

Biography and Society

BIOGRAPHY AND SOCIETY
RESEARCH COMMITTEE 38 OF THE ISA

NEWSLETTER / DECEMBER 2008

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
DECEMBER 2008

Dear Members.

Meanwhile we have the tradition to send our second yearly newsletter at the end of the year. The same procedure as every year! We are very pleased to be able to send you a rather substantial volume thanks to all the papers and information we got.

Thanks for the wonderful and informative contributions.

This year we had a very inspiring conference as part of the 1st ISA Forum of Sociology in Barcelona, which was an important step forward to a more intensive dialogue with other Research Committees. Please see the short reports on some of our sessions.

In general the ISA Forum in Barcelona was dedicated to the discussion about the future of sociology. Devorah Kalekin-Fishman, the Vice-President for Publications of the ISA, who is also a member of our RC 38, organized a very interesting Pre-Forum Seminar and a special session on "The foreseeable future of sociology". Devorah Kalekin-Fishman (Israel), Arturo Rodriguez-Morato (Spain), Ann Denis (Canada), Yen-Fen Tseng (Taiwan), Michel Wieviorka (France), myself and others discussed the following questions:

Have we reached new ways of conceptualizing sociology?

What implications do our conclusions have for understanding and structuring the sociological community around the world?

Is there a necessary relationship between the conceptualization of the discipline and the organization of a professional association?

The papers of this session will be published next year and we will inform you about it.

On our business meeting we discussed mainly questions regarding the organization of the XVII ISA World Congress of Sociology. It will be held in Gothenburg, Sweden from 11-17 July 2010. The topic of the congress is „Sociology on the Move“. Further information you can find at <http://www.isa-sociology.org/congress2010/>. One of our main concerns is the inclusion of more colleagues and research from the Global South. Every session chair will be asked to look for a co-chair from the Global South (or Eastern Europe or East Asia). Very soon we will give you further information about the organization of the RC 38 activities.

Some further important topics:

We ask all of you to inform us about a consummated change in your address, and in particular in your e-mail address.

✂ Membership fees

Please remember to pay your membership fee:

Regular members

US\$ 40

Students and members from countries B and C
(see ISA regulations)

US\$ 20

Bank account: Michaela Koettig
Sparda-Bank-Hessen, Germany
bank code: 500 905 00
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✂ The deadline for the next newsletter is end of June 2009

I am delighted to send this newsletter and wish a happy New Year to all of you!

Gabriele Rosenthal
President, Biography and Society, RC38

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PAPERS FOR DISCUSSION

Transnational Biographies¹

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1. From labour migration to transnational migration

Workers from EU countries enjoy a privileged legal status which sets them apart from immigrants from non-European Community states. The most important aspect of this status is their right to freedom of movement. These workers appear to be “first-class” immigrants by comparison with those who migrated from countries which had signed bilateral agreements with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in the 1960s on the recruitment of workers, but which are not members or candidates for membership of the EU – such as Turkey, Morocco, or Tunisia. However, this status not only provides advantages but also leads to a number of problems, and these problems differ from those encountered by other minorities originating from countries where workers were recruited. From the outset, workers from EU countries enjoyed a legal status in the FRG which meant they had more scope for political and cultural action than other groups of foreign workers. At the same time, though, because of their economic status as a typical industrial reserve army in their countries of origin, they were exposed to constant rotation and the social disadvantages associated with this, even after the recruitment policy came to an end in 1973. The German employment agencies in countries outside the EC area where workers were recruited were most interested in signing up qualified workers from the (relatively) developed regions of, for example, Yugoslavia, but the majority of the Italian, Greek, Spanish, and Portuguese citizens who emigrated to the FRG came from the economically least developed areas of these countries. A significant proportion of them had only a few years of basic education and had not finished secondary school.

Even so, looking back from the vantage point of today one can say that, paradoxically, these workers found employment in what were in many respects “good jobs”. The overall level of wages was not only significantly higher in the FRG than in their countries of origin, but was also higher than in other West European countries that also recruited labour, such as France and Belgium (see Pugliese 2006). The foreign workers, who were organised in trade unions, benefited from increases in wages and other benefits which were won by means of struggles over wage settlements, and also from generous health and pension systems. It is true, though, that they worked “*ganz unten*”, right at the bottom of the scale as far as the conditions and prestige of their jobs were concerned. This fact had an impact on their health and was reflected both in the early retirement that was often necessary and in disproportionately high unemployment after the end of the period of full employment. Many of the foreign workers who retired early

¹ Abbreviated English translation from: *Soziale Arbeit und Transnationalität*, ed. by H.G. Homfeldt, W.Schröer, C. Scheweppe (eds.), Weinheim (Juventa) 2008, pp.97-112

returned to their homelands. Many of them had managed, by living extremely thriftily in Germany, to save enough to buy a plot of land in the region they originally came from, where they built a house and laid out a fruit and vegetable garden or even a vineyard (see Apitzsch 2005a, 2005b).

Admittedly, very few people from this first generation of *Gastarbeiter* who returned to their homelands severed all ties with Germany. Based on surveys carried out in a number of large German cities in connection with the need to provide old people's homes for immigrants, we know that cheap state-subsidised flats in Germany are kept as long as possible so that the older generation can return for periods of several months each year, in order to visit their grandchildren or for doctors' appointments. Gradually, the normality of a transnational space of life (*Lebensraum*) came into being as a resource for this first generation of labour migrants (Martini 2001, p. 158). Increasingly, it is no longer just the house in the country of origin that serves as a "safe haven" in times of economic crisis; depending on the area of life involved, either one country or the other serves as a refuge when a wide range of problems affecting the families need to be solved.

But what influence did this development have on the so-called second generation, the generation born in the 1970s? What, in general terms, is the social situation of this second generation? The original *Gastarbeiter*, the workers who had arrived in Germany from the mid-1950s onwards, were at first mostly men over 18 years old. However, as soon as the members of this group had settled in Germany and found jobs for their wives, the children joined their parents. Because both parents were often working in exhausting jobs, the children frequently travelled to and fro between their country of origin and Germany (see Apitzsch 2006a). A transnational space of life was thus established, which certainly increased access to recent resources but also became a trap for some members of this second generation. The receiving society exhibited tendencies to close itself off: access to higher education was blocked, and social insecurity increased. As a consequence, the second generation experienced much worse discrimination than their parents. This was the generation that was labelled "disadvantaged", and it was branded further by state programmes designed to benefit the "disadvantaged" and "disillusioned" with regard to its life chances. The first generation immigrants, especially those who had found their way to the target countries after being signed up by state recruitment commissions, were usually able both to find work and to get involved in the social structures of the country to which they had emigrated as a result of their involvement in functioning trade union organisations. As this happened, though, the social and political traditions of their country of origin remained valid because the emigration phase was always thought of as temporary. The immigrants were still rooted in the history of their society of origin. By the beginning of the 1980s, none of this applied any longer to the members of the second generation. One can say that young people belonging to this generation often found themselves in a "modernisation trap" and on a negative "trajectory" (see Apitzsch 2000). In their country of origin, certain modernisation processes had come to an end and did not offer those who had emigrated any improved prospects of participation. However, only a small proportion of young people from the second generation could hope for success by orienting themselves towards professional advancement in the receiving society. The rest of them experienced identification with the modernisation goal of professional

advancement as an illusion, but they no longer had the option of retreating to the ethnic colony that had been available to their parents in times of crisis.

Despite this potentially negative trajectory affecting a whole generation, one can also identify a counter-dynamic which was at least as strong as the first one and took the form of well-thought-out strategies against exclusion. Many members of the first generation had undertaken the migration project principally because they wanted their children to have professional opportunities unavailable to them. These parents understood very well that they needed to give their children the chance of getting a better education in the receiving country. Only by doing this could they bring the family migration project, which had also been a protest against the living conditions in their society of origin, to a successful conclusion. In this way, many biographies embodying an upwards trend came to fruition even though they were statistically unlikely (see Apitzsch 1990). How could this happen, given the immigrants' unfavourable initial social situation, as described above, and the tendency of the receiving society to close itself off? One factor that was certainly important was the setting up of networks within the immigrant communities (see ISS 1981). This trend was supported by a new wave of immigration in the framework of freedom of movement as guaranteed by the European Community as it established itself. Soon, the second generation also produced university graduates, and the staff of consulates, schools, cultural organisations, and educational institutions outside the school system were recruited from the ranks of these graduates. The political associations among the bodies set up by immigrants, which in the 1970s and 80s were mostly of a left-wing orientation, gave rise to communication networks between intellectuals, the new self-employed, and a trade union and political working-class elite (see Apitzsch 2006a). Because the German labour market was now offering fewer opportunities, some of the new arrivals set themselves up in self-employment, in many cases without any intermediate phase of employment with existing companies. They became "ethnic entrepreneurs" by occupying economic niches that had been abandoned by German society (see Apitzsch 2005a, 2005b).

In addition, a number of self-organised measures to counteract exclusionary mechanisms in the German school system were successfully implemented (Liguori-Pace 1987). In the Italian community these were predominantly designed to counter selection processes in the German system, while the Greek communities successfully set up their own schools. The Greek national schools were set up as early as the 1960s, as a result of intensive efforts by Greek parents and after heated debates about teaching methods. They are structured on the same lines as the Greek school system, and are financed by the Greek state and coordinated by the Greek diplomatic missions in Germany (see Paraschou 2001). For pupils who are unable to obtain a higher-level qualification in the German system, the national schools offer a way of making the transition to either the German or the Greek university system.

One can say that the discovery and use of a transnational European educational space made it possible to circumvent the exclusionary mechanisms of the German education system much more effectively than through unconditional assimilation into that system.

In the following section, we use Athina as a case study in order to explain this hypothesis in more detail and show how the process worked. We begin with some general remarks about the state of the discussion on advancement through education (*Bildungsaufstieg*) in transnational space.

2. Advancement through education in transnational space

It is only in the last few years that the phenomenon of advancement through education in migration has begun to receive explicit attention in qualitative empirical migration research (see for example Hummrich 2002). Scholars investigating this question define advancement through education in migration as a distinctive form of upward mobility in the generation succeeding labour migration, which involves reaching the highest possible rung on the educational career ladder, i.e. obtaining the highest possible secondary school qualification and entering the German university system (for Turkish immigrants, see Pott 2002).

Most studies of educational success in migration operate with a definition and categorisation of advancement through education which relies exclusively on the classical nation-state model of immigration. It is almost impossible to bring successful educational careers between different nation states into focus from this perspective. Unsurprisingly, therefore, migration research has treated the "commuting phenomenon" in the second generation as something that triggers problems, leading to the failure of educational careers and low levels of achievement at school (see Damanakis 1982; Diehl 2002; Auernheimer 2006). Particularly in the case of the second generation of Italian immigrants, the commuting mentality of the parents has been put forward as an explanation for the lack of educational success of the second generation (Auernheimer 2006, p. 3). Diehl (2002) has treated the commuting phenomenon as a "strategy which swallows up resources". In connection with the educational success of pupils from Turkish and Italian families, she carried out a quantitative investigation of the effects of commuting on success at school and found that, although commuting "does not independently have a negative effect on success at school", it affects pupils' secondary education "indirectly" because of its consequences for their language skills (Diehl 2002, p. 181).

Only in more recent empirical investigations, transnational research perspectives have been introduced in such a way that "commuting", i.e. travelling to and fro between different national contexts and education systems, can be treated as a resource rather than a deficit (Fürstenau 2004; Ruokonen-Engler and Siouti 2006; Siouti 2003).

