such kind of international trade of ideas. National styles are not important. There is mainly one type of highly formalized economy originated mainly in Britain and America organized as a monopoly. Like sociology today, also economics had once its cleavages along the line of national styles. The nineteenth century *Methodenstreit* (disputes about methods) between Carl Menger and Gustav Schmoller in German economics indicates national differences in thinking and researching about economics.

Some are saying that the lack of formalization is responsible for lasting cultural difference in sociology. It seems to be true that higher degrees of abstraction and formalization help to neglect national peculiarities based on mentality and language. Therefore, within sociology high-formalized branches like such based on statistics and Rational Choice models may support international cooperation better. Above all, such branches may are also be open for higher division of labor in science. In sociology more individualized and national bounded forms with less division of labor prevail. Pure quantitative based research is a good example of sociology with higher degree in the division of labor. Like in the case of the Austrian economics also the quantitative sociology once won a battle in Germany against national resistance. And like with its economic counterpart the original debates pro and against quantitative sociology are almost forgotten; or not of importance any longer. Its victory Anglo-Saxon economy was too total. Above all, the highly formalized economics allowed a more or less “undramatic” form of American influence.

Centers and peripheries

In less standardized and formalized subfields of sociology the national origin prevails. This is true for the most sociological theories beside Rational Choice Theory. Even higher formalized theories like that of Parsons AGIL scheme never got rid of their American traces. Sometimes theories became more international. However, they have their “homeland”. Unlike in economics in sociology, there was always “international trade” of intellectual goods of different qualities between countries. There are main producers and dependent countries. Main producers have a positive trade balance whereas dependent countries import more than they export. Main producers are France, Germany, and the United States. After World War II, America was for a while the exclusive main producer. In this period, quantitative sociology, Parson’s theory, or critical outlaws like Goffman were exported even to Germany and France without any substantial re-imports from these countries. Today, Germany and France once more have a positive balance of trade.

It seems to be the case that there are no common national styles of sociologies within exporting countries. In America, France, and Germany “schools” or better very personal networks of teachers and pupils are important. There are no common national endeavors to produce and export one kind of sociology. Personal relationships of teachers and pupils have their national based centers and their foreign periphery of loosely bound comrades (who have either the status of missionaries or of strangers in their remote countries). Sociologists of these countries enjoy higher reputation in peripheral countries due to two reasons. First, there is a general cultural domination of these countries based on language. Second, centers have larger sociological communities, which allow them to standardize sociology more successful. Standardization is indicated in means of organization (university organization, conferences, journals, and publishers) and ideas.

The centers have their own hinterlands or peripheries to which they can maintain a policy of positive trade balance. It should not be surprising that these colonial networks are mainly based on language and that there is no common European networks.

Germany as the center of German-speaking world has its dependencies in Austria and German speaking Switzerland. France is dominant in Belgium, French-speaking Switzerland and Romanic speaking countries (what is about Sociology in French speaking Africa?). America dominates the English-speaking world (whereas Britain has a more independent role than Canada or Ireland). Totally unknown to the authors is the situation of sociology in former East Europe. Are there parallels to the political alliances? Is there a strong orientation to America (or to Germany)? In Scandinavia there seems to be a kind of unique Scandinavian scene; on the other side *Acta Sociologica* is published by Sage and in English. The Dutch are in the good situation to stand between two centers (Germany and the English-speaking world).

In Sociology, it seems that there are language-based networks with its own centers and peripheries. Even the transformation of sociological theories from other networks (like from America) goes through the mediation of regional network's centers. In the German network, for instance most of the imports from outside become first "Germanized" in Germany. Afterwards they are distributed to peripheral Austria and Switzerland. In this network, there is no leading department or research institute outside of Germany. The same is true to sociological journals. The social science citation index reveals that the German journals are most relevant within the group of all German-speaking journals. It is an important task for further research to reconstruct all other European trans-national networks.

In respect to these languages based relationships a common European landscape of sociology is less decisive. Although there are some common European journals of sociology and there is the ESA and its conferences these organs and institutions lack of reputation. In many fields the nation-based associations (above all those of the center-states) are much better organized than the ESA.

Equals and missionaries

The differences between Ireland and Austria are not easy to understand. Both are peripheral countries however sociology seems

to be differently organized. Above all, Ireland is in a more advantageous “geo-sociological” position. First, the English language enables foreigners to participate in Irish sociology. Second, Irish sociologists can choose between America and England. To this perspective, there are similarities to Dutch sociologists who also can choose between Germany and English speaking world. The Austrians on the other side are more dependent on the Germans (only few of them are writing to an English speaking audience).

Beside these “geo-sociological” differences the organization of the university system is of importance, too. There are differences in reputation between universities and cities. This internal ranking may determine the development of a nation’s sociology and intellectual culture. There were mostly particular places of outstanding innovative ideas that influenced a whole country. The most famous example in sociology is probably the Chicago school of sociology. This was the first modern department of sociology and it influenced many other places in America. Such central places within countries occupy the role of main missionaries. Either in such places important ideas and organizational models are produced and distributed to the remote places. Or these outstanding places function as main transmitters of ideas from abroad. This stiff hierarchy of missionaries and remote places are not being found in every country. In some countries the relationship of sociological locations are more equal. In today’s America Chicago is not dominant any longer. There are many different centers. There is no single main missionary. In Ireland, Turkey, and Austria, on the other side, there was and is still the structure of missionary and remote places.

There are some possible patterns of development for peripheral countries. In countries dominated traditionally by a single place, this place may function either as stronghold against foreign influence or as the main missionary. If the old central place becomes the main missionary it keeps its role as the exclusive center. Another possibility is the rise of a second new national center due to the stubborn, anti-international, traditional attitude of the old center. Here, the traditional center is denying the role of becoming the main

missionary. Another place is open enough – and enough potential – to occupy this role and to gain reputation with its new role.

These internal national rankings are not easy to revealed within the framework of Anovasofie. Regarding our three case studies, there are still some facts unclear. All three cases seem to have the distinction of old centers of intellectual production and provincial locations. The old centers are Istanbul, Dublin, and Vienna. The first departments of sociology were established in these old centers. In Ireland, i.e., St. Patrick's College functioned as stronghold against British influenced. It performed a program of Catholic sociology. It was established much earlier than all other Irish departments. Later on in provincial universities also some other departments of sociology were introduced in all three countries. The impact of these institutions to the sociological scene was probably different in each country.

However, it needs much familiarity with a country to really understand the meaning of the relationship between central places and the rest. In our three cases, Austria seems to be the country with the accentuated distinction between the central place and the provinces. Here traditionally, Vienna was the center politically and intellectually. Therefore, the University of Vienna outshined every other university. Even in the time of the Empire, Vienna possessed an outstanding position. The model career for a professor started as a student in Vienna, continued as a professor in a province university (the further east the worse) and ended in Vienna (the destiny of his dreams). (In this sense, Ludwig Gumplowicz did not achieve model career because he ended up in Graz.) After the decline of the empire and the introduction of the republic, Vienna's position became even more outstanding because it was the only remaining big city in Austria. In the decades after World War II, provincial Universities were promoted by the state (and established: like Linz and Salzburg with its departments of sociology). The status of Vienna diminished; however, this does not lead to a national "university league" of equals. Every (futile) attempt to establish outstanding places of research (also for sociology) was made in Vienna, like the introduction of the Institute for Advanced Studies or the recent announcement to introduce a post graduate college.

3. Sociology as a public intellectual movement

In the nineteenth century, public intellectuals started to debate about “social problems”. Thus, public intellectuals began to formulate problems of later sociology. The rise of public intellectuals, however, would not have been possible without the introduction of a modern media systems (regular newspapers, magazines etc.), the establishment of national languages, and the democratisation of Western societies. The educated middle classes became important for the formation of the public sphere. It was this social group which was mainly engaged as intellectuals, readers, and listeners of social debates. Presumably in France a prototype of modern public intellectual appeared first who were concerned with social issues. Here, even today, sociologists participate in public debates more frequently than in many other European countries. In a case study about how French sociologists perform as public intellectuals in the French newspaper *Le Monde* Laurent Jeanpierre and Sébastien Mosbah Natanson studied characteristics of French public sociologists.

Case and Comment 6 - Laurent Jeanpierre and Sébastien Mosbah Natanson: The nature of the public sociologist in France

[from: Laurent Jeanpierre and Sébastien Mosbah Natanson: French Sociologists and the Public Space of the Press. Paper produced within the Anovasofie-project]

A first means of examining this milieu is to create a list of the top ranking sociologists who intervene in the Le Monde Op-Ed section. By only selecting those who have written, individually or collectively, more than twice in eight years, we obtained a restrictive group of around twenty persons that can be thought of as the worldly pole in French sociology. The result is almost the same for philosophers. In other words, there is a strong concentration of intellectuals participating in public debates at the top of the hierarchy. Like in the case of the scientific field and most of the fields of cultural production, the public sphere of the press is structured by what Robert Merton has called the “Matthew effect”: there is a threshold of media recognition on the basis of which symbolic capital accumulates itself (Merton 1968 & 1988). What traits are characteristic of the French public sociologist? They mainly tend to be male, three-quarters of columns having been written by men. It is even more probable that they will be attached to a Parisian institution: sociologists from the provinces less frequently write for Le Monde than do those from other countries. The columns do little more than accentuate the centralised nature of French sociology. 78% of its research centres are based in the Paris region. Finally, the public sociologist is generally over forty years old: there is no means of accessing public opinion before having passed the tests posed by the field. The institution which one belongs to seems, furthermore, to be a determinative variable in the legitimization of participation in public debates. Among the twenty or so sociologists we selected, a majority come from the CNRS and the EHESS although the former represent only a little over a third of all French sociologists. It is researchers rather than professors and those from relatively new institutions as opposed to the Grandes Ecoles (elite higher education institutions), or the Collège de France, that enable

other sociologists to join the ranks of those most in the public eye. On the basis of the list of top-ranking sociologists intervening in *Le Monde* since 1995, in either columns or interviews, the significance of a specific network emerging from the research centre founded at the EHESS by the sociologist Alain Touraine in 1981, the Centre for Analysis and Sociological Intervention (CADIS), which houses five of the twenty most publicised researchers (Touraine, Wieviorka, Le Bot, Khosrokhavar and Louis), can be observed. The study attempts to specify the relations between the position of a sociologist in disciplinary field and the tendency towards making public interventions. As in the rare cases of studies on public intellectuals in other countries it may be seen that there is a very weak correlation between the scientific capital of an intellectual and his/her legitimacy in the public sphere of the press. Therefore, the top-ranking sociologists in our study have published much less in national or international scientific journals than in the *Le Monde* columns in the period under consideration. This negative correlation can be witnessed to an even greater degree among the most public philosophers and in other countries. This type of correlation may constitute a law in the relations between the intellectual field and the public sphere. This is what explains the fact that the philosopher Jacques Derrida or the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, known publicly and among the scientific community abroad, were in fact at the bottom of the top-ranked list of public intellectuals in France. One should also note that their interventions were most of times part of collective articles of petitions.

In the same way, the sociologists most highly represented in the columns of *Le Monde* are not those with the highest initial educational capital. Among our sample of public sociologists, those educated at the elite *Ecole Normale Supérieure* are less represented than those from mainstream universities or, in particular from the Institute of Political Studies (IEP), a private, independent higher education institution that trains politicians, journalists and researchers in political science. Writing a column in *Le Monde* – a significant proportion of its journalists having been educated at the IEP – seems to be more easily accessible to those following similar educational paths. This is a comparable structural tendency that no

doubt also explains the fact that the public sociologists who intervene most often, particularly in relation to their weak scientific capital, are also those from the higher social strata.

The majority of the sociologists most prolific in the *Le Monde* columns also have a high status position within education or research, i.e. a professorship or directorship of research or studies. Therefore, although some scientific capital is necessary in order to access the columns, it is not necessary to gain more in order to remain there and increase one's importance. It is as if, having reached a threshold authorizing intervention, there was a mechanism in operation that converts the resources accumulated in the scientific field for consumption in the public sphere. In France, like probably in other Western countries, one should thus distinguish between two careers that require a minimal amount of scientific capital: that of the public intellectual and that of the scholar or university professor.

The analysis of these twenty French public sociologists and their interventions (108 columns) allows, furthermore, for the distinction to be made between two modes of participation in the public debate. A first group of "generalists" (those who Bourdieu and Passeron (1963) once wrote off as "universal specialists"), intervene on all – or nearly all – topics without mobilising specific skills or resources (Alain Touraine, Edgar Morin, Michel Wieviorka). Here, the sociologist reproduces the norms of behaviour of the public intellectual figures of the past, such as writers or philosophers. Another type, or particular sub-type, is represented by the spokesperson (or the "organic" sociologist, as Gramsci would have said) who represents the position taken by a party (as in the case of Michaël Löwy or, sometimes Michel Wieviorka and Alain Touraine), a trade union or a collective (as in the case of Monique Dagnaud) to which s/he generally belongs. This type of figure stands in contrast to that – in the minority – of the specialist public sociologist who takes a stance in the public sphere on subjects within which s/he has developed competency and scientific recognition (such as Didier Fassin on public health, Yvon Le Bot on Chiapas, Laurent Mucchielli on delinquency, Pierre Merle on the education system, François de Singly on the family and Dominique Wolton on the media, etc.). This

division is probably not specific to sociology. Indeed, it has, since the 1970s, accompanied the legitimization process of the social sciences within the public sphere of the press so that the traditional figure of the Dreyfusard intellectual, the “universal intellectual” in France has, by now, entered into competition with that of the “specific intellectual”. However, because the social institution of the Op-Ed and the former figure are historically linked, it is normal that the latter remains in the minority, no doubt appearing more within expertise and counter-expertise. An analysis of the themes of intervention of public sociologists in Le Monde between 1995 and 2002 can allow for this first brief typology to be concluded and considered.

3.1 Academic sociologists as public intellectuals

In Europe, mainly two types of sociologists as public intellectuals emerged during the nineteenth century: Academic sociologists as public intellectuals. and Public intellectuals as sociologists.

The sociologists who were engaged as public intellectuals and who brought their expertise to a wider audience often differed strongly in style, intention and effectiveness. In the project Anovasofie at least three different categories of sociologists as public intellectuals were identified: Social engineers, disengaged public sociologists, and partisan sociologists. "Conform to predominant political system" means that these sociologists do not reject the political system they are living in. They may be critical about particular political actions or campaigns. However, they do not intend or do not wish to replace the existing political structure. Moreover, these sociologists tend to participate actively in reform programs implemented by the state. They are not suspicious of the state-organization itself and, therefore, they tend to support technocratic politics. And they see themselves as experts within such a politics of social engineering. Habermas criticized this position of experts: He means that such politics leads to the division of labor amongst experts who are not longer able to understand the wider context of society. The use of technology and social engineering fosters the development of a narrow understanding of society based on rational procedures among these experts. Therefore, they also tend to interpret the world in the focus of such narrow rational procedures. According to Habermas such sociologists are not willing to conform to the predominant political system. Some of them try to detach themselves from the pragmatic world of experts. Some seek to find a new social base without hierarchies to discuss and implement reforms.

Table 1: Types of public sociologist and its attitudes

Types of sociologist as public intellectuals	conform to predominant political system	pragmatic proposals to change societies	Examples
Social engineering	Yes	Yes	Weber, Myrdals
Disengaged	No	No	Adorno, (Habermas)
Partisan	No	Yes	Bourdieu, (Habermas)

3.1.1 Social engineers

The sociologist who hopes to influence directly the course of social change through his expertise is analyzed here in the persons of Weber and the Myrdals. These kinds of sociologists try to table concrete proposals on how society should be changed to governments. For them it is not of main importance to communicate with the public; they perceive it as a necessity in order to successfully influence directly governments. This kind of public sociologist has the closed relation to technocratic ambition and is therefore called *social engineer*. Per Wisselgren's paper about the Myrdals demonstrates their role as social engineers in pre World War II Swedish society.

