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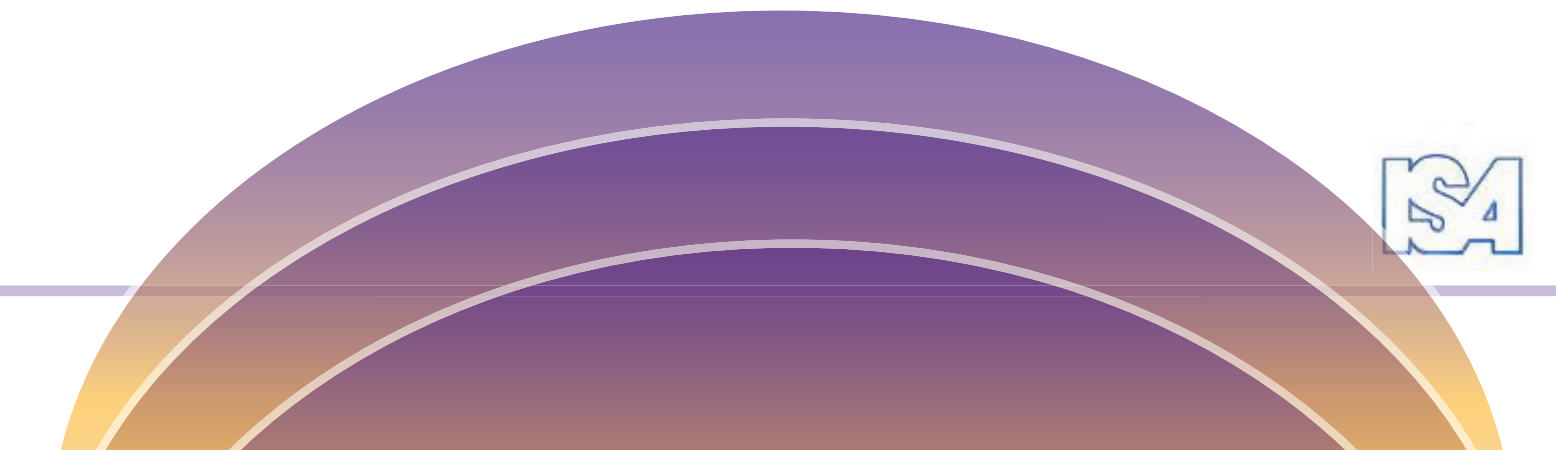

International Sociological Association
e-bulletin

ISA E-Bulletin, Number 14, November 2009

Contents

International Sociological Association
e-bulletin

In Conversation with Prof. Sujata Patel

Interview by *Pooja Adhikari*

International Sociological Association
e-bulletin

From the Editor

It gives me great pleasure to pen some remarks for the 14th issue of the ISA E-Bulletin, which is now in its fourth year of publication. This issue carries three papers and an interview: 'Suicide Bombings: Homicidal Killing or a Weapon of War?' by Riaz Hassan, ' Through Feminine Indigenous Eyes: A Palestinian-Bedouin Researcher Reflects on her Identity and Culture' by Sarab Abu-Rabia-Queder a and 'Child Abuse in Theoretical Debates: Towards an Integrated Modelled Theory' by Paulin Mbecke; the conversation with Sujata Patel and Pooja Adhikari. The papers in this issue reflect my attempt to be international in scope – with contributions from Australia, India, Israel and South Africa. In future issues, I look forward to featuring exciting sociological works from a diverse group of social scientists for ISA members. Thank you.

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International Sociological Association
e-bulletin

Suicide Bombings: Homicidal Killing or a Weapon of War?[1]

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The eminent American political theorist Michael Walzer describes suicide bombings and terrorism homicidal killing and morally worse than killing in war - "[t]errorists are killers on a rampage, except that rampage is not just expressive of rage or madness - the rage is purposeful and programmatic… the peculiar evil of terrorism is not only the killing of innocent people but also intrusion of fear into everyday life, the violation of private purposes, the insecurity of public spaces, the endless coerciveness of precaution".[2] Walzer's writings have been very influential in shaping the debate of the suicide bombings and bombers in the media. Walzer, however, is not alone in labelling suicide bombings as murderous killing.[3]

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[1] Text of the annual Australian Sociological Association (TASA) lecture delivered in Adelaide, Australia on 18 August 2009.

[2] Walzer, M. (2004) *Arguing about War*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 51; also see his essay, "The Ethics of Battle: War Fair", *The New Republic*, July 31, 2006. This chapter has benefited from the ideas discussed in Talal Asad's book *On Suicide Bombing*, New York: Columbia University Press (2007).

[3] In a recent study based on interviews with failed suicide bombers incarcerated in Israeli prisons psychologist Anat Berko repeatedly argues that casualties of suicide bombers are deliberate murder

In this lecture, I shall examine whether suicide bombings are homicidal killing, as argued by Walzer, or a weapon of war? This examination would involve exploration of several interrelated questions. Is suicidal bombing a form of suicidal behaviour? If not, then should it be viewed as an act of murder or a weapon of war? To establish this we must also ascertain the nature of war and killing in war, and distinguish war killing from murder. The answers to these questions would help to answering the question, whether suicide bombing is homicidal killing or a weapon of war. These questions are explored in the following discussion.

Suicide and Suicide Bombing

There is an emerging consensus among scholars that suicide attacks are qualitatively different from suicides. After a comprehensive of review of relevant literature on the phenomenon of suicide bombing, Grimland, Apter and Kerkhof conclude that social processes such as group dynamic, indoctrination and political factors are decisive in analysing this problem. They assert that in suicidal bombing, suicide is instrumental in

victims. This study purports to offer an original, authoritative and empirically grounded account of the inner worlds of suicide bombers but the interpretation of the interview data is highly problematic. The intellectual stance, that casualties of suicide bombers are deliberate murder victims, is repeated through out the book. Time and again the jailed Palestinians suicide bombers and their dispatchers tell her that the brutal, oppressive and illegal occupation of their homeland was the springboard of their actions but their voices appear not to carry much weight in her analysis and interpretations. Berko, A. (2007) *The Path to Paradise: The Inner World of Suicide Bombers and their Dispatchers*, Westport: Praeger Security International.

the context of war, not in the context of psychopathology. The act of killing in warfare is more important to understanding suicidal terrorism than the act of suicide.[4]

In another comprehensive review of the topic, Townsend concludes that suicide terrorism has a range of characteristics which, on close examination, are shown to be different from other suicidal behaviour. "Suicide terrorists are not truly suicidal and that attempting to find commonalities between suicide terrorists and others who die by suicide is likely to be an unhelpful path for any discipline wishing to further understanding of suicidal behaviour. Equating actions and motivations of suicide terrorists with those of other suicides perhaps does something of a disservice to those individuals who die quietly; alone and with no murderous intent".[5]

The British-Palestinian psychiatrist Nadia Dabbagh in her study of suicide in Palestine shows that suicidal behaviour in Palestinian society, like suicide in other societies, is caused by the relative degree of social integration, regulation and isolation, as well as social and cultural control and oppression of individuals in society. But suicide bombings by organizations like Hamas and Islamic Jihad are targeted acts of resistance and weapons of the weak against an unjust and hated occupier of what the Palestinians regarded as their homeland.[6]

Unlike suicide which evokes feelings of pity and sadness for the victims, suicide attacks evoke emotions of repulsion, fear, anger and total disbelief that a human being can kill, in such a cold-blooded manner, innocent people who have done no harm to the

[4] Grimland, M, Apter, A and Kerkhof, A. (2006) "The Phenomenon of Suicide Bombing: A Review of Psychological and Non-psychological Factors", *Crisis: The Journal of Crisis Intervention and Suicide Prevention*, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 107.
[5] Townsend, E. (2007) "Suicide Terrorists: Are They Suicidal?" *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behaviour*, Vol. 37, No. 1, p. 47.
[6] Dabbagh T.S. (2005) *Suicide in Palestine*, Northampton: Olive Branch Press, pp. 43-44.

perpetrator. The main difference between suicide bombing attacks and suicides is that in suicide bombing the primary intention of the act is murder, whereas the primary characteristic of suicide is the absence of murderous intent. In fact, the terrorist's suicide can be viewed as a by-product of the attack. Typically suicide attacks involve victims who are unknown to the killer. Moreover most suicide attacks are carefully planned well in advance with the explicit intention of killing others who have no prior relationship with the suicide bomber.[7] Suicide bombing attacks are also different from homicide-suicide because of the temporal spacing of the acts of homicide and suicide. In suicide bombing the acts are simultaneous.[8]

War and War Killing

According to ethnographic evidence war, as organised lethal violence involving spatially and socially distinct groups, is caused by economic factors (land, resources and plunder), social factors (prestige, honour), revenge (for sufferings) and defence. The order of motives from most inclusive to least inclusive are: political control, economic gain, social status and defence.[9] The motives for going to war appear to differ according to the nature of the political system. Centralised political systems (states and chiefdoms) go to war for the purposes of achieving political control, conquering and dominating a territory and its inhabitants to extract economic benefits. In contrast, tribes, bands and non-state groups

[7] Dabbagh, *Suicide in Palestine*, op cit; Townsend, "Suicide Terrorists", op cit.
[8] Marzuk, P.M. Tarddiff, K. and Hirsch, C.S. (1992) "The Epidemiology of Murder-Suicide", *JAMA*, No. 267, pp. 3179-3183; Barraclough, B. and Harris, C. (2002) "Suicide Preceded by Murder: The Epidemiology Homicide-Suicide in England and Wales", *Psychological Medicine*, Vol. 32, pp. 577-584; Townsend, op cit.
[9] Wright, Q (1942) *A Study of War*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Otterbein, K.F (1970) *The Evolution of War*: *A Cross Cultural Study*, New Haven: HRAF Press.

do not make war to attain political control but for some combination of purposes which include revenge, defence, land, honour and prestige.[10]

In modern political theory war is organised violence and an instrument of the state. It is a legal activity when it fulfils certain conditions such as self-defence, fulfilling a treaty obligation toward a state that is being attacked or a humanitarian intervention to safeguard the existence of a political community threatened with either the elimination of the people or the coercive transformation of their way of life. Neither of these actions is morally acceptable. Under these conditions war is legal and justifiable but only as a method of last resort after all alternatives have been exhausted. Additionally, the conduct of war is always subject to moral criticism and must not directly target civilians and economic infrastructures and must be proportional.[11]

These criteria give legitimacy to certain types of violence and stigmatise other types under the international law. But, as Talal Asad has argued, the irony of the liberal West's culture of war is, on the one hand, the state's need to legitimise organised violence against a collective enemy (including civilians) and, on the other hand, the humanitarian desire to save human lives.[12] While both war and terrorism are very explicit forms of death dealing, this criterion makes killing in war legitimate and killing by terrorism illegal.[13]

Much of the criticism of terrorism follows from these fundamental precepts of war in political theory. In war and terrorism innocents are killed but what liberal political

[10] Kelly, R.C. (2000) *Warless Societies and the Origin of War*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 121-161.
[11] Walzer, *Arguing About War*, op cit., p. 45
[12] Asad, T. (2007) *On Suicide Bombing*, New York: Columbia University Press, p. 16.
[13] Walzer, *Arguing about War*, op cit. p. 51

theory condemns in war is *excess* and in terrorism its *essence*. But whether state armies kill only those who are legitimately killable is partly what the rules of war address.[14] While war, according to Walzer, is the method of last resort, the militants carrying out acts of terrorism against civilians have not been through the necessary steps to justify their actions as being a last resort and are thus not coerced into that action. In his eyes, it is not so easy to reach the last resort. To get there one must indeed try everything and not just once but repeatedly; politics after all is an art of repetition.[15]

In short, war, an organised violence in which death of the "other" is encoded in the planning, is the legitimate and legal prerogative of the state under certain conditions. Its legitimacy is grounded in the exclusive power of the state to impose punishments internally and externally. The violence is embedded in the very concept of liberty which is at the heart of liberal doctrine about the foundation of the political community which the state is empowered to defend. The concept presupposes that the morally independent individual's natural right to violent self-defence is yielded to the state and that the state becomes the sole protector of individual liberties denying to any agents other than the states the right to kill at home and abroad.[16] The right to kill is the right to behave in violent ways against citizens who break the original covenant and the uncivilised "others" who pose a threat to the existence of civilised order and their killing provides security. This is done in the name of self-defence. The justifications of pre-emptive and preventive

[14] Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*, op cit. p. 16
[15] Walzer, *Arguing about War*, op cit. p. 53

[16] Tuck, R. (1999) *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and International Order from Grotius to Kant*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

wars (like the ones in Iraq and Afghanistan) practiced by the modern state are embedded in this doctrine.

The doctrine of moral legitimacy and legality of war also stipulates that the state is coerced into taking this action as the method of last resort after all alternatives have been exhausted. Furthermore, the state armies engaged in war do not target civilian non-combatants. Does this logic of war also apply to terrorists insurgencies involved in suicide bombings? The following two case studies, one from the Palestinian and the other from Sri Lankan terrorist organizations may help us to answer this question.

Palestine

In the case of Palestine, terrorist organizations employing suicide bombings claim to be involved in retaliatory violence to defend their "political community" whose very survival is being threatened by Israeli occupation and expansion. If this continues it would inevitably lead to the dispossession of the Palestinian homeland amounting to their elimination as people and their way of life. The Palestinian terrorist organizations claim they are engaged in organised violence through suicide bombings only as the last resort and under absolute necessity.

For most Palestinians violence is the only option to achieve the goal of an independent state. A Palestinian recruiter and trainer of suicide bombers is quoted as saying, "Jihad and resistance begin with the word, then with sword, then with the stone, then with the gun, then with planting bombs, then transforming bodies into human

bombs".[17] The pervasive sense of powerlessness among the Palestinians has made violence an all powerful symbol of honour. At a profoundly symbolic level, martyrdom is the final and irrefutable statement of the group worth and dignity against, as seen by the Palestinians, an oppressive Israeli occupation. According to the late Hamas leader Dr. Abdul Aziz Rantisi, a casualty of Israel's policy of targeted killing of Palestinian terrorist leaders, Hamas and Palestinian society in general believe, "becoming a martyr through suicide bombing is among the highest if not the highest, honour".[18] As regards to civilian death from Palestinian suicide bombings, there appears to be little concern over civilian immunity. For most Palestinians, there is no civilian immunity in Israel due to the universal conscription of men and women. Any civilian is either a current, past, or the future soldier. From this perspective, all Israelis are complicit in the immoral and illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.[19]

Finally, suicide bombing is only one of the weapons used by the three Palestinian organizations engaged in suicide bombings against Israel, Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and the Al'Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. These organizations have deep rooted mass support in Palestinian society. Their violent confrontations with Israeli occupying forces are well organised and this especially applies to their suicide bombing operations which are well planned before they are executed. From this account it would appear that Palestinian violence against Israel meets most if not all the attributes of war except one that it is not carried out on behalf of a state but on behalf of a "political community"

[17] Bloom, M. (2005) *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*, New York: Columbia University Press, p. 27.
[18] Argo, N. (2003) "The Banality of Evil: Understanding Today's Human Bombs", Unpublished Policy Paper, Preventive Defence Project, Stanford University, p. 13.
[19] Bloom, Dying to Kill, op cit., p.40

which perceives its very existence and way of life under threat from Israeli occupation. Using Walzer's terminology, the Palestinian leaders confronted with a potential evil respond by doing evil for the protection of their political community.[20]

Two most common explanations of Palestinian suicide bombings are: (1) they are acts of religiously motivated sacrifice in the form of a martyrdom operation, and (2) they are acts of secular immortality. They represent opposite ends of the sacred-profane continuum. An eloquent exposition of the first explanation is to be found in the work of Ivan Strenski. Drawing on the work of the Durkheimian school he proposes that the phenomenon of suicide bombings is better understood through religious concepts of sacrifice and gift than through theories seeking to explain it as suicide. Sacrifice is not just a social deed but has a potent religious resonance that transforms it into something holy. In suicide bombing, Strenski argues, sacrifice of oneself is made as a gift to and for the nation or political community that sanctifies it. All Palestinian suicide bombers believe they are giving their lives for the Palestinian nation. Strenski's analysis thus implies that since sacrifice is the essence of religious subjectivity, violence is integral to it.[21]

One can take at least two issues with Strenski's description of suicide bombing. Firstly, his argument is contrary to Durkheim's position. He was the first theorist to identify the social determinants of suicide and he would most certainly have classified suicide bombing within the category of altruistic suicide. Secondly, his description of the motive in terms of sacrifice offers a religious model by means of which suicide bombings

[20] Walzer, *Arguing about War*, op cit.
[21] Strenski, I. (2003) "Sacrifice, Gift, and the Social Logic of Muslim 'Human Bombers", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 1-34.

can be identified as "religious terrorism". That appellation defines the bomber as morally underdeveloped-and therefore pre-modern-when compared with peoples whose civilized status is partly indicated by their secular politics and their private religion and whose violence is therefore in principle *disciplined, reasonable, and just.*[22]

The second explanation describing Palestinian suicide bombings as acts of secular immortality, has been offered by May Jayyusi in which she links different types of violent acts as manifestations of different kinds of subjectivities. Jayyusi links Palestinian suicide bombing to a particular type of political subjectivity formed in the context of their relationship to particular power structures. Drawing from Carl Schmitt's idea of "the state of exception" and Georgio Agamen's Homo Sacer, she concentrates on developing a larger politico-ideological field which includes Israeli policies of occupation and settlements, the Palestinian resistance and international development such as the Iranian Revolution and the Oslo accord.[23]

Jayyusi argues that the Oslo accord was an attempt to institute a local authority over the Palestinians on behalf of the occupying Israeli state. Under the Oslo accord the entire Palestinian population was held as a hostage to the policing performance of the Palestinian Authority. As the overarching state power Israel was at once beyond the Palestinian zones and yet sovereign over them, the Palestinian Authority under these conditions was caught in an irresolvable contradiction. On the one hand it was seeking national sovereignty and on the other, conceding it indefinitely to the occupying power by agreeing unconditionally to carry out its policing function. In this power arrangement,

[22] Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*, op cit., p.45.
[23] Jayyusi, M. (2004) "Subjectivity and Public Witness: An Analysis of Islamic Militancy in Palestine", Unpublished paper for the SSRC Beirut Conference on Public Sphere in the Middle East.

something new emerged with the Oslo Accord for the Palestinian population; something Jayyusi calls "an imaginary of freedom".[24]

This "imaginary of freedom" made the Oslo Accord acceptable to the Palestinians in spite of the misgivings of many and resulted in the significant decline in support for militant Islamic movements. In 1999 over 70 per cent of Palestinians supported the Palestinian Authority led peace process and the support for suicide bombings declined to 20 per cent. By 2003-2004 as it became clear that the inherent contradictions of Oslo would not produce conditions of Palestinian liberation from Israeli occupation and paradoxically increased their daily humiliation at the Israeli army check points, and did not stop expansion of the Jewish settlements, the attitudes towards the Palestinian Authority shifted dramatically. The Palestinian Authority was seen as unable to stand up to Israeli power and its support among Palestinians plummeted to 22 per cent and support for suicide bombings increased to 75 per cent.[25]

The consequence was a sense of outrage because Oslo had created the hope that conditions would change but they never did. The Palestinian rage was the consequence of this blocking of the legal, political means of their liberation. As Hannah Arendt[26] has pointed out, when legal political means are blocked the possibility of acting politically, which is part of what makes men individual and therefore human, is also blocked. That rage led to an action which offers them a secular form of immortality. The phenomenon of Palestinian suicide bombing is thus an expression of that secular immortality and not of religious zealotry.