Fürstenau (2004) has investigated the educational careers and future orientations of young people from Portuguese families in Hamburg who have been educationally successful. The empirical basis of her study were children of Portuguese labour immigrants who had been successful, young people who, "according to Esser's concept of assimilation, can be considered structurally assimilated to a great extent because of their inclusion in the education system of the receiving country" (Fürstenau 2004, p. 51). Esser (2001) assumes that social integration into the receiving society is only possible by means of assimilation processes which rule out any simultaneous integration into the ethnic community or the society of origin. Fürstenau found that, contrary to this assumption, "social integration into the receiving society need not contradict a high level of self-organisation within an ethnic community" (Fürstenau 2004, p. 51). These young people orient themselves transnationally during the phase in which they make the transition from school to the labour market. Transnational secondary education divided between Portugal and Germany functions within the Portuguese community as a model according to which planning for the future can be oriented (Fürstenau 2004, p. 49).

In the following section, we would like to show with the help of a biographical case study that in the second generation of immigrants, processes of advancement through education in trans-

national space are occurring which have a transnational character and present a challenge to conceptions of educational success that rely on a nation-state framework (see Siouti 2003).

3. The case of Athina: from "suitcase child" to educationally successful transmigrant

Athina² was born in Germany in 1970 as the child of Greek labour immigrants. Her parents had come to Germany as guestworkers. Initially, they both worked in a factory. After Athina was born, her father set himself up as a self-employed taxi driver, and in the 1990s he founded a small taxi business together with his wife. From an economic point of view, the labour migration project of Athina's parents was very successful and the family's status improved in Germany.

Throughout her childhood Athina experienced her parents' migration project passively, as a process structure over which she had no control. For the first four years of her life she was separated from her parents. Shortly after she was born her parents placed the baby in the care of her paternal grandmother, who lived in a village in central Greece, which where her father originally came from. When Athina was two years old, her aunt in Athens took over responsibility for her so that her grandmother could look after her younger brother. After a while her parents decided to take Athina back to Germany with them, and she remained there until the age of six. She did not attend kindergarten. When the time came for Athina to start school, the authorities suggested to her parents that this should be postponed because she did not understand German well enough. Athina's parents did not want to do this, so they sent her to a Greek primary school in Athens; during her first year of school, Athina lived with her aunt again. After this first year, Athina continued her schooling successfully in Germany.

The initial situation in Athina's biography contains a great deal of potential for a negative biographical trajectory (Schütze 1981). This can be seen in her experience of separation as a child, which is caused by the migration background and by commuting between two countries and two education systems. However, the negative trajectory does not develop. Athina makes extremely good progress at school. Although her knowledge of German is poor at the time when she enters the German school system in the second-year class, she succeeds in overcoming the initial language difficulties and problems of adjustment with the help of the committed support provided by her primary school teacher and her family. In her biographical narrative, Athina stresses that her primary school teacher did a great deal to help her and to provide her family with emotional support. He was understanding with regard to her difficulties with German and very supportive of her efforts to learn the language. In the first few months after she started school, her teacher assisted her with language exercises outside normal school hours and put her parents in touch with a student who helped Athina with her German homework. In the following years Athina developed into a very good pupil, and she did so well that in the fourth year of school she moved on to a *Gymnasium*. The reconstruction of Athina's case using the biographical-narrative interview method shows that both the support she receives from her teachers (both in Germany and in Greece) and communication within her family are decisive factors that enable her to overcome the crisis potential in her biography. Communication within

² Irini Siouti conducted the biographical-narrative interview with Athina in the framework of her doctoral research on the emergence of forms of transmigration in the educationally successful second generation of labour migrants.

the family is shaped in particular by the narrative form of interaction and by shared reflection on the years of separation by Athina, her mother, and her aunt. The role of Athina's aunt, as a biographical helper, is decisive during her childhood. She is the person to whom Athina relates to most closely as a child, and Athina describes her as her social mother.

These biographical resources contribute to Athina's ability to deal constructively with the biographical burdens of her childhood and youth that were conditioned by migration. Athina copes with the separation emotionally and intellectually. She succeeds in transforming what she suffered passively in her biography in such a way that she can draw on it creatively for her own actions. She can then develop her own biographical projects oriented towards education.

In the biographical reconstruction, both Athina's childhood separation from her parents and her "commuting migration" during her schooldays are interpreted positively. Athina presents her life story by projecting it as the story of a transnational education. The biographically relevant topics which provide the basis of reflection for the positive evaluation of her educational career are the schools she attended, what she learned, and her successes at school.

However, there is a break in Athina's successful school career in the German system after the sixth year. Her parents are educationally oriented towards Greece and intend to return there eventually. They decide to split the family up so that Athina and her brothers - accompanied by their mother - can return to Greece and continue their education in the Greek school system. Athina, while attending a normal Greek school in Athens, also attends classes at a language school where she continues to learn German. After Athina has attended the Greek grammar school in Athens for three years, her parents decide to reunite the family in Germany. When Athina is 15 years old, her mother returns to Germany with her and her two younger brothers to rejoin their father. Her parents now revise their plans to return to Greece, and their plan to remain in Germany for a longer period is symbolised by their investment in property there. Meanwhile, Athina's biographical plans for her future remain determined by her orientation towards a return to Greece. Initially, this is constructed as a biographical counterproject to her parents' intentions. It then emerges that it is not Athina's own counterproject alone which develops the power to generate a structure. Her parents generation's plan to keep their options open is also a strong motivating force behind Athina's plan to return to Greece and study at a Greek university. After her return to Germany, two alternatives are open to Athina as ways of continuing her secondary education: she can follow either the Greek or the German path. She experiences the idea of attending a German school as a threat to her future plan of studying at a university in Greece. Athina decides to follow the Greek path and enrolls in the Greek Lyceum. She explains her decision by saying that she was afraid of failing in the German school system. During this period of attendance at a Greek school in a large German city, Athina develops the professional biographical project of becoming a teacher. During her third year at this school, she combines this project with the explicit idea of continuing her education by returning to Greece and studying Greek literature. After passing her final year school exams with distinction, Athina takes the Greek university entrance examination and obtains a university place in Athens. At the age of 18, she then begins to study literature at Athens University and puts into practice her biographical project in the form of "educational migration". When Athina draws up the balance sheet of her biography, she evaluates her time at university positively because she experienced this period as the phase of her life when she had the highest degree of subjective

freedom. During her time at university Athina meets her future husband, who like her is a child of Greek parents who emigrated to Germany. After her boyfriend obtains his degree in economics, he accepts the offer of a job in Germany. During the second half of her degree course Athina shifts her main place of residence to Germany, and for two years she commutes between Germany and Greece. In the practical experience of her life, Athina's biographical idea of "being in two places at once" does not fail. She has no great difficulty in dealing successfully with the examinations she has to take towards the end of her course, helped by the structure of the Greek university and the support provided by her fellow students, who send her the lecture notes she needs. After graduating successfully, she marries her boyfriend in the same year. After her marriage, Athina decides to continue her education in Germany. While her husband is working for an international bank she starts a second university course, this time a social science degree in the faculty of education at German university. At the same time she also works in the administrative department of a communications company. Athina does not complete this second degree, though, leaving the university when she becomes pregnant for the first time. When Athina is expecting her second child, she and her husband decide to move their main place of residence back to Athens. After the commuting migration she experienced as a child, which in the course of her biographical development initially led to the plan to return to Greece, as a wife and mother together with her husband she now puts into practice a plan of geographical mobility in which the societies of reception and origin are connected with each other. This transnational structure becomes more firmly established after Athina has given birth to her third child. Her life is now shaped by systematic commuting between her two places of residence in Greece and Germany. For Athina, this geographical mobility is a form of life in which a multiple form of belonging embracing two cultural and national contexts constitutes her biography. Moving between two places in different national societies is not a temporary phenomenon that only occurs in extra-ordinary circumstances, but from her biographical perspective rather the "normal state of affairs".

In traditional German-language research on migration and labour migration, Athina's biography would have been understood from the theoretical perspective of approaches to integration and assimilation as amounting to a failure, since her lifeworld contradicts the conventional notions of integration in Germany as an immigration society. If one follows the logic of the nation state, a life with two or even more homelands is still considered a problem (on this point, see Römheld 2002). Athina would then have been a case of a child of labour migrants who dropped out of the German education system. She would not have appeared under the category of "advancement through education" in the German statistics, even though it is quite clear that her transnational path is a case of advancement through education in migration. Athina combines two different education systems in order to advance along this path. In the migration process, she attains the highest possible secondary qualifications in two European school systems, despite pronounced commuting movements in her biography. The possibility of commuting to and fro is a resource for her educational career and for her efforts to establish a secure social situation. Her transnational educational path is not only beneficial for the process of advancement through education, but also leads to the development of a transnational biography.

4. Conclusions: The phenomenon of transnational advancement through education requires us to rethink methodological nationalism in migration research

The transnationalism approach has been very harshly criticised by migration researchers whose work is based on the perspective of the nation of arrival (*Ankunfts nation*) (see Bommers 2002). Up until now this perspective has largely dominated research on the lifeworlds of immigrants, and this has had important consequences for state legal systems, practices of exclusion, and the management of immigration in society as a whole. Discussion of the phenomenon of inclusion and exclusion continues to be organised around the metaphor of "national integration". Since the end of the recruitment policy in 1973 and the period in which the other family members joined the original immigrants in Germany, questions relating to the second generation of labour immigrants have been posed in Germany in terms of "assimilation and integration". "Integration" is considered to be something each individual has to achieve, and exclusion is a consequence of insufficient "assimilation". Much of the research in the field bases itself on this assumption, and so concentrates on only one side of the migration process, seeing it from the perspective of the country of arrival and its national interests.

The concept of transnationalisation, on the other hand, is a way of trying to grasp the changes, taking place as a result of migration processes at the level of the acting subject and the social spaces those subjects bring into existence (see Homfeldt, Schröer and Schweppe 2006). The prefix "trans" was used by the pioneers in the development of this approach, Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc (1992) in order to place the everyday worlds and ways of life of the immigrants in a new conceptual framework. The concept has now been under discussion for a number of years in the USA. It is considered in broad terms to be a critique of one-sided structure-oriented approaches. "Transnationalism" is also seen as an instrument that can be used to analyse patterns and causes of migration in the age of the "information society" (Castells 2001-2003), in which transnational and trans-state spaces are increasingly being extended as a result of growth in the cross-border movements of people, goods and information (see Aritzsch 2006b). The concept also serves as a critique of the dominant idea which sees migration as a one-way process that is limited in time and space, a move from the country of origin to the country of reception. In addition, it criticises concepts of space in which the nation state is treated as the natural and secure "container" (Pries 1996, 1997) in which all social experience takes place. This places in question the concepts of emigration and immigration as well. The new space creates transnational identities which develop in ways that undermine rigid divisions between forms of national belonging. Transnational relations, conditioned by the rapid expansion of technologies of communication and mobility, also give rise to political, social and cultural changes. Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc (1992) define transnationalism as a process in which immigrants create social fields in order to connect their country of origin with the country in which they have settled. The goal of these authors is to go beyond the binary model of "emigrants" and "immigrants" and of "push" and "pull" factors, in order to focus attention on the transborder practices of the transmigrants.

Empirical studies have investigated the way in which transmigrants make use of their social relations and biographical identities in order to cope with contexts in which they constantly have to cross borders (see Aritzsch 2003). Portes (1999) argues that transmigrants lead double lives. They often speak two languages, feel that they belong to more than one homeland and

culture, and usually have complex social or political interests which condition their presence in two or more countries.

Transnational approaches to migration research show that the decision to move across a border is usually taken and acted upon in the framework of network structures of interpersonal relations. These approaches also examine the cumulative causal dynamic that is set in motion once such movements have been initiated. Transmigrants develop fluid and multiple identities which can arise both from their country of origin and from the country where they have settled (Glick Schiller et al. 1992), which make it possible for them to resist global political and economic changes. Ong (1999) broadens the transnational spaces approach by introducing the term "cultural interconnection". She argues that the concept of transnationalism provides a more precise definition of recent developments than globalisation, since the latter term suggests a primarily economic perspective without any subjects acting intentionally. Transnationalism comes into being as a result of cultural interconnection and the mobility of subjects who cross spatial borders.