Case and Comment 7 - Per Wisselgren: The Myrdals as public intellectuals: From social science to social policy

[from: Per Wisselgren: Regulating the Science-Policy Boundary: The Myrdals and the Swedish Tradition of Governmental Commissions. The paper was produced within the project Anovasofie]

To give a short and comprehensive picture of Gunnar and Alva Myrdal is however far from easy. The last two decades have witnessed a rapidly expanding body of literature on the Myrdals. In the Swedish context this growing research interest has been stimulated by a more general re-evaluation of the Swedish welfare project and the controversial and partly contradictory biographical accounts of their children followed more recently by studies on their internal private correspondence. But Gunnar and Alva Myrdal are also internationally renowned, where not least their role as an extraordinary creative couple has been recognized, based on the unique fact that both of them received Nobel prizes in different areas. In Gunnar's case, special interest has been centered round his work on *An American Dilemma* but there is also a wide-ranging literature covering other aspects of his "multiple careers" as a social scientist, a politician and a public intellectual. Most research, especially on Alva Myrdal, is however centered on her political activities rather than on her role as a social researcher, although recent years have witnessed a growing interest in these issues as well. One main argument in this context is however that for the Myrdals these two sides were intimately linked up to each other, rather than clearly separated, and consequently should be studied as two sides of one and the same coin. The point from such a perspective is that their roles in the population commission should not be understood as a one-sidedly social policy initiative, but as much with a focus on the social scientific aspects, or, to put it in another way, in the context of the complex relationship between social research and policy-making.

Applying such a perspective, it is important to note the simple fact that the population commission was preceded by Gunnar and Alva Myrdal's first joint visit to the US as Rockefeller research fellows in

1929-30, but also that their experiences from this visit, as many scholars have witnessed, had a formative impact on their subsequent activities as social researchers -- but also for their standpoints in social policy issues, and especially the way these issues were linked up to each other. Before they departed for the US both Gunnar's and Alva's main interests were academic in the strict sense of the word, Gunnar's especially in the area of economics and Alva's in social psychology. Gunnar had at that time already made himself a name as one of the young and promising economists in the so-called Stockholm school of economics, achieved his grade as *Dozent*, and was mainly focused on issues on macroeconomic theory and business cycle research. Meanwhile, Alva had started working on a dissertation project on "psychoanalytic pedagogics" under the supervision of professor Bertil Hammer in Uppsala University, the holder of the first chair in pedagogics in Sweden, and also presented a lengthy draft of a positive critique of Freud's dream theory.

Another important point in the argument is that the contemporary status of the Swedish social science was vague and fragile. There were for example no chairs in psychology and sociology (although there had been a chair in sociology and economics in Gothenburg since 1903, held by Gustaf Steffen, but which after his death, was not followed up). Subjects like political science, statistics and pedagogics existed at the university and university colleges in Uppsala, Lund, Stockholm and Gothenburg, but were compared with today's situation very limited in numbers. Instead the real expansion of the academic social sciences in Sweden was basically a postwar phenomenon, something that was still to come. The only exception to this generally slow and vague social science institutionalisation was the field of economics, which in the first decades of the 20th century had developed remarkably, especially in the direction of neoclassical economic theory. At the same time, however, paradoxically as it may seem, there were many voices in the public debate asking for and pointing at the need for a strengthened social science. In several aspects, I hold, it is in this situation, characterized by a vague supply and a strong demand for social

research, that both Alva's and Gunnar's serious and far-reaching plans as social scientists should be understood.

Hence, when they both received their research fellow grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, their ambitions were set high. The explicit aim of Alva's research trip was, quoting her own formulation in the application, "to specialize my studies in the direction of social psychology, a branch which is until now almost exclusively an American science", in order to "prove competent for holding an academic lectureship in psychology and theoretical pedagogics" while Gunnar's plans actually were a little bit more vague. He had at that time held a series of lectures on "The concepts of value and use in economic theory" at the Stockholm University College in the spring term 1928. What he mainly did in the US was to elaborate these thematic lectures on the influence of politics on the development of classical economic theory into a book manuscript, published in 1930 as *Vetenskap och politik i nationalekonomin* -- later translated into German (in 1932) and into English under the title *The Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory* (1953) -- where he heavily emphasized the need for a demarcated theoretical boundary between science and policy (Myrdal 1930: 12). The book is today regarded as a classic, representing a significant step in his development as a social thinker. In that context their year in the US was crucial.

What they met there, in stark contrast to the vaguely institutionalised Swedish social sciences, was a dynamic but also more interdisciplinary, applied and reform-oriented social science aimed at solving social problems. During their stay at Columbia University and travels all over the continent they met individuals and learned to know research which became important for their development as social researchers. Alva systematically contacted the leading researchers in the field of social psychology in general and in child development and pioneering observational methods in particular: Charlotte Bühler, Alfred Adler, Arnold Gesell, Francis Ilg, Florence Goodenough, Gardner Murphy, Robert and Helen Lynd and John Dewey. Meanwhile Gunnar was more attracted to historical and

institutionalist economists in relation to business cycle research and population issues, applying a widened social perspective, and hence moved from pure theoretical economics to a multidisciplinary mix of economics, political science, social psychology and sociology. This meant that Alva and Gunnar's interests increasingly overlapped and made ground for future joint projects. In this collaborative approach they were especially inspired by Dorothy Swaine and W.I. Thomas, who lived, worked and performed as an intellectual couple engaged in research and policy issues closely related to Alva's and Gunnar's interests and with whom they developed a close and long-lasting relationship. With great enthusiasm they declared in letters to their Swedish friends and relatives the dialectical result of their planned collaboration: "An economist + a social psychologist, united in marriage and authorship, makes naturally and easily a sociologist". But they also saw a future role to fulfill as social scientists and intellectuals when they would come back to Sweden.

The effect of the American experiences on Myrdals' social theorizing was large. In important respects it laid the ground for their scientific progressivism. Of special importance in this context was the social political implications of Gunnar's re-orientation in economic theory. What he in that sense did, was to lay a foundation for what was to become one of the main themes in his social and political thinking in the following decades. For both Gunnar and Alva this meant that their focus of interest was both widened and slightly displaced in the direction from research to reform, what Alva later referred to as "the line" of their life or as Carlson summarizes it: Leaving Sweden as detached intellectuals, they returned a year later committed to political action and radical reform on the basis of a scientific sociology (Carlson 1990: 42).

Back in Sweden, after another year in Switzerland, where Gunnar held a professorship at the Institut Universitaire des Hautes Études Internationales and Alva studied for Jean Piaget at the Rousseau Institute in Geneva, both of them was drawn into politics and from that moment on began to perform as public intellectuals. In Alva's case this move was not a one-sidedly positive thing. The reason

was that her supervisor, Professor Hammer, suddenly had died and been replaced by another Professor, who was of the opinion that Freud deserved no academic attention at all, not even if it like in Alva's case aimed at a critique of the scientific foundations of Freud's dream theory, and hence made it impossible to continue her academic career. At that moment she chose to channel her social scientific interests into more practical ways instead -- a move which however was not necessarily to be seen as a less attractive choice considering her widened interests in connection to her American experiences.

In the following years both Gunnar and Alva joined the Social Democratic Worker's Party and became involved in the leading circles of intellectual radicals, which included, authors, artists, philosophers, social scientists, architects and physicians, basically united round the conviction of the need for social reforms in order to encourage a more modern and democratic society. Or, as she enthusiastically described them in a letter to her American friends:

young radical people who want to be free to criticise [sic!] anything – they don't care about their careers – but who are not going to be just *intellectuals* making a show, but keeping together as a group because they want to be constructive. They are all *experts* in different fields and probably the most outspoken group in this country, being at the same time absolutely free from all petty considerations of what is done and what is not said and so on. (Myrdal 1932, my italics)

In this period, Alva became a frequent author of articles mainly related to social issues on women's and children's situation, including housing, child care and sexual enlightenment -- where in all of them she applied an unmistakingly social psychological and pedagogical perspective -- and soon became a leading voice in the contemporary women's movement. Meanwhile, Gunnar continued elaborating his theoretical critique of the foundations of neoclassical economics, eagerly repeating his main points in different contexts: that bourgeois economics basically were value-laden and not as

objective and "scientific" as it claimed itself to be. The implication was *not* however that economists and social scientists should try to eliminate the social and ideological elements, but instead to clarify and articulate the value premises explicitly, which would make the results more honest. Another way of explaining his contribution to the theoretical discussions on the scientific credibility of the social sciences, is that he by way of defending its legitimacy, problematized its ideological bias. In that sense he re-formulated what may be metaphorically described as the contract between social science and social policy. In practice, this did not however mean that the economists' sphere of action was restricted, at least not according to Myrdal's interpretation, but paradoxically that it was widened, that the foundations of the neoclassical economics was shaken but also that he opened up new gates to both economic theories and political experimentation. In that sense there was no contradiction between his theoretical concerns with the scientific credibility of economics and his political engagement in social and financial issues. Instead, to repeat the main argument of this paper, it is if not necessary so at least fruitful to regard the scientific and political achievements as different aspects of one and the same project.

This becomes clear if you read a number of theoretical and political key texts, presented in the following years as different articulations over the same theme. In similar ways Gunnar made a parallel social science *and* political career during these years. One of these key texts is certainly his inaugurate lecture in connection to the Lars Hierta chair in economics in Stockholm in 1933. In that lecture he repeated the main arguments from *The political elements* on the need for a demarcated distinction between science and policy and heavily criticized liberal economics from a theoretical and analytical point of view, but also touched upon the questions about the role and responsibility of intellectuals and added what he regarded as the political implications from that critique by arguing for the need for a systematic political planning. In that sense the lecture not only outlined a scientific program for further research -- as usually

expected from lectures within that genre -- but also a political program.

Part of the story is that he at that very moment, already had explicated that political program in a widely read article on "The dilemma of social policy", published in 1932 in *Spektrum*, the journal of the intellectual radical circle mentioned above, where he pointed at the need for systematic political planning on the social housing issues, but also more principally declared that social policy efforts should not be seen as financial deficits but as components in a "profylactic social policy program" (G. Myrdal 1932). The path-breaking importance of this key idea was soon adopted by the social democratic party when entering upon their first period of political power that very year and served as an ideological pillar in the way it rhetorically framed the initiated social policy program of that period. In that sense, the *Spektrum*-article deserves to be read as a parallel key text to the inauguration lecture in the following year.

Another such key text, produced in the very same period, was the considerably more informal promemoria on business cycles and public financing ("Konjunktur och offentlig hushållning"), which appeared as an appendix to the 1933 years budget proposal of the social democratic government. The budget proposal marked the start of a great effort to take the nation out of the contemporary financial crisis and served as a foundation document for the development of future Swedish policy. In his PM Gunnar basically repeated the main idea from the *Spektrum*-article, that public subsidies in the social area should not been seen as negative budget posts but as future-oriented long-term financial investments. The close relation between *The political element* and this explicitly political document is illustrated by a chain of historical links: that Ernst Wigforss first read Gunnar's book with great enthusiasm and wrote a positive review in the Social Democratic Party's journal *Tiden*, while Gunnar at this time had joined the party, which that very year entered upon its forty-four years of power, and that Wigforss, as one of the leading theoretical thinker of the party, in a small pamphlet from that year, had formulated similar ideas, i.e. that the

way to get out of the economic crisis was not by accumulating money but to make public investments in social policy (Wigforss 1932), and that Wigforss became financial minister in the new government, and in that position invited Gunnar Myrdal, the new professor of economics in Stockholm, to write the PM for the new financial plan.

One of the many spin-off effects from these orchestrated events, was that Gunnar from this moment on was drawn into the very center of political power, and in this centripetal movement also managed to include several of his other intellectual friends. In 1933, for example, he and a close colleague of his, the architect Uno Åhrén, presented their very first royal commission report on social housing statistics (SOU 1933:14). Sven Bouvin and Rolf Bergman, two other friends of his, were engaged in the commission work as assistants, while the economist Alf Johansson were involved in the social policy discussions. In that sense, Carlson (1990: 56-57) suggest, the report to a high degree expressed the group's collective values and opinions. The report was also reviewed by another friend of his, the architect Sven Markelius in *Spektrum*, who, besides the quality of the social investigations and the need for an improved and more "sociologically sensitive" statistics on housing issues, especially underlined what he recognized as the principally most important innovation of the report, the methodological principle to always demarcate the objective factors from the subjective ones: "A clarified demarcation of the expert knowledge and an open and immediate confrontation with the political value premises ought to be a prerequisite of modern practical social investigations" (my translation).

As a consequence of the report, another and larger commission on social housing was initiated in 1933. In that commission both Gunnar Myrdal, Uno Åhrén and Sven Markelius was included, as well as Alva Myrdal. The inclusion of Alva was far from only motivated by her relation to Gunnar. Meanwhile Alva had made herself a name in public issues and initiated several projects, where one of them concerned the building of a collective housing project

together with Sven Markelius aimed at solving not only the need for housing but also offering a model for a more democratic ideal where both men and women could participate in public life on similar terms and at the same time promote a more rational and professional child care based on the principles of modern social psychology and pedagogics. In the social housing commission Gunnar's and Alva's professional trajectories overlapped. Even more important to understand their joint contribution to the population commission, which soon was to follow, was however their co-authored and extremely wide-read book on the population question, which conceptualized the statistical decline of birth rates as a crisis of national and political concern. *Kris i befolkningsfrågan*, which appeared in Swedish in 1934, was received in a way that probably no other book has been in Sweden in modern time and initiated an enormous debate -- resulting in more than thirty volumes of press cuttings, nowadays stored in the Worker's Movement Archive, Stockholm -- and was the direct reason why the government in 1935 decided to set up the population commission.

Looking back at the preceding five years period it is apparent that both Gunnar and Alva Myrdal had an extremely intensive period filled with different experiences, but it is also possible to discern an important cognitive move, from their originally academically oriented interests in the social sciences, before leaving for the US from where they came back as committed to political action based on social science. In this change, I argue, especially the theoretical key idea developed primarily by Gunnar was one of the foundation pillars in their later development. When the offer to engage in the large population commission appeared in 1935 that gave Gunnar but also later Alva the opportunity to develop the *practical* implications of this theoretical idea. More exactly what this operationalisation meant motivates a closer look at the population commission.

3.1.2 Disengaged public sociologist

The second type of public sociologist is the sociologist who primarily intends to influence the public opinion. Her concern is not to submit proposals to governments on how to change societies. She may also be critical to government activities at all. Whereas the technocratic public sociologist principally conforms to the existing political system (and the ruling political class) this second type of public sociologist may be detached of both ruling elites and the predominant political system. He may even incline to perceive his public engagement as problematic and therefore may try to stay in a more or less disengaged position. This type of public sociologists is labeled here as *disengaged public sociologists*. In the course of the Anovasofie project's meeting in Dublin, Stefan Müller-Doohm spoke about the role of Adorno and Habermas who can be regarded as representatives of this type of public intellectuals.

Case and Comment 8 - Stefan Müller-Doohm: Solidarity with the intellectual at the moment of his fall: contradictions between Adorno's diagnosis of the intellectual and the task of critique in the public sphere

[from: Stefan Müller-Doohm: Towards a sociology of intellectual styles of thought. Differences and Similarities in the thought of Theodor W. Adorno and Jürgen Habermas. Lectured in Dublin, 2005]

Adorno undoubtedly regarded himself as the quintessential intellectual. He attempted to give an account of the paradoxes of the situation of the intellectual on the level of theory, even though he was simultaneously convinced that the intellectual was destined to disappear. His view of the intellectual had been sharpened by an experience of exile that had lasted over 15 years, something that led him to speak of himself as one of the 'professionally homeless'. By this he wished to imply that the intellectual owes the intransigent nature of his criticism to the fact that 'one no longer feels at home anywhere; but then, of course, someone whose business is ultimately demythologization should hardly complain too much about this.' In his most personal book, the dialogue intérieur of *Minima Moralia*, he thematizes the dilemmas of the role of the intellectual in late-bourgeois society. The intellectuals who fall between two stools are both 'the last enemies of the bourgeois and the last bourgeois' (Adorno, 1971:26). They are a part of the very thing they combat so strenuously. Moreover, according to Adorno, even though the practice of intellectuals thrives on their illusion-free exposure of dubious political trends and problematic social conditions, that same practice increasingly displays elements of standardization. 'What intellectuals subjectively fancy radical, belongs objectively so entirely to the compartment in the pattern reserved for their like, that radicalism is debased to abstract prestige, legitimization for those who know what an intellectual nowadays has to be for and what against' (Adorno, 1971: 206).

On the one hand, the intellectual allows himself the luxury of independent thought and hence feels able to criticize existing circumstances from within the free space to which he is confined.