[24] ibid
[25] Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, op cit.
[26] Arendt, H. (1969) *On Violence*, London: Allen Lane.

Sri Lanka

The ethnic antagonisms, which arose over the Sri Lankan Tamil minority's agitation for economic, social and cultural equality, gradually gave rise to Sinhalese nationalism and Tamil ethnic chauvinism soon after the independence when the Sinhalese nationalists denied the multi-ethnic and multi-religious character of Sri Lankan society and refused to accept the collective rights of minority groups. The discrimination became institutionalised in the new Constitution in 1960s which excluded Tamils from government and other positions of authority, reducing their recruitment in government jobs from 41 per cent in 1949 to 7 per cent in 1963 while increasing Sinhalese proportions in the same period from 54 to 92. A quota system was imposed on Tamil students entering the universities.

The Tamils responded politically through the Federal Party and through non-violent protests called Satyagraha but these efforts failed to meet their demands. By the 1970s, Tamils had started to agitate for a separate homeland and their protestations became increasingly violent. In the 1980s they won some concessions and political rights but discrimination remained palpable. Among the organizations which emerged in this period was a radical group called Tamil National Tigers under the leadership of Vellupillai Prabhakaran, later renamed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The main aim of LTTE was the establishment of a Tamil homeland in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

The Sri Lankan government responded to increasing Tamil militancy by promulgating the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) in 1979. Instead of mitigating

violence, the PTA escalated Tamil violence in the 1980s. The government responded with additional repressive counter measures that led to a spiral of increasing brutality and tit for tat violence.[27] In response to the murder of one their commanders the LTTE operatives ambushed an army convoy killing 13 Sinhalese soldiers in Jaffna that triggered wide spread mob violence killing hundreds of Tamils. New emergency regulations gave wide powers to security forces to kill and bury suspected terrorists without any judicial inquiries. The LTTE called these developments a pogrom against Tamils. After the riots the government banned the main Tamil political party, pushing Tamils to the LTTE as their main voice.

The Tamil insurgency arose after the failure of other forms of political struggle. The powerful Sri Lankan state dominated by the Sinhalese majority employed the army to oppress the Tamil community. Gradually the traditional "homelands" of the Tamil minority became the "war zones" in which life became increasingly harsh, unbearable and violent. This gave rise to a wide spread perception among the Tamils that their very existence as distinct ethnic and cultural community was being threatened. The LTTE began to employ suicide bombings effectively from 1987 in response to these developments and as a method of last resort. Although the LTTE was finally defeated in early 2009 by the Sri Lankan army but its defeat has not discredited the ideology which gave rise to the Tamil insurgency.

These case studies demonstrate that the violence of suicide bombings was the method of last resort in both cases. Using indicators of what constitutes war from the above two case studies we can infer that the LTTE and Palestinian terrorists

[27] Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, op cit., p. 52; also see chapter 7.

organizations using suicide bombings in their violent conflicts with the Sri Lankan and Israeli states respectively are engaged in organised violence akin to war. The objective in both cases is the protection of a political community and its way of life facing mortal threat from their adversary. In both cases the violence is organised and planned in which the death of the enemy is encoded. Suicide bombings in these organised violent conflicts are employed as a weapon of war by the militarily challenged and thus the resulting deaths of the combatants and civilians are akin to the casualties of war.

Surprisingly, in the case of war, Walzer does not apply the same stringent conditions to the state which he imposes on terrorists. Modern states have far greater capacity and capability to kill and destroy human lives than any terrorist organisation in the world. For example, the aerial bombing of German civilians by the allied air force during World War II was legitimate but suicide bombing is terrorism. And as terrorism, it is an evil in need not of analysis and understanding but of moral condemnation and firm practical response.

Walzer believes that suicide bombings in Israel are immoral and evil because they are part of the Palestinian mission to destroy a sovereign political community. The assaults of the Israeli army and air force in the West Bank and Gaza are, therefore, pre-emptive self-defence and thus legitimate and justifiable. (And by this logic the Sri Lankan army's attacks on the Tamils are legitimate and justifiable). The construction of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in these terms is a typical example of how the liberal intellectuals conceive of the difference between war and terrorism. The century-long history of the conflict, involving expansion on the one side and dispossession on the other, is set aside, and attention is directed instead at present feelings. For all their

military strength, Israelis are portrayed as vulnerable and for the Palestinians the years of occupation have been years of disgrace.

This construction also invests the Israeli and Sri Lankan armies with the aura of defenders engaged in a just war against Palestinian and Sri Lankan suicide bombers. The principle that a political community experiencing fatal attacks and facing "the coercive transformation of their way of life" has the right to defend itself does not appear to apply to the Palestinian and Tamil responses. Their resistance is perceived as engaging in morally unacceptable violence presumably because even after fifty years (and in the case of Palestinians even longer,) of unequal struggle they are not judged to have reached the state of the "last resort".[28]

Killing in War and Terrorism

As mentioned earlier the difference between war killing and suicide bombing is that war is a legally sanctioned act which confers legitimacy on the ensuing killing but the killing perpetrated by unlicensed illegal terrorists is not legitimate. But what about the soldiers who are also taught to hate the enemy they are required to kill? The fact of killing being legally sanctioned is an abstract irrelevance. There are in fact remarkable similarities between war killing and terrorism.

Every war requires making the human killing machine efficient and effective. According to historian Joanne Bourke basic military training is aimed at making soldiers extremely brutal.

[28] Ibid

> The most notorious training regimes were those conducted by the U.S. Marine Corps, but even in the other branches of the armed forces, violence was a common component of military training. In all these training programmes, the fundamental process was the same: individuals had to be broken down to be rebuilt into efficient fighting men. The basic tenets included depersonalization, uniforms, lack of privacy, forced social relationships, tight schedules, lack of sleep, disorientation followed by rites or reorganization according to military codes, arbitrary rules, and strict punishment. These methods of brutalization were similar to those carried out in regimes where men were taught to torture prisoners: the difference resided in the degree of violence involved, not its nature.[29]

Another account provided by Nordstrom describes the atrocities inflicted on civilians by the Sri Lankan soldiers in the war with the Tamil Tigers. A Sri Lankan army commander told Nordstrom that:

> It is crazy, it's completely crazy. I can't control my troops. It is awful up there. One of the soldiers (government, largely Sinhalese) is shot by a guerrilla (Tamil), or they run over a land mine, or a bomb explodes, and they go nuts. It's been building up and building up, and they just go wild. The guerrillas have long since melted away, and the soldiers turn their fury on the first available target. Of course, the only people around are civilians. They open fire on everyone, they destroy everything in sight, they rape, and torture people they catch on the street or in their homes, they lob bombs into homes and schools, markets and city streets. I've tried to stop them; I try to control the situation. I can't. None of us commanders can - though god knows some don't try. The troops just take off like this and there's no stopping them. We can't discipline them. We can't prosecute

[29] Bourke, J. (1999) *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare*, New York: Basic Books, p. 67.

> them. We can't dismiss them. We'd have no army left if we did. The situation up north is completely out of control, and there isn't a damn thing we can do about it.[30]

One of the purposes of war is to wreck destruction on the enemy. The napalm bombing of Vietnam in the Vietnam War was devastating and the humiliation and torture committed in Abu Graib prison in Iraq were anything but humanitarian acts. The aim of the increasingly sophisticated warfare technology now used by the U.S. and its allies in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan is to identify its targets more accurately to minimise collateral damage and above all to minimise its own casualties. "This humanitarian concern means that soldiers need no longer go to war expecting to die but only to kill".[31]

In short, war and terrorism both kill civilians and combatants. The difference between war killing and terrorism is that under the international law war is legally and morally sanctioned while acts of terrorism are not. Soldiers too are trained to kill and to demonise the enemy through military training and they go to war primarily to kill. War and terrorism are constituted according to different logical criteria, one taking its primary sense from the question of legality and the other from feelings of vulnerability and fear and they are not, therefore, mutually exclusive. It is not true to say that terrorism is singularly evil because it kills civilians and inserts fear in the daily rhythm of life which imposes "the endless coerciveness of precaution" because war, whether just or unjust, does that too.[32]

[30] Nordstrom, C. (2004) *Shadows of War: Violence, Power, and International Profiteering in the Twenty-First Century,* Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 71-72.
[31] Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*, op cit., p.35
[32] Ibid.

War Killing and Murder

To understand the nature of the act which, as noted earlier, invariably involves deaths of non-combatant civilians, one has to ask whether the resulting deaths are truly homicidal killings or casualties of war. Homicide is the killing of another person, either intentionally or unintentionally. In human societies the act of homicide is universally regarded as a crime and in many cases accorded capital punishment. The logic behind the capital punishment is to dispose of individuals who have committed the act which is regarded by members of the group to be harmful or threatening to them and to their society. War, on the on the other hand, is organised lethal violence between spatially different groups in which the deaths of other persons are envisioned in advance. In war, therefore, killing of the members of the other group regarded as the enemy is viewed as a justified or justifiable act of killing and consequently is not regarded as murder deserving capital punishment.[33]

To determine whether a suicide attack and the resulting deaths of non-combatants are murderous killing or casualties of war requires delineating the boundaries between war and murder. While participants in some forms of altercations and disputes may employ deadly weapons to kill others, war is the only activity which entails lethal violence that is collectively organised and carried out. Another key, and possibly the unique feature of war is "that the deaths of other persons are envisioned in advance and this envisioning is encoded in the purposeful act of taking up lethal weapons".[34]

[33] Otterbein, K.F. (1986) *The Ultimate Coercive Sanction*, New Haven: HRAF Press; Kelly, R.C. (2000) *Warless Societies and the Origin of War*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
[34] Kelly, *Warless Societies and the Origin of War*, op cit. p. 4; also see Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing*, op cit.

As organised violence, war requires advance planning and involves a complex division of labour based on specialization of different types of activities that contribute to warfare. The rational calculations, planning and organization makes war instrumentally different from other related forms of violence such as brawls and riots which derive their nature from their affective spontaneity. War also differs from murder and other related forms of violence in that the use of deadly weapons and force is seen as entirely legitimate by the collectivity that resorts to war.[35]

The moral appropriateness is integral to the activity of making war. Group members are explicitly recruited to the project of causing deaths of other persons on the grounds that it is legitimate and proper to do so.[36] Because war is always collectively sanctioned, participation in war is regarded as an act of national pride and highly laudable. Men and women potential or actual "killers" who die in war are recognised as national heroes and martyrs. Such characterisations of the fallen in war contrast sharply with murder which is negatively valued by the social collectivity that constitutes the killer's reference group. It is consequently regarded as an illegitimate and criminal act warranting retribution not social recognition. Murder is culturally disapproved, stigmatising rather than prestigious, and falls somewhere along an evaluative scale that extends from regrettable to heinous.

Killing in war and murder are similar in several ways. Both involve deadly violence and bring grief to the affected parties. The punishment for murder and the punishment enacted on the enemy in war killing are regarded as morally appropriate,

[35] Otterbein, *The Ultimate Coercive Sanction* op cit., p 1-47; Kelly, *Warless Societies and the Origin of War*, op cit., p 1-10; Walzer, *Arguing about* War, op cit.; Grimland, Apter and Kerkhof, "The Phenomenon of Suicide Bombing", op cit.
[36] Walzer, *Arguing about War*, op cit; O'Donovan, *The Just War Revisited*, op cit.

justified and legitimate actions constituting fulfilment of civic duty. But there is one very critical difference between punishment for murder and punishment of the enemy in war. The death penalty, a universal punishment norm for murder, is only applicable to a specific individual, the murderer, whose death expunges the wrong doer from society. War does not excise killers from society but instead targets other individuals who are innocent of direct responsibility for prior killing. In war the killing of any member of the enemy group is considered legitimate.

War is grounded in the application of the principle of social substitutability and is thus governed by a distinctive logic that is entirely foreign to murder. In war, the killing of an individual is perceived as an injury to his or her group because the logic of war is predicated on group responsibility thus making any member of the killer's collectivity a legitimate target for retaliation. In war the anger generated by a prior killing or prior action is redirected to an entirely different individual sufficiently peripheral to be unsuspecting. The principle that one group member is substitutable for another in the context of war underwrites the interrelated concepts of injury to the group, group responsibility for the infliction of injury, and group liability with respect to retribution. War is thus cognitively, conceptually and behaviourally conducted between groups. Murder on the other hand is always conceptualised as deadly violence between individual members of the same collectivity.[37]

The universal consequence for murder is capital punishment (and now life imprisonment in some countries) which is socially sanctioned and morally justified by the participants' community. It is also carried out after a socially sanctioned and organised

[37] Kelly, *Warless Societies and the Origin of War*, p. 5.

process of adjudication by especially appointed members of the community. It can be concluded from the above that there are remarkable similarities between killing in war and murder and one crucial difference.[38] In war, killing is directed against any member of the offending party but in murder the action must be directed only against the actual offender.

Are the casualties from suicide bombing attacks murders or war killing? The preceding discussion and observations would suggest that sociologically, suicide bombing attacks can be classified as a weapon of war and the resulting deaths as war casualties. The groups involved in organising and sponsoring suicide attacks in the modern world enjoy varying levels of support from their collectivity.[39] They are engaged in conflict over the occupation of their homeland by a foreign army, as a result of which they feel socially and economically dispossessed and humiliated; the occupation of the homeland is seen as sacrilege and as a mortal threat to their political community and its sacred values and way of life.[40] Like war, the suicide bombing attack is planned and its execution envisions in advance the deaths of other persons.[41] Like fallen soldiers in war,

[38] Kelly, ibid; Otterbein, op cit.
[39] See Pape, R. (2005) *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, New York: Random House; Oliver, A.M. and Steinberg, P. (2005) *The Road to Martyrs Square: A Journey into World of the Suicide Bomber*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Atran, S. (2003) "Genesis of Suicide Terrorism", *Science*, No. 299, pp. 1534-1539; Hassan, N. (2001) "An Arsenal of Believers: Talking to 'Human Bombs'", *New Yorker*, November 19; Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, op cit; Grimland, Apter and Kerkhof , "The Phenomenon of Suicide Bombing", op cit.
[40] Atran, S. (2006) "The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 127-147; Ginges, J., Atran, S., Medin, S., and Shikaki, K., (2007) "Sacred Bounds on Rational Resolution of Violent Political Conflict", *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science of the USA*, Vol. 104, No. 18, pp. 7357-60.
[41] Pape, R. (2005) *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, New York: Randon House; Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, op cit.; Hafez, M. (2006) *Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace; Gambetta, D., ed. 2005.

suicide bombers are regarded by their groups as martyred heroes who have sacrificed their lives for the nation.[42]

Good Death Bad Death

Why are some types of deaths received with moral revulsion, yet others accepted as normal or heroic? Suicide bombings universally evoke a multiplicity of emotions ranging from disbelief, horror, anger, revulsion and condemnation. This is most likely the reason why characterization of these acts as immoral, murderous killings by scholars likes Michael Walzer are widely accepted and endorsed by the media, politicians and the general pubic. Are such emotional and moral reactions to the death of innocent people "natural" human responses? If this is so, then why do equally horrifying deaths caused by natural disasters such as fires, earthquakes, and accidents (air and car crashes) or death dealing by the national armies fighting wars and terrorism, evoke sadness but generally no moral revulsion? Human attitudes towards death- the physical end of the body- cover a wide spectrum of emotions ranging for example from sadness, pain, anger, denial, approval and moral revulsion.