In our view, the concept of transnational social spaces is a way of grasping the phenomenon of the biographical knowledge (Alheit and Hoerning 1989) of subjects interacting with one another. This knowledge is accumulated and symbolised in the course of individual lives and of the lives of groups. On the basis of past, continuing and necessary future separations and border crossings, this knowledge constitutes different and partly overlapping social spaces understood as coordinates of orientation for individual and group action. This biographical knowledge introduces the time axis into the constitution of social spaces, in the sense that accumulated experience represents the dimension of the past and biographical planning represents the anticipated future. The structures and effects of such border crossings and of the ways in which people cope with them in psycho-social terms in their biographies are linked to one another and interact with one another. Family members involved in a migration process experience this process in different ways depending on their age, gender, whether they have older or younger siblings, etc. Although each individual has his or her own biography, there are typical sequences of events which are specific to migrants and which tell us a great deal about the invisible, but very real, structures of the immigration society.

Biography as a site (Ort) of transnational and transcultural spaces is a point of intersection between collective constitution and individual construction. The biographical shape of the sequence of separations and border crossings in migration which can be reconstituted on the basis of one individual's life story usually represents a certain type of objectively possible (and more or less threatened) paths of the international border-crossing option. For example, citizens of non-EC countries who migrate within Europe move in a different transnational space than citizens of member states, since they cannot cross borders at will.

The discovery of typical sequences of events that are specific to migrants in the biographical reconstruction of migration processes has also led to the characterisation of biographies as *the sites* of transnational spaces (Apitzsch 2003). The point of this move is to treat biography not just as a "product of subjectivity" (Lutz 2004), but also as a way of gaining access to invisible but nonetheless objective structures of transnational migration spaces. Since drawing attention to these objective structures is necessarily tied up with their re-production and re-construction by subjects and those who interpret them, Site (Ort) is to be understood not in the sense of

topos but in the sense of *topography* (Apitzsch 2006b). This concept is certainly close to the units of investigation described by Appadurai (1991) as “scapes”, the discursive “landscapes” he calls “ethnoscapes”, “mediascapes”, “technoscapes”, “financescapes”, and so on. However, these structures differ from Appadurai’s “landscapes” in that they do not always presuppose a reference to modern urban landscapes with mobile individuals who are not confined within family networks. Both for Appadurai (1991) and for Hannerz (1993), the most important attributes of Global Cities include the fact that “here, one can describe the forces of attraction of mobile transnational migration processes. For these authors, immigrants in the global cities can no longer be compared with classical immigrants who have simply moved from one place to another and then decide(d?) to stay there for good” (Járosi 2003, p. 21).

In our own investigations, though, we have expressly incorporated the movements of “classical” labour migrants into an open-ended analysis of typical topographies of transnational spaces. The question that arises is whether or not the classical family networks of labour migration remain in existence in new phenomena such as transnational motherhood (see Shinozaki 2003). Our hypothesis, which we have set out with the help of our case study of transnational advancement through education on the part of a second-generation Greek immigrant in Germany, is that the transnationalism approach to migration research should not be seen as an abandonment of research on classical European labour migration; rather, it emerges logically from the traditional approach on the basis of subject practices that can be empirically reconstructed. The biographical resources developed by the subjects, which make it possible for them to overcome impending or actual exclusion, cannot be satisfactorily explained within the national horizon of immigration societies. Only the transnational concepts framework enables us to give an account of these resources.

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Adornos reflections on the theory of class related to the Communist Manifesto and Sociology of Art³

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Abstract

To Adorno and Marx history is a history of class struggle. From here an understanding of critique emerges, that should include history as a whole. In his essay "Reflexions on Class Theory", Adorno shows, through a syllogistic contemplation on the present time, an image that includes earlier sufferings, as shown by Marx in his early writings. Adorno's sociological and philosophical awareness consists in the demand for including the perception of those sufferings in the understanding of history. Adorno's approach, criticising the notion of class society from this perspective, corresponds to his studies in sociology of arts, he developed in the 50s and 60s, to determine the relationship between art and society.

The paper, "Adornos reflections on the theory of class related to the Communist Manifesto and sociology of Art" is therefore based on findings from Seminars of Adorno, Habermas and Horkheimer" from that time. Through the findings in the project on the rising of Sociology in Frankfurt I like to discuss the relevance of the philosophical and sociological implications of class, history and art in relation to the understanding of class and society – theory and ideology in sociology in Frankfurt. Through the reconstruction of the appliance of Marxian topics in the 50s and 60s in Frankfurt I will discuss their relation to the actuality of the communist manifesto. And what notion of class struggle was discussed in the Frankfurt School? At the end I will discuss the notion of sociology of art from Adorno in relation to some findings in Shanghai.

1. Introduction

"Capital" by Marx, as well as the communist manifesto is both reactivated in times of crisis and social changes. The rhetorical power of the communist manifesto, as a language formed into praxis, which is acting (here the vicinity to contemporary artistic practise can be stated) and

³ Felicia Herrschaft is part of the project „Sociology in Frankfurt, referring to the professorship: Sociology with Focus on the History and Systematics of the Formation of Social-Scientific Theories, Prof. Klaus Lichtblau. Contact: F.Herrschaft@soz.uni-frankfurt.de. The paper was held at the International Conference of "the Communist Manifesto and the Contemporary Value of Marxism" November 2-5 2008 in Shanghai, China.

illustrates the reversal in circumstances clotted in history, in order to evoke a change of society. Already in the German post-war period in the 1950s the Marxian theory becomes historic, for the revolutionary reference point of Marxian theory consisted in the French revolution and couldn't attain the cruelties of the 20th century. The experience of fascism and the crash of civilisation, in its entire extent, could only be suspected by Adorno at the time he wrote the reflections on class-theory in 1942. Adorno and Horkheimer dealt with the terror of the 20th century during World War II in the dialectic of enlightenment. In many of their works they uttered a horror for a society that had rejected all rules, but had ought to relearn regard, respect and appreciation of humanity, so after their return they tried to establish alternating sensibilities and values through a critical theory of society, in the discussions of their courses. The class struggle that became historic seemed to have come to an end in the holocaust and the numerous victims of Stalinism and so forth.

2. The Notion of Class

The understanding of history, that was formed by Marx and Adorno as a subject matter of their theory of criticism, contains the repression of an existing exploitation situation, that Marx identifies with a separation into antagonistic classes: Bourgeoisie and proletariat. The bourgeoisie is equated with the capital, from which the bourgeoisie respectively develops: "the proletariat, the class of the modern workers, that only live as long as they find work, and find work only as long as their work increases the capital, develops in the same degree" (Marx 1848/1971: 534).

To Adorno the notion of class must be considered "close and distant" at the same time (this is the description of Benjamin's Aura; the reflections almost seem to be an obituary to Benjamin), in order to keep hold of it and simultaneously figure it as an altered notion: "To keep hold of it", so Adorno, "because its cause, a division of society in exploiter and exploited, not just remains constant but increases in necessity and persistency" (Adorno 1942/1998: 377). Adorno perceives that the class has changed, for the majority, "cannot perceive themselves as class" (ibid.). While Marx imagined that the succeeding struggles of workers end in a coalition of the workers in a new class, due to increasing communicative devices and means of transportation, Adorno describes the egalitarian character of the civil class as a "working aristocracy", because here, a contradictorily moment in the notion of class can be found. "Does the critique of political economy imply a critique of capitalism, then the notion of class is its centre, and formed after the image of bourgeoisie" (ibid.: 534). To Marx, the feudal property was abolished in favour of a civil property. This civil private property counts for the last expression of the generation and appropriation of class opposition, which depends on the exploitation of one by another (Marx ibid. 540). To Marx the communists don't have to abolish private property, because it is already being abolished by the industrial development, because the wageworker isn't provided with any property. Wage work solely enables the increase of capital, which generates more wage work. The capital, meant by Marx, is a social force, created by a collective activity of the members of society. "So if capital is transformed in common property, that belongs to all members of society, then private property does not change into common property. Only the social character of property modifies. It loses its class character" (Marx, ibid. 541). Contrary to this stands the increasement of living work to further wage work and a communist society, which regards the "cumulated work" as a way, to enrich and advance the life of the labourer.

But how does Adorno furthermore reflect the movement of the youngest class society in the 1940s? To him, it is dominated by monopolies and urges towards fascism, "its appropriate form of political organization"(ibid.). The existence of antagonistic classes has been forgotten, which helps the monopolies even more than any ideology. "The total organization of society by big business and its ubiquitous technology has occupied world and perception so consistently, that the idea, it could be different, has almost become a hopeless effort" (Adorno ibid.: 376). Adorno unmasks the petrification of classes in their circumstances as a demonic image of harmony, if the idea is forced to establish, that the terror could be stopped, when proletarians from all countries would unite as a class. This seems hopeless due to the permanent distribution of power and helplessness, because it consists in believing, that an organized class could handle the class struggle, even if the total force of repression is accompanied by the invisibility of the suppressed. From his point of view, the class society starts to "outlive the anonymous, objective form of class" (ibid.). Amidst the 50s Adorno reminds, that it was important for Marx in his theory of ideology, to analyze the objective social conditions, that develop a false but relatively legitimated consciousness. As the human self-alienation in his idea of god was unmasked as a characteristic of consciousness by Feuerbach, a materialistic view on history could developed, that implies how history is to be understood: as a history of class-struggles, because the human woes as a totality of meaning and identity of the prehistory become the negativity of history and keep it in motion. To Adorno the unforgiving force of this negativity averts freedom and history as such. With the image of the last economic stage, an image of history emerges as a history of monopolies: "After the image of the manifest usurpation, that is committed harmoniously by the leaders of capital and work today, this is the history of gang war fares, gangs and rackets" (ibid.: 381). To Adorno it depends on how Marx is read and who is responsible for the theory that guards the notion of class as a didactic play (for this he blames the bourgeois sociology) and brings every relation of exploitation up to date. Due to this revision, an abstract notion was created, that beyond the facts, had nothing more to say. But what made the proletarians become a class? Because of the misery, that grew into the unbearable with the production process. In order to overcome this misery, that proletarians just had to loose their chains and win everything, for example the civil democracy that gave these chains a certain amount of freedom. Adorno explains that there is even more to loose than these chains, with the increase of the economic status of the worker: "it cannot be said, that hunger forces them to an unconditioned union and to revolution. The possibility of union and mass revolution has become questionable" (ibid.: 384), insofar, as the conveyed construction of impoverishment falls apart and the Marxian analysis is lead ad absurdum, "with social prosperity, also social poverty, under the conformity of capitalistic production circumstances, increases" (ibid. 384). Impoverishment becomes visible, when the inhumanity inscribes itself as a privilege in history. Out of the dialectic of classes a naked cliquism arises, settles with sociology, that never meant anything else and tries to get into the position to identify the cliques in classes, in order to deny those classes at the same time perpetuate the cliques" (ibid.).