But because he remains at the level of mere reflection while insisting on his independence, he ends up squandering the privileged situation of someone who is only able to criticize because of his social position and intellectual status. On the other hand, the very fragile position of the intellectual who merely criticizes cannot be stabilized in the long run by simply deciding to intervene in practical affairs, but only by 'inviolable isolation'. For the intellectual who leaves his ivory tower in full knowledge of what he is doing and in order to take an active part in politics runs the risk of condoning the inhuman aspects of politics. This does not mean that the only sensible solution is to remain aloof in the ivory tower. On the contrary, 'the detached observer is as much entangled as the active participant.... His own distance from business at large is a luxury which only that business confers' (Adorno, 1971: 26). In view of the hopelessness of this situation, nothing remains for the intellectual but the minimalist moral counsel 'to deny oneself the ideological misuse of one's own existence' (Adorno, 1971: 27). With this recommendation, which amounts to an expression of solidarity with the intellectual at the moment of his failure, Adorno falls back in quite a conventional manner on the idea of intellectual integrity. That is to say, he reminds us not to regress to a position below our own theoretical insights into the social pressures to conform and therefore advises us to resist co-optation by practical interests on principle, even where these might be of service to our own cause. The integrity of the intellectual implies a strictly 'ascetic attitude towards any unmediated expression of the positive' (Adorno & Mann, 2002: 128), an attitude that Adorno has referred to as a basic motif of his philosophy. For this reason he took a sceptical view of the kind of politically motivated commitment that was practised by philosophers like Sartre or artists like Brecht in the service of progressive or revolutionary goals. As the figureheads of a political movement, such intellectuals would 'from sheer despair about violence short-sightedly go over to a violent praxis ' (Adorno, 1992: 86). Joining in out of a sense of commitment is in Adorno's eyes is for the most part no more than 'parroting what everybody is saying, or at least what everybody would like to hear' (Adorno, 1992: 93). So he constantly reiterates that it cannot be the task of the intellectual

to transmit a positive meaning by offering an interpretation of the world or by taking up the cudgels on behalf of a political programme. For 'political reality is sold short for the sake of that commitment; and that decreases the political impact as well' (Adorno, 1992: 84).

It follows that if the role of the intellectual cannot lie in his engaging with practical politics because Adorno's philosophical principle of determinate negation contains the view that 'The goal of real praxis would be its own abolition' (Adorno, 1998: 267), we may legitimately enquire how he solved this dilemma in his own practice as an intellectual. In other words, how did he resolve the contradiction between his emphatic demand for an interventionist mode of thought that transcends mere contemplation, on the one hand, and his insistence upon abstention from political action, on the other?

To answer this question it is illuminating to recall Adorno's own intellectual practice since this was of particular importance for the discourse relating to the past and the question of guilt in the Germany of the post-war period.

Shortly after his return to Frankfurt am Main from exile in America he ventured to start speaking of the rope in the country of the hangman, in full awareness of what he was taking on; he provoked the literary public with the statement that first appeared in 1951 to the effect that 'To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric'. It was perfectly clear to him that in making this statement he was venturing into the public realm. He went one step further, consciously exposing himself to the full glare of publicity in the late 1950s and early 1960s when he published such essays as 'The Meaning of Working through the Past', 'Combating anti-Semitism today' or 'Education after Auschwitz'. At a time when anti-Semitic outbursts were common in Germany, Adorno both as philosopher and sociologist put his academic reputation on the line so as to alert German public opinion to the dangers of a resurgence of National Socialism. He said at the time: 'I consider the survival of National Socialism *within* democracy to be potentially more menacing than the survival of fascist tendencies *against* democracy' (Adorno 1998: 90).

In this way Adorno assumed the role of intellectual in public lectures and countless radio talk shows in which he tirelessly insisted that democracy would only have a chance of surviving in Germany if

Germans were to succeed in working through the past. The discourse about the past started off hesitantly in the first half of the 1960s, triggered by such events as the Eichmann trial in Israel and the Auschwitz trials in Frankfurt, but it finally did get slowly underway. Adorno took on the role of the intellectual who makes an appeal to the citizens of an increasingly politicized public sphere. At the level of theory, he defines this function of intellectual enlightenment as 'a turn towards the subject, the reinforcement of a person's self-consciousness' (Adorno 1998: 102). His aim is to use theory to shake up public opinion with the aid of provocative statements. The public should be made to face up to the reality of Auschwitz and everything the name stands for. This is his imperative and he tirelessly insists on it in order to break down the prevailing silence. He positions himself, therefore, as a nay-sayer, a troublemaker, who consciously runs the risk of breaking taboos. With his criticism of the different forms of resistance to making German guilt the focus of explicit debate, he played a significant part in enabling genuine discussion to emerge about the past and about the function of democracy. He not only helped to ensure that the normative values of the democratic constitution would form the object of public debate, but was also one of the chief actors who may be credited with responsibility for a second founding of the republic, an intellectual founding. In this way, by means of what he called *Interventions*, Adorno became an important stimulus for the processes involved in shaping public opinion.

This cursory glance back at Adorno's intellectual practice during the 1950s and 1960s shows that the contradictions in the definition of the intellectual on which he reflected were then resolved in his own dogged interpretation of the role of the intellectual. He intervened in particular situations without committing himself to a long-term, politically based involvement in public affairs. For all the empathy implicit in the critical spirit, he maintained his distance from the representatives of political power as well as from day-to-day politics. Because he was convinced that ultimate catastrophes had to be thought through, he refused to embrace particular political programmes based on ethical convictions. On the contrary, he embodied the idea of the intellectual as a dissident as far as both

practical politics and the public sphere are concerned. But even as a strict nay-sayer, his criticism of such matters as the defective democratic consciousness of post-war Germans, was still addressed to a public at large, or more generally to the community of those capable of understanding what he was saying. It is true that, as an intellectual, Adorno struck a fundamentally anti-consensual note, one that even entered the language he uses, and this tone was in harmony with his distance from actual politics and the establishment in public life. Nevertheless, the dissident energy he generated ended up in an intellectual practice that both avoided the pitfalls of political commitment and was conscious of the need for the courage to stand by one's convictions. 'The individual who thinks must take a risk' (Adorno 1998: 132) as Adorno phrased it, and he went beyond this, asserting that, as intellectual dissidents, philosophers must 'make the moral effort to say what they think is wrong on behalf of the majority who cannot see for themselves or else will not allow themselves to see out of a desire to do justice to reality' (Adorno, 1973: 41). In this way Adorno takes part in public discourse from a vantage point outside time and space, and thus appears in the public sphere as someone estranged from common opinions and hence as someone who opposes pressures to conform in every sphere. This gives rise to ways of seeing that radically question hitherto accepted views such as the possibility of poetry after Auschwitz, not least because of Adorno's consciously chosen trope of hyperbole in both concrete diagnosis and linguistic expression. His non-conformism is the soil from which arise the impulses that guide Adorno's intellectual practice. He pleads vehemently for the need to come to terms with the past and to seize the opportunities offered by a democratic constitution, while in the same breath he warns that the realm of politics and the political public sphere is a mere façade. Nevertheless, in his role as intellectual he avails himself of the opportunities provided by the media of this pseudo-public sphere. To be an active intellectual the philosopher must refuse all compromises in his thinking, but he must necessarily live with the dilemma summed up in *Minima Moralia* with the words: 'Whatever the intellectual does, is wrong' (Adorno, 1997: 133). As a dissident estranged from common opinions, to get things wrong or to

be accused of doing so is a risk that Adorno willingly accepted, in accordance with his own maxim: 'The almost impossible task is to let neither the power of others, nor our own powerlessness, stupefy us' (Adorno, 1997: 57).

[Translated by Rodney Livingstone]

3.1.3 *Partisan public sociologist*

Finally, there may exist public sociologists who actively participate in a certain social movement, like in a trade union, environmental group or a human-rights group. This type of public intellectual referred to as *partisan public sociologist*, shares with the social engineer his direct engagement and the intention to develop concrete plans to change society. She shares with the disengaged public sociologist the critical attitude towards power holders and governments. Therefore, she is primarily involved with activities of non-governmental organizations. The *partisan public sociologist* may also not intend to communicate with the public via the dominant media systems like TV, (commercial) radio and big newspaper systems. His attitudes towards these medias are also critical because in his point of view they are allies of the political elites and intend to reproduce the predominant political system through the dissemination of ideology and distorted information. The most prominent figure in this field was Pierre Bourdieu. Whereas the activities of the *social engineer* and the *disengaged public sociologists* are mostly concentrated on domestic debates, the *partisan public sociologist* is partly engaged on an international level as well. Since the object of NGO activities are often bound to international affairs and since the consumers of this kind of disseminated information are more or less higher educated individuals with internationalist attitudes, public sociology of this sort does more easily transcend nation borders. Due to state bound social engineering activities and national language bound public debates both other types of public intellectuals stay confined within state-borders.

The empirical study of Laurent Jeanpierre and Sébastien Mosbah Natanson demonstrate the role of sociologists as public intellectuals in today's French press. The article reflects the main themes of sociologist interventions in public discussions. It also stresses the fact that "second-degree specialists" (quality-related experts) are more likely to become public sociologists. First-degree specialists are concentrate there affords stronger to the narrow circle of the scientific communities. Partisan sociologists, like Pierre Bourdieu, on the other hand, are not much interested becoming a leading figure in a public dominated by powerful newspapers or media companies. This explains the fact that Bourdieu did not play a major role as a public intellectual in the newspaper *Le Monde*.

Case and Comment 9 - Laurent Jeanpierre and Sébastien Mosbah Natanson: The themes of sociological intervention

[from: Laurent Jeanpierre and Sébastien Mosbah Natanson: French Sociologists and the Public Space of the Press. Paper produced within the Anovasofie-project]

In fact, among the more than 250 columns by sociologists (or including sociologists, in the case of collectively authored articles of petitions) that we selected for the period 1995-2002, those treating international affairs dominate significantly, representing at least 15% of all interventions. It is within this domain that foreign sociologists most often intervene (Beck on Germany, Giddens on the UK, Wolfe on the United States). Over this period, particular attention is paid by French sociologists to the Algerian war, to reflections on American society and politics and to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, etc. Domestic politics is the second theme on which sociologists intervene, whether they critique or support one or another party-political line (generally on the Left for most of the public sociologists of *Le Monde*), or whether they intervene at times of elections or propose general reflections on the subject of representative democracy. It is possible that the context of a presidential election in 2002 increased the frequency of the interventions made under this theme.

If we exclude interventions with no specifically defined object, with a very general discourse on the nature of French society or modernity, the specific theme that most attracts sociological attention is that of the family, sexuality or private life, to which can also be added the issue of gender. It will be necessary to verify since when this theme was imposed and ask whether this domination may last beyond the contextual effects that, during the period under observation, brought it to the fore of the French media scene. The public sociologist at the top of our ranking, Eric Fassin, is a second degree specialist of such topics. As a matter of fact, he is not a specialist of family affairs or of homosexuality but, as could be the case for any of the *Le Monde* journalists, is an observer and analyst of both the scholarly and the general discourses that contribute to the social construction of these objects. He shares the same working methods and professional

ethos as the national daily newspaper journalist. Following the theme of family, gender and sexuality come the themes of 1. Religion and secularism (laïcité); 2. Immigration; 3. Social movements; 4. Employment, business, poverty, social class and economics, slightly ahead of education and the environment. These are all recurrent themes in French public debates, but their respective importance still depends on context. If we add to columns on international affairs, those that deal with national political affairs, in 2003 for example, more than 80% of columns were concerned with a theme of current affairs.

The commentaries written by sociologists in *Le Monde* between 1995 and 2002 also often deal with debates on the subject of sociology itself, but also science (particularly due to the Sokal affair) and university or research policy. Such debates are often added to by a series of tributes (to Pierre Bourdieu, for example) or by profiles of well-known sociologists and theorists (Castoriadis, Foucault, etc.). Here, sociologists represent their profession, understood in the terms of a corporation, their university or research in general. The universalising norm that determines the nature of the Op-Ed section is, nevertheless, so strong that it was relatively rare, for example in 2003, to see professors or researchers intervening on issues surrounding public higher education and research policy.

It shows that the Op-Ed section is not a space for unrestricted writing. It is constructed in reference to a scenography and to other sectors of the public sphere and of the press itself. They demand the universalisation of a cause or of a particular point of view, as is the case for readers' letters. Furthermore, in the same year, more than half of *Le Monde* Op-Ed columns participated in the denunciation or support of a given cause. A further fifth expressed normative positions. Certain themes or standpoints thus provoke knock-on effects, veritable "controversies": One opinion leads to several others, in a chain reaction in which rhetorical skills take over from scientific capability. The analysis of the *Le Monde* Op-Ed columns for 2003 thus confirms that it is rare, at around 15% of interventions, for researchers or professors to transmit or intervene on the basis of their knowledge of a specific theme, to play the role of the expert

rather than that of the scholar or spokesperson, constrained to speak only in general terms. Whatever social-professional background these intellectuals mobilise, the Op-Ed section, more than a century after the Dreyfus Affair, in a structural sense, favours the position of the “universal intellectual”.

Diagram: The evolution of legitimate intellectual professions

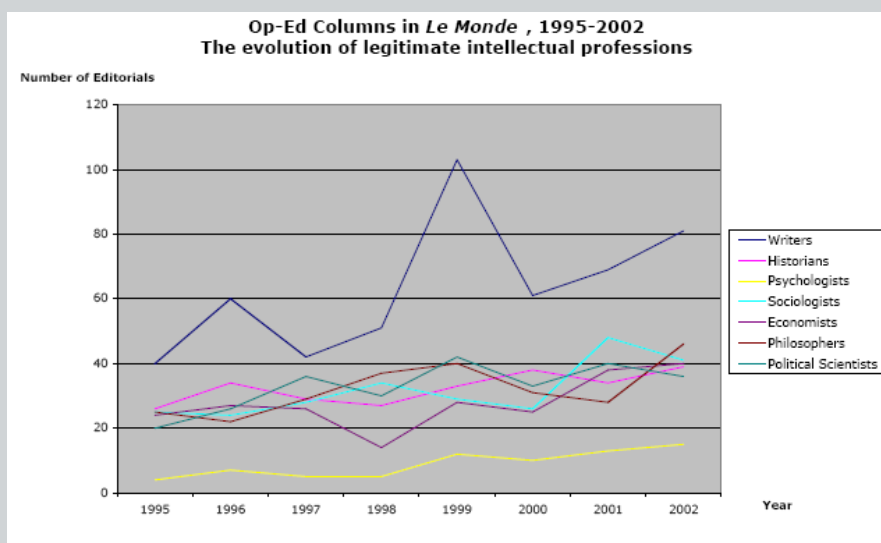


Diagram: Interviews in the *Le Monde*, 1995-2002



Diagram: Ranking of public sociologists1

Ranking of public sociologists, *Le Monde*, 1995-2002

	Scholarly Citations (<i>Sociological Abstracts</i>)	Op-Eds		Analytical Interviews
Eric Fassin	18	13	Bertrand Hervieu	5
Alain Touraine	222	11	Irène Théry	4
Edgar Morin	48	11	Monique Dagnaud	4
Shmuel Trigano	11	9	Fahrad Khosrokhavar	4
Henri-Pierre Jeudy	8	6	Jean-Pierre Le Goff	4
Bruno Latour	120	6	Dominique Pasquier	4
Michel Wieviorka	108	6	Christian Baudelot	3
Monique Dagnaud	10	5	Stéphane Beaud	3
Dominique Wolton	5	5	Philippe Breton	3
Philippe Breton	10	4	Margaret Maruani	3
Denis Duclos	20	4	Dominique Monjardet	3
Didier Fassin	26	4	Alain Touraine	3
Yvon Le Bot	5	4	Michel Wieviorka	3
<i>Pierre Bourdieu</i>	446	3		
Fahrad	23	3		
Khosrokhavar				
Marie-Victoire Louis	5	3		
Michaël Löwy	183	3		
Pierre Merle	17	3		
Laurent Mucchielli	31	3		
François de Singly	23	3		

4. The Public and its public intellectuals

Not only technical and economic standards were necessary for creating a public sphere. Cultural standardization within the framework of the nation state was also of major importance. Thus, Émile Zola's "J'Accuse" would not have been possible without the existence of a nation wide newspaper system and readers with common educational and cultural background. The Habermas-Derrida of 2003 declaration clearly followed the steps of Zola in the intention towards a European public sphere. The interesting point is that it did not succeed to the same degree because modern Europe lacks the cultural coherence of Zola's France. It is characteristically for the European fragmentation that this declaration was published in two languages (German and French), in two different newspapers (Frankfurter Allgemeine and Libération) under two different headlines ("After the War: The Rebirth of Europe", FAZ, 31.5.2003 and "A Plea for a Common Foreign Policy: The demonstrations of Feb. 15 against the war in Iraq designed a new European public space", Libération, 31.5.2003). Even the meanings of the German and the French headlines are different. All this differences are possible because there is nothing like a common European public sphere.