According to the liberal doctrine, one of the fundamental conditions for the foundation of political community is the monopolistic control of violence by the state. This presupposes that the morally autonomous individual's natural right to violent self-defence is yielded to the state, making the state sole protector of life and liberty. In others words for a viable society to exist, individuals must be disempowered from killing or

[42] Roberts, M. (2005) "Saivaite Symbols, Sacrifice and Tamil Tigers", *Social Analysis*, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 67-93; Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyrs Square: A Journey into World of the Suicide Bomber*, Op cit.; Abdel-Khalek, A. (2004) "Neither Altruistic Suicide, nor Terrorism but Martyrdom: A Muslim Perspective", *Archives of Suicide Research*, Vol. 8, pp. 99-113; Hassan, *An Arsenal of Believers*, op cit., 2001; Hafez, M. (2007) *Suicide Bombers in Iraq: The Strategy and Ideology of Martyrdom*, Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.

murdering others and themselves. The society then empowers certain specific institutions to cause death of others at home and abroad making these institutions death brokers and managers of the trajectories of death and dying in society. As mentioned earlier the right to kill is the right to behave in violent ways against citizens who break the original covenant and the uncivilised "others" who pose a threat to the existence of political community and the maintenance of social order and their killing provides security.[43] This is the main justification for wars as well as judicial killing in modern societies.

Death brokering refers to the activities of authorities which render death normatively and culturally appropriate. In human societies, medical and religious institutions perform the primary death brokering functions. They control the death and dying process through their expertise by managing how people die and when. Medicine provides curative and therapeutic knowledge and a monopoly over determining the cause of death which legitimises its authority over how and when death might occur. Religion invokes the authority of the divine covenants pertaining to "good" (religiously sanctioned) death. These two institutions are central in negotiating meanings and the cultural appropriateness of death and dying between the individual and the society.

Good death invariably involves management of the dying process through symptom alleviation, and attention to the religious, social and cultural needs of the dying and their loved ones to achieve the normative goal of impending death.[44] A good death, in other words, involves "disempowering" the dying person in respect of all decisions over death and the dying process. The "bad" death by the same logic is when these

[43] Tuck, *The Right of War and Peace*, op cit.; Elias, N. (2000) *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, Oxford: Blackwell.
[44] Timmermans, *Death Brokering*, op cit.; Kubler-Ross, *On Death and Dying*, op cit.

characteristics are absent and the individual has control over how and when to die or kill. For example, a death that is negotiated through therapeutic procedures administered by authorised medical personnel is a culturally appropriate death and thus a “good” death, although the dying person more or less had no power over the dying process. I call this “disempowered death”. Death that occurs under circumstances in which the dying person has some control over the dying process and the timing of death, a kind of “empowered death”, is socially and culturally inappropriate death or “bad” death. Good death is “normal” and evokes appropriate human emotional responses mostly of grief and sadness. Bad death on the other hand is “abnormal” and, therefore, stigmatised and evokes a variety of emotional responses ranging from disbelief, anger and revulsion.

The reason why suicidal bombing is stigmatised and evokes the type of emotional responses which lie behind its characterization as homicidal and immoral killing, is that it combines two types of stigmatised (bad) deaths, suicide and murder.

Concluding Remarks

Is suicide bombing homicidal killing or a weapon of war? In light of the above discussion we can say that suicide bombing is not suicide. There appears to be a consensus among scholars that suicide bombing is a different order of behaviour than suicide. Universally suicide carries a stigma whereas suicide bombings, like war, carry strong approval of the reference group.

What about the difference between war killing and suicide bombing? In political theory war is legally sanctioned, organised violence which confers legitimacy on the ensuing killing. But the killing perpetrated by suicide bombers is regarded as illegal

because of its peculiar evil of targeting innocent civilians and worse because it inserts fear and insecurity into everyday life, undermining the social order and subjecting society to the "endless coerciveness of precaution". It is also regarded as illegal because unlike war, militants carrying out terrorism against civilians are not deemed to have reached the last resort and, therefore, are not coerced into action. I have argued that civilians too die in war. In fact, the state armies are more capable and efficient killing machines than any terrorist organization; that war too injects profound insecurities into the private and public spheres; soldiers too are taught to hate and kill enemy combatants and civilians. The fact of killing being legally sanctioned is an abstract irrelevance. There are in fact remarkable similarities between war killing and terrorism.

The case studies of Palestine and Sri Lanka provide evidence that the strategy of targeted suicide bombings was the method of last resort in both cases. Commenting on the rationality of terrorist organizations Martha Crenshaw points out that efficacy is the primary standard by which terrorism is compared with other methods of achieving political goals. Suicide terror is rarely, if ever, the strategy of first choice but tends to follow other strategies deemed less effective through the process of trial and error. "Organizations arrive at collective judgements about the relative effectiveness of different strategies…on the basis of observation and experience, as much as on the basis of abstract strategic conceptions derived from ideological assumptions-allowing for social learning".[45]

[45] Crenshaw, M. (1990) "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behaviour as Product of Strategic Choice," in W. Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 8.

When all legal means of seeking redress are blocked, human beings react with rage and resort to violence. As Hannah Arendt has observed, to resort to violence when confronted with outrageous events or conditions is enormously tempting because of its inherent immediacy and swiftness in order to set the scales of justice right again.[46] What drives suicide bombings in Palestine and Sri Lanka and elsewhere are unbearable sufferings and reaching out to immortality for the sake of the political community. As in the case of fallen soldiers, the death constitutes a triumph and a victory. In this respect the genealogy of the act is profoundly modern and "this worldly" and not "other worldly".

The claim of liberal democracies that they have the right to defend themselves with nuclear weapons which appears to be accepted by the international community is in effect an affirmation that suicidal war can be legitimate. In this way the suicide bomber belongs in an important sense to a modern Western tradition of armed conflict for the defence of a free political community. In order to save the nation (or to found its state) by confronting a dangerous enemy, it may be necessary to act without being bound by ordinary moral constraints. Or as Walzer puts it,, "A morally strong leader is someone who understands why it is wrong to kill the innocent and refuses to do so, refuses again and again, until the heavens are about to fall. And then he becomes a moral criminal who knows that he can't do what he has to do-and finally does".[47] By this reasoning, can the killing of innocents by taking one's own life be the final gesture of a morally strong leader?[48]

[46] Arendt, *On Violence*, op cit., p. 63-64
[47] Walzer, *Arguing about War*, op cit., p. 45.
[48] Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*, op cit., p. 63

As regard to war killing and murder it is argued that suicide bombing attacks are an act and a weapon of war because of the principle of substitutability which characterises war killing. However, under the International Laws of War, the attacks could most likely be classified as "war crimes". Article 147 of the Fourth Geneva Convention defines war crimes as "[w]ilful killing, torture or inhuman treatment, including….wilfully causing great suffering or serious injuries to body or health, unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement of a protected person, compelling a protected person to serve in the forces of hostile powers, or wilfully depriving a protected person of the rights of fair and regular trial….taking of hostages and extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly". But this, of course, would apply not only to the groups organising and sponsoring suicide bombing but also to the actions of the occupying armies and their military and political leaders.

Finally, death is nature's assertion over culture. In nature, death and dying are totally amoral events meaning no more than the physical end of a biological organism. But in human cultures, death is embedded with symbols and meanings and classified as *good* and *bad* largely on the basis of the role of socially sanctioned death brokers in its occurrence. In human society, death occurring from acts such as suicide bombing may well be altruistically driven but paradoxically remains stigmatised because it violates one of the fundamental social imperatives for the existence and survival of human society: that individuals are not empowered to take their or someone else's life. This stigma is a natural check that will restrain the diffusion of suicide bombings. From time to time certain historical conditions may be instrumental in giving rise to phenomena like suicide

bombings and may even confer some form of community support, but like other forms of stigmatised deaths, suicide bombings will remain a rare event. Furthermore, it would always provoke the state's strong retaliation against its perpetrators for violating the imperative norms which also act as a strong check on its occurrence, prevalence and diffusion.

Suicide bombings, by their very nature, are not only public acts but also acts of public performance in which bodies and ideologies become texts produced between author and audience. Exploration of the meanings of these texts requires critical theoretical, conceptual and hermeneutical tools which do not distort their meanings. This lecture is a modest contribution towards that goal.

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Through Feminine Indigenous Eyes: A Palestinian-Bedouin Researcher Reflects on her Identity and Culture

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to discuss the power and contribution of indigenous discourse through the subjective-feminist narrative of an indigenous researcher in Bedouin society of the Negev region in Israel. Through her study in her own society and the interaction with Bedouin women interviewees, she discovers her hybrid identity, which has not the common "representative" or "authentic" behavioral elements of the accepted/expected feminine Bedouin model of Bedouin woman. The new status of hybrid Bedouin identity makes her "other" in her own society and in the academic discourse that is mostly created by non-Bedouin researchers. From this positioning the study discusses two main issues: the researcher's subjective experience in the field, and the impacts of her experience on the existing Israeli study of educated Bedouin women in the Negev.

Introduction

This paper, which deals with the power of indigenous discourse, was written by an Arab Bedouin woman who does not fit into the accepted model of a Bedouin woman – she does not speak the Bedouin dialect, does not wear the traditional dress and does not cover her head with a scarf. The daughter of an Arab Bedouin father and an Arab (non-Bedouin) mother, she studied until high school in a Bedouin school and then attended a Jewish school. She grew up in an Arab-Jewish city (Beer Sheva) in the Negev, visiting her Bedouin relatives (on her father's side) every weekend and her Arab relatives in the north of Israel (on her mother's side) during school holidays. On the one hand, the feminine Bedouin custom of traditional dress does not hold for her; on the other hand, she is obliged to follow Bedouin customs (especially in regard to marriage) when she is in the Bedouin space.

It is not every day that you meet a Bedouin woman who declares herself as belonging to her community but does not have the external characteristics typical of Bedouin women. In the eyes of Israelis, she could be seen as at the margin of her community, since she does not "represent" Bedouin woman; and in the eyes of her community, she could be seen as "external" to Bedouin society even though she is seen by her relatives as an "insider". This begs the question, what sort of identity does this woman have that is so different from the feminine Bedouin identity widespread in the Bedouin community of the Negev? In contemplating this question, this paper deals with two crucial issues – the subjective experience of a Bedouin woman researcher during

fieldwork in her own community, and the implications of this experience for the study of educated Bedouin women in Israel.

Looking at my subjective experience during my fieldwork raises the issue of the relationship between myself (the researcher) and the researched women, between the subject and the object of study. The meeting between myself, the Bedouin researcher, and the Bedouin community's women who are both similar to me and very different from me raised a lot of questions about my identity. One product of this encounter is my hybrid identity as Bedouin woman, discovered during the meeting between myself, as a representative of science, and the researched women, the representatives of the new knowledge. The components of my researcher identity in this case express my gender and positioning in relation to my community. The identity components of the researched women are the expected Bedouin feminine characteristics. This paper focuses on the new product that is the result of this encounter.

The implications of that encounter lead us to the second issue of this paper – the implications for the subjective looking at the researcher's identity during her fieldwork, and the implications for the study of Bedouin women in Israel. Since the researcher's identity is not included in existing studies on Bedouin women, the discourse she is creating for her identity and others like it puts her on the margins of the existing discourse on educated Bedouin women and makes her "external" both to her community and to academic discourse – a discourse that has been created mainly by non-Arab ("external") women. What is the meaning of discovering a hybrid marginalized Bedouin identity? And how does this identity, as part of the creation of indigenous discourse in the Bedouin community, affect Israeli discourse on educated Bedouin women?

Gender and Study

One of the most significant contributions feminist researchers have made to scientific knowledge is the integration of the gender factor within the context of positioning and representation, as well as developing an awareness within the research paradigm of issues of positioning, audience and the connection between self and other (Abu-Lughod, 1989; Stanley & Wise, 1991). The presence of a woman researcher in the field of study raises the question of her positioning. Laila Abu-Lughod, a researcher of Palestinian origin living in the U.S., daughter to a Palestinian father and an American mother, who came to study a group of Bedouin tribes in Egypt, describes how her position emerges as a function of her gender:

> I had fully anticipated being asked about these matters, but was surprised by the way that hardly a moment after greeting me, women would begin questioning me. Even the men asked each other under their breath. This reaction confirmed what I already suspected and had, during my fieldwork, encouraged and at times resented, namely, that they saw me primarily as a female (1993: 140).

It seems that her being female was the factor most salient to the Bedouin women in Egypt, more so than her status as an educated woman. This of course affected her place in the field and her relations with the Bedouins, men and women alike.

The experience of black women researchers similarly points to their positioning in terms of their gender, their black culture and their status as academics – all of which dictate their position of "outsiders within". "Living as we did – on the edge – we

developed a particular way of seeing reality. We looked both from the inside in and from the outside out … we understood both" (Collins, 1991: 36).

It is for this reason that feminist researchers claim feminist study takes into account the individual's experience. In feminist research, the positivist term "empirical" is replaced by the term "experience", i.e., the researcher's personal experience and her relations with her surroundings (Mies, 1991). As Nave claims, "because identity formation is accompanied by personal experience, it is obvious that the dominant experience of researchers and authors depends on and derives from their gender identity" (1999: 63). The strong presence of the subjective-personal experience is clear in the incisive questions that Ruth Behar asks herself in regard to her fieldwork in her indigenous community in the U.S.:

> Who is this woman who is writing about others? Making others vulnerable? What does she want from others? What do the others want from her? The feminist in me wanted to know, what kind of fulfillment does she get or not get from the power she has? The novelist in me wanted to know: what, as she blithely goes about the privilege of doing research, is the story she isn't willing to tell? (1996: 20).

The feminist researcher's personal experience affects and is affected by the interaction between herself and the researched, which in turn changes her own feminist consciousness (Stanley and Wise, 1991). One of her personal experiences is being part of a discriminated group (women). This arouses a local awareness and a sensitivity to other women that affects her research. One example of this is that when women study other women, they focus on her power and activism, abandoning the claim of universal female

passivity and oppression and emphasizing the local contextualization of oppression (Reiter, 1975). Starthern (1987) claims that the uniqueness of feminist research, besides its focus on women as the subject of study, lies in its refusal to ignore the relation between woman researcher and woman participant – a focus that is not accepted by mainstream social anthropology or the positivist approach – and this is the source of its success. Feminist research challenges positivist knowledge, and, in doing so, constructs new academic theory.

Feminist research thereby creates a new space for women and for the researcher's self (Strathern, 1987). The personal experiences of both researcher and researched become tools for exploring these selves. By means of feminist research, the female researcher constructs not only the other's identity, but also her own:

> In a good biography, as in a good portrait, every one of the readers (or observers) will find something of himself; he will see characteristics of himself that he likes and others he dislikes or even tries to hide. All the more, the biographer sees something of herself. And in the story she presents, she sees something from her own life story (Zelermerir, 2002: 54).

In this paper, I present my personal consciousness about my own identity, created during fieldwork, as a researcher studying my own feminine culture. This raises the question what happens when the element of locality (being a researcher from the studied society) is added to the gender factor? That is, how does the intersection of locality and gender affect the study, the researcher's behavior, and her relations with the community?

Locality, Gender and Study

It is commonly believed that local or indigenous researchers find it easier to access the study field, owing to their familiarity with the local language and with written and unwritten codes. However, the literature shows that local researchers face issues of positioning like stranger researchers. Messerschmid (1981) explains that local researchers are not as "local" as is assumed, as they are mainly part of the middle class, whereas the people they study tend to belong to the lower class. Moreover, they are more educated, have the professional status of researchers and are more acculturated to and assimilated with the general dominant culture than their own ethnic culture. Their status is more like an insider-outsider, which allows them to enjoy the advantages of both. But locality has considerable meaning for researchers who want to study their own societies. They are expected to act according to the cultural codes of their own society, and any challenge to local norms may ostracize them from their communities (Fahim and Helmer, 1980).

As part of the studied community, the issues that occupy indigenous researchers differ from those of stranger researchers. One of the most common ones is the relation between the researcher and the place (positioning). Indigenous researchers consider such questions as – what are the advantages and disadvantages of knowing the local culture they are studying? What problems may arise from this familiarity? I will try to address these questions from my personal experience as an insider-outsider researcher studying her own society.

This brings me to the experience of a local researcher as a woman. The personal-subjective experience of a female researcher studying her own community is different

from that of her male counterpart (Abu-Lughod, 1989; Stephenson and Greer, 1981). Women studying their own culture are subject to more pressures than men because of their gender. The experiences of local women researchers show that the studied community expects them to act first as a woman and then as a researcher. Their positioning as women and as insiders increases cultural expectations of them, particularly when the local community is an Arab society with expected feminine norms of maintaining the family honour through modest dress, segregation from men, appearance in public only with a male escort and family-tribal belonging (Abu-Lughod, 1998; El-Solh and El-Torki, 1988; Laffin, 1975).

Arab women researchers have shared their subjective experiences about the hidden cultural expectations of their community, especially as related to their personal status as single or married. Being a single woman who wants to study her community has a major impact on the study process and in the field, as Camilia El-Solh shares from her research in Saudi Arabia:

> There were also social constraints to my choice. I knew that, as an unmarried woman, I could neither travel alone in the country nor wander around with the nomads. Living alone, anywhere in the country, was out of the question. Thus, for many considerations, as an urban-based study seemed most appropriate, the reality of being an unmarried woman in many ways dictated my field of research, although it did not determine my choice of research topic within that field. This essentially meant that I could work with women and that I had access to men. Within these bounds, my choice was absolutely free (1993: 51).

This rule is true of every sex-segregated society. As Weidman explains, “I did not go to Baluchistan. I was female and single. In such a highly sex-differentiated society my role

would be restricted by gender primarily to the female sphere and restricted further by my unmarried status" (1986: 240).

Another factor that determines a local woman researcher's positioning is the family or tribe to which she belongs. Suad Joseph, who spent years in the U.S. before returning to study her indigenous Arab community in Lebanon, emphasizes the importance of the Arab woman's belonging to a family framework, especially during her interaction in the field - "I am nothing if I am not a family member" (2001: 62). Being part of a family or tribe raises the honourable image of the woman. Conversely, an unescorted single woman exposed to mixed-sex surroundings may create the image of a rebel, an immoral woman who violates the honour code of the family and thus is no longer worthy of being a family member (Kressel, 1993).