3. Ruling Cliques

In his reflexions on class theory, Adorno describes the proletariat and its social weakness, which indicates the split character of the class. On the one hand there are perceivable tendencies in the simultaneous drifting apart of economic changes and "extra-economic advancement of life

standards", so that the theory of impoverishment depends on the split character of the class, because Adorno begins with the difference between mediated and direct repression and with the fact that the civil class is a "real and anonymous class", that is equally oppressed by the system as the proletariat. Although the ruling class rules with the "system and in the end even rules it", impoverishment mustn't become visible, for it would contain an unforeseen powder keg and becomes a compensation, when "the illusion of work and wage densely continues": From a "benefit, a tip in the sense of the ruling". Although Marx wasn't able to finish the class theory - Adorno notes, that Marx⁴ died before finishing these studies and that the labor movement didn't respond to them - Adorno regards the Marxian predictions as verified: "the ruling class is so essentially supported by the work of other people, it changes its fate, nourishing the working class, into its own business and "secures the slave's existence within his slavery, in order to secure his own existence". Because freedom is based on the knowledge of restriction, Adorno criticizes an understanding of history as a process of consciousness. The objective historic tendency is a deceit, because it goes hand in hand with the subjective interests of those, who "rule history with history". In order to understand the immanence of oppression, that for Adorno no longer consists in the social class-character of the oppression, but lies in the system, is installed by mass culture, where all forms of dehumanization are controlled permanently. In this control dehumanization perceives its border, because in mass culture, what has become suspicious, is presented as truth. Adorno imagines this dictatorship, which shows alienation as horror and outruns it, in which the class society approaches the classless, as "seeing". This process of accommodation supersedes oppression. For Adorno this dynamic of accommodation has no end. In Adorno's Seminar on the notion of ideology in 1957, the relation between Pareto and Mosca is discussed and it is written down in the protocol, that there always have been ruling cliques, their existence is a historic fact; this principally excludes the possibility of democracy.

4. Art and Society

Considering the relation between art and society with this background, the Seminar on "art sociology" by Adorno in 1958 pointed out the convergence between art and society. In the 19th century writers like Proust and Thomas Mann expressed a form of solidarity with the suffering in midst the increasing barbarism.

In an art-sociological inquiry, it cannot be disregarded, that even the most negative works of art contain an immanent utopia, that participates in the dream of humanity, that there is a possibility of an identity of beauty and good. When regarding a work of art, its validity has to be referred to society, in order to perceive, if it has become a consumer good or not. For Adorno the reactions of intellectuals towards a work of art show, that in the process of life they refer to objects like addicts, due to a lacking distance towards immediate purposes; the impossibility of

⁴ See further, Karl Marx - Friedrich Engels - Werke, Band 25, "Das Kapital", Bd. III, Siebenter Abschnitt, 892 – 893, Dietz Verlag, Berlin/DDR 1983. In chapter 25, on Classes, Marx gives a definition: „Die Eigentümer von bloßer Arbeitskraft, die Eigentümer von Kapital und die Grundeigentümer, deren respektive Einkommensquellen Arbeitslohn, Profit und Grundrente sind, also Lohnarbeiter, Kapitalisten und Grundeigentümer, bilden die drei großen Klassen der modernen, auf der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise beruhenden Gesellschaft.“ The question from Marx „Was bildet eine Klasse?“ is not finished, the manuscript breaks of.

sublimation because of the permanent pressure of the working process shows, that the "lower art", that our culture has "fundamentally failed" (Adorno 1958).

In the late capitalistic society art loses its immanent autonomous meaning, because it has become a consumer good, it is realized as commodity character and at the same time dissolves. To prevent the authors of the "dialectic of enlightenment" from being pushed near conservative Kulturkritik, the protocol from "Cultural Industry - Enlightenment as Mass Fraud" states, that critique mustn't lead to a misunderstanding: The realization of a free society has the premise of mass production. "It has to be considered, that in our society, which is neither free nor socialistic, art is only possible, if it remains conscious of its own reification" (Adorno, 1957).

Yang Zhenzhong is an artist from Shanghai who works in the genres of video and photography. He developed the third employee project in "What are they doing here?" in cooperation with Siemens Shanghai Mobile Communications Ltd. And Siemens Arts Program.

"Yang's video artwork, which is entitled 'Spring Story', takes Deng Xiaoping's so-called "Southern Campaign Speech" (which he proclaimed the opening of China for Western democracies in 1992) and distributes its text amongst ca. 1,500 speakers. Siemens employees who participated in Yang's project each recited a brief phrase from the famous speech in front of his video camera. Foreign colleagues who hadn't yet learned to speak Chinese simply repeated individual words spoken to them. In this way, artistic collaboration within the enterprise was able to overcome linguistic and cultural boundaries. The concluding artistic montage of the speech's fragments reflected, on the one hand, the working process of an assembly line. On the other hand, the numerous individual scenes that followed one another in rapid succession combined to reproduce the complete speech that was originally given by the Chinese party leader, albeit in an altered and ambitious form which did not avoid the political context."⁵

This video work contains a further dimension: It shows, that everyone shares something and has something in common, that they are part of a production that consciously leads them to a product. In this work alienation is presented as participation, as a process of humanization that dissolves in communication.

5. Literature

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⁵https://www.siemensartsprogram.de/projekte/innerbetriebliche_kulturarbeit/archiv/2003/china_yangzhenzhong/index.php

CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOP ANNOUNCEMENTS



39TH WORLD CONGRESS
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY
YEREVAN STATE UNIVERSITY, YEREVAN, ARMENIA
JUNE 11 -14

SOCIOLOGY AT THE CROSSROADS

The five previous World Congresses of the IIS have highlighted dilemmas of human existence and societal institutions in the contemporary world. They have examined problems of social existence amidst processes of globalization, cooperation and violent conflict. They have been conducted in the spirit which guided the formation of the IIS, namely that of an engagement and encounter between a variety of theoretical positions among members of a truly international community of scholars.

The 39th World Congress will reaffirm that spirit. It will have three broad foci, namely questions concerning the way sociology can arrive at a reformulated understanding of dilemmas of humanity in the contemporary era, including the nature of war and violence, of political order and states and state-like entities, of religious and cultural encounters, of processes of collective memories, traumas and reconciliations, and of shifting conceptions of law, legal regulation, human rights and international order.

The Congress will also highlight cutting-edge theoretical advances in sociology and neighbouring disciplines as well as teaching and curricular developments of sociology and social science in general in universities in the future.

The structure of the Congress is straightforward. The Congress will open on Thursday afternoon, June 11, with two plenary sessions. Each morning of the three following days, June 12-14, there will be two plenary sessions. The afternoons will be devoted to sessions proposed and organized by participants themselves.

At the previous World Congresses of the IIS, President, Vice-Presidents and former Presidents of the ISA have been present and have contributed greatly to the intellectual profile of the Congresses. It has become a well-established and well-functioning practice that a large number of ISA Research Committees/Working Groups/Thematic Groups hold their meetings during the IIS World Congress.

The Congress is hosted by Yerevan State University (YSU) and organized by Lyudmila Harutyunyan, Dean of Sociology, YSU, and Björn Wittrock, Principal of SCAS and President of the IIS, together with Craig Calhoun, New York University (NYU), and President, Social Science Research Council (SSRC), New York; Yehuda Elkana, Central European University (CEU); Peter Hedström, Nuffield College, Oxford and Singapore Management University (SMU), Secretary-General, IIS, and President, European Academy of Sociology; Hans Joas, Max-Weber-Kolleg, University of Erfurt, University of Chicago, and Vice-President, International Sociological

Association; and Shalini Randeria, University of Zürich and President, European Association of Social Anthropologists.

RC 38 activities: Roswitha Breckner and Gabriele Rosenthal will organize a session with the title: 'Creating and Dealing with Otherness: Ethnopolitical Conflict and Trauma in the Process of Storytelling and Visual Imagination'.

For further information, please contact Sophie Sköld (iis2009@iisoc.org) at the IIS-Secretariat. For more information about the congress, please visit the congress website www.iisoc.org/iis2009. The site will be continuously updated.

WORKSHOP BIOGRAPHIC-NARRATIVE-INTERPRETIVE METHOD (BNIM)

5-Day Intensive BNIM Research Interview Trainings

5 days for 6 people

2009 – March 12th and 13th, 16th – 18th

2009 – June 18th and 19th; 22nd to 24th

The value of open-narrative interviewing and insightful interpretation is widely recognised, but rather than having to invent the wheel for themselves, many people welcome a systematic immersion into principles and procedures that have been shown over two decades and many countries to generate high-quality work. An excerpt from an email we received from one university may be suggestive:

"... a number of the trainees who graduated this year got top awards in their doctorate projects... BNIM and narrative projects were considered to be of a particularly high standard by both internal and external examiners, and were very well received. The course director was very impressed and has told me that the standard of the research of those undertaking these projects (using BNIM) has improved the standard of the whole cohort."

For over nine years in the UK, and more recently in New York (USA), in Auckland (NZ), Ljubljana (Slovenia), and Sydney (Australia), we have been running BNIM intensive trainings designed for PhD students and postdoctoral researchers in various pure and applied fields. Comments include:

Elvin – A richness beyond what I could imagine.

Sasha - thank you, for a wonderful training course. I learnt so much - and it was a great experience for us all as a team, and in terms of all of our intellectual and skills development.

Mark – I could go away and practice now. I liked the balance of how and why. I really got my head round that and could explain it to someone else.

Recently completed PhDs and clinical doctorates by researchers using BNIM range over topics such as: reintegration of returning Guatemalan refugees; identity in informal care; men coping with sexual abuse; psychosomatic study of breast cancer; love and intimacy; motivation in oc-

cupational therapy; South African migrants to NZ; nurses' and health visitors' learning and their professional practices; relationship experiences in psychosis (such as those of, and with, hearing voices people) and hospitalisation. We know of 18 more PhDs, clinical doctorates and research projects in process. Anglophone universities involved include Birkbeck College, Birmingham, Central Lancashire, Dublin, de Montfort, East Anglia, East London, Essex, Exeter, Idaho, Kings College London, Leeds, Leicester, Massey, Oxford, Oxford Brookes, Plymouth.

BNIM assumes that "narrative" expresses both conscious concerns and unconscious cultural, societal and individual presuppositions and processes. Integrally psycho-societal, it supports research into the lived experience and reflexivity of individuals and collectives, facilitating understanding both the 'inner' and the 'outer' worlds of 'historically-evolving persons-in-historically-evolving situations', and particularly the expectedly surprising interactivity of inner and outer world dynamics. It especially serves researchers who need a tool that supports understanding spanning sociological and psychological dynamics and structures, and these treated not statically but as situated, affected and active historically and biographically.

For an example of BNIM case studies we recommend the European Union seven-country SOSTRIS project (edited) *Biography and social exclusion in Europe: experiences and life-journeys* (2002: Bristol, Policy Press). Other books, articles and reports are listed in the full bibliographies of the free Short Guide to BNIM.

BNIM research provides an innovative base for policy review and for better policy, and for professional or activist practice.

For further information please contact: Tom Wengraf: ascy82@dsl.pipex.com

CONFERENCE REPORTS

INTERIM CONFERENCE RC 38
FIRST ISA FORUM OF SOCIOLOGY
SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND PUBLIC DEBATE
SEPTEMBER 5 - 8, 2008, BARCELONA, SPAIN

Our RC was very active and present at the First ISA Forum. We organized 13 sessions. Six of them were joint sessions with other RC's. Some of the session coordinators sent us a short report on the sessions they chaired.

Session 1: Gender, biography and transnational practices

The session Gender, Biography and Transnational Practices was organized by Helma Lutz and myself in cooperation with RC 05 Ethnic, Race and Minority Relations. The initial idea was to transform the "Gender and Biography" session which has been standard fare in every ISA conference for as long as – at least – I can remember - to encompass a more transnational perspective. Influenced by the enormous amount of feminist scholarship in the field of gender and migration, we decided to explore transnational biographies – that is, biographies which involve multiple border-crossings – from a gender perspective. In the context of globalization, the rise of information and communications technology, and widespread transnational migration and travel, more and more people are engaging in transnational practices in the field of work, parenting and care relationships, consumer culture, and more. We, therefore, invited papers that would explore such transnational life-styles and practices in individuals' biographies with a special focus on the role gender plays in shaping these biographies in specific and sometimes unexpected ways.