The first following article of William Outhwaite highlights the problem whether a common European public exists or not. Outhwaite argues that there is no common European Media structure and, therefore, no common European audience. Linguistic division within Europe is mainly responsible for not having a common public. The cultural standards of the public determine the role of public intellectuals. The fact that there is no common European media structure limits the influence of public intellectuals in Europe. No public intellectual will be perceived in the same way in each country.

Thus, the following two articles reflect how the role of "the public" forms and limits different types of public intellectuals. In the second presented article Hedvig Ekerwald responds to a call for a more gender-sensitive understanding of public intellectuals. The paper analyses the conditions for being a female public intellectual in New York in 1949 - 1950. Its subject is Alva Myrdal, the principal director of the Social Affairs Department of the United Nations. She was, at her appointment, a well-known Swedish public

intellectual, and she came to be a public intellectual in the US as well. What were the conditions for her female leadership in the UN? The analysis is based on an archive study of Alva's letters to her husband, Gunnar Myrdal.

The third article stresses the question how the same public intellectual is perceived differently in different countries. Joanna Bielecka-Prus and Aleksandra Walentynowicz demonstrate that the role of Gunnar Myrdal changed depending on the public in which he performs his function of a public intellectual. "Recontextualisation" means that the same public intellectual performs different functions for different particular national publics. Thus, Gunnar Myrdal's role in Sweden changed over time but he was always perceived differently than in the United States or in socialist Poland. However, "recontextualisation" means more than the mere change of perception. The concept of "recontextualisation" also reflects that the whole relation of a public intellectual towards the public may change with a different national context. Thus, this article makes aware that the relationship between public intellectuals and the public as a whole has the form of either Simmel's dyad constellation or Elias's concept of a figuration. The relationship may change, the power balance between the public intellectual and the public may change, and ,therefore, a process of "recontextualisation" of the intellectual's meaning, role, and function will be initialized

Case and Comment 10 - William Outhwaite: The European Media Structure

[from: William Outhwaite: European Civil Society and the European Intellectual.

What is, and how does one become, a European intellectual? The paper was lectured within the Anovasofie-project in Dublin, 2005]

Let us look a bit more closely at media structures across Europe. Very crudely, print and electronic media have experienced opposite developments: concentration in the first case, massive diversification in the latter. In both, however, ambitious projects of Europeanisation in the 1970s tended to be abandoned or scaled down in the latter part of the twentieth century. Morley and Robins note, for example, 'the retreat of many of the entrepreneurial enthusiasts of "European" satellite television, away from their original pan-European ambitions, towards a revised perspective which accepts the limitations and divisions of separate language/cultural markets in Europe.' There is also no genuinely European newspaper, published in the major languages, and The European (1990-98), published in English and owned for most of its brief life by the notorious Robert Maxwell) made a poor showing compared to the Herald Tribune, Financial Times or Economist. Schlesinger and Kevin (2000: 222-9) give a somewhat more positive analysis of the substantial pan-European presence of these three publications. They point also to Euronews, launched in 1993 on a transnational public service broadcasting base and transmitting in the major West European languages; this however is very uneven in its European reach. Most discouraging, perhaps, is the abandonment of automatic syndicalisation of mainstream newspapers, as opposed to the production of specialised cosmopolitan editions such as *Le Monde's* weekly/monthly in English or the *Guardian Weekly*. 'Thus there are hardly any transnational media that have the potential to reach the majority of European citizenry' (Adam, Berkel and Pfetsch 2003: 70).

Those taking a sceptical view of the existence of a European public sphere, particularly media theorists, have tended to conclude that

Europe has not got past first base. Marianne van de Steeg (2002: 499-500) cites three typical examples from Philip Schlesinger (1995: 25-6), Peter Graf Kielmansegg (1994, 27-8) and Dieter Grimm (1995: 294-5). For Kielmansegg and Grimm, linguistic division more or less rules out the possibility of Europe forming a communicative community. Schlesinger sets the stakes fairly modestly as 'the minimal establishment of a European news agenda as a serious part of the news-consuming habits of significant European audiences who have begun to think of their citizenship as transcending the level of the nation-state'. He goes on, however, to suggest that 'even a multilingual rendition of a single given European news agenda is more likely to be diversely "domesticated" within each distinctive national or language context...than it is likely to reorient an audience towards a common European perspective'. And what for Schlesinger is a hypothesis becomes for Grimm a matter of definition:

A Europeanized communication system ought not to be confused with increased reporting on European topics in national media. These are directed at a national public and remain attached to national viewpoints and communication habits. They can accordingly not create any European public nor establish any European discourse.

As van de Steeg argues, this is both theoretically and empirically dubious. Theoretically, it overlooks the ways in which a communicative community may not just be the product of an existing substantive community but may help to bring it into existence. Empirically it seems to rule out interesting elements of Europeanisation within existing national media structures. As she shows in a modest but suggestive study of the discussion in 1989 to 1998 of the prospects of EU eastern enlargement in four European weeklies, there are significant differences between the four. Whereas *Der Spiegel* and the *New Statesman* tended to relate most clearly to their respective national frameworks, the Spanish *Cambio 16* reprinted articles from similar German, Italian and French journals and the Dutch *Elsevier* engaged more directly with pan-

European debates (p.514). The *New Statesman* stands out for its relative lack of attention to the concrete implications of enlargement for the EU's institutions and procedures (515).

Although she does not discuss intellectuals explicitly van de Steeg's conception of the public sphere is loaded in that direction; she defines it as 'consisting of actors who debate in public a topic which they consider to be in the public interest, i.e. of concern to the polity'. More importantly, a media analysis of this kind would be highly relevant to assessing the structural opportunities for Europeanizing intellectuals.

Three further distinctions might be useful in mapping the area: those between the domestic and the international, the multinational and the transnational and between invited contributions (speeches, articles, interviews, debates) and spontaneous interventions by intellectuals in the public sphere. Newspapers and journals may be multinational like the *Financial Times*, with its modified overseas editions, or (more rarely) genuinely transnational, like *Lettre International* (which however has a home base in Germany) or the academic journals of the ISA and ESA, which migrate to follow their editorial teams from site to site, even if they have a home base for publishing and printing.

Invitations may be nationally based, as when the BBC invites Giddens to deliver a lecture series, international, as when the German Book Trade invites the Polish/British Bauman to receive its Prize or the Polish paper *Polityka* invites Michnik and Habermas to a debate published there and in *Die Zeit*, or transnational/European as in the case of the Charlemagne Prize. Interventions will most often be national but may be transnational in their origin and/or destination, as in the joint declaration by Habermas and Derrida (2003). Any shift towards the internationalisation or Europeanisation of such activities will therefore be of interest. One straw in the wind is an appeal on human rights in Turkey, published in the Guardian last month.

What, in conclusion, can one say about a European public sphere? I have cited some of the more sceptical commentators on this, but I

shall close with a recent statement by Klaus Eder (2005), from the more optimistic pole to which I would also in the end attach myself, at least with the will and part at least of the intellect. For Eder, an emergent public sphere and demos are evolving together: 'A transnational public...exists in Europe as a cross-cutting of elite publics, citizens' publics and popular publics, related to each other by some supranational institutional environment...A European public is not a chimere but a thing that already turns up in critical times [he mentions Habermas' intervention in the Iraq war protest]...A transnational public sphere...is one which is no longer tied to a reified body of people such as the nation, but to a latent demos that can be there when time requires it' (Eder, 2005: 341-2).

Case and Comment 11 – Hedvig Ekerwald: The private life of an intellectual

[from: Hedvig Ekerwald: The Private Life of a Public Intellectual - Alva Myrdal in the Service of the United Nations 1949; the paper was produced within the Anovasofie-project]

At the age of 47 and as the wife of a professor and a mother of three children, a Swedish woman was offered the first regular work in her life. That work involved being director of the United Nations' Department of Social Affairs. It was a position that made this woman the highest woman in rank in the United Nations organization. The person in question is Alva Myrdal. She began her work on February 1, 1949.

Alva Myrdal was principal director of the United Nations Department of Social Affairs 1949-1950 and director of the Unesco Department of Social Sciences 1951-1955. At this first post, she was directing 204 people and at Unesco 54 people. The United Nations was a young organization at that time, constituted as it was in January 1946. Today, the United Nations has six main bodies: the General Assembly, the Security Council, The Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship council, The Secretariat and the International Court of Justice. During our studied period, 1949, the Economic and Social Council constituted two bodies, the Department of Economic Affairs and the Department of Social Affairs, Alva Myrdal being director of the latter.

The secretary-general from the start of United Nations in 1946 until 1953 was the Norwegian social democrat Trygve Lie. He was replaced in 1953 by the Swede Dag Hammarskjöld, acting secretary-general until he died in an air crash in Northern Rhodesia, today's Zambia, during the Congo crisis in 1961. The reason Scandinavians were able to play such a central role in the United Nations during its first one and a half decades is probably that they were acceptable both to the US and the Soviet Union during this period of cold war. Many third

world countries might have been equally acceptable, yet the Scandinavian countries were not postcolonial but Western, which in those days probably gave them an extra advantage in obtaining United Nations posts. It must be added that although this post was Alva Myrdal's first regular work, she had considerable experience from work in governmental commissions and in NGO's.

Alva Myrdal was already, at the outset of this work, "an international celebrity" as people told the secretary-general of the United Nations upon his appointment of her. On what grounds were the words "international celebrity" attached to her? In the little Scandinavian country of Sweden, she was one of the most famous public figures of the 1930's and 1940's. She and her husband had written the most widely read social scientific study of Sweden of the entire 20th century, "Crisis in the Population Question" – a manifesto for the social democratic project of a welfare state in Sweden. Their manifesto was followed up by several governmental investigations and studies. This entire governmental effort was summarized by Alva Myrdal in her book, "Nation and Family: The Swedish experiment in Democratic Family and Population Policy", which was published in New York in 1941. I think the US was never more ready to receive radical ideas on a state that brings economic safety and care for men, women and children than during the Rooseveltian years of the Second World War. The Myrdal family had come into important networks during their stays in the US during the 1930's, with, among others, sociologists such as William I Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Robert and Helen Lynd. These networks probably spread the message about Alva Myrdal's book "Nation and Family". The more traditional being-the-wife-of-a-famous-person phenomenon might also have contributed to her international celebrity label. Her husband, economist Gunnar Myrdal, led the major study on the conditions of black people in the US from 1937 and onwards, a study reported in "An American dilemma" (1944).

In any event, during her tenure at the United Nations in New York, Alva Myrdal was not only a civil servant in a large organization, but also, obviously, a public intellectual, known at least to other public intellectuals, although perhaps not to the broad masses. When, for example, she met with the social philosopher and cultural critic Lewis Mumford, she wrote in a letter that he was “one of my few contemporary gods” and Alva continues: “and he received me by saying that *finally* he got to meet me” (31/10-49). The media focussed their lights on her. She gave interviews in NBC radio and BBC television; she gave talks here and there, once as a stand-in for president Truman in Washington, a talk commented upon in many newspapers, including the New York Times; she was invited to the home of the presidential widow and US delegate to the United Nations, Eleanor Roosevelt, as well as to several other persons in the American east coast elite. She engaged in intellectual debates with her colleagues in the United Nations from all over the world. Especially close to her were the delegates from India, Pakistan, Indonesia and the Philippines. I would say that she was important in wide circles in the upper strata of the progressive world for formulating a social policy for the world through the politics of the United Nations. Her role was given an international quality by the United Nations, a public character by the fact that she was well-known in the above-mentioned wider circles and an intellectual insignia by the fact that she wrote books and took an active part in formulating a global social policy, i.e. she was an international public intellectual.

...

The conditions for women to be public intellectuals or leaders in a man's world

Here, Alva Myrdal's letters are analysed for clues to how it was to be a female leader in an organization dominated by men. Swedish organizational research on leadership is the theoretical basis of the analysis, especially the research conducted by the circle around Anna Wahl, but the analysis is also informed by my own direct experience from academic

leadership. First we look at the process, and I deduce phases in her work in New York. Then we look at the structures, and I analyse the themes concerning being a woman among men, trying to meet both the expectations normally put on men and those normally put on women and, therefore, needing to work extra hard. There is also an important theme in the letters concerning the special problem 'for women' of trying to reconcile demands from the husband, home and family with demands from work, but this theme is too big for this short paper.

A reservation: The letters from Alva Myrdal to Gunnar Myrdal for the years 1949-1955 could of course be analysed with the focus on other aspects than gender. For example, it is clear that interesting ideological analyses of the letters could easily be carried out showing that Alva Myrdal was a modern urban professional, a non-communist leftist during the cold war, a "simple" Swede in a feudal and imperialist world order, a mother of three children and a self-reflective intellectual "I". All these and many other directions could be taken in a qualitative analysis of the letters, but here, in this paper, there is only one analysis, one concerning a woman's leadership in male-dominated systems.

The only woman in a group of twenty leaders

Alva Myrdal comments upon being 'the only woman' among twenty or so men (31/3-49). She writes "the only woman" within ironical apostrophes. In all offices during this precomputer era, the majority of employees must be women, sitting by their typewriters. But the leaders are men. When Alva writes that she is the only woman among these twenty people, she must be referring to the directors and principal directors around her. Are the other women invisible or are they visible in the apostrophes? To the leaders, the many typists might have been there much as today's computers are, although knowing a little of Alva's personality, I infer that she did not make her secretaries invisible. But there are very few

stories of them in her letters to Gunnar. She enjoys being courted by these men and she feels attractive:

“And – now it comes – then it is clear to me that nowadays, on this level and for actually the first time in my life, I am together with men who are so much my equals that they care about me. I could tell you this almost like a high school girl, I who was always rejected because I was too superior; when we had cocktails today, I had the experience of a ‘celebrated’ girl at a ball, they were gathering around me and it was really a competition, with many half-spoken sentences about who should ‘date me for dinner’. That UNESCO won is less important. That one was winning meant on the whole some troubling moments; I cheat them, to be sure, of the intimacy. But it is a strange comment that when I have finally reached the height that professionally goes far above the ordinary levels, then the ‘woman’ career makes me accompany: I would find it easier now to have loose, lustful escapades than when I was a lady of leisure. Can you share with me these intellectually very intricate comments on this? That I sleep alone in my double bed goes without saying.”(31/3-49)

She feels beautiful and she talks a lot about the air in New York, which gives a lustre to her skin. The experience of being courted makes her think of her youth: “Why did I not for a single moment think that I was even tolerably attractive?” (31/10-49). Hederberg brings this up in his study and quotes her to say that, had this self-confidence been present during her youth, she would have been less jealous: “I had *at that time* always a feeling that you had a world of women to choose among. But I saw nobody who cared about me.” I think this is typical for so many more women than Alva Myrdal. There is a group of women who feel they are much more attractive when they are in their 40’s and 50’s than they were as teenagers or in their 20’s. This subjective age attractiveness mechanism differentiates many women from most men, who of course have other troubles.

The favoured minority position of women leaders in male-dominated organizations has been called the mascot in organizational research. It disappears when the proportion of women in an organization increases from five or so per cent to twenty or thirty per cent. But there are also troubles in this mascot minority position. One example is that Alva Myrdal is not the principal director with whom the secretary-general Trygve Lie wants to discuss top-level politics (no date, September 1949).

Another example is that she feels she has to hide her successes in order not to hurt her closest superior. This man is Henri Laugier, the assistant secretary-general, also her predecessor, the first principal director of the Department of Social Affairs. She writes: "I have discreetly not sent /Laugier/ the press release after Ecuador /where she was representing the secretary-general after the big earthquake in 1949 that killed 6000 people/. He may react against the independence and the gain in prestige." (8/9-49) and "Laugier is back. I think everything is quite good. I keep the publicity back so that he will not be hurt." (26/9-49) What man would make the same efforts not to hurt his female superior? And what man would talk about his independence and his gain in prestige in such a neutral tone, "the independence" instead of "my independence" and "the gain in prestige" instead of "my gain in prestige"? This cushion mechanism is typical of women in organizations. My thoughts go to a classic work – A. R. Hochschild's "The Managed Heart. Commercialization of Human Feeling" (1983).