The woman researcher is therefore concerned about the possibility of violating local codes, which might undermine the local community's willingness to cooperate. Although being a stranger woman might threaten the local community even more as she raises no expectations of acting according to local codes and, thus, might violate the norms (Golde, 1986). The status of the local researcher is more complex, especially when that researcher is a woman as I will illustrate from my personal experience in the field.

On the Dialectic between Subject and Object

In this paper I examine my complex positioning both as a local and a stranger researcher in my own Bedouin community. The study was conducted when I was still single. The issue that occupied my thoughts was the absence of the Bedouin woman's voice in the academic field. Being the first Bedouin woman researcher from my community, I chose

to study the perceptions of three generations of Bedouin women –young girls, their mothers and grandmothers – regarding women's education, the woman's role, religion, norms and marriage.

My complex status as a local researcher was affected by my being both an insider and an outsider. I was an insider because of the characteristics that located me within the culture, such as my tribal affiliation. And I was an outsider because of the characteristics that distinguished me from the expected model of Bedouin women and particularly because I was single at an age when most Bedouin women are already married. These characteristics impacted my interaction with the participants from the very beginnings of the fieldwork, affecting the choice of research site and how the Bedouin women behaved towards me. I realized that I was not fulfilling the cultural norms expected of Bedouin women, and that the female participants initially "marked" me as a stranger. This drove me to rethink my identity as a Bedouin woman.

A New Look at the Meeting between the "I" and the "Other"

Encounters between "self" and the "other" usually occur when strange anthropologists study indigenous ethnic groups (Casera, 1982). This hierarchy is clear between the Western researcher and the local (Eastern) researched (Said, 1978). But in the meeting between myself as an insider local researcher and the Bedouin women participating in the study, of which I am part, a space of distance was created. In this space I discovered that I was the "other", while the participants were the authentic "selves", even though we were all women belonging to the same culture.

On the one hand, I felt close to them because of all the things we shared as women, as speakers of Arabic and as Bedouins. On the other hand, I felt like a stranger because I have no external features, as defined by the Bedouin community, that reflect my national (Arab) identity, my religious (Muslim) identity or my cultural (Bedouin) identity.

These components of my identity, which alienated me from the Bedouin female community, affected the way these women positioned me during my fieldwork. This was reflected in how they acted towards me when I entered their homes. As my dress and speech did not identify me as a Bedouin, they thought I was an Arab and hence did not expect me to uphold or understand their cultural feminine norms. Thus, they offered me a chair to sit on instead of the rugs accepted in the Bedouin culture. To overcome the alienation I felt, I answered "It's OK, I am a Bedouin just like you".

Another experience of alienation occurred when I started to interview one of the mothers, who suddenly turned to me and asked "where are you from?" This expressed a desire to clarify my identity, in light of the external features that, to her, indicated that I was not a Bedouin. It was difficult for me to answer this ostensibly trivial question. If I replied that I was from Beer Sheva, she was liable to think I was not a Bedouin, as most Bedouins live in Bedouin villages. But if I answered that I am a Bedouin woman, this would raise additional questions. Where is my Bedouin residence? Where is my Bedouin dialect? Where is my Bedouin appearance? My reply was therefore complex, as I had to explain that I am a Bedouin woman who does not look Bedouin in the traditional sense that I am a Bedouin woman living in Beer Sheva, daughter to a Bedouin father and a non-Bedouin mother who speaks her mother's dialect. I was aware that my answer could

complicate our interaction, as it discloses my cultural affiliation and leads my interviewees to classify me. But I also discovered that the question and the answer to which it led emphasized and expressed the alienation I felt in regard to the cultural belonging these women expected of me. While I felt that I belonged to this group of women, by virtue of my origins and my study of the feminine community, and I very much wanted them to know that I belonged, it became clear that I was missing some of the "representative" "authentic" components of Bedouin feminine identity.

This situation positioned me in the status of a "halfi" or half-insider – the same status that Laila Abu-Lughod claimed for herself when she studied the Bedouins in Egypt. But in contrast to her, I was part of the Bedouin community, whereas Laila lived in the U.S. and was not a Bedouin. In the status of a "halved" person, how do we overcome such alienation?

Overcoming the Otherness

El-Solh claims that, in this situation, alienation can only be reduced by emphasizing those common elements that do not differentiate between the researcher and her community. "Although the class barrier in Arab society may to a certain extent reduce the commonalities of the female experience, this fact can be overridden by expectations based on the commonality of being part of the same cultural area and tradition" (1993: 91). According to Fischer (1991), once these barriers are removed the woman researcher can move freely between different age groups and between men and women, more so than the male researcher can.

My experience taught me that there were many components unrelated to external appearance that were common to the Bedouin participants and myself that I could emphasize. One was familial-tribal affiliation. Once I mentioned my Bedouin family name, the women asked if I were related to a local doctor in that village. “Yes,” I replied, “he is my father”, and so they positioned me as “the daughter of”. It should be noted that Abu-Lughod’s connection to her Muslim father similarly facilitated her acceptance by the local community:

> The problem was that I had presented myself and was perceived as the daughter of an American, who had been born and raised in the U.S, was in numerous ways culturally more American than Arab, and was not religious. Only after living with the Bedouins for a long time did I begin to comprehend some of what had underlain my fathers’ quiet but firm insistence. As an Arab, although by no means a Bedouin, he knew his own culture and society. I knew of the negative image of western women. But I had assumed I would be able to overcome peoples’ suspicions, first by playing up the Arab half of my identity and not identifying with westerners, and second by behaving properly. I had failed to anticipate that people such as the Bedouins, for whom belonging to tribe and family are paramount, and the education of girls novel, would assume that a woman alone must have to alienated her family, especially her male kin, that they no longer cared about her. Worse suspect that she had done something immoral that her family had ostracized her. Any girl valued by her family would not be left unprotected, to travel alone at the mercy of any one who wished to take advantage of her. My father probably hoped to lay all such suspicions to rest (1998: 141-142).

However, unlike Laila, I did not need my father’s physical presence in the field, since I was familiar with the community and its codes, and some members knew me as a

Bedouin. Whereas Laila conducted her study among the Bedouins and then returned to her home in the U.S., I continued to be an active, permanent part of the community after my fieldwork was completed. Not only did I continue to work there as a schoolteacher, but I am also devoted to the feminist struggle as an active member in Bedouin women organizations and I hold myself to certain Bedouin norms such as marriage.

My positioning as "my father's daughter" raises the issue of power relations between subject and object. The power relations I discovered were ambivalent. On the one hand, as a woman who discovered her hybrid identity that distinguishes her from other Bedouin women, I felt that I was marginal, weak, the other, whereas my researched women had the power, because I had to prove my cultural feminine belonging in keeping with their expectations. On the other hand, being the daughter of a physician who was accepted and respected by the entire community gave me power in the sense that these women could not refuse to be interviewed. Moreover, it helped my acceptance in the men's world.

A second factor that connected me to my interviewees and facilitated my acceptance was being a Bedouin woman in a male world. A woman who studies her community has an advantage over a man in having access to both genders. Not only does she share experiences with the women, but to the men, she is "external" and so attitudes towards her are asexual (Weil, 1995). A woman is also less of a threat because the community positions her as gentle and non-threatening owing to her femininity, while it perceives a man as a naturally aggressive persona (Golde, 1986). The Bedouin men in the studied families perceived me as someone who belongs to a Bedouin family and tribe, and thus as an honourable woman who only wishes to conduct research. This was felt in

the ease with which they agreed to be interviewed. But positioning me as such also required me to act in accordance with their perceptions of an honourable Bedouin woman (Kressel, 1993) while interviewing the men – to wear modest dress (long skirt, long-sleeved shirt), keep a physical distance from them, avoid direct eye contact, and accept the presence of other family members, especially their wives.

Yet another common element was my linguistic-cultural affiliation. Knowing Arabic made it easier for me to enter the women's world than a stranger researcher, as "language is not only a tool for understanding the words, but a symbol and a means for closeness. Being a local researcher and part of the investigated group makes the understanding of the social truth easier, depending on little clues" (Stephenson and Greer, 1981:125). Thus, for instance, I could readily perceive the Bedouin girl's struggle in terms of her declaration as religious, traditional or non-religious. Understanding the difference between these three categories helped me to see that most of the interviewed girls acted religiously (in terms of their dress and the rituals they performed), but did not necessarily define themselves as such. This reflected a sort of quiet revolt against traditional norms by raising the question of who has the right to define religiosity (for details, see Aburabia-Queder, in press). Because of my belonging to their linguistic and cultural community, I could be sensitive to local meanings.

Research Dilemmas: Researcher, Bedouin Woman or Both?

My position as an insider-outsider created a research dilemma for me. This is akin to the conflict that feminist researchers face between their status as women and as researchers

(Golde, 1986) between their commitment to the feminist agenda and their commitment to the discipline they belong to (Chase, 1996; Josselson, 1996).

In my case, the dilemma stemmed from my status as both a researcher and a Bedouin woman. As an academic who is supposed to remain faithful to research methodology and to conduct fieldwork appropriate for the chosen research topic, I originally planned to conduct public observations and interviews with strangers. But as the first Bedouin woman to study her society (in 1999, when the research in question was begun), I also had to act according to traditional norms, such as not appearing in public or among men. As Golde (1986) explains, in some traditional cultures, the mere presence of a woman from the same society can be considered a provocation and arouse sexual suspicions.

When I was in the field, my status as a young, single Bedouin woman brought certain cultural norms into play. Driving my car alone, observing people in mixed-sex public spaces (the marketplace, the clinic, the bank), and entering stranger's homes were all actions that could generate bad rumours about me. As a woman in the Bedouin culture who requires male protection (Emerys, 1990), my presence in the public space was difficult for my father, who feared how my fieldwork would be interpreted by the community. He explained that people would say his daughter was going into strangers' houses looking for a bridegroom, as it was not acceptable for a single woman to enter the homes of strangers outside of normal working hours (at the time, I taught in the village school during the morning hours and wanted to conduct the interviews in the afternoon). He also explained that my actions could hurt his status as a Bedouin man, as he would be questioned about his daughter's activities and would have difficulty answering. The

notions of research and fieldwork would not be understood by the men in the Bedouin community, particularly as I was the first female researcher to perform a study of this kind.

These dilemmas would have been avoided if I were a stranger researcher. For me, however, so as not to endanger my feminine reputation or my father's status, I decided not to perform the public observations. Furthermore, while I did enter strangers' homes to conduct interviews, I did so in a culturally accepted manner. Under such circumstances, a woman will search for protection to minimize the sexual effect of her presence, such as finding one or more men whose status in the community allows them to fill the protector role, having a family escort, or entering an accepted role in the community (Golde, 1986). What "protected" my own status, as a researcher was my role as a teacher in the community and my status as "my father's daughter".

"First Female Researcher"

The result of my dilemma was thus the hybridization of two conflictual identities – that of the researcher and that of the Bedouin woman – creating a new identity in my own Bedouin community of the "first female researcher," a researcher who adopts the expected behaviour of a Bedouin woman. While such a definition may seem trivial at first, it actually embodies the complexity of a researcher who is simultaneously inside and outside her culture, one who feels a need to embrace local feminine norms all the more, in order to belong to her culture – not unlike a stranger researcher.

In a broader sense, the term "Bedouin researcher" can be perceived as a subset of the indigenous researcher. This raises the question of what the indigenous nature of the

researcher requires of her. Motzafi-Haler asked this very question in regard to her self-perception as an indigenous researcher studying Mizrahim (Israeli Easterners originating from Arab countries) in the 1950s – "Does my legacy and name and being "indigenous" give me moral legitimacy? Do I have to talk explicitly as an indigenous anthropologist? Do I have to emphasize my deep personal relation to the historical reality?" (1997: 92).

Behar (1996) argues that, through the concept of indigenous researcher, researchers claim a personal relation to the place they study. This argument has generated an important debate on the meaning of being a researcher who studies her own culture. The very people who were being studied are becoming researchers themselves, examining their own community, culture and state. As a result, the gap between observer and participant, between proximity and distance, is not as clear-cut as was once believed. When we study our own community, we become the subject of our own study, and this adds layers of complexity to the researcher's task. One of the dilemmas we have to confront is our identity in our dual status as researchers and indigenous people.

Reinharz (1992) has pointed to the act of rediscovery that women researchers experience when they write biographies about other women. By means of her study, the feminist researcher discovers both the subject and her own feminine identity becomes part of the subject's story and goes through a reflexive process that generates her own growth. "The feminist biographer feels like a girl who suddenly meets her lost twin sister. The exhilaration of the moment of discovery is a kind of giving birth and falling in love" (Reinhartz, 1994: 60). Similarly, Weidman says that "anthropology helped me to establish my identity" (1986:241).

My own study of Bedouin society led to a "rediscovery" of my identity and affiliation with the Bedouins. Ostensibly, I shared the experience with other Bedouin women of being subject to the male collective. But my encounter with these women led me to additional discoveries of the differences between us that made me rethink my own identity. I was single and had relatively unlimited mobility, while they did not. I did not wear traditional dress and my hair was exposed – not gathered under a scarf as was expected of a Bedouin girl. I had grown up in different surroundings; I studied in a Jewish high school, I lived in a mixed Arab-Jewish city and, as a woman, I acquired values of independence and individualism that contrasted with the situation of the Bedouin women, who lived in a male collective culture in which the individual has little say (Marx, 1974).

Studying the culture of which I was a part made me look again at my "self" – what made me, in these women's eyes, belong to their culture? For I had grown up in a different environment, my appearance was not traditional, and I spoke and behaved differently. Exposing these differences simultaneously brought me closer to and distanced me from the normative feminine identity in Bedouin society.

This positioning engendered an identity conflict, and I started to ask myself questions – Why, when being a researcher, do the local feminine norms apply to me, even though I do not follow them in my everyday life? If I am so different externally and in terms of behaviour from my subjects of study, what makes me belong? If in my daily interaction with Bedouin society, I had "proved" my modesty and morality without the necessity of following the feminine norms (it never bothered my father that I appeared in

public as a teacher), why did I now have to "prove" it again by accepting those norms when wearing the researcher's cap?

In raising these questions within an academic discussion, there is a fear of exposing what is hidden – becoming what Ruth Behar (1996) labels a "vulnerable observer." She claims that local researchers, unwilling to confront the "self" their study reveals, tend to repress these dilemmas and take refuge in their "academic" status which forbids them to deal with personal issues. Thus, they embrace the defence mechanism of "scientific" methodology, which asserts that researchers must keep their distance from the field. By choosing not to avoid, but rather to explore these personal questions, I broke the silence of these hidden issues. Indeed, I argue that dealing with these issues is important for the development of indigenous feminine discourse in a society in which such discourse has not yet been brought to light by external researchers.

Concluding Remarks: The Contribution of Reflexive Experience

What is the significance of open discussion concerning reflexive personal discourse of the indigenous experience? What power do such methods embody compared with that of traditional ones? My research descriptions of Bedouin women's life experiences from a feminine perspective constitute a twofold contribution to development of a new corpus of knowledge. First, they bear new academic knowledge about Bedouin women that was previously concealed from the academic sphere. Second, they expose the local researcher's personal story that shapes her gender and hybrid cultural identity. Creation of a new identity within the culture studied poses a challenge to existing feminine identities and is a way of theorizing from experience.

Presentation of an ambivalent questioning identity focuses discourse on the "other" voice of the hybrid identity – a voice that does not represent the mainstream in a culture that described most of its women according to the same, unchanging monolithic identity in the eyes of the Bedouin community at large and in the study of educated Bedouin women in particular, throughout research of several years' duration.

With all due attention to external studies of Bedouin feminine issues that have deconstructed the Bedouin female voice (e.g., Hundt, 1980; Jackobowska, 1988; Fenster, 1999), I would like to focus on a few recent studies of educated Bedouin women (in which I was a participant) conducted by Jewish women over the past five years. These studies are typified by a search for one monolithic type of educated Bedouin woman who serves as an ideal model with Western feminist characteristics. All these studies contribute significantly to the development of feminine Bedouin discourse, especially with respect to educated women. They aim at allowing the silent voices of educated Bedouin women to be heard, or, as Halevi noted, previous studies usually present Bedouin women as submissive and obedient. This study aims at introducing educated Bedouin women in the Negev who act within the space of resistance even if they lack a clear daily agenda (2002: 11).

Pessate-Schubert's paper (2003) calls higher education a tool for social change that gives Bedouin women the power with which to effect changes in their community. These studies bring out the subjective voices of Bedouin women that were absent from academic discourse and describe the changes these women made in their marginal status in the Bedouin community.

Despite their contribution to a developing body of literature about educated Bedouin women, the common theme of these studies is their perception of the Bedouin woman's education as a crucial absolute for modernism and enlightenment, as is accepted in liberal humanistic (Western) thought. Moreover, educated Bedouin women are all described as having the same cultural identity. The participants in these studies are those who fit the "authentic" traditional Bedouin model prevailing in hegemonic academic perception. "Bedouin educated woman" is rendered a unified term that constitutes an attempt in itself to deconstruct the Bedouin feminine ethos into educated and uneducated women. These efforts were doomed to failure. However, by constructing a representative feminine model of the Bedouin woman these studies exclude the voices of the "unrepresentative" ones who embody an unexpressed corpus of knowledge.

This is a marginal discourse within the marginal discourse on Bedouin women. As Motzafi-Haler (1997) argues, all reflexive discussions of researchers who study their cultures and discuss their own struggles between the personal and the professional form a marginal discourse in the academic world in general and anthropology in particular. Re-discussion of the indigenous raises the issue of power relations between the central "scientific" positivist discourse and the marginal indigenous post-positivist discourse.