The speakers included Elisabeth Tuijer (Germany) speaking on migrant women's transnational practices on the northern Mexican border, Silke Roth (UK) on transnational life-styles of humanitarian aid workers, and Vicki Harman (UK) on transnational mothering and the experiences of single white mothers of mixed-parentage children.

The session was small. In addition to Helma Lutz not being able to attend, several speakers dropped out before the conference. The audience was also very small – partly, it seemed, because people hadn't expected a biography session to be held in the room normally used by RC32. While this seemed to be an inauspicious beginning, it proved to be anything but. In fact, it was one of the most interesting and coherent sessions I attended at the conference. The papers – all focussing on quite different areas – nevertheless crystallized around the topic of transnational motherhood and showed why it makes no sense to talk about mothering without taking a transnational perspective. There was plenty of time for discussion and everyone in the audience participated. We got into some very lively debates – for example, about the positive and negative dimensions of transnational or "transracial" adoption. One of the participants compared the session to another conference she had been to on transnational mothering where all the international names in the field. In her view, this session was, by far, more interesting and showed how exciting a truly intersectional approach to mothering can be.

Kathy Davis (Utrecht University)

Session 6: 'Turning points' in biographical theory and analysis

We had ten papers for two sessions and all the presenters arrived and gave their presentations, which I think I have never before experienced at an international conference. Given that the paper givers were spread from Caracas in Venezuela to Moscow in Russia this was a pleasant surprise. The two sessions had a rather narrow focus from a conceptual point of view, the idea was to illuminate the concept of "turning-point" and investigate to what degree the concept is still a viable one for biography research but also if some conceptual innovations since the concept was introduced by Anselm Strauss in the late fifties have been made or will be made in the foreseeable future. The presenters approached the topic with very different forms of material. Some interesting new patterns emerged. Thus for some the concept of "turning-point" was seen mostly as a dramatic life event, which in itself generated life stories. Thus Lena Holmberg from Malmo University gave a very touching paper on her own biography work after the death of a son and Karla Hackstaff from Northern Arizona University gave a well researched paper based on interviews with individuals who had begun to investigate genealogical issues in the own family, often due to the death of some close relative. For others the concept of "turning point" was more an analytical category from the point of view of the researcher in order to identify the structure and meaning of a given narrative. Thus Gerhard Jost from Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration looked at biographies with loss of a parent during childhood and Ana Ghergel looked at conjugal separation and immigration in the life course of immigrants. A third version was where the turning- point consisted not only in going through an important transformation but where this transformation itself was dependent upon a retelling and reinterpretation of ones one previous life. Thus Veronica Zubilaga found that the concept served as a salient concept in her work with young men who had previously been involved in violent life-styles and who managed to redefine their life-styles as well as their identities and life project. The concept used was "biographical re-conversion." Liana Ipatova in her paper Confession as a biographical work in the process of religious conversion also found that the turning point was seen as an occasion to reevaluate ones previous life, that is re-narrate that life in the light of a new identity. A fourth issue discussed in these and the other papers who have not been mentioned was the difficulty to situate or locate the turning-point in the life history of a person. When did it actually occur and what do we mean with a turning-point in the first place? We decided to try to collect the papers and publish an anthology based on these papers. Such matters take time, we will return to how that project proceeds in a later report.

Feiwei Kupferberg (Malmo University)

Session 8: Biographical research and sociology of art

The joint-session RC 37&38 „Biographical research and sociology of art" which was organized by Felicia Herrschaft, brought together contributions from biographical research and sociology of art. Methodological appendages from biographical research and sociology of art were discussed through the following questions: Is the artistic biography changing? What kind of "biographical work" do artists do? How do artists reflect the artistic process of creating an artwork? Does a transnational and cosmopolitan concept of life play a role in the art world and how is it expressed? Are there differences in concepts how artists create artworks and how the curator is

involved in the artistic process? Valerie Moser (Berlin / Darmstadt) described in her paper that certain tendencies which currently can be observed on the labor market have been a characteristic for the field of art for a long time. She analyzed the mechanisms of the art field in Berlin in relation to precarious working conditions which are influencing method operations of artists. She formulated it more provocatively: The art field can in some aspects in fact be a role model for the new economy.

Ilze Vitola (Riga) presented in her work the experiences of art teachers at schools and demonstrated the ways and purposes, the hows and the whys of teaching art, in particular how ideas are developed for lessons of art. Amalia Barboza (Frankfurt) presented an art project, while artists and scientists developed projects in cooperation. She discussed the question if artists can become social scientists. Ligia Dabul (Rio de Janeiro) was talking in her paper about the understanding and development of artistic identities at an art school, where she teaches. She investigates the career possibilities of art students by means of cooperative practices. Daniel Šuber (Konstanz) discussed in his contribution aspects of visual sociology and showed on the basis of graffiti in Serbia a quantitative approach of analysing visual data. Chiara Bassetti (Trento) thematized in her paper the role performed by the body in the efforts of dancers for constructing unitary and coherent biographies, and for shaping and enacting artistic stories of life and identities. Closing Felicia Herrschaft presented two cases, concluding with approaches from sociology of art and biographical analyses. The process of reflection on the artist's own work as an analysis of the work, is interwoven with the material, and a reality in its own right is constituted. Lawrence and Richard are two artists who work performatively and realize their work using biographical anecdotes. The first interdisciplinary exchange between the RCs 37&38 in a joint session led to a productive exchange and to the planning of further sessions for the ISA-Worldcongress in Gothenburg 2010.

Felicia Herrschaft (University of Frankfurt)

JAPAN ORAL HISTORY ASSOCIATION (JOHA)
ORAL HISTORY AND RECONCILIATION
OCTOBER 2008, KEIO UNIVERSITY, **TOKYO**

In October 2008, the sixth annual conference of the Japan Oral History Association (JOHA) was held at Keio University. The conference consisted of a symposium entitled "Oral History and Reconciliation," four sessions for individual presentation, and a workshop dealing with the collection, preservation, and public release of documents.

The symposium featured three speakers: a political scientist studying the indigenous people's movement in Guatemala, a sociologist researching the migration to Manchuria, and a sociologist specializing in discrimination in Japan. Each presented research on oral histories concerning reconciliations following war, regional conflict, or conflict based on discrimination, and through the oral histories, showed various aspects of "reconciliation." The researcher on Guatemala analyzed the activities of Mayan women who have provided testimony regarding the genocide, ex-

amined the process toward reconciliation, and explored the various conditions necessary for reconciliation in the post-genocide society. The historical sociologist, who studies Japanese migration to Manchuria in the 1932-1945 period, surveyed the practices of an association that worked to record experiences from the dispatching regions that had long been suppressed, arguing that the practice of oral history can be seen as an understanding of regional history. Finally, the sociologist who researches the issue of *buraku* discrimination in Japan argued that recounting experiences of discrimination is a way to come to terms with the past, and discussed the perspective of how to do that, in the context of who should be the target of the recounting, in what way. Following these three presentations, there were debates between sociologists, historians and interdisciplinary researchers.

The Japan Oral History Association was established in 2003. It is different from oral history societies in the West in being an interdisciplinary association, with sociologists being more prominent than historians. Half of the current 14 board members are sociologists, and I myself, serving as president of the association in FY2007-2009, am a sociologist. The study of oral history in Japan was preceded by oral studies on people's history, women's history, folk studies and cultural anthropology, where there is a paucity of historical documents, but in recent years it has been taken up by sociologists, political scientists, and even natural scientists, who have participated actively in JOHA.

At the end of this document is a list of the titles of 18 individual presentations given at this year's conference. The majority of the presenters were young, and more than half were sociologists. From their presentations, it is possible to gain a glimpse of what young researchers are interested in discussing in the area of oral history. All the papers were presented in Japanese, and the titles are all the translations of the Japanese titles placed by the presenters themselves. It is perhaps difficult to understand from the titles alone, but it does give an idea of what kind of debate researchers are looking forward to from JOHA.

In the area of sociology in Japan, there are societies for the study of the history of livelihoods and of life stories, that provide lively regular sociological forums where sociologists report on outcomes of qualitative researches and examine them. Despite this, in the background of the willingness of young sociologists gather in JOHA is the fact that they are seeking a place to conduct interdisciplinary discussions on interviews and oral narratives, that many young Japanese sociologists have an interest in historical sociology, and in particular that research is very active at present in fields related to modern and contemporary history. Historical sociology has mainly based its arguments around written materials, but interest is now increasing in how to understand historical events in a sociological way based on oral narratives. Debates will likely continue on how to consider the relationship between sociology and orality.

- Memories of The Great Tokyo Air Raid: Interview with The Tokyo survivors
- The succession of narrating the Battle and peoples Lives in Okinawa: The Research of Battle in Okinawa as one practice of Oral History approach.
- The succession of narrating the Battle and peoples Lives in Okinawa: Linking War with Everyday life
- The succession of narrating the Battle and peoples' Lives in Okinawa: ways of representation of war experiences
- Effectiveness of oral history in history of movement

- Life histories inventing stone statues on the landfill of Minamata bay
- The Historical Communication, a Crucial Role for the JA Living Legacy: Spreading the Untold Voices for People
- The formation and political explanation of Yoichi Hatta: view of making relationship activity field between Japan and Taiwan
- Singaporeans' View of 'Japanese Culture' under Japanese Occupation 1942-1945
- "FUYOU-KAI", the mutual-aid association of Japanese women who lived in South Korea
- "Japanese orphans left in China" in the social movement
- Conditions of Intimate Sphere in a Zainichi Korean Woman's Life Story
- Life story of "Double" refuses categories: The positionality between two points of view, "Japanese" and "Korean residents in Japan"
- A Life Story of a Myasthenia Gravis Patient
- Life story of Cosmetic surgery experienced person
- "Ki zukai (attentiveness)" in Intercultural Communication: Differences between Past and Present, Men and Women, and Japanese and Chinese
- Life-Story Interview from Narrator's Perspective
- A Researcher of research as an object person: Writing A Method of Autoethnography

Tazuko Kobayashi (Japan Women's University)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO AND
THE CONTEMPORARY VALUE OF MARXISM
SHANGHAI ADMINISTRATION INSTITUTE
NOVEMBER 2-5 2008
SHANGHAI, CHINA.

During the International Conference of "the Communist Manifesto and the Contemporary Value of Marxism" participants from different universities in China (Shanghai Administration Institute, Scientific Socialism Department, Hebei Party Institute of CCP, Nanjing University of Finance and Economy, Eastern China Normal University, Linanoming Party Institute of CCP, Fouzhou university, Sichuan Institute of Social Science, Minhang District party Institute of CCP) presented papers on the topic of the inevitabilities of the Communist Manifesto, the globalizing perspectives of the Communist Manifesto and the basic thoughts of the Communist Manifesto and socialism with Chinese Characteristics. Scholars from? and from Canada, USA, UK and Germany were categorized as Foreign Scholars presenting their research. To give an example John Holmwood (Birmingham) discussed that Marx overstated his critique of capitalism and the disjunction between socialism / communism. He pointed out that Durkheim suggested that socially regulated labour markets are a plausible alternative that could combine a capitalism of production with a socialism of contribution. For him Marx for example stated poverty as an ontological issue and if class analysis has nothing important to say to us, because of our advanced knowledge about class, how a new condition of proletarian status is being

impoverished and with E.O. Wright he set out that the class structure within capitalism is increasingly polarizing and has created a gap between the concept of class relations and the complex pattern of class formation and class struggle. Zhou Suiming (Beijing) discussed the new evolution of strategy of contemporary western new Marxism Socialism while she reconstructed the discussion on recognition and redistribution between Honneth and Fraser.