There is also a case in the letters of Alva Myrdal of having been clearly discriminated against: "Got \$1000 for entertainment expenses, all the other TRD have got more. 'The reason': that we are married. It is an important question of principle whether I shall accept it. /.../ I must fight the discrimination." (26/4-50)

One question is whether this minority position also explains her toughness, her keeping a stiff upper lip, or whether it is more intimately linked with her personality. When she is on her first mission to India, she celebrates Christmas Eve evening alone in a hotel room: “I pretend to everybody in Delhi that I travel to Lucknow but I don’t want to trouble them before the morning of Christmas Day. My incurable consideration, Gunnar.” (22/12-52) How much simpler would it not have been to live and work among a group of people where half were women. As a pioneer female leader, she does not even know what she is missing with regard to the support of other women. Surely, if Alva had had a woman colleague brought up within the same female consideration culture, such a colleague would have asked her home for Christmas Eve, knowing the importance of it for Europeans.

Hard work

Alva Myrdal’s position brings with it hard work: “You know that it is an extra special thing to have a general conference. /.../ Then you cannot care too much about your own person: Your *interests* often demand, you know, that you attend a meeting, even if it is in the evening.” (7/12-52)

Her interests are the interests of her organization, as she sees them. She works for them with her whole personality. After having told Gunnar how beautiful she feels having lost 10 pounds, with sun-tanned skin and a white evening gown “made in the real Paris”, she is radiating from vitality but “I always take the opportunity to ‘do business’. No one suspects me – the blond and in evening gown. What I know I want is promoted in a devilishly calculated way; every word, every joke calculated to help. And still: what I want is so deeply only the UN and the true welfare of all unhappy people. It has very little to do with myself, except the joy of knowing I am instrumental.” (10/1-50)

Case and Comment 12 - Joanna Bielecka – Prus, Aleksandra Walentynowicz: What makes an intellectual? “Recontextualisation” of Myrdal’s Role as a public intellectual in Sweden, United States, and Poland.

According to Bourricaud, being an intellectual is a role performed in the public sphere, with certain conditions on one willing to adopt it. First, the role of public intellectual requires linguistic aptitude. This should clearly alert us to the fact that ideas in translation may fare much worse depending on such factors as quality of translation and persona of translator, but also the actual content of the publication in translated version. In the case of Gunnar Myrdal, the mastery of his mother tongue is not for the present authors to judge. But being a proficient user of English, he produced works with great popular appeal and often improved the quality of translations of his work. This, combined with the topics of his work, has easily granted him a place among the foremost American intellectuals. At the same time the poor quality of translations, their fragmentary nature, censor intrusions and low availability all play a part in jeopardizing his status as a public intellectual in Poland. There is no denying Myrdal’s cognitive competence, which Bourricaud names as a second pre-requisite to being an intellectual. Yet the third condition of being well informed and occupying a privileged position in the networks of communication seems problematic. On one hand, Myrdal’s position in the system of World politics helped tremendously in his establishing contacts many social scientists of the day could only dream of. Not only that, it also gave him a chance to uphold those contacts in most difficult circumstances. But such a high status within institutions and organisations of government and knowledge also puts one under cross pressures, not unnaturally for an intellectual, of course. On an individual level it may be a case of preferred group reference. Specifically, it would be hard to judge whether Myrdal thought of himself more as a public persona or more of an intellectual than is typical for government officials. Institutional practices are the other level at which pressures may operate, causing a clash between personal values and the expected outcomes – here we may think of the funding received by Myrdal

from various sources and its influence on his publications, or of the observations he kept to his private correspondence. The functions of mediation and mobilization of his public are also crucial to the role of a public intellectual. Significantly, Gunnar Myrdal was chosen for the former and performed the latter in the context of *An American Dilemma*. He also could have been very useful in mediating the ideas of Western scholars into communist countries – but his role stopped at the academic level here; his work was discussed in specialist publications and only after 1989 his ideas begun to appear in major newspaper articles. Here it is important to note two things – one is the public intellectual's relation to ideology.

In the case of Myrdal in Poland, his ideas were often at odds with the dominant ideology of Marxism - Leninism or its later even more perverted versions upheld by the state apparatus. However, the fact that he was only partially explored by the underground press of the opposition later put him on the periphery of Polish public's interests. After all, being a public intellectual is about public rather than peer recognition. But Bourricaud also points to the fact that a stance in relation to the central values of a society is the responsibility and vocation of a public intellectual. This being the case, Myrdal certainly seems a model figure in the US, where he actively engaged in public debates beyond *An American Dilemma*. Finally, the role of an intellectual, a public intellectual, requires a specific public narrative. To an extent the construct 'public intellectual' we are talking about serves its functional purpose only in regular democratic societies – in the conditions of a totalitarian regime it is a laughable proposition, since the power to accord a place in the public space rests not with the public, but with the partisan.

The actor has not the last word on what counts as a meaningful performance of the role of a public intellectual. While Gunnar Myrdal's performance in the public eye changed with all the roles he took on, two elements which constituted it were fairly fixed, namely his academic credibility and political orientation, which stayed firm throughout his life. But the performance was read differently depending on the context of the performance and those doing the reading. If the Swedish public had an opinion of Myrdal as a politician, it was in the first order on the national, and only later on

the international plane, with the former influencing the optics on the latter. The very same positions in politics were obviously viewed very differently from the Polish perspective. At the same time, involvement with European politics, albeit on an International level, meant that his position in the States as an independent thinker was unchallenged. Any attempt to deal with recontextualisation in this case has to take into account not only the work, but also the person of the author and their performance of the role we are interested in. It is this performance that becomes one of the texts to be read and included in the overall process of recontextualisation.

An author is typically seen as speaking from a given position and his or her views are always read into their texts by their audience. Who the author is publicly matters greatly, therefore, and no change in status is unimportant. Myrdal's position in Swedish public life has changed several times over in his lifetime from economy's most prodigious student, a governmental expert, parliamentary and cabinet member, a respected and world-renowned scientist, to being his wife's husband, when it was her and not him who occupied government positions. At this stage he remarked that being in America "a wise guy, an elder statesman. In Sweden I'm nobody. I like to be treated with irreverence"(quoted in Jackson 1990:344). In the States he quickly came to enjoy a celebrity status, ever since his initial journey remaining an intriguing presence and on his frequent visits "going around like a light from Nazareth with opinions ready on everything possible" (Jackson 1990:60). While he served as ECE's secretary-general, he became a figure in international politics, a position which for some time overshadowed his 'intellectual' status. Remarkably, however, Myrdal was able to regain his position as a critic, despite perhaps his being tainted as an 'operator'. If anything, his knowledge aided him to produce criticism aimed at improvement of existing structures. He became a respected critical voice on the subject of Third World development. It has been noted about Myrdal, that he never tore a theory or idea down, unless he had some other to substitute for it (Jackson 1990:46). It is vital to incorporate those changes in Myrdal's status into the understanding of how his work was received in Poland and what happened to it upon recontextualisation.

Nothing of what is known about the author, or of that which can be implied, is beside the point. So far as ideology is connected with identity, if not overtly so then at a connotative level, being a public intellectual may mean that one conforms to the way the public as the source of power perceives the ones it allows to speak. Gender, class or ethnicity may exclude or promote one's status, depending on context. However, as any text the author-text may be treated selectively. This seems to be true of Gunnar Myrdal. Having left behind an impressive personal archive, he is one of the social scientists it is possible to know most intimately. But far more importantly, he was a public figure as a scientist, politician, intellectual, and somewhat ironically as a father so what he did in each of those functions reflected on how his authority in his texts was constructed and perceived. Much of this work, of constructing and perception, was done by the public. But who do we understand to be the public here? On the one hand these are the real people who read his work, on the other the imagined, constructed entities to which these people belonged, communities of all sorts, publics of various forms. The author himself would obviously also have a community in mind, a group to which he addressed his work, and this is of no lesser importance. Myrdal's work was written with two types of 'publics' in mind, the first being the actual society or societies he analysed, the other the more universalising 'human', which he perceived in almost enlightenment terms. But as one critic notes:

"In modern democratic society the expert is faced with the task not only of justifying policy recommendations and of maintaining a certain reflexivity concerning his or her own value assumptions, but also of justifying the reconstruction of the attitudes of the interest group he or she is claiming to represent" (Eyerman 1985:798).

The idea of a universal 'Western' way of thinking as dominant 'everywhere' was alien to Gunnar Myrdal and he seemed aware of the specificity of context, the subtle nuances that influenced the reception of his ideas in the many publics he addressed. An intellectual exists in a circuit of values, not of one, but of several communities perhaps – the scientific community offering the most

elitist slant to their views – communities which remain in some form of relation to one another. Similarly as a scientist he was aware that one's methodology does not appear in a vacuum. The many roles of Gunnar Myrdal are all equally important to understanding the bearing they had on his output. There is no space here to analyse Myrdal from a social-psychological perspective, as we should analyse all intellectuals, something he advocated strongly. Still, any such analysis, be it biographical or other, would create a feedback loop into his theory. At the same time it would be difficult to separate the ideas from the person who produced them, even if the ideas have since gained a life independent of the authority of their originator. Somehow the values adhered to by the creator will form a functional part of the history of those ideas, in the sense that they may help or hinder the ease with which the ideas are used. It is true, of course, that the reverse process can be observed, whereby ideas misused shed an unflattering light on their creator. What remains close to the author and what is removed from them forms an important part of the discursive formation that this author is the basis for. The ideas, or elements of those, that are silenced, that do not fare well in time and space are an extremely useful point of entry. When we are dealing with translation this is even more important – that which is lost in translation might be the key to failure or success. The realisation that presentation to the public is of utmost importance seems to permeate Myrdal's work.

But what of the actual readers, then? Sweden was indeed particular in the "ease with which intellectuals moved into positions of power and influence within the state"(Eyerman 1985: 780). Myrdal, among others, assumed the role of expert with the Social democratic party with great comfort and ease and in the respect that his ideas gained popular support he could also be seen as an 'agitator' for the party. In the Swedish context knowledge as practical productive activity rather than knowledge for its own sake was the preferred model, and Myrdal believed that social engineering was the prime task of social scientists. At the same time he stressed the development of science and education as producing "international and universal benefits" (Eyerman 1985:789). The orientation of Swedish intellectuals might then be said to be truly public.

The Polish public however had two separate traditions – of ‘cognitive professionals’ and popular intellectuals. The first were in Znaniecki’s characterisation seen as a superior group, what we could today call the magi in ivory towers. Unless given to popularisation, “[t]he cognitive professional [...] has always been surrounded by a certain aura of sanctity, mystery, inaccessibility; every [sic!] society has not only permitted but in some measure even viewed positively a certain esoterism in cognition” (Znaniecki (1923) 1982:65). The popular intellectuals were the ones dealing with decisively local and national issues, the names associated with Poland’s route to independence, the preservation of Polish traditions and language, often artists. In Poland, more strongly than elsewhere perhaps the sense that historical circumstances play a key role in the making and unmaking of the public intellectual was present and individual responsibility for role taking seems far more important. Intellectuals therefore seem to have a higher calling of a more ‘nationalist’ kind.

Scientific research is conducted in a society and for a society; likewise an intellectual is always and forever speaking for that community he feels mostly a part of, be it local or global. The values dominant in the scientific community and those of the contextual community are also a force shaping the role of scientist and their orientation. What is a scientist to do in the case of disagreement with the professed values of their community? With hegemony of Marxism as the official ideology of the party-state the role of the critical intellectual remained shut off, but Polish scientist found a way to express an orientation where freedom of such expression was impossible. Polish ‘science of science’ with its metascientific orientation speaks of a tactic, by stressing efficiency and denying political influence in the scientific process, a way to continue practicing science, to remain dissident, without losing state subsidy. Through it, scientists escaped the need to make the better future of the *communist* nation and its undying friendship with the Soviet Union the prime objective of their studies. Myrdal’s proposition to declare values openly was not an option, not because of ill will, but because it could have been deeply problematic if not straightforwardly dangerous. At the same time an empirical study of *how* science got done at the time was also impossible because it

would reveal the very tactic (interestingly this is what escaped Gieryn when he criticised the polish *nauka o nauce*). The codes, ways of reading and writing in ways which fooled the censors typical of a tactic opposing a state strategy of dominance, were also practiced. The lack of sensitivity to the moral choices facing an intellectual and a scientist are somewhat absent in the model of “public intellectual” geared toward a functioning democratic public space. At any rate, it is only after 1989 that we may consider the Polish public sphere as democratic, though still not free from historical ‘debris’.

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6 UK	E. Stina Lyon estina.lyon@lsbu.ac.uk	London South Bank University SE10AA London	Per Wisselgren per.wisselgren@idehist.uu.se

Biopics of participants of the consortium

In alphabetical order

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...studied sociology and pedagogy at the Catholic University of Lublin and currently working on her PhD entitled "Transmission of Culture in Socializing Institutions According to Basil Bernstein" supervisor- prof. Elzbieta Halas (University of Warsaw). In 2004 she awarded grant funded by State Committee for Scientific Research for finishing PhD thesis. From 2001 to 2004 she conducted classes in history of sociological thought for students at the Catholic University of Lublin. Her research interests and publications are in the areas of sociology of education, sociolinguistics and sociology of knowledge. She is a member of Polish Sociological Association. Selected articles and papers: Czy reforma zda egzamin - analiza dyskursu społeczno-politycznego wokół Nowej Matury współautor- M. Paradowska-Stajszczak, Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny, 2003 nr 4 (190). Review: F.Znaniński, Education and Social Change,(ed.E.Halas), Roczniki Nauk Społecznych, 2001/2, (30). Translation: S. Eliason, Max Weber: kryzys historyzmu i kontrowersje wokół metody, Zagadnienia Naukoznawstwa, T.XXIX, Zeszyt 1-2 (155-156), 2002, s. 3-23. Definiowanie sytuacji w procesie komunikowania według Basila Bernsteina a interakcjonizm symboliczny, XII Ogólnopolski Zjazd Socjologiczny, Poznań 16-17 września 2004.

Vilhelm Bohutskyi

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Bohutskyi. Slang in Discourse Format // Linguistics and Verbal Communication in the 21st century ... tendencies and perspectives. May 16-17, 2000, Kiev – 2000. pp. 42-43. Bohutskyy, V.K. Poverty, Globalization, Social Change and Economic Development. INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN BUSINESS & ECONOMICS, 2003, Vol. 2, No 2 (4). Pp. 320-322

Nilgün Celebi

... studied Sociology at the Hacettepe University in Ankara and is currently Professor of General Sociology and Methodology at the Department of Sociology, at the University of Ankara and the University of Mugla. She is interested in the linkage between ontological and epistemological-methodological approaches in sociology, the logic of science, conceptualizations, the concept of socius, the role of adjectives and cultural peculiarities and women's entrepreneurship. She has published seven books and more than 70 articles mostly in Turkish. She is the translator of three books and editor of one.

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Christian Fleck

... received his Ph.D. in philosophy and sociology from Graz University (1979), and has been there at the Department of Sociology ever since, currently as an Associate Professor. He was also co-founder and partner of the "Bureau of Social Research, Graz" and is director of the "Archive for the History of Sociology in Austria (AGSÖ)" since its start in 1987. In 1993-94 he was Schumpeter Fellow at Harvard University, and in 1999-2000 Fellow at the Center for Scholars and Writers, The New York Public Library. His publications include a reader about political corruption: "Korruption. Zur Soziologie nicht immer abweichenden Verhaltens" (1985), an oral history about Austrian guerillas during the Second World War: "Koralmpartisanen. Über abweichende Karrieren politisch motivierter Widerstandskämpfer" (1986), a case study about an Austrian fellow traveller during the Cold War: "Der Fall Brandweiner. Universität im Kalten Krieg" (1987). Another book concerns the history of sociology in Austria: "Rund um 'Marienthal'. Von den Anfängen der Soziologie in Österreich bis zu ihrer Vertreibung" (1990). He is also co-author of a sociological field research about unemployed: "Die verborgenen Kosten der Arbeitslosigkeit" (1990) edited a collection of

memoirs by German speaking sociologists "Wege zur Soziologie nach 1945" (1996) and edited "Soziologische und historische Analysen der Sozialwissenschaften" (2000), at last he co-authored a study on an Austrian social democratic politician "Gefesselt vom Sozialismus. Studien zum Austromarxisten Otto Leichter" (2000) and author of several professional articles especially about the history of sociology.