By developing writing that integrates the experiential and the structural, the political and the theoretical, I suggest an alternative to the canonical, supposedly "objective" genre of description of social reality. By placing myself at the center as an academic and an Eastern woman, I place a mirror before the Israeli academic world and confront it with its own non-transparency (Motzafi-Haler, 1997: 96). In presenting my personal story, I offer a new body of knowledge resulting from integration of the multiple

elements of my research. In doing so, I explore hidden, neglected experiences that would develop and construct new sociological theories (Anderson et al., 1990: 106).

The reflexive narrative on which researchers report constitutes an additional research story from which one may learn about the culture studied. Exposure of the researcher's reflexive story may reveal more about the nature of cultural, social and gender relations prevailing in the culture studied. Despite the widespread claim that reflexivity is a covert and silent issue, I maintain that interaction between researcher and subject and the reporting it entails constitute the most direct "observation" not only of the varied population in the given culture but also of relations within the culture itself. In this manner, I propose questions for further thought, such as – What do covert exposure methods reveal about interaction among women in the same culture? What about relationship patterns and systems revealed openly and experientially – and not only "covertly" – in the participant's narrative? Exposure of researcher-participant relations essentially enables "observation" of relations among women, identities or events, reported directly by the researcher according to her experiences with other women of her culture.

Through my personal narrative as a researcher, I essentially tell an additional research story that can contribute to our understanding of Bedouin culture. My experiences effectively coin the term "local researcher" within the designated population, emphasizing the researcher identity over the personal-female (local) one. In patriarchal societies, female researchers are generally addressed primarily according to their gender and only thereafter, if at all, according to their profession. The attempt to establish the

term “researcher” within the population provides an opening for and legitimation of local research conducted by other women in the community.

Another significant benefit yielded by reflexive reporting on my “other” identity is the deconstruction of the traditional term “Bedouin woman” within the Bedouin community and an attempt to contain it therein through the community’s ability to address the “other” Bedouin woman, even if she is educated, researching its culture and by no means an “authentic representative” of women in that community. The contribution of reflexive reporting is thus expressed through the formation of new feminine identities within the Bedouin community, or as Okely (1992: 12) puts it “it is a way of exploring an alternative identity and those previously, silent, unrecorded areas of experience”.

Non-representative identities excluded from academic (and local cultural) discourse (such as myself, in my position as indigenous researcher) can reveal the “self” by developing awareness of oppression by the other, so that the former becomes a means of representing the latter (Strathern, 1987). In my case, exploring my hybrid self is a means of representing other hidden, unexpressed hybrid identities that fail to “represent” what is “authentic.” The developing indigenous body of knowledge is still in its infancy regarding the Bedouins in Israel. The few studies conducted on educated Bedouin women in Israel that sought to present different aspects of Bedouin feminine discourse, remain deadlocked in their quest for a “representative” model of “authenticity.”

Behar (1996) criticizes indigenous research, claiming that it has become more subjective than objective and accusing Western academics of perceiving indigenous reality as more cultural than individual” Western anthropologists generally described indigenous populations as non-individual people. Only recently have they begun

searching for the other voice, representing different "I"s and "we"s that creates various hybrid representations, such as personal biography and ethnography. This type of study challenges nonpolitical perceptions of identity among Western researchers who study indigenous people, such as minority groups in the United States, reconstructing the representation of the indigenous culture by presenting diversity in the American culture and a variety of orientalisms, feminisms and the like.

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Child Abuse in Theoretical Debates: Towards an Integrated Modelled Theory

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Abstract

This paper[49] is based on my Ph.D thesis titled "Modelling the Differential Incidence of Child Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation in Poor Households in South Africa". It acknowledges child abuse as a challenge of our times and looks critically at various theories that seek to explain child abuse. A theoretical interrogation of these theories acknowledges the merit of, and is centred on social and critical theories. The aim of this thesis is to build a theoretical grounding on understanding child abuse by filling the gaps and shortcomings found in explanations of child abuse. This paper argues that the gaps and shortcomings in understanding child abuse are, to a large extent, explained by an over-estimation of the individual, structural and societal dynamics from socio-economic factors as the main factors contributing to the incidence of child abuse, especially in poor households. The paper observes, after an assessment of over 1800 recorded cases of

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child abuse in Gauteng South Africa, the absence of a theory or model that integrates causal factors from various theories to facilitate a clear understanding of the incidence of child abuse. The findings of the analysis confirm the initial argument of the thesis and suggest an Integrated Modelled Theory (IMT) from which to approach and facilitate a clear understanding of child abuse in poor households.

Introduction

On Thursday September 4, 2008, the Sowetan, a South African Newspaper reported on its front page: "Abandoned Kids Taken to Safety: Government Suspends Grants that Mother Squandered on Booze". This sad story is among many of the same kind where children are abandoned, abused and neglected in South Africa. In this case, not only did the mother abandon her four children to live with her boyfriend, she also diverted money paid by government to her children to support her drinking and gambling habits.

Sowetan reported that "… the children were living in abject poverty while their mother was enjoying herself with her boyfriend in another village 10 km away". Not only were the children abandoned and neglected but the elder daughter, 11-year-old, allegedly prostituted herself to older men for money to support her siblings.

Expert reports confirm that the incidence of child abuse is dire in poor households because victims suffer both the impact of poverty and that of the abuse. CHILDLINE's experience of dealing with abused children is that "children who may already be living with the reality and the consequences of poverty also have to live with a higher level of vulnerability to victimisation" (*Sunday Tribune*, 10 October 2004).[50] Understanding the factors contributing to the incidence of child abuse in poor households is the key to

[50] www.sundaytribune.co.za/index.php?fSectionId=160&fArticleId=2255735

proposing appropriate prevention and intervention mechanisms to deal with this negative phenomenon.

Child Abuse in Social Theory

Theory

Neuman (1994) defines "theory" as a system of interconnected abstractions or ideas that condenses and organises knowledge about the social world. It is a compact way to think of the social world. The use of theory is not only to situate the research within the existing thinking but also to compare the researcher's thinking and findings with evidence, thus developing a new model. This research is theory-based as it suggests the development of a model that combines various factors from different theories to facilitate understanding of the incidence of child abuse in poor households in South Africa.

Social Theory

The principal aim of "social research" is to generate knowledge about the social world. Mouton (2002) suggests that all research is aimed at improved understanding by describing, explaining and evaluating phenomena in the social world. He further states that there are various interpretations of the nature of the social world that affect manners in which it is studied. This research follows Mouton's perspective on the notion of social change. For this research, "social change theory" justifies the differential levels of the incidence of violence and crime against children in poor households using the following principle of the Bayesian Networks Knowledge:

Usually, we do not have complete knowledge about the state of the world, i.e. there are some things that we do not know for certain. An observation is a piece of knowledge about the exact state of the world. When we make observations or in some other way obtain additional knowledge about the state of the world, we use this knowledge to update our belief about the state of the world (Hugin Experts, 2002).

Why Critical Social Science (Critical Theory)?

Critical social science finds its roots in the work and ideas of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. These prominent thinkers aligned themselves with the interests of the oppressed. The Marxist-based social theory for instance is based on the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels opposing the dominant order of society. They reviewed economics, politics, ideologies and theories that influence the way the society functions. The Communist Manifesto of 1848 argues that the means of production determines the very nature of society; this is called the critique of political economy or classical theory. Marx sought to understand the nature of human existence in capitalist society through people's limitations, their potentialities, and their consciousnesses within the concrete context of their existence.

Weber believes that society is no "thing-in-itself", but the product of a huge number of individual actions. He argues that actions are behaviour governed by motives. It may be argued that in the case of child abuse the motives or contributing factors are not uniform; a combination of various factors better justify the motives of social, economic, cultural or environmental origin.

Critical theory for Webber is when a particular analysis assesses which types of actions are involved in a given setting. By combining the abstract analysis of the logic of

pure types with the concrete analysis of a given situation (child abuse in this instance), the analyst can predict the future course of events in that setting. A practical use of social theory in this case is to find out how relationships between various contributing factors influence the incidence of child abuse.

The application of critical thinking is based on the notion of critical social science. Critical social science is grounded in critiques of basic social structures. Critical scientists believe that it is necessary to understand the lived experience of real people in context. They interpret acts and symbols of society in order to understand the ways in which various social groups are oppressed. This is the case in violence and crime as experienced by children in South Africa. Understanding the ways children suffer oppression (or are abused) enables action to change the oppressing force. IMT combines contributing factors from different theories to explain the incidence of child abuse, thus proposing prevention and intervention mechanisms.

Conflict Theory

"Conflict theory" emphasises the notion of power, exploitation, inequality and inequity as factors influencing violence and crime against children in poor households. Conflict theory discusses these concepts as they relate to three different assumptions.

Firstly, conflict theory assumes that society is made up of groups with opposing interests (Neuman, 1994). Child abuse is the result of children being opposed to their caregivers in such a way that care givers have a vested interest in the act of abuse, consciously or not. Secondly, coercion and attempts to gain power are ever-present aspects of human relations (ibid.). Children are abused because the abusers exercise and

maintain a position of power and domination. Thirdly, those in positions of power attempt to hold onto their power by spreading myths or by using violence if necessary (ibid.). In most child abuse cases children are submitted to terror, violence and intimidation. For instance, a poor parent unconsciously tries to confirm his/her power by using violence and terror on the child.

Conflict theory is useful in determining the impact of social, economic, environmental and cultural factors on levels of incidence of violence and crime against children in poor households. It is also useful in unpacking issues related to privilege and access to understand the incidence of child abuse in poor households. Newman's explanation of conflict theory verifies that violence and crime against children are the consequence of domination in the social relationship between abusive caregivers and children. Children form a group that is vulnerable to abuse in various ways – economically, socially, environmentally or culturally. However, while conflict theory rightly analyses power imbalances between caregivers and children, this broad context does not, in itself, explain why particular incidents of abuse occur. The analysis of contributing factors thus depicts the trend and implications of conflict theory in the causation of violence and crime against children.

The main task of critical research is seen as being one of social critique, whereby restrictive and alienating conditions of the status quo are brought to light. Critical research focuses on the oppositions, conflicts and contradictions in contemporary society, and seeks to be emancipatory, i.e. it should help eliminate the causes of alienation and domination (incidence of child abuse in this case).

Child Abuse in South Africa

Definition

The broad term "abuse of children" includes physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, commercial exploitation and the neglect of children. Child abuse is internationally condemned. The United Nations' Convention of the Rights of the Child (UN CRC) defines child abuse as "all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse". (Article 19, UN CRC). This definition categorises all forms of child abuse as crime.

Munro (2002) proposes a broader definition looking at the British National Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Child Abuse. This definition expands the definition of child abuse to include acts that occur outside of the family. "Child abuse consists of anything which individuals, institutions, or processes do or fail to do which directly or indirectly harms children or damages their prospects of safe and healthy development into adulthood" (National Commission, 1996). This definition brings into play two critical issues, institutions and their systems and processes. System abuses occur whenever the operation of legislation, officially sanctioned procedures or operational practices within systems or institutions, is avoidably damaging to children and their family.

Violence against Children

According to the United Nations Secretary General's Study on Violence against Children, "...violence occurs when someone uses their strength or their position of power to hurt someone else on purpose, not by accident. Violence includes threats of violence, and acts

which could possibly cause harm, as well as those that actually do. The harm involved can be to a person's mind and their general health and well-being, as well as to their body. Violence also includes harm people do to themselves, including killing themselves."

Crime against Children

There is no exclusive classification of offences against children. Generally, the offences committed against children or crimes in which children are the victims are considered as "Crime against Children". The South African Constitution, the general criminal procedure, the Child Justice Act, the Child Care Act, the Children's Act and various other protective and preventive policies specifically mention the offences wherein children are known to be victims. Such offences are construed as "Crimes against Children" for the purpose of this research.

Following are some examples of criminal offences against children according to Chapter 8 of the Child Care Act 74 of 1983:

Any parent or guardian of a child or any person having the custody of a child who ill-treats that child or allows it to be ill-treated; or abandon that child, or any other person who ill-treats a child, shall be guilty of an offence.

Any person legally liable to maintain a child, who, while able to do so, fails to provide that child with adequate food, clothing, lodging and medical aid, shall be guilty of an offence. Further, any person who participates or is involved in commercial sexual exploitation of a child shall be guilty of an offence.

Any person who is an owner, lessor, manager, tenant or occupier of property on which the commercial sexual exploitation of a child occurs and who, within a reasonable time of gaining information of such occurrence, fails to report such occurrence at a police station, shall be guilty of an offence.

Any person who without the approval of the Minister removes a foster child or pupil from the Republic shall be guilty of an offence.

Subject to the provision of the Child Care Act or any other law, no person may employ or provide work to any child under the age of 15.

The infringement of these legal provisions as well as others contained in various polices and legislations contribute to the gross human rights abuse in the form of child abuse.

The South African Police Service collects statistics on various crimes within a catch-all category referred to as “Neglect and Ill-Treatment of Children”. These are considered as “Crimes against Children” by this research. They are not listed but include various abuses as defined above.

Measures to deal with the causes of child abuse can be classified under pro-active and reactive interventions. This research advocates for preventives measures and focuses on pro-active preventative and early interventions

Crimes of an Interpersonal Nature

Crime Prevention focuses on crimes of an interpersonal nature means “the reduction of socio-economic and environmental factors that influence people to commit crimes and to

become persistent offenders".[51] In brief; it is about socio-economic interventions to reduce the causes of crime. Broader socio-economic factors such as rapid urbanisation, high levels of unemployment and inequality, social dislocation, family disintegration, alcohol abuse, exclusion (no access to public goods and services), all, negatively influence safety and security of poor households and render them vulnerable to crime.

Social control theory too contributes to the reduction of socio-economic factors that influence the incidence of crime and violence. Kramer (2000), Messner and Rosenfeld (1997), Currie (1989) and Hagan (1994) argue that poverty and inequality reduce the social supports necessary to constrain antisocial behaviour, such as crime and drug use. Furthermore, poverty reduces the capacity of families, social institutions, and communities to exercise informal social controls over the community's youth and residents (Kramer, 2000). Poverty and income inequality are not the only concerns of crime prevention. Social and economic dynamics however impact the levels of social problems especially crime and violence.

Incidence of Child Abuse in South Africa

Crime statistics released by the South African Police Service (SAPS) are regarded, as are most government recorded crime statistics internationally, as being in-accurate, but adequate as an indicator of trends. In this instance, SAPS statistics indicate a consistent increase in the incidence of child abuse (see SAPS Statistics below). The Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP) and the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) acknowledge the underreporting of child abuse. The CJCP's 2005 National Youth Victim

[51] White Paper on Safety and Security (1999-2004), p. 14.

Survey found that only one out of ten cases of assault against children or youth were reported to the police. Young people in South Africa are twice as likely as adults to be victims of crime and violence and one in ten young people had experienced more than one crime over the 12-month period. A 2002 HSRC report also found that one third of children are subjected to sexual abuse before the age of 18.

The following SAPS statistics depict the trend of crimes affecting children in South Africa for the period of 2001 – 2002 to 2004 – 2005.

CRIME INFORMATION ANALYSIS CENTRE – SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Neglect and ill-treatment of children in the RSA for the period April to March 2001/2002 to 2004/2005

Reported crime figures				
Province	**2001/2002**	**2002/2003**	**2003/2004**	**2004/2005**
Eastern Cape	278	502	615	471
Free State	201	355	475	412
Gauteng	499	1,033	1,560	1,325
KwaZulu-Natal	227	519	680	681
Limpopo	279	340	391	333
Mpumalanga	136	226	301	334
North West	105	187	278	245
Northern Cape	193	378	442	330
Western Cape	730	1,258	1,762	1,437
RSA Total	2,648	4,798	6,504	5,568

Ratio per 100 000 of the population				
Province	**2001/2002**	**2002/2003**	**2003/2004**	**2004/2005**
Eastern Cape	4.3	7.8	9.5	6.6
Free State	7.4	13.1	17.4	14.0
Gauteng	5.6	11.4	16.6	15.0
KwaZulu-Natal	2.4	5.4	7.0	7.0
Limpopo	5.3	6.4	7.2	6.0
Mpumalanga	4.4	7.1	9.3	10.3
North West	2.9	5.0	7.3	6.4
Northern Cape	23.5	46.0	54.0	36.7
Western Cape	16.1	27.3	37.2	31.4
RSA Total	5.9	10.6	14.0	12.0

Percentage Increase or Decrease				
Province	**2001/2002 // 2002/2003**	**2002/2003 // 2003/2004**	**2003/2004 // 2001/2004**	**2001/2002 // 2004/2005**
Eastern Cape	80.6%	22.5%	-23.4%	69.4%
Free State	76.6%	33.8%	-13.3%	105.0%
Gauteng	107.0%	51.0%	-15.1%	165.5%
KwaZulu-Natal	128.6%	31.0%	0.1%	200.0%
Limpopo	21.9%	15.0%	-14.8%	19.4%
Mpumalanga	66.2%	33.2%	11.0%	145.6%
North West	78.1%	48.7%	-11.9%	133.3%
Northern Cape	95.9%	16.9%	-25.3%	71.0%
Western Cape	72.3%	40.1%	-18.4%	96.8%
RSA Total	81.2%	35.6%	-14.4%	110.3%

Table 1: Child Related Crime Statistics (Source: SAPS – Crime Statistics[52])

These statistics demonstrate an increase of more than 200% in Kwa Zulu Natal province of violence and crime against children, 165% in Gauteng province and an average of 110% nationally. It is evident that the protection of children is inadequate.

Child Welfare South Africa (CWSA) is an umbrella body representing 169 children's organisations (affiliates, branches and developing organisations). These organisations provide protection and care to children in need. In 2005, CWSA provided services to 108 379 children considered and defined by the Child Care Act as "children in need of care".[53] Of this number 5 000 were physically abused children, 6 637 sexually abused children, 19 187 neglected children, 10 830 abandoned children and 1 280 adopted children. Other children assisted included 34 360 children in foster care, 17 832 orphaned children, 272 children victims of commercial sexual exploitation and 684 children living on the street.