Through the reconstruction of the appliance of Marxian topics in the 50s and 60s in Frankfurt I discussed the relation to the actuality of the communist Manifesto in relation to the notion of sociology of art from Adorno. At the end I presented some findings in Shanghai, the work of the artist Yang Zhenzhong. His videod work „ Spring Story“ contains a further dimension: It shows, that everyone shares something and has something in common, that they are part of a production that consciously leads them to a product. In this work alienation is presented as participation, as a process of humanization that dissolves in communication.

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Ph.D. in Sociology, Dissertation: *Going Public: The Production and Transformation of Queer Spaces in Postsocialist Chengdu, China.*, 2009, "Consumerism and Queer/Tongzhi Space: A Map of Alternative Desire in Urban Life" (in Chinese, forthcoming) , 2009, "Challenges towards HIV/AIDS Prevention among Chinese MSMs: A Primary Evaluation Based on Community and Publication Evidences" (in Chinese, forthcoming)

Felicia Herrschaft (University of Frankfurt)

SYMPOSIUM
LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES IN LINGUISTICS
36TH AUSTRIAN LINGUISTIC CONFERENCE (ÖLT)
DECEMBER 6 & 7, 2008

The „Research Group Spracherleben“, a Vienna-based network of researchers in the field of multilingualism, namely Brigitta Busch, Claudia Kral, Jan Mossakowski, Petra Pfisterer, Judith Purkarthofer and Nada Zerzer, hosted together with Hans-Jürgen Krumm, professor at the Department of German Languages at the University of Vienna, a symposium on „Language Biographical Approaches in Linguistics“ at the 36th Austrian Linguistic Conference (ÖLT – Österreichische Linguistiktagung).

The event consisted of two sessions: On December 7th, researchers from Austria, the Czech Republic, Italy and Germany presented individual papers and posters and subsequently discussed theoretical issues and methodological concerns. At the evening before, December 6th, the research group invited to an informal workshop where creative methods of language bio-

graphical work were explored and reflected on by some of the participants of the symposium. The following article reports on both sessions.

Workshop "Creative Methods in Language Biographical Research"

The session was held at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Vienna. Participants and hosts, 13 people in total, got to know each other in an informal and relaxed atmosphere over a common dinner the research group had prepared. Soon everyone shared some biographical information and told why he or she came to the workshop. And the hosts explained the ideas and goals of the get-together in detail. Brigitta Busch described how the research group had started to work with creative methods, using them both for language biographical research as well as in the field of language didactics.

A central impulse task for creative language biographical work consists in portraying one's linguistic repertoire (languages, varieties and dialects intertwining with one's biography) by means of colouring a pre-printed blank human silhouette. Language portrayals trace back to an idea used by Ingrid Gogolin and Ursula Neumann (1991) and have since been employed on a larger scale by Hans-Jürgen Krumm in primary school settings (2001).

In this workshop we offered not only silhouettes in smaller dimensions – usually they fit on a sheet of paper - but also on-location drawn body-sized silhouettes of the participants. This version of language portrayals draws on a method used by gestalt therapy.

The participants were asked to reflect on how they communicate with different persons, how they express themselves and what codes and languages they use in different moments of their everyday life. While reflecting on features of their linguistic repertoires, participants associate colours with each of those and begin to portray their "linguistic self". The potential of this method, revealing the core issues that language learners/speakers are concerned with, lies within the shift from a narrative mode benefitting chronology to another creative mode allowing simultaneity and spatial depiction of linguistic experience. As a result, the use of and attitudes towards one's languages, dialects or registers, as well as aspirations in language learning or imaginations of future language use can surface and become easier to grasp. The picture is never interpreted as such. Its methodological purpose is to initiate an account on language experience in which the participants describe and explain what they have drawn.

As an alternative we proposed to make a drawing or a collage of one's linguistic self which does not necessarily refer to the body-metaphor. Most of the participants who chose this created a "landscape" of their language-biography in which they not only visualised the particular layering of their languages, varieties and dialects at different points of their lives, but also changes and shifts over time.

Materials we offered for all these tasks were different colouring tools (acrylic paint, water colours, felt pens, wax crayons) as well as various kinds of paper, stickers and snippets from news papers and magazines.



A third option consisted in relating an event or a situation from one's own linguistic experiences through a text or a collage. This task is inspired by Frigga Haug's "memory work" (1999), which originally aimed at a group-analysis of self-written short stories. For those who were less interested in self-reflexion, we offered short pieces of autobiographical literature (e.g. by Elias Canetti, Eva Hoffman) which were then supposed to be expressed in a creative way, too.

After a one-hour working session, the participants shared their works by means of describing, explaining and interpreting the particular meanings of their products. In which way the various languages are brought into relation and arranged with different body parts, landscapes, other spacial metaphors and certain colours is a highly individual outcome, rooted in both, unconscious and precise ideas about the diverse functions and affective meanings of the participants' languages but also in his/her social experience, namely processes of learning, valorisation, discrimination etc. Together we reflected on the processes that had been stimulated by the intensive and creative engagement with our own and other individual linguisticities.

At the end of the workshop, many participants expressed the wish to continue the discussion on the character, suitability and applicability of creative language biographical methods in linguistic research. We take this as a work assignment and are looking forward to continue this kind of activity, which is always very promising and leads to even more interest.

Symposium "Language Biographical Approaches in Linguistics"

The aim the of the symposium was to bring together linguists as well as people working in the field of language didactics or language politics from Austria and its neighbouring countries to discuss various approaches to language biographical research. While the biographic turn in so-

cial science took place in the 70s and 80s, linguistic research based on biographical approaches emerged about ten years ago and is still not yet an established field of linguistics.

The keynote was held by Rita Franceschini, a highly respected linguist across Europe who we were proud to win for the symposium. She approached the topic "Language biographies of multilingual people: the emergence of a topic" (*Sprachbiografien mehrsprachiger Personen: Emergenz eines Themas*) by telling her autobiographical way to this research field. Later on, she stated general reflections on the opportunities and challenges of biographical approaches. For her, language biographies can be seen under four different angles: from a socio-historic, narratologic, typologic or conversation analytical point of view. All of those may reveal different layers of the biography and link it to the environment of the speaker, the collective history and the discursive contexts established in a society. Rita Franceschini was also insisting on the interactive dimension of the biographical narratives and stressed the fact, that recalling a language biography is not part of everyday social practice. But when given the possibility to explain one's own language biography, many people tell their stories voluntarily as was shown through some anecdotes of the field workers' everyday experience.

While Rita Franceschini focused on interviews and narratives, Brigitta Busch was turning to "Multimodality in language biographical research" (*Multimodalität in der Sprachbiografieforschung*) and presented ways how creative methods can be used complementarily to verbal or written biographical narratives. Depending on the situation of the participants (their age, status, language skills etc.) the drawings, collages and other creative products can be more accessible and hence lead to a different set of meaning. However the interpretation of the choice of colours and forms has to be done in close cooperation with the person to understand his/her motivations. The participant has to be seen as an expert of his/her own life and is invited to share this expertise with the researcher.

Hans-Jürgen Krumm, who had started working with language portrayals in Austrian elementary schools, talked about "Language portrayals as a key to the linguistic identity of children (and adults) with migrational background" (*Sprachenporträts als Schlüssel zur Sprachidentität von Kindern (und Erwachsenen) mit Migrationshintergrund*). He focused on the link between language and identity and the importance of including every single language into the linguistic self. In a society that is still driven by a hegemonic monolingualism (especially visible in schools and institutions) even the talking about mothertongues can be difficult. To make use of the portrayals in a fruitful way, Hans-Jürgen Krumm introduced some important rules, among them the strict voluntariness of drawing, the omission of reglementation (i.e. 'this is not a language') and the publication in the group including the possibility to explain one's thoughts and motivations.

After these general talks, the rest of the presentations were dedicated to examples of practice from various fields of language learning and language experience. Doris Reininger started with „Cause biographical - that's me!" Oral biographical narrating as a didactic activity in the teaching of German as a foreign/second language for adults (*„Weil biografisch, das bin ich selbst!" – Mündliches biografisches Erzählen als Unterrichtsaktivität im fremd- und zweitsprachlichen Deutschunterricht mit erwachsenen Lernenden*). As a teacher in adult learning groups, she experienced oral narration as being an essential as well as attractive part

of the learning process. Through the personal and emotional involvement, the task became more meaningful to the narrator but also helped building a group identity.

The second example for the application of biographical approaches was given by Verena Plutzar, who presented „I'm more than the languages I speak“ (*„Ich bin mehr als die Sprachen, die ich spreche“ Das Sprachen- und Qualifikationsportfolio für MigrantInnen und Flüchtlinge (SquP) als Beispiel für das sprachdidaktische Potential eines biografischen Ansatzes*). This initiative for migrants and refugees shall not only foster the knowledge of German but also empower the participants to recognise their own potentials and possibilities with regard to the Austrian labour market. Key qualifications such as flexibility are explained and are to be linked to the participants own experiences.

The needs and requirements of specific language classes were also the topic of Barbara Haider: On the investigation of linguistic requirements in occupational contexts (*Zur Erhebung von Sprachbedürfnissen im beruflichen Kontext*). Her study was an investigation among nurses who had migrated to Austria, dealing with the professional situation and their special need for adequate language education. This includes some knowledge of non-standard varieties of German as well as highly specific vocabulary from the field of hospital care and documentation.

The next presentation by Sophia Simon on „Prima di tutto mi sento algherese“ – Language biographies from Alghero (Sardinia) (*„Prima di tutto mi sento algherese“ – Sprachbiographien aus Alghero, Sardinien*) focused on the linguistic identities of inhabitants of a Sardinian town, where apart from Italian and Sardinian, Algheres, a dialect of Catalan is spoken

Closing the range of presentations and showing again an other way of dealing with language biographies, Ivo Vasiljev talked about his language autobiography describing it as being Between a Life Story and a Manifesto of Multilingual Education. After having studied languages during his lifespan, he decided to proof that even elderly people are capable of learning another language. Therefore he started to learn Hungarian and to write a documentation on this process.

Four more presentations were given in the form of posters: Ursula Doleschal from the University of Klagenfurt discussed „Multilingualism in Carinthia – Presentation of a research focus“ (*Mehrsprachigkeit in Kärnten - Vorstellung eines Forschungsschwerpunkts*).

Jan Mossakowski presented reflections „On the methodological dialectics between language biographies and metalinguistic discourses“ (*Zum methodologischen Zusammenhang von Sprachbiographien und Metasprachdiskursen*).

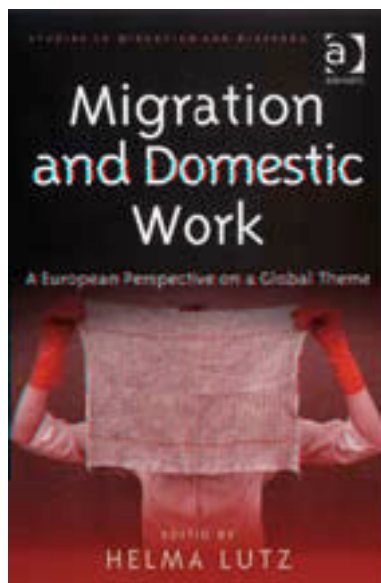
Nada Zerzer focussed on one aspect of her doctoral thesis „When telling me about your languages: Narratives of minority languages and publicity“ (*Wenn du mir von deinen Sprachen erzählst: Erzählungen von Minderheitensprachen und Öffentlichkeit*) and Judith Purkarthofer gave some ideas on „Language biographies and media biographies – entanglements and obstacles“ (*Sprachen, Biographien, Medien. Verschränkungen und Hindernisse*).