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Hedvig Ekerwald

... is Associate Professor of Sociology at the Sociological Department of Uppsala University. She is a member of the board of the Arts Grants Committee (appointed by the Swedish Government 2001-2003, 2004-2006) and the board of the Centre for Gender Research of Uppsala University (from 2003). She was awarded the Pedagogical Prize of Uppsala university in 1995. Her research interests and publications are within the fields of youth and feminist research, methodology and the history of sociology. Selected Publications: Ekerwald, Hedvig (2004), *Leva sitt liv med familjen i behåll* (To Live Your Own Life and Still Keep Your Family. - An interview study with immigrant girls and parents), Stockholm, Rädda Barnen; "Varje mor är en dotter. Om kvinnors ungdomstid på 1900-talet" (Every mother is a Daughter. On Women's Youth Period during the 20th Century), 2002, Stockholm, Symposion; "The Modernist Manifesto of Alva and Gunnar Myrdal. Modernisation of Sweden in the Thirties and the Question of Sterilisation", *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, vol.14, no. 3, 2001, pp. 539-561; "Lynn Jamieson, Intimacy, Personal Relationships in Modern Societies", recension, *Acta Sociologica*, nr 2, 2000, pp.183-18.; "Alva Myrdal: Making the Private Public", in *Acta Sociologica*, vol.43, no. 4, 2000, pp.343-352; "Sweden and Sterilisation. A Critical Review of a Dissertation in History" (Maija Runcis), *Nordeuropa forum. Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur*, nr 2, 1999, pp.43-55. Ahrne, Göran, Hedvig Ekerwald & Håkon Leiulfsrud (1995), *Klassamhällets förändring* (The Changes of the Class Society), 4th extended edition, Lund, Arkiv förlag. Ekerwald, Hedvig (1983), *Den intelligenta medelklassen. En litteraturstudie över social bakgrund och studieresultat* (The Intelligent Middle Class. A Literature Study on Social Background and Scholastic Achievement, doct. diss.). Uppsala, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. *Studia Sociologica Upsaliensia* 20.

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Sven Eliaeson

... got his PhD at Uppsala University in 1982, on a dissertation dealing with the reception of Max Weber. He became senior lecturer at Karlstad's University in 1990, docent in Political science at Stockholm University (1996) and is currently professor in sociology at the CSS in Warsaw (from 2001). The classics – in particular Max Weber and his context – and the proper pursuit of intellectual history are his main areas of research. He is also interested in intellectual migration and is elaborating on "the long line of secularization" in social thought, which includes such scholars as Machiavelli, Hobbes, Bentham, Max Weber, and also Axel Hägerström and Gunnar Myrdal, two Swedish scholars extending Max Weber's value philosophy. Eliaeson has been frequent visiting scholar to Germany (Ludwig Maximilians-Universität and the Max Weber archives at the Bavarian Academy of Science in Munich and the University of Konstanz) and American universities (University of South Florida, University of Florida and University of Chicago). Selected Publications: "Max Weber's methodologies: Interpretation and critique" (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002). "Alva and Gunnar Myrdal: A Symposium on Their Lives and Works", in International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, Vol. 14, No 3, 2001. (Editor together with Stanford Lyman). "Gunnar Myrdal: A Theorist of Modernity", in Lindbekk, Tore & Sohlberg, Peter (eds): Nordic Sociologists, thematic issue (on Nordic Sociology) of ACTA SOCIOLOGICA, Vol. 43, No 4, 2000, pp 331-42. "Max Weber: Made in the USA?", in Sociologisk Forskning, no 3-4, 2000, pp 26-45. (Transl of name of periodica: Sociological research). "Axel Hägerström and Modern Social Thought", in Nordeuropaforum, No 1. Berlin: 2000, pp 19-30. (Axel Haegerstroem and modern social thought).

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Andreas Hess

... received his PhD in political science at the Free University Berlin. Most of the research was conducted at the John F. Kennedy Institute for North-American Studies, Berlin and at various universities in the United States. He was a Visiting Lecturer at the Department of Sociology at the Philipps-Universität Marburg in Wintersemester 1997/98 and Visiting Professor at the Social Sciences Department at the California Polytechnic State University, in Winter Semester 1999. Since 2001 he is a permanent lecturer at the Sociology Department at the University College Dublin. Currently he is working on two projects. The first project is a monograph of the American political philosopher Judith N. Shklar. The second project looks at institutional dimensions of the 'moral economy' in the Basque Country

Selected publications: Die Politische Soziologie C. Wright Mills', Leske+Budrich, Opladen 1995 (203 pp). American Social and Political Thought – A Concise Introduction, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2000 / New York University Press, New York 2001 (162 pp). Concepts of Social Stratification – European and American Models, Palgrave-Macmillan, London / New York 2001 (190 pp).(Ed.) American Social and Political Thought – A Reader, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2002 / New York University Press, New York 2003 (480 pp). (Ed.) With Tom Garvin and supported by Anovasofie: Gustave de Beaumont; Ireland Social, Political and Religious, London 2006/Harvard University Press (419 pp). homepage: <http://www.ucd.ie/sociolog/>

Laurent Jeanpierre

... Laurent Jeanpierre received his Ph.D. in sociology from the École des hautes en sciences sociales (Paris). He has been teaching at Université Paris XII - Val de Marne for four years and is currently a researcher at one of the University's lab, the CEDITEC (Centre d'étude des discours, images, textes, écrits, communications). While preparing his dissertation, he received fellowships from the University of Chicago (1995-1996), the Lavoisier program of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1997-1998) and the Fulbright Committee (1998-1999). He published articles about the history and the sociology of social sciences and of intellectuals. His publications include a book about the French and European elites who emigrated to the United States during World War II "Situations d'exil. Élités européennes réfugiées aux Etats-Unis pendant la Deuxième guerre

mondiale" (Paris, La Découverte, to be published in Fall 2006) and he co-authored a book on the history of French cultural diplomacy, "Entre rayonnement et réciprocité. Contributions à une histoire de la diplomatie culturelle" (2002), a dictionary of French culture in the Twentieth century, "Dictionnaire culturel de la France du XX^e siècle". In another series of articles, he translated and analyzed some authors belonging to Marxist and post-marxist critical theory. His fields of research are related to the sociology of intellectuals, sociology of culture and sociology of exile situations and internationalization. Recent publications: "Sociologues de la culture et cultures de sociologues. Réflexions d'apprenti à l'usage des historiens", in Laurent Martin, Sylvain Venayre (eds.), L'histoire culturelle du contemporain, Éditions Nouveau Monde, 2005, pp. 249-270. "Fondations philanthropiques et mode de production scientifique aux Etats-Unis. Note de synthèse.", Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales, to be published in 2006 (with Nicolas Guilhot). "Revues modernistes et champs littéraires : problèmes de frontières", La revue des revues, to be published in 2006. homepage: <http://www.univ-paris12.fr/www/labos/ceditec>

Daniela Jauk

... studied sociology at the University of Graz and is currently finishing her dissertation studies and as well teaching at the department for sociology in Graz (interest: wives of scholars. She finished academy for social work in 1995 and worked as a social worker and project manager mainly for DOKU GRAZ Documentation, Research- and Education Center for women (1994-1997) and MAFALDA, association for encouragement of girls and young women in non-traditional professions (1998-2002). 2002 she was elected for Independent Womyn Representative of Graz, which chair she left 2004 for ANOVASOFIE. Additionally she is freelancing in social research (Gendersensitive Governance in the Field of Transport, www.node-research.at) and art (www.divanova.net). Selected publications: (Forthcoming) Gendersensitive Governance in the Field of Transport – Austrian Perspectives & Steps Toward a Best Practice Model, in Mobilities, Vol I/2006; Sex in the City - Gendermanifestierungen im öffentlichen urbanen Raum (2004) in Gudrun Salmhofer (ed.) Sexismus-Übergriffe im Alltag, Innsbruck:Studienverlag

Dirk Kaesler

... received his PhD in Sociology from the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München in 1976. Since 1995 he is Professor of General Sociology [comparable to Senior Full Professor] at the Philipps-Universität Marburg in Germany. He was a visiting scholar at the University of Chicago (1981) and Indiana University (1994-1995) in the USA. Further he was a visiting Professor at the University of South Florida (1990) and Directeur d'Etudes Invité at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. Selected publications: Max Weber: Schriften 1894-1922. Ausgewählt und herausgegeben von Dirk Kaesler. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner 2002. (Ed.) Mirrors and Windows. Essays in the History of Sociology. Torun: Nicholas Copernicus University Press 2001. [Edited together with Janusz Mucha und Włodzimierz Winclawski.] (Ed.). Hauptwerke der Soziologie. Stuttgart: Kröner Verlag 2000. [Edited together with Ludgera Vogt.] (Ed.). Klassiker der Soziologie. Band I: Von Auguste Comte bis Norbert Elias. Band II: Von Talcott Parsons bis Pierre Bourdieu. München: C. H. Beck. 2nd, revised edition 2000. 3rd edition 2002. 4th edition 2003. (Ed.). Soziologie als Berufung. Bausteine einer selbstbewussten Soziologie. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1997. 315 p. Max Weber. Eine Einführung in Leben, Werk und Wirkung. Frankfurt / New York: Campus 1998. 2nd edition. 311 p homepage: <http://www.staff.uni-marburg.de/~kaesler>

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E. Stina Lyon

... is Professor of Educational Developments in Sociology and Pro Dean in the Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences at London South Bank University. She is an Academician of the Academy for the Sciences in the UK. Her research interests and publications are in the areas of research methodology, the sociology of education, gender, race and ethnicity, and welfare state ideology. Her present research is focused on the intellectual contribution to sociology, gender studies and welfare state ideology of the Swedish social scientists Gunnar and Alva Myrdal. Selected publications: Lyon, E.S. and J. Busfield (eds) *Methodological Imaginations*, Macmillan 1996. Lyon, E.S. and L. Morris (eds) *Gender Relations in Public and Private* 1996. Lyon, E.S. "The Myrdals and the Thomases 1930-1940: The Trials and Tribulations of a Cross-Atlantic Research Collaboration", in J. Mucha et al eds. *Mirrors and Windows: Essays in the History of Sociology*, Nicolas Copernicus University Press/International Sociological Association, 2001. Lyon, E. Stina, "Biographical constructions of a working woman: the many faces of Alva Myrdal", *European Journal of Social Theory*, 3(4): 407-428, 2000. Lyon, E. Stina, "Modernity and Educational Engineering: The Myrdals and School Reform", *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, Vo. 14. No. 3, 2001

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Sebastien Mosbah Natanson

... is completing a Ph.D. in sociology at the Universite Paris IX-Dauphine (Iris-Credep). His thesis deals with the birth of french sociology at the end of the 19th century. He focuses on the sociologists' « vocation » and its links with politics. He has been working with Laurent Jeanpierre on the Anovasofie project since 2004.

Reinhard Müller

... studied sociology and philosophy at the University of Graz. He was research associate at the "Ludwig Boltzmann-Institute for Historical Social Research" in Salzburg, specialized in the application of quantitative methods in historical social research (1984-1986; "Streikgeschichte Steiermarks"). Since its start in 1987 he is senior researcher at the "Archive for the History of Sociology in Austria" (AGSÖ). His interests focus on the history of sociology, on problems of canonizing in social sciences

(individuals, institutions, theories, methodologies), and on exile studies. He also is occupied with the documentation of research on a personal as well as an institutional level. He created exhibitions e.g. on Ludwig Gumplowicz, Ernest Manheim, Marie Jahoda, the "Marienthal-study", and the Austrian exile in Great Britain, which were presented besides in Graz, in Vienna, Marienthal, London, and Kansas City, Mo. For each exhibition he edited catalogues. Currently he is occupied with the internet as a medium of science and research (<http://agso.uni-graz.at/>). He made a virtual exhibition about the life and work of Ernest Manheim (<http://agso.uni-graz.at/manheim>) and an on-line encyclopaedia on "50 Masters of Sociology" (<http://agso.uni-graz.at/lexikon/>).

Dieter Reicher

... studied sociology, economics, anthropology and history in Graz and Edinburgh. After being visiting researcher at the LSE (London) 1998 he received his PhD 2001 from Graz University (dissertation: State Building Processes and the Death Penalty). Since 2000 he is Assistant Professor at the Department of Sociology in Graz, from 2002-2003 he was assistant professor as well at the department of sociology of economics, Vienna. Before that he was engaged in commercial Studies in the fields of sociology of housing, urban sociology, sociology of medicine and sociology of art and co-founded SCAN (Commercial Company for opinion research). Since 2002 he is secretary of the Society of Sociology in Graz (Grazer Gesellschaft für Soziologie) and since 2004 he is Co-Editor of the Austrian Journal of Sociology (Österreichischen Zeitschrift für Soziologie). He was awarded the "Alpen-Adria-Wissenschaftspreis" and for innovative teaching.

Aleksandra Walentynowicz

...holds a BA Honours Degree at the University of the West of England in Bristol; I graduated in 2002 with First Class Honours in English and Cultural and Media Studies MA in Sociology at the CSS and Lancaster University. January 2005 she was awarded the Degree with Distinction, having completed the Society and Culture track. I am currently working on a thesis on lesbian readers and the popular British press at the Institute of English Studies Warsaw University.

Per Wisselgren

... received his Ph.D. in history of science and ideas from Umeå University in 2000. After that he has been a visting research fellow in the School of Social Sciences, University of Sussex (2001-2002) and in The Swedish Collegium for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, SCASSS (2002), and held a position as a researcher at the Swedish Institute for Studies in Education and Research, SISTER, Stockholm (2001-2003). Since 2004, Wisselgren is a researcher in the Department of History of Science and Ideas, Uppsala University. After his dissertation *Samhällets kartläggare: Lorénska stiftelsen, den sociala frågan och samhällsvetenskapens formering i Sverige 1830-1920* (Mapping Society: The Lorén Foundation, the Social Question, and the Formation of a Social Science Discourse in Sweden, 1830-1920), published in 2000, Wisselgren has written articles on different themes such as the historiographical construction of disciplinary identities, situated networks in the history of universities, the public aspects of the social sciences, and the history of the social reportage. Currently, he is working on an international comparative project on the gendered aspects of social scientific knowledge production in Britain and Sweden, to be finished in 2006. Selected publications: "Ett talrikt (företrädesvis kvinnligt) auditorium': Maxim Kovalevsky och samhällsvetenskapens publiker", in Anders Ekström (ed.), *Den mediala vetenskapen* (Nora: Bokförlaget Nya Doxa, 2004), 253-271. "Det sociala reportaget – journalistik, litteratur eller vetenskap?", in Anna Meeuwisse & Hans Swärd (eds.), *Den ocensurerade verkligheten i reportage, bild och undersökningar* (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2003), 81-102. "Sociologin som inte blev av?: Gustaf Steffen och tidig svensk socialvetenskap", *Sociologisk Forskning* (1997: 2-3), 75-116.

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Deliverable/Report List

Del. no.	Deliverable name	WP no.	date due	actual delivery date	Lead participant
D1	Report on Research in Turkey	WP1	week 23 2004	week 29 2004	P2
D2	Report on Research in Ireland	WP1	week 46 2004	week 47 2004	P3
D3	Report on Research in Austria	WP1	week 23 2004	week 29 2004	P1
D4	Translated books and studies presented in the Virtual Library	WP1	week 44 2004	week 51 2004	P1
D5	Summary report WP1	WP1	week 53 2004	week 11 2005	P1
D6	Report on research about Max Weber	WP2	week 5 2005	week 11 2005	P4
D7	Report on research about the Myrdals	WP2	week 5 2005	week 11 2005	P8
D8	Report on research about public intellectuals in France	WP2	week 5 2005	week 11 2005	P5
D9	Summary report WP2	WP2	week 30 2005	week 30 2005	P1
D10	Meta-report on the results of the project	WP3	week 4 2006	week 4 2006	P1

List of additional books and papers produced within Anovasofie

Partner No.	Author(s)	Title	(Planned)Date of publication
2	Celebi Nilgun (ed.)	ANOVASOFIE Project Turkey: Comparisons. Book. 170pp. ISBN: 975-95543-3-X	Ankara 2005
1, 3, 5	Fleck Christian, Hess Andreas, Lyon Stina (ed.); Contributors to the Anovasofie Symposium in Dublin 2005	Public Intellectuals in Europe, European Public Intellectuals; Book.	2006
7	Joanna Bielecka – Prus, Aleksandra Walentynowicz	Recontextualisations of a public intellectual: the case of Gunnar Myrdal and the Polish Public.	2006
7	Vilhelm Bohutskyy	Gunnar Myrdal's Brand of Institutionalism and the Prospects of Application in the Analysis of Modern Developmental Problems and post-Socialist Socio-Economic Transformation.	2006
8	Ekerwald Hedvig	The Private Life of a Public Intellectual. Alva Myrdal in the Service of the United Nations 1949-1955.	2006
7	Eliaeson Sven	MAX WEBER's METHODOLOGICAL HERITAGE: Gunnar Myrdal as a Weberian public intellectual.	2006
8	Wisselgren Per	Regulating the Science-Policy Boundary: The Myrdals and the Swedish Tradition of Governmental Commissions	2006
8	Wisselgren Per	Women as Public Intellectuals: The Case of Alva Myrdal, in Comparison with Kerstin Hesselgren	2006

Documentation of Dissemination

ANOVASOFIE's findings are subject to the communist (R. K. Merton, 1968) principle of scientific knowledge; i.e. each participant and further on each person or institution is eligible to ANOVASOFIE's findings for scientific publications, lectures and textbooks (Shaded is done by January 2006).