Further to the 108 379 children assisted, 133 589 children received services in 63 early childhood development (ECD) centres, 10 shelters, 23 places of safety, 13 children's homes, 8 street children projects and various after school centres. Thus, child abuse is rife and on the increase in South Africa. Literature shows that children from poor households suffer child abuse more than those in rich households do. Socio-economic factors are believed to be more important than other factors contributing to the incidence of child abuse. Existing models explaining the incidence of child abuse do not consider the integration of multiple factors from different aspects besides socio-economic conditions.

[52] www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2004/_pdf/crimes/Child_abuse.pdf
[53] Child Care Act, Section 14 (4).

Multiple factors contribute to the incidence of child abuse. The design and implementation of actions for prevention and interventions depend on a clear understanding of the dynamics between those factors. Social theory assists to contextualise the incidence of child abuse and facilitates the understanding of the dynamics between the factors contributing to the incidence of child abuse.

Poverty in South Africa

Statistics South Africa uses an internationally accepted definition (United Nations) of poverty as "the denial of opportunities and choices most basic to human development to lead a long, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-esteem and respect from others".

While household expenditure is considered an important indicator of poverty, a variety of other variables are applied, with regard to both individuals and households, for example, type of housing, access to clean water and sanitation, education and employment. Based on the 1996 Census data, Statistics South Africa calculates that 60.8% of all South African inhabitants are living on less than R250 each per month (absolute poverty). The poverty rate is the percentage of the population living under the poverty line. The UNDP Human Development Report of 2003 fixes the South African Poverty rate at 48.5%. This means that almost one out of two inhabitants of South Africa subsists under the poverty line. A poor household is a household living under the poverty line.

The 2004 General Household Survey by Statistic South Africa shows that children represent 39% of the South African population; at over 18 million, of which the

majority (66%) belong to poor households.[54] These figures indicate that the majority of South African Children live in poor households. This research undertakes to model the differential incidence of child abuse with emphasis on poor households.

Theories on Understanding Child Abuse

There are many factors that contribute to the incidence of child abuse. This research concentrates on economic, social, cultural and environmental theories in understanding the incidence of child abuse.

Understanding economic theories in crime causation is central to this research. This does not necessarily mean that child abuse is only incentive oriented but that there is a considerable connection between child abuse and poor economic conditions. For this reason, other non-economic based theories such as social, environmental and cultural theories are separately explored.

Munro (2002) defines as a risk factor for abuse a feature found more in abusive families than in the general population. She argues that it is incorrect to believe that the more frequently a factor is found in abusive families, the stronger it predicts risks. The crucial point is how common it is relative to its general incidence. She maintains that poverty is a common feature of abusive families but this, on its own, is not enough information to use as a predictor.

[54] General Household Survey of 2004: www.statssa.gov.za/publications/statsdownload.asp?PPN=p0318&SCH=3425.

Economic Theory on Crime Causation

Poor economic conditions are often considered as a key contributing factor for the occurrence of crime in general and for violence and crime against children in particular. Social scientists, economists and activists attribute crime causation to economic incentives in various ways.

In an article entitled Child Abuse and Sexual Exploitation in Africa[55], Rebirth Africa Life on the Continent (RALC) suggests three causes for crime. The three causes are apartheid based and include the breakdown of family structures, the "Group Area Act" (social factors) and "Bantu Policy" (economic factors). "Bantu Policy" resulted in a low education level aimed at directing black or non-white children to the unskilled labour market. Commonly known as gutter education, this was to protect white control and prosperity.

The contributing factors as outlined by RALC are of by nature social, economic, environmental and cultural. As far as economic theory is concerned, RALC says that "our children became the scatterings of South Africa. Child prostitution in South Africa is usually a case of survival sex. Children are often forced to work because of economic circumstances – they have to contribute to the family's income or provide for themselves".

RALC is concerned about children being used as drug carriers or being made to work under inappropriate environments and conditions in the agriculture and domestic services, amongst other methods of child exploitation.

[55] Child Abuse: Sexual exploitation in Africa: www.rebith.co.za/Child_abuse_and_sexual_exploitation_in_Africa.htm.

Witte and Witt (2000) support many scientists who argue that crime is closely related to work, education, poverty and truancy, and that youth unemployment is a product or even measure of social exclusion. The authors argue that from an economic theory point of view, a criminal activity is similar to paid employment in that it requires time and produces an income and/or satisfaction.

This research agrees that poverty and unemployment are conduits through which other factors influence crime. Furthermore, poor education attainment may be highly correlated with the incidence of violence and crime.

The economic theory in crime causation identifies economic factors as playing a critical role in the incidence of child abuse. However, these factors are not the sole causes for crime; a combination of other non-incentive factors better explain the incidence of child abuse.

Social Theory on Child Abuse

In contrast to economic theory, social theories refer to the way children are brought up in their families and the implications of their upbringing on their abuse by their family members. Many social trends affecting parenting contribute to child abuse according to Jones et al. (1988). For these authors, the plethora of books and other advice to parents on how to bring up their children has served to confuse them and undermine self-confidence. There is no one size fits all; each family must discover a unique approach to bringing up its children. Amongst other social causes of child abuse, Jones lists mobility of families and single parent families.

Rebirth Africa Life on Continent (RALC) argues that the breakdown of family structures in South Africa has resulted from measures put in place by the past apartheid government that forced parents to travel great distances to get to work or to work away from home. The “Group Areas Act” stipulated locations where non-whites could live and dictated the limited resources available to them (social exclusion).

Jones et al. are of the same view; they emphasise that the mobility of families implies on less intense contact with extended families. It becomes difficult for parents to learn about child and baby care by observation at close quarters (Jones et al., 1988). Marriage break-ups cause single parent families and social acceptance of unmarried parenthood. Jones et al. acknowledge that there is no authoritative study on the impact of marital breakdown on children, but clinical experience suggests that arguments, bitterness and eventual separation frequently cause deep harm. Many children feel torn by powerful divided loyalties and these children feature disproportionately in referrals to social and psychiatric agencies.

Social theories are important in understanding the causes of child abuse because they provide for the analysis of the physical relationship of children with their caregivers and the government social system meant to provide for them. Social theories cannot alone explain child abuse. It is therefore necessary to explore other contributing factors and consider how the environment contributes to the incidence of child abuse in poor neighbourhoods and households.

Environmental Theory on Child Abuse

Economic and social theories together play a significant role in the causation of child abuse. The quality of the physical environment also significantly affects the quality of childcare according to Jones at al. (1988). The authors believe that, if for example, there are no open spaces, children play on the street or stay at home. If at home, proximity generates conflict, if on the street, children are at risk in many ways. Poor housing makes it difficult to maintain high standards of health, hygiene and warmth; consequences can be interpreted as neglect. Many parents could provide better care for their children if they lived in a more favourable environment.

This research accepts the notion that the environment too is a cause of child abuse. Linked to social and economic theories, environmental theory plays a critical role in understanding child abuse. Many environmental factors are obvious in poor households where child abuse occurs.

Cultural Theory on Child Abuse

The understanding of the incidence of child abuse is an unfinished debate consisting of various theories with complementing explanations as outlined above. Cultural theories are also critical and provide for additional understanding of child abuse. Because of the many cultures and the influence thereof, children sometimes experience the clash between parental expectation derived from their original cultural background and the cultural environment in which they now live. Peer pressure and the influence of diffuse

education can also be a cause of cultural conflict. This can generate conflict and occasionally result in child abuse.

Thus, although economic and social factors might seem to appear to more significantly cause child abuse the debate has demonstrated that environmental and cultural elements equally influence the incidence of child abuse. In developing a model to understand the differential incidence of child abuse in poor households, this research questions the levels of the impact of contributing factors related to the four critical theories. The combination of contributing factors from each of the theories provides greater clarity in understanding child abuse and thus in decision making by different sectors of the society concerned with reducing child abuse.

Child abuse is thus the consequence of factors identified in a variety of theories. It is not necessary for this research to group the factors per causal theory. Different portions of different theories enter into play in an uncoordinated way. Links, influences and interdependences thereof will, however, only become clear with the application of the model this research intends to introduce.

TMI Child Abuse Database Assessment

The Memorial Institute (TMI) for Child Heath and Development's Child Abuse Statistical Database is the principal data source for this research. Currently, the database contains 1,829 recorded cases of child abuse from 2002 to 2005. The databank questionnaires are completed by professionals and include questions on factors contributing to the incidence of child abuse. The first part of the questionnaire is completed by a professional nurse and deals with information describing the type of the

abuse, the surrounding circumstances and information about the history of the abuse. The second part of the questionnaire is completed by a social worker and reviews the socio-economic conditions of the abused child and his/her care-givers. The third part is completed by a medical doctor and includes findings of physical abuse, the type of the abuse and technical details of the abuse. The last part of the questionnaire relates to information on the court procedure and the outcomes thereof. These four sections of the questionnaire cover all factors that contribute to the incidence of child abuse.

Methodology

The research used two methodological approaches for data analysis, interpretation and modelling. The analysis and interpretation of TMI Child Abuse Database used the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) approach. The modelling of the IMT used a Bayesian Networks System.

From traditional analysis of variance and predictive modelling to exact methods and statistical visualisation techniques, SAS software provides tools for both specialised and enterprise-wide analytical needs. Statistical analysis guides decision-making processes. SAS software provides a complete, comprehensive set of tools that can meet the data analysis needs for this research. Researchers often use sample survey methodology to obtain information about a large population by selecting and measuring a sample from that population. SAS software provides tools for selecting probability-based random samples from a study population and analysing the sample survey data. For this study the data basis is the TMI Child Abuse Database.

SAS is an efficient platform for the management of research data. SAS consists of many components such as Base SAS, Enterprise Miner, and Enterprise Guide and others. The objective of the problem being investigated dictates, to some extent, the platform for analysis. For an example, if the required output is basic descriptive statistics and a test of correlations between variables, then base SAS is the best option to achieve that. However, if the objective is to explore and model large amounts of data to uncover unknown information, then SAS Enterprise Miner (EM) is a better alternative. A Data Mining (DM) project methodology is a multi-level framework in the EM platform where projects are planned, managed, executed and assessed. It is important to note, however, that Base SAS also has model building capabilities found in Enterprise Miner.

Base SAS was used for both data analysis and interpretation. Base SAS is the foundation for data management and analytical software components. Base SAS provided tools that enabled to perform data access, management, analysis and reporting. SAS programming language makes use of ready-to-use procedures to perform the above. Data can be accessed using SAS regardless of the platform where it resides. After data has been accessed, SAS programming language can then be used to manipulate it in any way, e.g.:

- Data formatting
- Creating other variables
- Merging a wide range of data sources
- Using functions to create and recode data values, etc

Once that data is in shape, it can be used for analysis and to produce reports. Base SAS has powerful data analysis tools such as:

- Producing tables, frequency counts and cross tabulation tables
- Chats and plots
- Descriptive statistics, e.g., means, totals, variances
- Correlations and other association measures

SAS provides with a list of output formats for displaying and reporting analytical results. In model building, the business problem leads the methodology to be employed. A high level overview of the modelling exercise encompasses the following steps:

- Define the business problem
- Evaluate the environment
- Make data available
- Mine in cycles
- Implement in production

Data Analysis Process

Once the sample cases were established, data was audited, analysed and interpreted to establish different factors contributing to the incidence of child abuse in the Gauteng. This research used a process of "reflective analysis" for analysis purposes. O'Leary (2005) suggests that reflexive analysis involves staying as close to the data as possible –

from initial data collection right through to the drawing of conclusions. The process involves the following –

Firstly, to collect, manage and organise raw data. This research used data already collected and stored in a database called TMI Child Abuse Database. The first process was therefore limited to the review of the TMI Child Abuse Database. The second process was to codify and enter data into the analysis system. This process included the organisation, codification and entering of the data in the analysis system. The TMI Child Abuse Database was classified and grouped as per source and coding requirements using Arwen and Nicole's coding

Thirdly, to analyse data reflexively analyse links between contributing factors of violence and crime against children. The links and prevalence of contributing factors were established and quantification took place to demonstrate the level and impact of individual factors contributing to the incidence of child abuse. The fourth process encompasses the interpretation of various factors and their inter-dependence by entering the reformed data into the Bayesian Networks system. Fifthly, the result of interpretation will assist in confirming or disproving meaning; it will uncover and identify findings on levels of contributing factors. Once all the links are established and the full picture on the IMT is drawn, the hypothesis of the research will be confirmed or disproved. Sixthly, to adopt meaning draw conclusion on the combination of relevant factors that contribute to the incidence of violence and crime against children. If the hypothesis is confirmed, the final step will be to advocate for the use of IMT for decision making on prevention of and intervention in child abuse cases.

Indicators and Codification

An indicator or variable is a unit of measurement, a factor decided upon that is used to determine the extent, frequency, or percentage to establish the impact in response to the research objectives. This research is interested in social, economic, cultural and environmental indicators that determine the living conditions of the parents or caregivers of abused, neglected and/or exploited children.

Codification means the symbolic representation of variables or indicators to facilitate their measurement. The data collection, auditing, analysis and interpretation of TMI Child Abuse Database used Arwen and Nicole's coding. This coding is simple and uses numbers to identify the distribution of variables. An example is the sex of the child: zero (0) means a boy and one (1) a girl.

Summary of Key Findings

The data auditing and cross tabulation of the TMI Child Abuse Database revealed that child abuse is not influenced by individual economic, social, environmental or cultural indicators. Analysis demonstrated for instance that the incidence of child abuse had nothing to do with the race of the parents. Considering four racial groups and the distribution of the population, the analysis revealed that every child had the same chance of being abused, neglected and exploited no matter his/her racial group.

Looking at socio-economic indicators, the analysis demonstrated that the education and employment of parents had little impact on the abuse of children. More children with educated and employed parents were abused than children with non-

educated and unemployed parents. The incidence of child abuse is therefore not associated with socio-economic conditions of the parents; children are as likely to be abused in households with high income as in households with low income.

The analysis showed also that the size of the household was not significant in the incidence of child abuse. In most of the cases, the father and the mother were the principal breadwinners in the households. Considering the ratio between breadwinner and numbers of dependents, the analysis revealed that the majority of the breadwinners had between zero and four dependents. This meant that the size of the households was not an important variable to influence child abuse.

The housing conditions of household did not influence the incidence of child abuse. The analysis of the types of houses and the current placement of children revealed that the majority of children lived in brick houses and flats during the abuse. Again, the likelihood of being abused, neglected or exploited was equal for a child living in a formal housing structure or in informal settlement.

Other critical considerations on of the incidence of child abuse raised questions of oversimplification of the findings of the literature review on the incidence of child abuse. The perpetrators of child abuse are from all the walks of the society. Curiously, the fathers accounted for only 4% whereas the mothers were responsible for 8%. This may be as a result of the amount of time spent with the child by the mother versus the father but this research goes no further in exploring this phenomenon. In most cases the perpetrators were known and related to the children.

In view of the above, the analysis of TMI Child Abuse Database dissociates the incidence of child abuse with poor socio-economic conditions of the households. The

research acknowledges that the incidence of child abuse is dependent on a combination of many factors, not only isolated socio-economic conditions. To understand, prevent and curb the incidence of child abuse this research suggests the application of Integrated Modelled Theory that considers the combination of many indicators.

Integrated Modelled Theory

The Integrated Modelled Theory combines different contributing factors and uses probabilities and uncertainties (Bayesian Network) to understand the incidence of violence and crime against children in poor households in South Africa. The contributing factors are sourced from a deductive thinking process (literature review) and an inductive approach (analysis of TMI Child Abuse Database).

The review of the literature established, from the social and economic theories, that there is a link between socio-economic conditions of poor households and child abuse. However, the literature demonstrated that there is no single cause for violence and crime against children. Environmental and cultural factors also influence the incidence of child abuse. Interestingly, the reviewed studies and theories failed to demonstrate the combination of social, economic, environmental and cultural factors in one theory/model to understand the causes of violence and crime against children. Based on this gap, this research disputed the hypothesis that violence and crime against children are caused by socio-economic conditions only. Deductive thinking informs the research hypothesis that

the incidence of child abuse is influenced not only by socio-economic but by the combination of many contributing factors; hence, the differential incidence of violence and crime against children in poor households.

The analysis of TMI Child Abuse Database uncovers patterns and regularities that inform the research hypothesis. Because the hypothesis is confirmed, inductive thinking reemphasises the need for the Integrated Modelled Theory in understanding the factors contributing to the incidence of violence and crime against children in poor households. Induction for this research means that, the research uses the findings of the analysis of TMI Child Abuse Database to develop and propose an Integrated Modelled Theory for the understanding of the factors that contribute to the incidence of child abuse in poor households in South Africa.

The IMT therefore contributes to social change in – firstly, facilitating the understanding of the factors contributing to the incidence of violence and crime against children in poor households in South Africa; secondly, the IMT is a tool to inform decision-making processes for effective and efficient interventions and solutions (prevention and intervention) to child abuse in poor households in South Africa.

The IMT (adapted Bayesian Networks and Decision Diagrams) will demonstrate the relationships, influence and interdependence of factors contributing to the incidence of violence and crime against children.

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In Conversation with Professor Sujata Patel

Interview by Pooja Adhikari
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Sujata Patel is Professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad, India. She specialises in the areas of social theory, political sociology and urban sociology. Recently she has been appointed editor of Sage Series in International Studies and has published an edited book titled *ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions* (Sage). She is corresponding editor of the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Studies* and in the editorial collective of *International Sociology Review of Books*. She has been and is still associated in various capacities with the International Sociological Association, and has been its Vice President for National Associations (2002-2006) (patel.sujata09@gmail.com).