The main topics in the concluding discussion were on the one hand the ideologies behind scientific approaches and on the other hand the strong focus on speakers that is highlighted by the

biographical approach. Through this person-centered approach it is possible to reflect on a speakers language repertoire on an affective level. Not only emotional factors in language learning and use, but also influences of particular discourses that play a deeper role in the speakers everyday life can be taken into account. Rita Franceschini highlighted the fact, that for example children are extremely sensitive to possible/impossible utterances and languages. These experiences can affect the learning (or not-learning) of a language or a certain variety. More cooperations (with psycholinguists, etc) could help to end monocausal explanations and to deal with the complex realities of everyday life.

Jan Mossakowski, Petra Pfisterer, Judith Purkarthofer and Photographs: Claudia Kral (University of Vienna, Research group Spracherleben, spracherleben@forschungsraum.net, <http://www.cis.or.at/spracherleben>)

PUBLICATIONS



Lutz, Helma (ed.) (2008): *Migration and Domestic Work. A European Perspective on a Global Theme*. Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing, 978-0-7546-4790-4, £55.00

Domestic work has become highly relevant on a local and global scale and is now considered the largest labour market for women world wide, triggering the feminization of migration. In this volume, European and US-based researchers look at the connection between migration and domestic work on an empirical and theoretical level. They elaborate on the phenomenon of 'domestic work' in late modern societies by discussing different methodological and theoretical approaches in an interdisciplinary setting, and also look at the gendered aspects of domestic work, asking why the re-introduction of domestic workers in European households has become so popular and arguing that this

phenomenon is challenging gender theories. This is a book of interest to academics and students of migration, gender and European studies.

Contents: Foreword; Introduction: migrant domestic workers in Europe, *Helma Lutz*.

Part 1: Domestic Work – Business as Usual? The intersection of childcare regimes and migration regimes: a 3-country study, *Fiona Williams and Anna Gavanas*; Migrations and the restructuring of the welfare state in Italy: change and continuity in the domestic work sector, *Franscesca Scrinzi*; When home becomes a workplace: domestic work as an ordinary job in Germany?, *Helma Lutz*; Perceptions of work in Albanian immigrants testimonies and the structure of domestic work in Greece, *Pothiti Hantzaroula*.

Part 2: Transnational Migration Spaces: Policies, Families and Household Management: The globalization of domestic service – a historical perspective, *Raffaella Sarti*; Perpetually foreign: Filipina migrant domestic workers in Rome, *Rhacel Salazar Parreñas*; Domestic work and transnational care chains in Spain, *Angeles Escriva and Emmeline Skinner*; Contingencies among households: gendered division of labour and transnational household organization – the case of Ukrainians in Austria, *Bettina Haidinger*.

Part 3: States and Markets: Migration Regimes and Strategies: Risk and risk strategies in migration: Ukrainian domestic workers in Poland, *Marta Kindler*; Between intimacy and alienage: the legal construction of domestic and carework in the welfare state, *Guy Mundlak and Hila Shamir*; Being illegal in Europe: strategies and policies for fairer treatment of migrant domestic workers, *Norbert Cyrus*; Conclusion: domestic work, migration and the new gender order in contemporary Europe, *Gul Ozyegin and Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo*; Index.

THEMATIC ISSUE

The Analysis, Self-Reflection and Shaping of Professional Work

Vol 9, No 1 (2008), FQS <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/issue/view/9>

Edited by Bettina Dausien, Andreas Hanses, Lena Inowlocki & Gerhard Riemann

Abstracts of the English articles:

Dausien, Bettina/Hanses, Andreas/Inowlocki, Lena/Riemann, Gerhard (2008): The Analysis of Professional Practice, the Self-Reflection of Practitioners, and their Way of Doing Things. Resources of Biography Analysis and Other Interpretative Approaches. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0801615>

Abstract: The article serves as an introduction into the subject matter of this thematic issue of *FQS* and deals with the question how problems of professional work can become a topic of qualitative research. Focusing on issues of professional work has had an important place in biographical research for a long time. The consequences of professional interventions for the life histories of clients have been at the center of many studies, but also the relationships between the structures of experience and interpretation of professionals, on the one hand, and the specific features of their practice and their case analyses, on the other hand. Biographical research provides an empirically grounded critique and "enlightenment" of professional practice. It is often taught and practiced at professional schools, and (future) professionals can use it as a resource for discovery and understanding themselves -together with other interpretative approaches. By acquiring such research competencies they learn to look at their own practice with clients and the practice of others in a different way and they get ideas how to do things differently. The contributions to this thematic issue focus on preconditions, problems and consequences of professional work in different fields and illuminate the connection of the analysis of practice, professionals' self-reflection and their way of doing things. The articles were written by authors who belong to different disciplines in the social sciences and they are based on different approaches within the current spectrum of interpretative social research.

Delcroix, Catherine & Inowlocki, Lena (2008). Biographical Research as a Cognitive and Practical Approach for Social Workers: An Interview with Catherine Delcroix. <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/351>

In this interview, the sociologist Catherine DELCROIX depicts an action research project with social workers and its consequences. The social workers were concerned about problems in a housing estate in Nantes Nord (the Northern part of Nantes) with many low-income immigrant families from the Maghreb. They contacted Catherine DELCROIX and asked her to help them understand the destructive behavior of local young people and the—as it appeared to them—indifference of their fathers. She guided the social workers in a self-reflexive action research

project in which the workers asked fathers, mothers and their adolescent children for life-history interviews. Interviewing and interpreting the interviews together changed the preconceived ideas of the social workers about the immigrants. But there were unanticipated further consequences as well, which affected the entire community and the families. Through forming an association, the fathers created a forum of articulation and participation in public, and they became "coaches" for their children. They were able to counter the effects of "discredit," a concept that Catherine DELCROIX formulated in this research. One important finding is the relevance of a narrated "family memory" in this context since young people understood better who they were, where they came from, and what they could hope for.

Prins, Engel H. (2008). "Maturing Out" and the Dynamics of the Biographical Trajectories of Hard Drug Addicts.

<http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/322>

Abstract: This article by the late Engel H. PRINS is based on a qualitative research project (PRINS, 1995), which focuses on the biographical experiences of hard drug addicts in the Netherlands who presented, for the most part, a polydrug pattern of drug use that included mostly heroin, but also cocaine and other drugs. His project was inspired by the influential work of Charles WINICK (1962) who had proposed the hypothesis that a large number of addicts "mature out" of their addiction in the long run. While PRINS's project was partly an attempt to discover if this hypothesis could be held up in the Netherlands and particularly in Rotterdam, a major emphasis of his research was to reconstruct the biographical processes of the addicts and to understand the dynamics of their trajectories of suffering, including the processes of "maturing out" if they "kicked the habit." Therefore, he did 65 autobiographical narrative interviews with persons who were known to be addicted to hard drugs at least ten years before the interview. The analysis of this data was carried out according to procedures of biography analysis on the basis of autobiographical narrative interviews, which were developed by SCHÜTZE (1983, 2007a, b). The article presents a theoretical framework of the different phases of a drug addiction trajectory with a special emphasis on the process of "maturing out."

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

- Apitzsch, Ursula (2008): Self-employment Activities of Women and Minorities. Their Success or Failure in Relation to Social Citizenship Policies (ed., with Maria Kontos). Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag
- Apitzsch, Ursula (2008): The method of biographical policy evaluation (with Lena Inowlocki und Maria Kontos). In: Apitzsch/Kontos (eds.): Self-employment Activities of Women and Minorities. Their Success or Failure in Relation to Social Citizenship Policies.
- Apitzsch, Ursula (2008): Gendered professional strategies in self-employment. In: Apitzsch/Kontos (eds.): Self-employment Activities of Women and Minorities. Their Success or Failure in Relation to Social Citizenship Policies, pp.129 - 144.
- Wang, Wendy (2008): Son Preference Culture and Female Children's Empowerment in China. In: Houtsonen, Jarmo/Antikainen, Ari (eds.): Symbolic Power in Cultural Contexts - Uncovering Social Reality. Rotterdam/Taipei: Sense
- Wang, Wendy (5/2008) China Should Go, Is Going, and Must Go Its Own Industrial Road. In: Online Journal Asian Scholars Network

NEWS

Kathy Davis' *The Making of Our Bodies, Ourselves* (Duke University Press, 2007) has recently been awarded two prizes: 1. The 2008 Distinguished Book Award from the American Sociological Association, Section Sex and Gender. 2. The Eileen Basker Memorial Prize for Studies in Gender and Health from the Society of Medical Anthropology of the American Anthropological Association.

It won the Joan Kelly Memorial Prize in Women's History for 2009 from the American Historical Association.

PROJECT ANNOUNCEMENTS

RESEARCH PROJECTS

Project: EUROIDENTITIES -- The Evolution of European Identity: Using biographical methods to study the development of European identity

Project management: Robert Miller, School of Sociology, Social Policy & Social Work, Queen's University, Belfast BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland, United Kingdom, e-mail: r.miller@qub.ac.uk, Phone: +44 28 9097 3275

Summary:

Euroidentities is a European Commission 'Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities' Collaborative Project' funded from March 2008 through February 2011 under the first Framework 7 Call: SSH-2007-5.2.1: 'Histories and Identities – articulating national and European identities'. A starting point for the project was a conviction that the current state-of-the-art research into European identity had been driven almost exclusively by a 'top down' elitist perspective that focused upon the development of an identification with 'Europe' through centrally-driven policies. The Euroidentities project is using qualitative in-depth biographical interviewing and analysis to gain insights into the lives of European citizens and the significance of 'Europe' in their narratives. Their accounts of lived experience will shed light on the evolution and meanings of European identities from the 'bottom up' perspective of the individual.

The project is targeting five 'sensitized groups' – aggregates whose life experience have led them to confront questions of their own identity within Europe. The five groups, broadly conceived, are: (1) '*transnational workers*' at all levels ranging from menial economic migrants to 'high end' technological workers whose origins are in one country but who work in another; (2) mature adults who experienced *educational exchange* schemes in their youth; (3) *farmers* who are subject to Europe-wide markets and systems of regulation; (4) people whose work or life experience has included *multi-national 'cultural contact'* in spheres of either 'high' or popular culture that have an explicit or spontaneous pan-European rationale; (5) participants in *civil society organisations* explicitly intended to ameliorate ethnic or national legacies of conflict, possibly within an European frame of reference.

The Commission considers practical policy implications an essential part of the social science research it funds. Within the concerns of the Euroidentities project this requirement takes the form of an appreciation that the development of a sense of positive identification with the 'European project' by ordinary citizens is crucial for the long-term success of the European Union. This can only be done by critically examining the impact of particular EU policies on the concrete lives of individuals, by acknowledging that 'the European project' has different meanings to and impact on distinct people, and by avoiding a simple reification of 'shared European identity'. Consequently, as well as dissemination through more conventional academic outlets, a large part of the effort of Euroidentities will be directed towards *impact* – placing the implications of its findings into the public arena. Euroidentities is employing a focused dissemination

strategy that includes from the outset interaction with policy makers and others in public arenas at national and European levels. Activities directed towards this goal will involve maintaining close liaison with the Commission, including practitioners in the latter analysis results workshop and conference, and producing four 'lay friendly' papers written in a non-disciplinary style:

- a) a *theoretical essay* that shows how European identity depends on its incorporation within the biographies, social arenas and living spaces of ordinary citizens. Special target audiences: European civil servants with responsibility for policy as well as members of the European Parliament;
- b) a *politico-methodological essay* on the interconnectedness of individual and collective identity work in biographical and social contexts including the difficult, mutually critical relationship between bottom-up and top-down concepts of collective identity and a culture of democratic criticism. Special target audiences: Planners and social science administrators in the European commission;
- c) an *essay in communications design* on how to promote 'meso' discourse arenas dealing with European issues. Special target audiences: Journalists and other media professionals dealing with European topics;
- d) an *education-centred essay* on how to construct syllabi of European awareness items as well as educational strategies for the elicitation of European concerns. Special target audiences: Teachers (of all types) interested in Europe and students

The seven partner teams in Euroidentities include large and small nations who are in both original and accession states located in both the peripheries and the core of Europe. The seven partners are:

- Queen's University, Belfast: Robert Miller, Dirk Schubotz, Maruška Svašek, Markieta Domecka;
- Otto-von-Guericke Universität, Magdeburg: Fritz Schütze, Ulrike Nagel, Bärbel Treichel, Lena Inowlocki, Gerhard Riemann, Werner Kallmeyer, Martin Dreher, Klaus Detterbeck, Johannes Angermüller, Anja Schröder;
- University of Łódź: Andrzej Piotrowski, Kaja Kaźmierska; Joanna Jabłkowska; Katarzyna Waniek;
- Bangor University, Wales: Howard Davis, Graham Day, Duncan Tanner, Sally Baker, Marta Kowalska;
- Tallinn University of Technology: Katrin Paadam, Kaarel Kilvits, Liis Ojamäe, Natalia Karotom;
- Bulgarian Academy of Sciences: Rumiana Jeleva, Mariana Draganova;
- 'Federico II' University, Naples: Antonella Spanò, Gabriella Gribaudo, Elizabetta Perrone, Pasquale Musella.