Planned / actual dates	Type	Type of audience	Countries addressed	Size of audience	Partner responsible / involved
CONFERENCES					
20-23 May 2004	Promotion of the ANOVASOFIE project, Interim Conference of ISA history of sociology section; Marienthal Austria	Researchers	European Researchers, Argentina, USA, Hongkong, New Zealand, Iran	120	P1
20-23 May 2004	Presentation of ANOVASOFIE working paper on public intellectuals, Interim Conference of ISA history of sociology section; Marienthal Austria	Researchers	European Researchers, Argentina, USA	120	P5
18 September 2004	Lecture and presentation of Anovasofie at Convention "Das presentation of preliminary Deliverable 7, Faszinosum Max Weber. Die Geschichte seiner Geltung" in der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften	Researchers	Germany	120	P4, P 7

25 - 26 October 2004	Presentation of ANOVASOFIE project, Symposium on Ziya Gokalp held in the historical "Chamber of Professors "	Reserachers	Turkey	50+	P 2
7 January 2005	TR-ACCESS / 6. ÇERÇEVE PROGRAMI TEMATİK KONFERANSI Presentation of ANOVASOFIE	Scholars of different universities, officials	Turkey and Portugal	68+	P 2
April 2005	Presentation of ANOVASOFIE project, Conference of the Irish Sociological Association	Researchers	Ireland	150	P 3
6 – 7 May 2005	Amsterdam (ESSE European Network of Excellence, Conference on National Tradition in Social Sciences	research	Belgium, France, Russia, US, Switzerland	22	P5
27 – 29 June 2006	Conference on Journalists and sociologists	research	French researchers	100+	P5
5 – 9 July 2005	37th World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology P7 is doing a session on public intellectuals connected to ANOVASOFIE, presentations of P1, P5, P6, P8	Researchers	International	1500	P7, P1, P5, P6, P8
July 2006	Anovasofie Meeting and Dissemination XVI. World Congress of Sociology, Durban, The Quality of Social Existence in a Globalising World	Researchers	International	5000+	P1, P3, P5

March 2007	Stina Lyon chairs a panel discussion on public intellectuals in sociology at the British Sociological Association's Annual Conference	Scholars	Great Britain	300+	P5
<i>ELECTRONIC MAILINGS</i>					
May + June 2004	2 times invitations for the exp. discussion	Austrian Sociological community	Austria	~ 300	P1
May + June 2004	28 times invitations for the exp. discussion	Turkish Sociological community	Turkey	~ 400	P2
September 2004	2 times invitations for the exp. discussion	Irish Sociological community	Ireland	~ 150	P3
April 2005	Promotion of www.anovasofie.net	Mailinglist of ESA	Europe	2500	P5
April 2005	Promotion of www.anovasofie.net	Mailinglist French Sociological Association (AFS)	France	500	P5
April 2005	Promotion of www.anovasofie.net	Mailinglist French-speaking sociological association (AISLF)	International	500	P5
June 2005	Promotion of www.anovasofie.net	Mailinglist Austrian sociological Association	Austria	300	P1
December 2005	Link to the project website sent to Univ. Of St. Gallen	Scholars	Switzerland	~ 1100	P4
December 2005	Link to the project website sent to University of applied Sciences Bremen	Scholars	Germany	~ 5000	P4

December 2005	Link to the project website sent to selected DLH-Managers	Management	Germany	~ 30	P4
December 2005	Promotion of www.anovasofie.net	Mailing list of Association française de sociologie (French Sociological Association)	France, Canada, Belgium, Switzerland and parts of Africa	~ 3000	P5
December 2005	Promotion of www.anovasofie.net	Newsletter of Liens-socio	France, Canada, Belgium, Switzerland and parts of Africa	~ 4500	P5
December 2005	Promotion of www.anovasofie.net	Mailing list of Association internationale des sociologies de langue française (International association of French-speaking sociologists)	French-speaking countries and scientific communities	~ 1000	P5
December 2005	Promotion of www.anovasofie.net	Mailing list of Association nationale des candidats aux métiers de la science politique	France	~ 1100	P5

PROJECT PRESENTATIONS & LECTURES

May 2004	Lecture at the colloquium „Menschenbilder und ihre Orientierungsleistungen“, University of Marburg	Scholars	Germany	30	P4
11 - 12 November	FP6 Projects' Kick-Off Meeting,	Project managers, fp6 -	Europe	100	P 1

2004	http://www.cordis.lu/citizens/kick_off1.htm	officials			
13 December 2004	Project presentation and discussion, University of Graz	Scholars and project managers	Austria	40	P1
15 January 2005	Presentation of inquiry about French public intellectuals, CEDITEC Paris	Researchers	France	30	P5
January 2005	Project presentation Dept of Sociology University of Marburg	Scholars	Germany	20	P4
February 2005	Anovasofie-Lecture at the University of Dhakar	Scholars	Bangladesch	50	P4
2 March 2005	The Postgraduate Advisor Collegium, Dept of Sociology, Uppsala university, a presentation of Anovasofie project	Researchers	Sweden	15	P 8
30 March 2005	Research seminar on Alva Myrdal held by Yvonne Hirdman, short presentation of Anovasofie project Dept of history of ideas and knowledge	Researchers	Sweden	15	P 8
March 2005	Presentation of (preliminary) results Dept of Sociology University of Marburg	Scholars	Germany	20	P4
Spring 2005	Project presentation Dept of Sociology Uppsala university	Scholars	Sweden	20	P8
Spring 2005	Project presentation Center for Gender Researchers Uppsala University	Scholars	Sweden	20	P8

April 2005	Speech at the University of Vienna: "Wien, die anstrengende Großstadt. Max Weber im Sommersemester 1918."	Scholars	Austria	50	P4
June 2005	Participation in the "Rededuell" at the Debattierclub" in Marburg (Debattenwettstreit DIE ZEIT)	Students, public	Germany	100	P4
Summer 2005	Presentation on ANOVASOFIE at the Annual Irish Sociological Association meeting	Researchers	Ireland	100+	P 3
September 2005	Speech about "Translation as a Conceptual Act in the English translations of Max Weber's "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" at the Conference "Translation, The History of Political Thought, and the History of Concepts"; Graduate Center of the City University of New York	Scholars	USA	50	P4
October 2005	Speech about "Max Weber: el clasico viviente" at the conference "La vigencia del pensamiento de Max Weber a cien anos de la Etica Protestante y el Espiritu del Capitalismo at the University of Buenos Aires	Scholars	Argentina	300	P4

October 2005	Presentation of (preliminary) project results at the Dubin conference	Scholars	Europe	30	P4
11 November 2005	Heads of Sociology Departments Council Annual Meeting in London	Scholars	Great Britain	20+	P5
18 November 2005	<i>Academy for the Social Sciences</i> Annual Meeting	Scholars	Great Britain	200+	P5
30 November 2005	Anovasofie presentation, Meeting at the House of Lords	Scholars	Great Britain	50+	P5
February 2006	Presentation of results at the Dept of Sociology University of Marburg	Scholars	Germany	10	P4
2006/2007	As Founder Member of the recently established Swedish Research Network for the History of Sociology and Politics, Dr. Per Wisselgren is involved in regular dissemination activities regarding the research on the Myrdals and will disseminate the outcomes of this project to this group.		Sweden	100+	P2

WWW PUBLICATIONS

Principally the ANOVASOFIE website is linked with every existent websites of the partners in the consortium

April 2004	project website 27.4.-8.11.2004 virtual panel laboratory	Members of national Sociological associations	Austria, Ireland, Turkey	500-1000	P1, consortium
15 December 2004	Virtual library	Scholars, students, all interested	International	Statistics will be reported in the final report	P1, P2, P3
October 2004	Links to project website and website for	Publics: Students, scholars,	Germany	20-30000	P4

	ANOVASOFIE researchers on University of Marburg sites	miscellaneous			
December 2004	Link to Anovasofie website	http://encyclopedia.laborlawtalk.com/	International	www	P1
December 2004	Link to Anovasofie website	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sociology	International	www	P1
December 2004	Link to Anovasofie website	http://www.artistoryclub.com/art_history/Sociology	International	www	P1
Spring 2005	Link to Anovasofie website, Swedish Sociological Association Website	www.sociologforbundet.org.se Web site visitors	Sweden (and probably the Nordic countries)	www	P8
Spring 2005	Link to Anovasofie website, Swedish university library resource RASK	www.rask.uu.se , RASK visitors from all of Swedish universities	Sweden	www	P8
Spring/ Summer 2005	Publication of (preliminary) results / link on the SB website	Publics: Students, scholars, miscellaneous	Great Britain	www	P4
November 2005	The Cyprus Sociological association, link	http://www.sociology.org.cy/LINKS.htm	Cyprus	www	P 1
November 2005	International Sociological Association	http://www.ucm.es/info/isa/servers.htm	International	www	P 1
November 2005	Associazione Italiana di Sociologia	http://www.ais-sociologia.it/moduli/bollettini/BollettinoAIS_n_10.htm	Italy	www	P 1

PUBLICATIONS					
November 2004	Summary Report of workshop I in: "Berichte", journal of http://www.ibz-berlin.de/	scientists	Germany	3000	P1, P4
June 2005	Article presenting the project in: UNIZEIT, researchers magazin of the University of Graz	Students, scholars and general university employees	Austria	2000	P1
Summer 2005	Publication of the early De Beaumont book, Harvard University Press	Students, scholars, public, policy makers	Mainly Europe and USA	5000	P3
November 2005	Article about Anovasofie in the Newsletter of the Research Committee on the history of sociology / International association of sociology	Researchers	International	500+ http://www.ucm.es/info/isa/pdfs/rc08newsletter.pdf	P 1
2005	Article containing information on ANOVASOFIE in a special volume of Sosyoloji Dergisi (Journal of Sociology of Sociology Department of Istanbul)	Turkish sociologists	Turkey	500+	P2
2005	Article referred to Anovasofie project Celebi, Nilgun 82005) "Sosyolojimizin Tarihini Yazarken" ,Istanbul Universitesi Edebiyat Fakultesi Sosyoloji Dergisi 3.Dizi-10.Sayı: pp.71-79.	Students, scholars	Turkey and Turkish speaking countries. Mainly Azerbaijan and Kirgyzistan.	1000+	P 2

December 2005	Book - publication based on the ANOVASOFIE symposium in Dublin	Students, scholars, public, policy makers	Mainly Europe and USA	5000	All partners
December 2005	Bookpublication: "Anovasofie Project Turkey:Comparisons/Karsilastirmalar ". ISBN: 975-95543-3-X	Students, scholars	Turkey, Austria, Irland.	300+	P 2
Spring 2006	Article presenting additional results of the German case study	Students, scholars	Germany	500+	P 4
2006 in Cambridge , Mass. in March and in Dublin in April 2006	Harvard University Press will lauch the Beaumont book on Ireland (a publication project which emerged out of Anovasofie Ireland)	International sociologically interested public	International	5000+	P 3
2006	Forthcoming: "Gunnar Myrdal as a Weberian Public Intellectual", in: Karl-Ludwig Ay, Knut Borchardt (eds.), Das Faszinosum Max Weber. Die Geschichte seiner Geltung, Konstanz: UVK	Researchers	International	500+	P 7
2006	Forthcoming: 2 reviews on books referring to the Anovasofie:oucomes: Review of Kerstin Vinterhed: Kärlek i tjugonde seklet - en biografi över Alva och Gunnar Myrdal. Sthlm: Atlas, 2003, pp 250-52, in Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift (Political Science Journal), Vol. 106 (2003/04), no 3, and	Researchers	International	500+	P 7

	Review of Hans Hederberg: Sanningen, inget annat än sanningen. Sex decennier ur Alva & Gunnar Myrdals liv. Sthlm: Atlantis, 2004 (forthcoming).				
2006	Special issue of the Irish Journal of Sociology, the journal will contain considerable material from the Irish 'branch' of ANOVASOFIE.	Irish sociologists, interested public	Europe and USA	500	P 3
2006	Short project descriptions to be submitted to <i>Network</i> , membership journal of the British Sociological Association	British sociologists	Great Britain	300+	P 5
2006	Forthcoming: article on Myrdal as Sweden's "grumpy old man" which is thematically close to the ANOVASOFIE main agenda	Researchers	International	500+	P 7
2006	Forthcoming: "Gunnar Myrdal as a Weberian Public Intellectual" in Sociologisk Forskning	Researchers	Sweden	500+	P 7

PROMOTION MATERIAL

2005	ANOVASOFIE bookmarks to be distributed via mailings of sociological associations and at conferences	Students, scholars, public, policy makers	International	10000	P1
2005	Distribution of bookmarks Annual Irish Sociological Association meeting	Researchers	Ireland	100+	P3
2006	The next issue of the Journal of the ISA will contain Anovasofie leaflets and bookmarks	Students, scholars, public, policy makers – members of ISA	International	4000+	P3
2007	Bookmarks and related article in the Irish Journal of Sociology	Students, scholars	Ireland	100+	P3

Participants of workshops and meetings

Milestone no.	Milestone Name	Work package number	Date due	Actual forecast/delivery date	Participants	Lead contractor
1	Start Up Meeting Graz – Austria	WP 0	February 2004	21/22 February 2004	All partners	P1
1a	Coordination Meeting Marienthal-Austria	WP 0	additional	22 May 2004	P1, P3, P4, P6, P7	P1
2	Workshop 1 Munich-Germany	WP 4	October 2004	02/03 October 2004	All partners	P1
3	Consortium Meeting Istanbul	WP 4	April 2004	01-03 April 2005	All partners	P1
3 a	ANOVASOFIE related session on public intellectuals organized by P7, Meeting Steering Committee Stockholm-Sweden	WP 5	additional	July 2005	Participating: P2, P5, P6, P8	P1
4	Workshop 2 Dublin – Ireland Symposium: “Public Intellectuals in Europe – European Public Intellectuals” 7-9 October 2005	WP 4	October 2005	07- 09 October 2005	All partners, open to other researchers. organization on site : P 3. Program Committee: P1, P3, P5	P1

**Proposal for book-publication based on Milestone 4:
PUBLIC INTELLECTUALS IN EUROPE – EUROPEAN PUBLIC
INTELLECTUALS: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES**

(February 2006)

Why a book on this topic? Themes, concepts and ideas

No doubt, public intellectuals are *en vogue*. Hardly a week goes by in which newspapers and magazines don't report or refer to what some prominent intellectual has said on some given topic. Why exactly some intellectuals get more attention and are more widely read than others often remains unclear. What is clear, however, is that these public intellectuals seem to answer somehow to an unofficial and maybe unconscious call for more informed deliberation. Whether such public call and response will also help the public to deliberate better or whether it will eventually help individuals to make better-informed decisions - and thereby will also help to democratise democracy in the long run - remains to be seen. While the jury is still out and will not deliver the verdict on the outcome any time soon, the current boom is a great opportunity to reflect critically on the public role sociologists have played in past and present.

In October 2005 the EU-financed project ANOVASOFIE (acronym for "Analysing and overcoming the sociological fragmentation in Europe") hosted an international symposium at the Geary Institute, University College Dublin with the aim of identifying how public intellectuals have performed in Europe. We tried to find answer to such questions as: Is there anything unique or special in the way European intellectuals have responded to the call for public engagement? Are there any unique political, sociological, cultural, national and historical constellations that can be identified that help us to understand and explain why intellectuals got engaged in the first place? The result of our deliberations showed that there were indeed certain patterns that could be identified.

While the papers at the actual symposium followed a certain format, for the purpose of the proposal we have made a selection and we have re-assembled the best contributions to form a slightly different order. The papers follow now a three-step-logic ("provocations" – "complications" –

“case studies”) held together by an Introduction by the editors and a final comment (“The view from afar”).