Pooja Adhikari is a student of Sujata Patel and the Project Fellow for ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions.[56]

BACKGROUND

Pooja Adhikari (PA): Congratulations! We believe that the *ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions* has just been published. This gives us, your students who have been associated with you for the last ten years an excellent opportunity to ask you a gamut of questions regarding your viewpoints and vision of sociology, how you came to it, and what you see as its future.

[56] Questions for the interview were initially provided by Vineeta Sinha. More questions were collected from students who have been associated with her over the last decade. These are Amrita Laha, Aneesh Joseph, Anurekha Chari-Wagh, Christina Udiani, Manisha Gupte, Pooja Adhikari and Vishal Jadhav. On this basis, a telephonic interview was conducted from 9th November to 13th November. This interview was transcribed and later edited over Skype and finalized on 24 November 2009.

You have been practicing sociology for more than three decades and you are committed to it as a teacher, researcher and practitioner. As students we know that you think that sociology is not only about theory, but it is also about creating new practices and assessing and interrogating the old ones. You believe sociological perspective can be used as a pedagogic tool to teach students sociabilities that structure our worlds. Additionally you have been involved in university administration and policy formulations within higher education in India. Simultaneously you are extremely concerned about contemporary globalization and whether this will once again lead to colonization of sociological knowledge (as in early twentieth century) by the first world countries. You have been actively participating in ISA. In this context we would like to know how your personal biography has organized the way you think about sociology. What drew you to sociology?

Sujata Patel (SP): Since childhood I was conscious of the many changes taking place in India and have been trying to find a language to understand these changes. My parents' involvement in the Indian nationalist movement and their commitment to make new nation through a Gandhian perspective certainly created an environment to reflect on the "times". Our home was an open house where many friends and colleagues of different regions, speaking varied languages and having distinct ideologies passed by. I liked discussing contemporary India with them and in the process understand their visions and utopias for India. Growing up in Bombay reinforced this orientation-for the city

embodied both modernity and cosmopolitanism in its history.[57] I knew that I would have to study the disciplines of sociology, history and political science together to examine the changes that we were experiencing. .

PA: What was your experience of the discipline when you started learning it at Elphinstone College, Bombay and at the Department of Sociology in the University of Bombay?

SP: Since adolescence, I had a lot of questions about modernity. Instead of understanding modernities, our sociologists and other intellectuals were examining India as being caught up in traditions. I was very keen to do history as I thought it would give me a deeper understanding of the modern Indian social experience. I was puzzled by the fact that historians also did not engage with contemporary India, though now they do contemporary history. Contemporary India was being examined by political scientists. Thus, today my sociology remains embedded in a historical perspective and in questions of power.

EARLY YEARS AND SOCIOLOGICAL VISION

PA: What was it like to be a student of sociology in a university setting?

SP: I have two Master degrees. The first was from the Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay and the second from Dalhousie University, Canada. The

[57] See the co edited works on Bombay. *Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India* (1995), *Bombay: Mosiac of Modern Culture* (1995), and *Bombay and Mumbai: The City in Transition* (2003), Delhi, Oxford University Press

University of Bombay (where sociology first started being taught in India in 1917) gave students an eclectic perspective of its traditions. Some teachers like A.R. Desai and Manorama Savur were Marxists and taught Sociology through the frame of class analysis.[58] There were some who taught a structural functional perspective while others introduced students to the German hermeneutic traditions. This eclecticism helped me enormously to understand the variety of languages that sociology incorporates. Of course this orientation at Bombay University was distinct. In Delhi, sociology was understood to be social anthropology[59] and students were taught to study India through an understanding of caste. Two influences from those days were significant in my growth later as a sociologist. The first was the debates around the use of Marxism to examine contemporary India and the second was readings in the course on "Sociology of Knowledge" where books like *The Social Construction of Reality* by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) and Karl Manheim's *Ideology and Utopia* were key texts.

My second Masters' degree was from Dalhousie University, Canada. There I did a dissertation that compared Dependency theories with Modernization theories. Tom Bottomore was my supervisor. Studying sociology in Canada was important for me for three reasons. Firstly, I was able to inculcate the catholic visions that Tom Bottomore had regarding Marxism. Second, as a Teaching Assistant I was asked to take a first year course on the anthropology of the First Nations. For the first time I was introduced to the

[58] "Towards a Praxiological Understanding of Indian Society: The Sociology of A.R. Desai" in S. Deshpande, N. Sundar and P. Uberoi (eds.) *Anthropology of the East: The Indian Foundations of a Global Discipline*, New Delhi, Permanent Black (2007)

[59] This was M.N. Srinivas's innovation. See an assessment of this sociological tradition in the following articles on Srinivas, "On Srinivas's Sociology", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 54, No. 1, pp. 101-111 (2005); "The Nostalgia for the Village: M.N. Srinivas and the Making Indian Social Anthropology", *South Asia The Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 49-61 (1998); and "Beyond Binaries: A Case for Self Reflexive Sociologies", *Current Sociology,* Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 381-395.

issues and problems of internal colonization, which later came to be discussed as that of Fourth World dynamics. Thirdly, I got to know the depth of the racist problem through an interaction with African Canadian classmates. Getting introduced to the issues of indigenous groups and understanding the race was very important for my growth as a sociologist. I continued to work on First Nations/Indigenous groups/Tribals over the course of the next two decades. I maintained a strong link with Canada and its scholarship and later I headed the Canadian Studies Centre at the University of Pune.

PA: What was your doctoral thesis on? Why did you do it at the centre of historical studies in Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU)?

SP: The master thesis led me to ask questions regarding the nature of the transition and transformation taking place in India. This question necessarily was framed within Marxist language and was oriented towards interdisciplinarity. JNU was one of the premier universities in the country and was structured to be interdisciplinary. The sociology dept at JNU was influenced by the systemic approach of structural functionalism. I pursued my Ph.D. in the history department under the supervision of Dr. Satish Saberwal, who was a sociologist. My doctoral thesis was titled "The Capitalist class and Labour Politics: A Case Study of Ahmadabad Textile Industry – 1918-1939".[60] Because I was in the history department, the topic of the dissertation was related to early twentieth century. The department also associated two other supervisors to my doctoral thesis, namely Bipan Chandra who was a modern Indian historian and Sabhyasachi Bhattacharya who

[60] Retitled and published as The *Making of Industrial Relations*: Ahmadabad Textile Industry 1918-1939, Delhi: Oxford University Press (1986).

was an Economic Historian. The department also insisted that I do courses in the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning on Economic History, specifically on the transition debate and on the growth of imperialism and in the Centre for Political Studies on Political Theory. So I did all these courses and gained an interdisciplinary perspective which continues to remain a frame from which I examine contemporary sociabilities.

PA: Alongside research, you were actively involved in Human Rights Activism, for a long period of time. Please share your experiences.

SP: When I had returned from Canada in1977 the Civil Rights movement and the Women's movement had gained momentum in Bombay. That is the period when emergency was just lifted. I became actively involved with the Committee for Protection of Democratic Rights at Bombay and People's Union for Democratic Rights at Delhi.

During that period I was pursuing my Ph.D in JNU which was thriving with political activism. Late seventies was the time when various movements by marginalized and excluded groups such as forest dwellers, agricultural labourers, grazers and fishing communities together with those of tribal, dalits and women, had surfaced. Because of my involvement in the civil rights movement, I was able to learn and engage with these groups which enabled me to understand more deeply, the contradictions and violence of the transition process in contemporary India. I have always remained committed to the civil rights movement till today. This has resulted in the development of the archival project to document some of the social movements and the civil rights movement of the

seventies and eighties.[61] As a result of my historical research on early twentieth century and my experiences of late twentieth century in the civil rights movements, I was able to understand the nature of Indian state and democracy and thus the transition process of the entire twentieth century.

PA: What have been your challenges and tensions in regard to mainstream sociology in India?

SP: The major puzzle that I carried through childhood and adolescence, came to be expressed when I encountered mainstream sociology (that which was being taught in most colleges and Universities in India) related to its discursive aspects. India was a modern nation state and yet sociologists in India were discussing India in terms of its traditional structures bound by norms of the caste system. This tradition was also perceived to be civilisational, something that stretched to 2500 BC. Why did sociologists in India structure their discourse in this fashion? Was it related to the fact that this discourse drew and was associated with the upper class ideology that wanted to understand the society in this manner? Was caste an ideology of domination? Why is it that sociologists were not discussing India's poverty, its extreme inequalities and the violence that structured its modernity? It was clear to me that within India there were enormous struggles and contestations taking place. And these were violent struggles. Violence was being used by the poor only marginally (given their weaknesses) but both overt and covert violence was being used by those in dominant positions-whether

[61] http://cssh.unipune.ernet.in/ArchievesMain.html

landlords, capitalists, upper castes, patriarchs, police, politicians and others against the weak and subordinated. This violence did not necessarily come from the caste system though it was imbricated in it. Contemporary forms of violence were embedded in India's modern experience. India was poor, unequal and yet a modern society. The violence of modernity was new and not old; it was structured by colonialism. Surely these processes cannot be examined as continuous in order to represent ourselves as civilisational society? Was colonialism not a watershed in the history of India?

I came to realise that mainstream sociology in India had for various reasons associated itself with this dominant discourse of the new elite of India. This discourse is inherited from colonialism and was linked to the way, the Europeans, the West, and the North, have structured knowledge about India as its "other". And this argument of mine brought tensions between me and the other "mainstream" sociologists in India. These Indian sociologists do not agree with this position; they engage in analyses of the caste system and Hinduism as the only ways of interpreting contemporary India. Even when some sociologists have understood the legacy of sociology as being upper caste and Hindu, such as in the recent interventions made by T.K. Oommen, the idea of civilisational inheritance has not been displaced from their discourse.[62]

We now know that nations and nation-states form the backdrop for constructing sociologies in the world. In the case of India this civilisational vision allowed sociologists to try and develop an indigenous and thus a unique and singular non-comparative sociology. Indian students learnt sociology through two distinct courses. The first was/is

[62] Oommen, T.K (2007) "Knowledge and Society: Situating Sociology and Social Anthropology", Delhi Oxford University Press, and "Disjunctions between Field, Method and Concept: An Appraisal of M.N. Srinivas", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 57, No. 1, pp. 60-81 (2008)

a course on Indian Sociology titled generally as “Indian society: Structure and Change” which highlighted its structure as the institutions of the family, caste and kinship or sometimes Hinduism. The second course was/is on “General Sociology” which initially engaged with structural functionalism and later with contemporary modern, European and North American Social Theories.

PA: You have written on the diverse themes such as history of sociology, class formation and conflicts, caste and reservation, gender construction, communalism and city formation in India. Which are the issues you started with? What led you to the choice of the research areas that you subsequently moved to? Why such diverse sets of research themes?

SP: Most of my research has been to understand conflict as India travels within modernity. I have investigated comparatively the way in which class is organized in various parts of India over the last hundred years and have assessed this process through intensive empirical research at various sites – within districts, regions and cities. Simultaneously, I have used the sociology of knowledge perspective to assess and examine how social theory has understood these conflicts. My research thus continuously conducts a dialogue between empirical work and the received history of theory within the discipline and has excavated how other disciplines, such as economics, history and later feminism, subaltern and post colonial studies have explored these themes. Ultimately, my work is related to understanding power in all its dimensions – its structuration in society and in knowledge.

Marxism has always placed importance on industrialisation to understand the transition process. Thus, I started my research on industrial formation in India in early 20th century. This was for my doctoral thesis. Simultaneously I examined the growth of capitalism in agrarian India.[63] I tried to examine the relationship of capitalism between agriculture and industry. Both these researches were done in the State of Gujarat. However, over the years, I came to realize that this perspective was too limited and that I need to understand the way in which primordial identities were being used as ruling class ideologies to organize and structure the transition process. The seventies was the period of the growth of locality based social movements in India. However, in the eighties, there were violent confrontations in India on reservation (quotas for other backward castes in educational institutions). With the simultaneous growth of rightist Hindu movements, these came to be affiliated to religious conflicts and inaugurated a period of intense anti Muslim feelings leading to pogroms against them. Thus, I started examining how the ideology of caste was being used by the dominant groups for controlling ways of access to mobility of Muslims and deprived groups and related it to religion and gender.[64] I also shifted my analysis from class to the spatial sites of the city after having realized that industrialisation and urbanization were not co-terminus processes in case of India and for

[63] "The Anand Pattern: A Socio Historical Analysis of its Growth and Origin" in M. Doornbos and K.N. Nair (eds.), Resources, Institutions and Strategies: Operation Flood and Indian Dairying. New Delhi, Sage, pp. 27-56, (1990).

[64] "The Ideological and Political Crisis of the Early Nineties: On Mandal, Mandir and Communal Tensions" in M. Savur and I. Munshi (eds.), *Contradictions in Contemporary Indian Society: Essays in Honour of A.R. Desai*, Jaipur: Rawat Publications, pp. 211-237 (1995); and "On the Discourse of Communalism" in T.V. Sathyamurthi (ed.) *Social Change and Political Discourse in India: Structures of Power, Movements of Resistance*, Vol.3, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 145-179, (1996).

the entire south.[65] In India we had urbanization without industrialisation and this ensured that our working class was mainly the unorganized labouring poor.[66]

All the above mentioned issues were empirically investigated through small research projects from which I could map out the larger frame of changes occurring in India. This also made it imperative that I understand and assess, the theories that structured the discipline and examine why the theories do not capture these processes and categories in its frame of reference. As a result I have spent the last few years trying to understand the growth of theories, categories and the discipline of sociology in India and the world. In understanding the relationship between knowledge and power, I was influenced by contemporary theories like subaltern theory, structuralism and post-structuralism., feminist studies, and post-colonial studies.

PA: Your research right from riots in Ahmadabad to "beyond binaries" to the recent *ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions* discusses power – either for knowledge construction, for domination and homogenization or for organizing hegemonic relations. Would you then agree that (not in a reductionist sense) sociology is a discipline that analyses relationships and the multiple locations and sites of "power"?

SP: All my understanding of power came from being associated with knowledge structures at the margins. In an attempt, to understand these conflicts, I personally got

[65] **"Urban Studies: An Exploration in Theory and Practices" in S. Patel and K. Deb (eds.),** ***Urban Studies: Reader in Sociology and Social Anthropology,*** **Delhi: Oxford University Press (2006).**

[66] Labour social scientists have argued that 92 to 94 % of Indian's working populations are in this sector. See also "The Ethnography of the Labouring Poor in India: Introduction", *The Jan Breman Omnibus*, Delhi: Oxford University Press (2008).

involved in the movements. I started trying to understand power and its structuring in India not only through research but through personal affiliations with those who were involved in trying to question power. My involvement in civil rights movement helped because I came to know more and more about these movements, and various people who were actively structuring and understanding power, both from the public as well as the private institutions. It started helping me to build a framework. And this framework moved then, not only on to looking at the way power is structured empirically, but also discursively that is in terms of knowledge.

As soon as it moved to knowledge, it was very clear that I have to examine the history of sociology in India and internationally. These questions were vital for me to understand as I saw the promise of sociology as being an interdisciplinary social science.

SOCIOLOGY IN THE CLASSROOM

PA: You shifted from being a full time researcher to being teacher in January 1992. How did you see sociology as a teacher?

SP: In January 1992, I shifted from being a full time researcher to being a teacher. I realized that the classroom is also a site for examining and intervening in politics. Caste and gender identities can be understood and transcended in the classroom. And because I joined initially a women's university and later a non-metropolitan regional university (where more than half of the students came from rural areas and did not know English

language), the challenges of teaching sociology became complex and demanding. A particular problem was teaching European social theory.

Students find it difficult to read original texts. These texts are translated into a language and contexts which are foreign to them. It is not a part of the world they have inherited through memory and history.

Once I joined the University I got involved in reorganizing its curriculum and restructuring its examination system, as I perceived these being pedagogic tools for learning. Pedagogues have used the tools of groups discussions, presentations, essay writing, etc. as ways to get students to think. Thinking critically is an attribute of modernity and the making of the actor. There is a need to have a perspective on the way to implement these tools. Reflexivity is that perspective. It gives an overview of colonialism and its instrumentality in the educational system. This perspective, which is unlike the way it has been theorised in Europe, can relate itself to politics in the classroom by making students actors.

"Reflexivity" is the hallmark of your writings and discussions. However, you do not understand reflexivity in the same way as interpreted by the European scholars. What is "reflexivity" to you and how does one inculcate "reflexive understanding" in one's own work and in that of students?

Since Gouldner formulated this concept in the *Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* it has had an extensive repertoire of diverse interpretations. I asked why is it that students find it so difficult to relate to the abstractions in the world of social theory. Is it only language? Indian languages have similar philosophical moorings so this should not be difficult.

The problem I realized is the nature of educational system, the discourses of knowledge and the legacy of colonialism. Colonialism structured institutions in such a way that these infantilized the learners, especially in the areas of social sciences. Students could not understand theoretical abstractions because they were not allowed to be reflexive. Knowledge of their own society was "given" and it was this given knowledge that had been expanded through the interventions of Indian sociologists. The students were not trained to think independently and relate to the world around them. As argued earlier what they learnt as sociology was knowledge that was "othered" – that of traditions and not of modernity.

The only way to question this instrumentality of colonialism was to use tools that enhanced reflexivity, such as group discussions and group presentations. Because students have to discuss with each other, every part of what they learn, in order to present they necessarily have to understand the context in which these texts are written by contrasting these with what is around them.

PA: How do you see sociology as a discipline in India – pedagogic and research practices, the structures that govern this discipline, processes and the actors in the near future? Even today at the undergraduate level, sociology is considered as a "commonsensical" discipline. What practices do you feel would help in developing a more critical and reflexive sociology in India?

SP: The instrumental rationality that has organized our thought systems in India allows social science to become commonsensical. They have affirmed "indigeneity". To affirm

indigeneity is to bring into the classroom all indigenous explanations, which are commonsensical explanations and as argued earlier, the upper caste positions. The major challenge for reflexivity is to displace these commonsensical explanations.