While the premier approach used by Euroidentities is narrative biographical interviewing and analysis, there will be a diversity of applications within the broad ambit of biographical research, with other methodological approaches are being employed as well. In addition to sociologists, the Euroidentities project encompasses historians, linguists, anthropologists, economists and social workers. Communication between the teams is being maintained by periodic project

workshops, ad hoc visits between individual teams and the circulation of complete interview transcriptions in a standard format. Each team is generating 'sequential reports' from all its interviews – detailed summaries of interviews. These sequential reports will be brought together in order to create a single summary body of the fieldwork. Euroidentities maintains a project web site at: www.euroidentities.org.

PhD-PROJECTS

Biographies and Identities of Young Polish Immigrants in Germany after 1989

Katarzyna Waniek, Ph.D., Research Assistant at Lodz University

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Katarzyna Waniek earned her Ph.D. in sociology from Otto-von-Guericke Universität Magdeburg in 2007. The dissertation research were conducted under the tutelage of Prof. Fritz Schütze and were based on the autobiographical narrative interview method. Waniek's Ph.D. thesis on "Biographies and Identities of Young Polish Immigrants in Germany after 1989" offers an insight into the process of immigrant identity development. Her study is concerned with young Poles who had left Poland and had settled in Germany before Poland joined EU. The detailed analysis of the successive stages in the life course of young Poles in Germany displays two biographical processes characteristic of the immigration career and sociobiographical conditions that support their dynamics. These are: the trajectory process – that is disorderly social processes and processes of suffering (Riemann, Schütze, 1991), and the process of heading for successful adjustment and assimilation. Since the process of entering the host society usually entails loss of control over one's life circumstances, experiences of alienation and exposure to social disorder - primary attention is given to the trajectory development. This may either temporary influence individuals' life situation or permanently change their life-world as well as change their orientation towards their life biographies and identities. The thesis attempts to show that latent national identity of many immigrants becomes of crucial importance when they leave their country of origin. Consequently their former declarations of being cosmopolitans often fail. Unexpectedly they must face situations in which their national (group/ethnic) identity is pointed out as an object which has to be defined, negotiated and interpreted. Available at: <https://opac.uni-magdeburg.de/DB=1/SET=1/TTL=1/SHW?FRST=1>

The process of constructing collective identity of Polish Jews. From modernity to post modernity.

Katarzyna Szafrńska PhD Student, University of Lodz, Department of European Studies

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The project is based on the analysis of autobiographical narrative interviews with members of Jewish families. They belong to a generation cycle that includes three generations: the survivors, their children and their grandchildren.

In the first part of PhD thesis entitled: "The process of constructing collective identity of Polish Jews. From modernity to post modernity", the process of Jewish emancipation in Europe with the reflections on the specifics of living in the Jewish Diaspora in modernity compared to the Diaspora's current situation is presented. The research project specifically focuses on the 'identity work' and 'generational work' of the members of Jewish families living in Lodz. The period of the World War II reoccurring in public and private discourse plays a very important role in the collective memory of Polish Jews. The experience of the war has had a permanent impact on the biography of the first generation that was directly involved in those events and after the war had to work out war trauma. It has also begun to shape the awareness of the successive generations by family transmission and historical communication.

The next purpose of the project is to explore the specificity of the Jewish families, where attitudes adopted by parents are crucial for identity processes, especially in case of inter-ethnic marriages – growing up in a bicultural background has its advantages and disadvantages and contributes to shaping the identity. Blocking memory transmission that results from unresolved problems of the past (war trauma), of the present (identity fluctuations, hiding Jewish descent) bring about pretence, silence and even lying. Following E. Goffman's concept we can speak of 'the presentation of self in the family life' where family members become actors in the family theatre and oscillate between closed and open 'awareness contexts'. Socialisation strategies involve indoctrination (parents think children are aware and sure of their Jewish descent) or hiding Jewishness (that precludes possibility of identity fluctuations) and are narrowly connected with the 'identity work' of the children.

The influence exerted by the war experience is clearly to be seen in the lives of the third generation. Young Jews build their identity by going back to the past, important part being played by collective memory of Shoah. However, they do not only care about commemoration and mythologisation, but also wish to emphasise problematic presence in order to face the future. It is worth pointing out their evocation of the memory by social (foundations, associations with educational objectives) and artistic activities. Problems of Jewish identity encountered by young Polish Jews illustrate broader social changes connected with post modernity. They lead to emancipation of minority groups that have been marginalised so far. A change in their way of thinking and functioning is visible on the grounds of public discourse. Problems that used to be private, hidden and neglected today become vital and openly discussed. An example is a growing number of Jewish organisations operating in Poland.

Three generations exhibit three ways of perceiving social reality. Biographical work and reciprocity of perspectives can help them reconcile. Understanding the differences and chances for reconciliation between generations lie in reconstruction and critical interpretation of biographies of the subjects belonging to a given family. In Savyon Liebrecht's story "Excision" we can find a scene where a grandmother tells her four-year old granddaughter about Auschwitz and Shoah while cutting her hair which symbolises definitive cutting off the problematic past. Young Jews, members of the studied families, do not want to cut off the history. Moreover, generation work they take up creates usable past which constitutes the grounds for their 'returns' to Jewish identity.

National identity as narrated by representatives of Belarusian-speaking intelligentsia in Belarus

Natalia Mamul PhD student at the Department of the Sociology of Culture, University of Lodz, an assistant at the Department of Sociology and Philology at the Higher Vocational School in Skierniewice, Poland

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Natalia Mamul is currently working on her thesis on the 'National identity as narrated by representatives of Belarusian-speaking intelligentsia in Belarus'. The body of empirical research exceeds 30 biographical narrative interviews with male and female residents of Belarus (with a higher representation of men) collected between 1999 and 2008. The interviewees, aged 22-76 (i.e. the eldest narrator was born in 1932, the youngest – in 1986), were selected by snowball sampling. The interview duration ranges between 40 minutes and 4 hours, the mean length being 90 minutes.

The researcher inquires into the ways the interviewees experience and hone their national identity. The interpretive analysis of the biographical accounts reveals that Belarusian-speaking intellectuals (the group positioning itself in opposition to the establishment by the very recourse to the Belarusian language and other resources in order to manifest their national identity) typically choose to adhere to one of the two historically-entrenched emancipation paradigms, namely either reformative pro-Occidentalism or romantic-nationalist tradition. These paradigms as recounted by the Belarusian dissenting intellectuals constitute the analytical pivot, followed by considerations on the complex nature of collective identity, contested memory field, problematized memory work, conflicting historical and national discourses in contemporary Belarus as well as other essential conceptual building blocks.

Migration – Identity – Social Milieu Polish professionals in London is related to the modern, Polish emigration in Great Britain

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Nobody can say exactly how many Poles are living and working in Britain today. Statistics are various – from thousands to about one million immigrants from Poland have come to the UK after access the European Union.

It is the first time, when among the immigrants from Poland there are so many well-educated people, people from a middle-class. Coming to the Great Britain they started to create their own social milieu. The subject of the research, in the frames of Ph. D. studies would be the analysis social milieu created by the contemporary Polish immigrants from middle-class in London – people who are well-educated, know foreign languages, are living in the capital of UK for minimum 2 years. By organizing their workplace in UK – doesn't matter temporally or permanently, they started to create their own, compact community. The community, that is created not only for Poles, but also for inhabitants of the Great Britain, who have accepted numerous ethnic group as members of British society

This community consist of relatively quickly created organizations and associations, gathering various groups of emigrants from Poland; Internet sites serving different services for Poles – informing about actual job offers, promoting cultural events, informing about everyday life issues in UK, as well as new Polish newspapers commenting on social reality in UK and Poland.

The research will be conducted due to the spirit of interpretative sociology, being interested in a person creating and interpreting social reality, that is being constructed from the perspective of a social actor. Therefore, in the first phase personal stories of Poles, who have become the part of British society as an immigrants from Poland will be collected. Biographical narrative interview will be conducted with persons, who have been living and working in London for at least 2 years and are: so called activists – creators and employees of different organizations, associations, newspapers; receivers of the actions (readers of newspapers, Internet sites, member of the organizations); the representatives of so called old, war migration. The second part of the research will be the case study of chosen organization, being the part of the community eg "Polish Professionals in London" (PPL), internet sites, newspaper Polish Express etc.

The case study of the chosen organizations will be based on the analyses of materials that are produced by these organizations (booklets, the plans of action, websites) and the attend observation in the investigated places and environments.

Coping with Social Change. Life Strategies of workers in Poland after the end of state socialism

Adam Mrozowicki, PhD researcher at Centre for Sociological Reserach at the Catholic University of Leuven

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Adam Mrozowicki has just finalized his PhD thesis on "Coping with Social Change. Life Strategies of workers in Poland after the end of state socialism". Drawing upon a critical realist understanding of human agency, the PhD report by Mrozowicki presents the main results of his research project exploring the processes of monitoring, of adapting to, and of resisting structural changes in working-class milieus in one of the industrial regions of Poland

(Silesia). From the grounded theory analysis of 166 biographical narrative interviews with blue-collar workers, a typology of working-class life strategies is advanced, based on two continua of properties: the dominant mode of reflexivity pervading a life story (community-centered versus private-centered) and the dominant mode structuring life strategies (structured agency versus structured dependency). A dynamic model of "coping with social change" is elaborated in relation to the general question about the role of resources, of practical ethos and of reflexivity in shaping the agency of those structurally and culturally constrained to assume subordinate social positions. In conclusion, the emergent hybrid forms of life strategies, resulting from intentional and structurally induced biographical discontinuities (and continuities) following system change, are discussed in the context of existing studies on workers' agency in post-socialist societies and with reference to the more general debate about the relationship between embedded practical knowledge ('ethos') and individual reflexivity.

The recent publications related to this thesis and making use of biographical approach / biographical narrative interviews include: Mrozowicki, A., & Van Hootegem, G. (2008). Unionism and Workers' Strategies in Capitalist Transformation: The Polish Case Reconsidered. *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 14(2), pp. 197-216; - Mrozowicki, A., Pulignano, V., Van Hootegem, G. (2009) Reinvention of Activism: a Chance for Union Renewal in New Market Economies? - The Case of Poland. In Gall, G. (ed.) *Union Organising - Current Practice, Future Prospects*. Palgrave (forthcoming)

Please tell us if changes:

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The **deadline** for the next newsletter is end of June **2009**

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