Competition, other books in the field.

With the exception of the Introduction and the Conclusion the texts gathered in this volume were all especially written for the Dublin symposium; they are all original contributions and have partly already been revised for this volume. The strength of the contributions to this book is that it that they constitute pioneering effort and that they are trans- and interdisciplinary. (The subtitle “Sociological Perspectives” just gives a sense of direction or orientation; it is not meant to be exclusive.) The contributors are sociologists, historians, anthropologists, political scientists or come from other related disciplines and sub-disciplines. Collectively the contributions reflect the need for an ongoing cross-disciplinary debate about the changing and contested role of social knowledge in the civic and public sphere.

In addition to the fresh perspective – to the best of our knowledge no equal or similar attempt to address this topic comprehensively has been made - a further advantage of our project is the unique mix consisting of established and well-known scholars and a new generation of researchers. The strength of this collection lies in its comprehensiveness and inclusiveness; we try to give a picture that addresses the complexity of arguments to be found in Europe, and we go beyond the usual narrow English-speaking and cultural lines; and while our book looks at the European dimension, we also made a conscious effort to draw in scholars and researchers from outside of Europe. Furthermore, we also strove for some sort of gender balance – not something that is always happening in the context of the topic of intellectuals.

Readership

In terms of readership our edited work aims at a broad, trans- and interdisciplinary readership. However, we expect that the book will also be of interest to people from the following disciplines and sub-disciplines: sociology, sociology of knowledge, cultural sociology, social theory, political science, political theory, history of ideas/intellectual history, European studies, and social policy. The case studies should also attract readers with

a specialist interest in individual sociological theorists such as Weber, Habermas, Adorno, Tocqueville and Lazarsfeld. We are also convinced that we can attract a wider non-academic readership that has a general interest in the topic of public intellectuals.

Schedule/anticipated delivery date

Apart from the concluding remarks all texts referred to in this proposal already exist in some advanced form but will still need to be revised and/or refocused to a certain extent. For our book proposal three texts (J. Alexander, P. Wisselgren and S. Muller-Doohm) have been selected to give CUP readers an idea of the quality of the various contributions.

The individual contributions have a length between 5000-6000 words (we have 16 contributions, including the Introduction and the Concluding Remarks).

In terms of the time frame we could deliver the final manuscripts in September 2006.

List of contents:

PUBLIC INTELLECTUALS IN EUROPE – EUROPEAN PUBLIC INTELLECTUALS: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

Christian Fleck (Sociology, Graz), **Andreas Hess** (Sociology, University College Dublin), **E. Stina Lyon** (Sociology, London South Bank)

Sociology of Public Intellectuals – Sociologists as Public Intellectuals

In this Introduction the authors identify the most important recent changes in terms of work practices and patterns of public intellectuals. More specifically we will address those particular configurations where actors participate in more than one closely defined field (be it either socially, politically or culturally defined) and where each of these fields functions differently in regard to role expectations and respective rules. We also attempt at establishing a European-based sociological framework which is flexible enough to allow for cross-national comparisons.

PROVOCATIONS

Jeffrey C. Alexander (Sociology, Yale)

Intellectuals in the Public Sphere

Public intellectual is a role that has become fundamental to the civil repair of modern societies. It is rooted in the first public sphere that emerged in Athens, and in the iconic figure of Socrates. These secular origins became folded into the Judeo-Christian trope of prophetic judgment. Public intellectuals criticize society on behalf of the putative, and necessarily unrealized, solidarity that underlies the civil-public sphere, and they do so by pronouncements that refer to the power of truth. Being a public intellectual must be understood performatively. It is an expressive figure organized in sub-genres formed by such political traditions as the revolutionary, reformist, conservative, and counter-revolutionary, but it has also expressed itself in the figure of the public psychotherapist initiated by Freud. In real historical time, however, the performance of public intellectual

is not as transcendental as it seems. As much denunciation and demonization as idealistic and inspiring, public intellectual discourse engages the binary, bifurcating discourse of civil society. Even while promoting civil repair, public intellectual performance becomes a vehicle for carrying out the excluding and stigmatizing boundary enforcement that also characterizes every civil society.

Mary Evans (Women's Studies, Kent)

Can There be Women Intellectuals?

In *Three Guineas*, Virginia Woolf questions the degree to which women can maintain for themselves independence from those institutions which have been instrumental in maintaining male dominance. Woolf was writing at a time when women were fighting to obtain access to higher education and the professions; but she realised that the cost of achieving this access was collusion with the values of those institutions. But this paper is not primarily concerned with the dominance of one gender in institutional contexts, it addresses the gendered dynamic of intellectual life. The 'discovery' of sex differences in the eighteenth century in one sense enlarged the world for women since it allowed us to claim a particular space, yet at the same time it arguably established a pattern in which women have been confined either to the articulation or the defence of women's particularity. When we consider the past two hundred years of intellectual life we can now perhaps look back on it and see not the emancipation of women - and certainly not the intellectual emancipation of women - but a much more complex process in which the qualities of masculinity and femininity have become reified into intellectual standards and expectations, leaving little space for that openness of thought and imagination which Woolf wished to defend. The heroine of my paper is not, however, Virginia Woolf, but Fanny Price in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*. A heroine because, almost uniquely in the history of English fiction, Miss Price was willing to accept the responsibilities of rationality.

Joseba Zulaika (Basque Studies, Nevada-Reno)

Intellectuals among Terrorists: Experts vs. Witnesses

What do you do, as an intellectual, when your primary community (your family, friends, village, country, occupation) produces "terrorists"? What is your intellectual task-to define them, to diagnose them, to condemn them,

to persuade them, to understand them, to exorcise them? Should you look at it as tragedy, irony, farce, romance, or sheer crime? Whether in the Basque Country, Ireland, or the United States, intellectual approaches to "terrorism" are of necessity enmeshed in the writer's self-definitions and ideological investments. But, even more, we might question whether there is a sense in which "expertise" on the terrorist Other presupposes acceptance of the logic of taboo and wilful ignorance of the actual life conditions of the subjects of research. Various readings and approaches to the phenomenon of terrorism are likely to produce antagonistic intellectuals.

COMPLICATIONS

William Outhwaite (Sociology, Sussex)

Civil Society Debates and European Public Intellectuals

What is, and how does one become, a European intellectual? This paper attempts to relate the idea of the intellectual in contemporary Europe to discussions of the eventual (in either sense of the term) existence of a European civil society or public sphere. It takes a limited informal sample of sociologists and other intellectuals and explores the dimensions of their pan-European resonance and the extent to which this is facilitated or hindered by media, academic and cultural structures.

E. Stina Lyon (Sociology, London South Bank University)

What Influence? Public Intellectuals, the State and Civil Society

This paper addresses issues in understanding the relationship between public intellectuals, the state and civil society and the production and interpretations of "social knowledge". Sociologists have since the inception of the discipline been influential agents in the public domain beyond academe in a variety of ways: as politicians, government advisors, social researchers on government funded projects, critical writers and paradigm shifters, public orators, propagandists for social movements and voluntary organisations, teachers and activists. The paper starts from the assumption that what constitutes "social knowledge" in the public domain has over time, and place, been a contested issue with power over its collection, interpretation and dissemination shifting between the state, civil society and the public each variably receptive to and supportive of

exposure, criticism or advocacy by public intellectuals. It will then outline some of the different types of public “connectivity” that create public platforms and their implications for sociological influence in these different domains. The often lamented demise of the “public intellectual”, the “man of knowledge” as understood in the past, can from within such a framework be seen as a less interesting question for sociologists than attempts to articulate what kinds of sociological intellectuals are needed in the public sphere at present, and how and why they should be supported.

Stefan Auer (Politics and Dublin European Institute, University College Dublin)

Political Folly & Political Prudence: How East European Intellectuals Contributed to ‘The End of Idiocy on a Planetary Scale’

One would think that intellectuals are ideally suited to make a valuable contribution to the political life of their societies. However, more often than not, even the wisest amongst them have failed dismally. Intellectual sophistication offered no reliable protection against political idiocy. The contention of this paper is that dissident intellectuals in Central and Eastern Europe proved to be more prudent in their political judgments about important issues of their time than their Western counterparts. This is, of course, a vast generalization. To give substance to this argument, the paper (I) will restrict itself to a couple of representative figures (Czesław Miłosz, Jan Patočka, Václav Havel contra Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Jean-Paul Sartre, Slavoj Žižek) and some key issues, such as their views on power and violence. I will use Hannah Arendt as a moderator in this fictional debate.

Anson Rabinbach (History, Princeton)

Moments of Totalitarianism

Since the fall of communism, both the word and to a somewhat lesser extent, the concept of totalitarianism has made a significant, and some would argue, permanent, comeback. During the 1990s, historians, as Ian Kershaw noted, have been compelled “to examine with fresh eyes the comparison between Stalinism and Nazism.” More recently, in the atmosphere of heated controversy during the debate prior to the war in Iraq, a number of distinguished commentators once again embraced the word “totalitarian,” extending its scope beyond the historical dictatorships of the

1930s and 1940s to include regimes and movements in the Middle East. Why does the comparison between Stalinist communism and Nazism still continue to produce offence or provoke fervour? Can “totalitarianism” serve both as exoneration and as a way of amplifying guilt, as apologia and indictment, depending on how closely the speaker’s position might be identified with the victims or perpetrators? Totalitarianism has always been a protean term, capable of combining and recombining meanings in different contexts and in new and ever-changing political constellations. A powerful reason for the persistence of “totalitarianism” can be found in the historicity of the term itself, the importance of “moments” of totalitarianism, rather than in its conceptual validity, its intellectual “origins” or its “heuristic” value. The “moment” of totalitarian performs a well-established rhetorical political function, defining a horizon of cognitive and intellectual orientations that sharpen oppositions, at the expense of obscuring moral and political ambiguities. As Walter Laqueur shrewdly observed more than two decades ago, the debate over totalitarianism has never been a purely academic enterprise. It has also been about an intensely political concept, defining the nature of enmity for the Western democracies for more than a half century.

CASE STUDIES

John Torpey (Sociology, CUNY)

Tocqueville as a Public Intellectual

Tocqueville’s oeuvre admits of a considerable variety of interpretations, is politically polyvocal, and has been enormously influential in the United States and around the world. Despite this massive resonance, Tocqueville’s writings are simply not regarded today as crucial to the training of professional sociologists – as opposed to well-read undergraduates or scholars of other kindred disciplines. How can this be? I argue that Tocqueville’s stature as a public intellectual, his apparent concern with countries rather than concepts, and his presumed failure to live up to twentieth-century standards of scientific rigor has left him out of the sociological canon. At the same time, his views on intellectuals have been in line with relatively conservative thinking about the politics of that group that is unappealing to sociologists with world-transforming ambitions.

Yet his understanding of the politics of intellectuals are rather more sociological in character than those of Marx. Ultimately, Tocqueville should be seen as a kind of modern-day Stoic in the mold of Max Weber – someone who regarded certain changes as unstoppably afoot in modern society, whether he liked them or not, and who saw it as his task to make sense of those changes and to do what he could to moderate their more extreme effects.

Laurent Jeanpierre (Sociology, Université Paris XII) and **Sebastian Mosbah Natanson** (Sociology, CNRS-Université Paris IX)

French Intellectuals in OpEd Pages

Expressing one's views in the Press may well be one of the national exception of the French tradition of Public Intellectuals. We provide a sociological description of ten years of OpEd Pages of French main national daily newspaper, Le Monde. We also offer a synthesis of current works conducted in France around the problem of the intellectuals and the press. Social sciences have become more and more legitimate sites from which to become a public intellectual in France. But the career of the public intellectual and the career of the scientist are clearly differentiated. The majority of the columns written by French intellectuals in the daily press are general viewpoints. They often deal with foreign policy and international problems with no relation whatsoever with the specific professional skills of the writer. We thus offer a typology of public intellectuals in the press: the universal specialist ; the spokesperson; the specialist who can sometimes be an expert. Our results are connected with a more qualitative study on one year of reported speech coming from sociologists in three national daily newspapers. With other materials coming from interviews with French sociologists and journalists we show what are the mechanisms of reference to the social sciences in the French press.

Dirk Kaesler and **Stefan Klingelhöfer** (Sociology, Marburg)

Max Weber as a Public Intellectual

What kind of a public intellectual was Max Weber? This paper argues that Max Weber, despite being a scholar with political ambitions who later developed into a scholarly politician, failed drastically in terms of practical politics. The paper draws both on Weber's biography – from growing up in

Berlin as the son of a professional politician to his later experience of post-revolutionary Munich - and a close reading of his work.

Stefan Müller-Doohm (Sociology, Oldenburg)

Towards a Sociology of Intellectual Styles of Thought. Differences and Similarities in the Thought of Theodor W. Adorno and Jürgen Habermas.

If we inquire into the function of an intellectual style of thought for the public sphere, we uncover a somewhat surprising feature that is common to Adorno and Habermas. It is true that for Adorno what is crucial is the process of negation that has dissent as its goal, while Habermas's form of critique is inspired by the idea of communication which - in the best case - can culminate in agreement. But in both men, the appellative function of intellectual critique, whether it addresses morally sensitive subjects, as in Adorno's case, or a politically functioning public sphere, as with Habermas, points to the agonal positionality of the intellectual style of thought. Agonality [, the battle for meaning,] is the defining feature of the intellectual style of thought which finds expression wherever commonly accepted views, convictions, institutional preconceptions and tendencies become the objects of contestation. As an agonal form, intellectual critique is an 'incompetent but legitimate form of criticism' (Lepsius). It follows that agonality is an interpersonal characteristic of the intellectual style of thought. It may make its appearance in finely graded and highly divergent versions: in Adorno's case as agonality with the goal of dissent, in that of Habermas as agonality with the goal of deliberation.

Per Wisselgren (Sociology, Uppsala)

Women as Public Intellectuals: The Case of Alva Myrdal, in Comparison with Kerstin Hesselgren

Why do most public intellectuals tend to be men? By taking this question raised in the recent debate on public intellectuals under consideration, the aim of this paper is to argue for the need for a more gender-sensitive understanding of public intellectuals. The first part of the paper problematizes the concept "public intellectuals" in itself, by pointing at its inherent ambiguity, historical situatedness and gendered bias. In the second part, this discussion is empirically substantiated by analyzing and contextually comparing two of Sweden's most prominent intellectual women in the first half of the 20th century, Kerstin Hesselgren and Alva Myrdal.

Especially focused upon in that context are their relations to the historically changing spheres of social research, social reform and the public. The main argument developed in the final discussion is that a substantial part of the answer to the question about the lack of women among public intellectuals is to be found in these very spheres with their traditionally gendered institutional barriers.

Werner Reichmann (Sociology, Innsbruck) and **Markus Schweiger**:
(Sociology, Graz)

How Hayek beats Lazarsfeld - Differences in the Public Reception of two Applied Scientific Subfields

In both sociology and economics an applied working field developed nearly at the same time. In the 1920s business cycle research institutes were founded that enriched economics with very empirical and quantitative works. Around the same time applied and empirical social research emerged. It is very interesting to compare the development of those two subfields. There are many similarities and differences, continuities and discontinuities which finally lead to a complete different reception and position in the present. The thesis here is that the applied economists were on many dimensions more successful than the empirical social researchers. F. A. Hayek, who was the first scientific leader of the Viennese business cycle research institute, had a greater impact than Paul F. Lazarsfeld who is considered as the founder of empirical applied social research. The intellectual heritage of the less politically engaged researcher Hayek has now much more political influence than that of the very ideological driven sociologist Lazarsfeld. An important question deduced from this thesis is: which factors makes a field of scientific work successful and public respected?

Tom Garvin (Politics, University College Dublin)

Imaginary Jew, Imaginary Cassandra: Conor Cruise O'Brien as a Public Intellectual in Ireland

This paper portrays O'Brien as a brave critic of many Irish popular and public attitudes toward the national question and, above all, the tragedy of Northern Ireland. It argues that O'Brien's social background, intelligence and somewhat unorthodox education equipped him for such a role in advance. It also argues that his impact on Irish political culture and

nationalist thought has been disproportionately large. It is further argued that his warning that an aggressive irredentism towards the North on the part of Irish governments has been heeded.

THE VIEW FROM AFAR: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Peter Baehr (Sociology and Politics, Lingnan, Hong Kong)

The Idea of the Public Intellectual Revisited

In his concluding remarks the author reprises the key themes of this volume and considers the strengths and the limitations of public intellectuals in politics.

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