The whole debate between commonsensical and non-commonsensical thought system is different in Europe. In the Indian case it is different because of context of colonialism and the investment in indigeneity. Sociology is particularly caught into it.[67] Economics and Political science were not caught into this problem because these were framed and taught as modern sciences. The challenge of reflexivity is huge, because it needs to displace all these ideological positions related to building of the middle class in terms of identities of caste and religion. Moreover, sociology has contributed in reinforcing these identities rather than displacing it.

PA: Why do you think at the master's level a certain amount of discipline is required?

SP: This relates to the way in which colonialism structured institutions. The education system and social sciences in particular have not organized itself to demand more from the students outside the frame of grades and degrees. It is also a part of colonisation and infantilisation that all practices of learning have been instrumentalised. Colonialism has structured and portrayed the native as a lazy person, as discussed by Syed Hussein Alatas in his book *The Myth of the Lazy Native* (1977). Colonialism has made us think that we are lazy and the socialization process has structured this laziness and students have internalized this identity. In this context, the vital challenge in the classroom is to

[67] See forthcoming, *Doing Sociology in India: Genealogies, Locations and Practices* (ed.) Delhi: Oxford.

maintain a reflexive perspective, never to give up on interrogation of the principles and discursive practices of sociology. The teacher has also to organize herself in a new way to teach the discipline. One needs to use various tools to interrogate the structures of knowledge which have been internalized over generations, and which has made us what we are. Such an understanding about discipline will lead towards emancipated learning.

PA: You believe that it is very important to relate what one learns in the class room to ones social surrounding. However, students nowadays seem so detached from such active participation in movements and engagement with public sociology. Why do you think it is so?

SP: I think it an important question, given the nature of hierarchy and power in our society. A large number of people from the upper sections, particularly in this consumerist society, don't understand power. Moreover, they naturalize it as they think since they are privileged, so are the others. As a result they have excluded themselves from even looking at the world around them. Therefore, it has become increasingly difficult to get them to be sensitive to these questions of power.

If sociology is all about power (in what it discusses and what it can represent) we have to understand power. And to understand power you need to relate to those who question power and understand how they question it and what are the strategies and tactics they use.

PA: Your students truly represent a diverse group in terms of age and backgrounds. Which are the areas that your students have worked on under your guidance? What role have students played in your life and work?

SP: Till date I have had eight doctoral students and all of them are senior students who are above the age of thirty. All of their theses deal with power. Interestingly, most of them have been influenced by feminism. With each thesis, new ideas emerged. I have learnt from them, which helped me grow as a sociologist. .

Overtime I have developed very close relationship with them and have related with them as friends. The relationship between supervisors and doctoral students are surrounded by tension, conflicts and dependency. And it has been difficult to negotiate the friendship, pressure and dependency

PA: How has your location and identity as a third world woman sociologist, operating in the margins of the academic map of the country, influenced your sociological imagination?

SP: I carried three "disabilities". I stated that I was a sociologist but I had a doctorate in History. Sociologists in India, and now I learn all over the world, were and are extremely protective about gate keeping. I recall being asked innumerable times why is it that I do not have publications in mainstream sociological journals? Most of my articles have been published in *Economic and Political Weekly*. Also I found that I could not find jobs in mainstream universities. This was not only because of the doctorate in history but also

because of my gender.[68] But it became an advantage as I was selected at a young age to become a professor in a women's university in Bombay. This provided an excellent opportunity to understand the ways and practices of subordination that were structured in the learning process in universities especially in the context of women. The experience of teaching in women's university and later in a regional university made me understand and comprehend the practices of exclusion clearly.

ON INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION AND ISA HANDBOOK OF DIVERSE SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

PA: Apart from research and teaching, you have also been active in the institutional activities globally. How did you get involved with the International Sociological Association? Please share with us your experience of the office you held at and the contributions you made to ISA.

SP: When Immanuel Wallerstein was the President of ISA, he organised a series of regional conferences thereby deepening ISA's orientation towards internationalization. I participated in the regional conference on South Asia in Bombay, India. I was nominated and elected for the executive at the Montreal Congress. So from 1998 to 2002, I was in its executive. I was in the sub-committee of both the programme committee (which was organizing the programme for the world congress at Brisbane in 2002) and the council of Research Committees (RCs). I was also in the editorial board of *Current Sociology*. This

[68] Patricia Uberoi has written on the difficulties of doing feminist sociology and of finding jobs in Delhi's sociology department. See Uberoi, P. (1989-90) "Some Reflections on Teaching the Sociology of Gender", *Samya Shakti*, pp. 279-89.

continued till 2006. And then after 2006, I was in the editorial board of the International sociology book, special issue on Book Reviews.

When I was in the executive, I organised a survey on the nature of internationalization within ISA's RCs. The survey indicated that a few RCs were extremely international but by and large this was not true of many other RCs. I also wondered why the National Associations were not led by a Vice President as it was the case for RCs. Various bodies in the ISA were convinced of this point. The change in constitution took place followed by an election in 2002 at Brisbane. I was nominated from the floor for the Vice Presidentship and became the Vice President of National Associations for 2002-2006. The council initiated three activities – the first one was to continue with regional conferences with eight being sponsored in those four years. Second was to start networking between national associations and their journals through the ISA website. And the third was to organize the first council of National Association Conference. This took place in Miami in 2005 and it was co-sponsored by the American Sociological Association. This conference led to the publication of ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions.

I actually participated in all bodies of ISA which gave me a kind of peep of the way ISA was working and I tried to carry forward this focus of internationalization of sociology, in terms of the organization of ISA.

PA: What is the extent of your involvement with other sociological institutions and organizations?

SP: I have been associated with many networks of social scientists. Some of these were bilateral networks such as built via Shastri Indo Canadian Institute (which allowed me to explore the exclusions faced by First Nations in Canada); the Indo Dutch programme in Alternatives of Development (which I have been associated with for the last two decades and which I have also evaluated);[69] and the *Maison des Sciences de le Homme* (which sponsored the conferences on Bombay that led to the publication of books on Bombay).[70] I have also been active with various South Asia networks.

Recently I have forged another relationship – this time with academics in South Africa. I have been travelling frequently to South Africa, over the last two years as I was a collaborator in a project on Social Exclusion, Citizenship and Social Capital. The participants in the project were my colleagues at the University of Johannesburg and students from the university as well as my Ph.D students. We have got around 25 essays, and the manuscript has gone for review to a publisher in South Africa. The project is titled *Exclusion, Social Capital and Citizenship: Contested Transitions in South Africa and India.* I am now appointed Visiting Professor at the Department of Sociology at University of Johannesburg.

PA: What is your assessment of the work that ISA has been doing in the last two decades or so, in particular of its efforts to internationalise sociology? Do you think these efforts have produced positive results?

[69] "International Research Collaboration in Social Science Research: Lessons of IDPAD", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 36, pp. 3749-3756, (2002).
[70] See footnote No. 57

SP: There are many ways to answer this question. First if we ask the question of internationalisation in terms of how many members are there in each executive and its Vice Presidentship from all across the world, we find unevenness. In some points of time in its history it has become more international. For instance, in the recent past during the period 2002-2006, it had one of the most international representations. Understanding internationalisation through the composition of membership is at the level of individual representation. But I don't think internationalization only means the inclusion of various individuals from various parts of the world. It also means reframing what constitutes sociology and transcending the deep schism that structures sociology in the world-that of European and North American sociology versus the rest.

The classical theorists affirmed the belief that there is one sociology and that this sociology in universal. This is based on the understanding that science itself structured that universalism and that if there are some differences, they are within the efforts to look at the context from within the universal positions. Therefore there is a suggestion that first the European tradition of sociology and later the American sociology was and remains the clear critical tradition of understanding sociology and there is nothing beyond that. This belief is represented naturally within ISA.

But this position is deeply contested whenever people from the rest of the world have become more active in ISA. One of my major goals is to question – the universalism of sociology; the belief that there is only one way to think of sociology and its roots are only in European traditions. Whatever is happening in Europe today is not what the world is about.

PA: What are some of the challenges you faced as a sociologist from the South in your involvement with the ISA?

SP: People involved with the ISA are very pleasant though some see themselves and the "other" in terms of the traditions of knowledge in their own society. So when tradition of knowledge is always of "othering", they also see you as "the other".

I have argued this earlier in my work that sociology was seen as a study of modern society and anthropology was seen as study of traditional society. I had quoted Andre Beteille who says that whenever he is in India, he is seen as a sociologist, but whenever he is in Europe, he is acknowledged as an anthropologist. And this becomes an unconscious signpost in the way which the Europeans and North Americans have seen the rest of the world. And that includes me. So when I got involved with ISA, I saw myself as being on the margins. Additionally I was a woman. And gender remains a key attribute of divisions of power wherever one goes whether in the North or South. So I think I have had to negotiate and fight out these two subject positions all the time in order to gain respect and to be seen as someone who is different but equal. I may say I have not succeeded all the times but it is a long battle.

There is a need is for sociologists to engage and negotiate with each other at equal levels. And this can only be done if the European and North American sociologists understand us the same way we understand them. I mean it very respectfully because we all learn European and American sociologies. We also learn about our own sociology but the former only teaches its own sociology and considers it as universal sociology.

Contemporary thinkers have suggested that what is considered as universal knowledge actually represents provincial knowledge.

Thus, sociologists from all nation states need to see their knowledge as being endogenous knowledge. This will free us from the trap of the binaries and accept the principle of diversity of sociology as an accepted practice of international sociology

PA: The project on "Diverse Sociological Traditions" took four years to materialize into a published work. How did you come to think about organizing a project of such magnitude? As an editor, what are the reactions and opinions that you anticipate?

SP: The idea of this Handbook emerged at a conference organized by the ISA for various representatives of National Associations in August 2005 at Miami. Titled *Local, Regional and Global Sociologies: Contexts, Perspectives and Practices*, it was my conference as the first Vice President of National Associations. The Handbook incorporated some of the papers presented at this conference, together with new additional papers. It took some time to convince the publishers that there is merit in this project. Through the Handbook I got in touch with contributors and colleagues from across the world almost one hundred in number, who suggested names of authors, who have reviewed and helped to modify papers, who have "thought out" with me the principles of international sociology for a global audience. This dialogue was extremely exciting. I really hope the Handbook can contribute to the ISA's goal of internationalization and create more institutionalized dialogues and help the students of the discipline.

PA: What is the line of thinking that is being communicated to the readers by the *ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions*?

SP: Part of the objective of this handbook is to displace the dominant position within sociology that argues that sociology is necessarily an European project and that within Europe and its regions it had one voice. Its other objective is to reflect on how to think about diversities of sociological traditions and practices. For example, we always think that one way to understand sociology is to study its theories. In an absence of theory it becomes easy to state that there is no sociology. Sociology, the Handbook argues, is present in many ways – in the classrooms, in political movements and in many small practices. Within all these sites there is reflection about contemporary society. We need to make the doing and learning about sociology visible.

The Handbook suggests that there are many different ways to look at the world and that these different ways have evolved new practices, concepts and theories. And these alternate ways of doing sociology are equally legitimate to understand sociological traditions. Furthermore, competition between these perspectives and practices will actually help us to be more inclusive in this globalizing world than thinking of the one universal hegemonic position. The Handbook argues that there are not many among one but many within many traditions.

PA: In the global world do national sociologies have a place? How is this related to your ideas about diversity?

SP: The nation state both constrains and structures the way the discipline is organised and thus remains a critical site for understanding the growth of sociology. I would also argue that localities within nation-states, together with regions and global geopolitics, are significant players. The nation state has had authority to proscribe teaching of sociology and/or encourage it at different points of time in history. It also decides the conditions for structuring knowledge through a gamut of policies and regulations on higher education which both encourage and constrain the development of the discipline. These policies determine the protocols and practices of teaching and learning processes, establishment and practices of research within research institutes, distribution of grants for research, language of reflection, organization of the profession and definitions of scholars and scholarship.

However, national sociologies are also dominant sociologies and it is important to move our lenses outside these frames to other spatial levels to understand how these homogenise and displace other marginal voices. Thus, within each nation-state one can assess the many starting points, many achievements and many failures and many continuities and discontinuities. These ups and downs dealing with the organization, consolidation and institutionalization of sociological traditions involve confrontations between dominant universal traditions and newly emerging subaltern ones. In this sense, there is and will be diversity of sociological traditions within nation-states.

The challenge is to organize oneself to accept differences and to understand how power structures these differences and makes these differences hierarchical. Thus, the need is to displace this hierarchy through constant reflexivity. Furthermore, there is a need to displace the instrumentality of reason which forestalls the articulations of

emancipatory reason. The challenges are enormous and it can only be dealt collectively. ISA is one forum that allows such collective projects to be defined. Therefore, I feel the need to continue to be involved with ISA.

PA: How far do you think you have travelled from your early years in sociology? Where do you see your scholarly endeavours taking you in the years to come?

SP: For the last one decade, I have engaged in doing research on the history of sociological ideas. Additionally, I have also published detailed empirical research work on Contemporary Bombay[71] and on the growth of fundamentalism and religious chauvinism.[72]

In the future, I will be working at two levels. At the first level, I want to continue the work initiated in the Handbook to engage in comparative international sociology not only in terms of its theory but the way it has got organized in terms of its practices. This is getting reflected in my work in South Africa.[73] By discussing empirical work in both countries, we were actually discussing the ways sociology has framed the question of social exclusion and citizenship. I also co-edited *Indian Sociology* with Peter Alexander of the *South African Review of Sociology*, a journal of the South African Sociological Association. I think this is a way to do comparative international sociology.

[71] "Globalisation, Inequalities and Politics in Bombay/Mumbai" in J. Gugler (ed.), *World Cities Beyond the West: Globalization, Development and Inequality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 328-347 (2004); and "Mumbai: The Mega-City of a Poor Country" in K. Segbers (ed.), *The Making of Global City Regions: Johannesburg, Mumbai/Bombay, Sao Paulo, and Shanghai*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press (2007).

[72] "Colonial Modernity, the Sociological Study of Religion, and Nineteenth Century Majoritarianism", *International Sociological Association E Bulletin*, Winter, November, 2006.

[73] *Exclusion, Social Capital and Citizenship: Contested Transitions in South Africa and India* co-edited with Tina Uys and Sakhela Buhlungu.

At the second level, I want to work on understanding the elite and the dominant groups in India. This is to assess and examine their "reinventive" cultures, experiences, lifestyles and political interventions in structuring the way modernity is being organized in India. I also want to understand the larger middle class, which is putting its stamp on the way urban and industrial cultures are getting organized and on the way urbanization is being defined and urbanism is being represented in the contemporary transition process in India. Research on this issue, will be part of my work that I have been doing on Urban India/Urbanism in India. It is one way to understand modernity, which has been and continues to be one of queries regarding contemporary India.

PA: One of your articles, written on Gandhi and women, has been printed and reprinted many times. It has been discussed by feminists, historians and political scientists. Would you agree that it is a significant contribution? What other articles/books would you consider as being critical and why?

SP: I have read and re-read three articles which have been written in the last two decades and consider them as seminal to my growth as a sociologist. The first is this piece on Gandhi written in the year 1988.[74] It remains a favourite piece of mine given my own history within Gandhian ideology and my parents being Gandhian. Writing of the paper was a very emotional experience for me. It has given me a methodology to write on discursive practices, and I have followed that methodology in my other works later. It is a

[74] "The Construction and Reconstruction of Women in Gandhi", *Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.* 23, No. 8, pp. 377-387.

kind of model for me too and that is why I go on reading it again and again. I still continue to hope that I will be able to write a book on Gandhi in the near future.

The second is the paper written in the year 1996 titled "On the Discourse of Communalism". I think that is one of my best pieces and presents the historical-sociological method that I have been exploring. It brings together my empirical work on communal riots[75] and the discursive work that explores how nationalist and communal ideologies came to be linked through the political strategies of upper caste groups. In this paper, I actually explored how the discourse of communalism is linked with the discourse of "savarnaism" which is an ideology of being an upper caste. This is a ruling class ideology in India which uses caste as the way for excluding others. I hope to put together a book on communalism and secularism one day.

The third paper was written in the year 2006 titled "Beyond Binaries: Towards Self Reflexive Sociologies". It is the primary text on which I have built up my work (in form of essays) on history of Indian sociology, which I am going to publish soon under the title *Framing Society: Essays on Sociology in India.*

PA: Could you tell us something about your forthcoming publications and work in the next couple of years?

SP: I am currently working as an editor for two series. The first is titled *Cities and the Urban Imperative* by Routledge, India. It is excavating the way urbanization has structured South Asia. Three books have already been published and we hope to release

[75] "Regional Politics, City Conflicts and Communal Riots: Ahmadabad 1985-86" in R. Vora and A. Feldhouse (eds.), *Region and Regionalism*, New Delhi: Manohar, (2006).

three books every year. Currently, for the coming year, we have 8 to 9 book proposals. Secondly, I have got a very challenging project titled *Studies in Contemporary India* for the Oxford University Press. They have asked me to put together a series for an audience which range from students of sociology, public health, management, technology, science, advocacy studies and those working in NGOs. It attempts to reach a diverse range of groups, where sociology can intervene and find its relevance and thus get a new set of readers for the discipline. The focus is on India and hopefully the books in the series will define sociology as an interdisciplinary social science in new ways. We are launching 6 titles, particularly important for the Indian audience – minority studies, violence studies, media studies, health care studies, sexuality studies and religious studies.

PA: What would be your wish list for the discipline of sociology in the future? How do you envision the future of sociology?

SP: I really want sociology to become an interdisciplinary social science which would become a perspective to understand society and weave itself in almost all knowledge structures, without loosing its identity. That is what I think is my sociological vision.