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ARTICLE

Marie and Otto Neurath: "Good Fellows in Science and Love"[1]

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Abstract

This article presents the story of a partnership with a major impact on the development of visual means of communicating social science findings as a means to facilitate universal participatory democracy. It aims to highlight the neglected role of Marie Neurath as a data "transformer" in the origins of the visual language of ISOTYPE. It locates the partnership in the context of the politically and culturally turbulent times of anti-Semitism and forced migration during the middle decades of the 20th century, and highlights Marie's contributions after the death of her partner. It concludes with a call for a more multifaceted and culturally inclusive picture of disciplinary history in the social sciences.

Keywords

Marie and Otto Neurath; women in social research; visual social science; public intellectuals; disciplinary history; Vienna Circle; Unity of Science; ISOTYPE; anti-Semitism and social exclusion

INTRODUCTION

Together, Marie, née Reidemeister (1898-1986), and Otto Neurath (1882-1945) made a major contribution to how knowledge about the social and natural sciences is communicated and disseminated to the public by visual means, processes that are now well embedded on the internet and in textbooks, exhibitions, newspapers, journals, and comparative and multi-disciplinary policy-oriented studies. When I first came across the sociological use of picture graphics drawn by Marie for Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein's sociologically pathbreaking book on women in the labour market (1956), I was intrigued by her visually innovative skills of data presentation (Lyon 2020). Like most sociologists of my generation, I was already familiar with her husband Otto's important role in the origin and development of the influential Vienna Circle of philosophers and scientists, all of whom shared an interest in the relationship between theories of science, logic, and mathematics and their empirical application in

[1] Quote from a letter sent by Otto to Marie, December 1940 (Sandner 2014: 269).

scientific practice.[2] In my wish to bring Otto's partner Marie to light in the much neglected history of women as creative research practitioners and methodologists, I initially assumed that I had come across yet another woman in need of rescue from the familiar story of patriarchal power exerted through a demanding partner and a history of intellectuals steeped in the theoretical "male gaze" (Honegger and Wobbe 1998; Evans 2001). On closer scrutiny, their story, which began in Vienna in 1924 and ended with Otto's death in Britain in 1945, proved to be a bit more complicated, as did Marie's much neglected role within it. Though her theoretical philosophical contribution to the development of the Vienna Circle cannot be described as of major significance, her role in Otto's ongoing important relationship with the group in the politically tempestuous decade leading up to World War II was a great deal more than that of a "faithful muse" (Sigmund 2017: 345).[3]

The 20th century created many stereotypes of solitary male geniuses and heroes, most of which can be applied to Otto—military strategist, imprisoned socialist revolutionary, scientist with a global mission, member of pathbreaking intellectual networks, social and environmental engineer, daring escapee from the clutches of Hitler, a physically and mentally larger-then-life man attractive to women—to list but a few. What could it have been like to live and work on a daily basis in the shadow of this giant? Mounting biographical material about Otto has brought glimpses of a multifaceted story of the relationship between abstract intellectual individual creativity and politically applied collaborative working *practice*. Unlike his more famous co-founders and participants in the milieu of the Vienna Circle, such as Hans Hahn, Rudolph Carnap, Karl Popper, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and Moritz Schlick, Otto's wide engagements in other more directly applied, and therefore unavoidably more political, fields than the logic and epistemology of science made him a marginal character in disciplinary history for a while. His rehabilitation from post-war obscurity came about largely due to the efforts of his widow. After his death, Marie, in collaboration with Robert S. Cohen, translated and brought together examples of the many strands of his intellectual and applied work alongside a collection of short personal memoirs (Neurath and Cohen 1973). But Marie's own contribution to their joint legacy remains largely unknown, some of the reasons for which Marie shared with many other able and productive intellectual women of her time.

In this article, I will attempt to interpret this story through the broad lens of some recent changing perspectives in the history of sociology: women as intellectually productive and creative agents in their own right; the role of multi-disciplinarity and collaboration, longstanding characteristics in the day-to-day practice of empirical research, yet excluded in a vain theoretical search for disciplinary boundaries; and finally, the institutional exclusionary factors of class, migratory status, and the ongoing politics of prejudice affecting both men and women. I will focus on Marie and the women, not

[2] The "Vienna Circle" is here used as an umbrella term for a grouping with changing membership over time. There is a rich philosophical literature on the group, and ongoing detailed recent research on the various contributions of O. Neurath. See Vienna Circle Institute, University of Vienna, Yearbooks, 4,9 and 13 (www.univie.ac/vcs/publikat/index.htm); see also Reisch (2005). My main recent source for the cultural context of the Circle has been Sigmund's *Exact Thinking in Demented Times* (2017). Though mathematician by profession, Sigmund offers an unusually rich sociological and cultural interpretation of the time.

[3] Due to a long period of convalescence and COVID-19 isolation, the biographical material presented relies entirely on secondary sources and offers no new archival discoveries. The main sources on Otto Neurath used have been: Cartright et al. (1966); Neurath and Cohen (1973); Vossughian (2011) and Sandner (2019). Biographical statements on and by Marie Neurath appear in Neurath and Cohen (1973) and Neurath and Kinross (2009). I have also consulted an unpublished "autobiography" by Marie written shortly before her death in response to a request from the founder of the Vienna Circle Archives in Holland, Henk Mulder. See info@noord-hollandsarchief.ni, in this paper referred to as Neurath (1982). There are several new archival projects on ISOTYPE now underway at Vienna and Reading University (see relevant institutional websites).

on the many male "geniuses" involved, except in their relationship to the women as brothers, partners, and collaborators. This is a story of individuals with overlapping characteristics—men and women, natural and social scientists, theorists and practitioners, Jews and Gentiles, Austro-Germans and Anglo-Saxons—and it is written, to quote Rebecca Solnit, "in recognition that all categories are leaky and we must use them provisionally" (Solnit 2017: 1). This also holds true for the concept of "partnership," ranging in meaning from the intimate and personal to the legal, professional, and commercial, in this case covering the whole spectrum. Even proper names can be described as "leaky" in this collaboration in that Otto worked and wrote under different names and pseudonyms, depending on the publication outlet, and as Marie notes, often in the name of the various "institutes" set up to accommodate his teams (Neurath and Cohen: 441). Marie herself was born Reidemeister and remained with that name until she married Otto twenty years into their collaboration. In more recent publications her own name, when not omitted, is often subsumed under the collective title "the Neuraths," even for work she completed after his death. With respect for their shared democratic ethos, I will, to avoid confusion, refer to them by their first names.

Baert reminds us that after the term "intellectual" was coined in the 1890s, intellectuals have repeatedly engaged in varieties of partnerships to bring about progressive socio-political change in the name of a common humanity (Baert 2011). Such a combined conception describes well the public engagement for social progress that the Neuraths and their many intellectual friends—academic and political, theoretical and applied, male and female—participated in. But questions need to be raised about how such a "common humanity" is understood, especially at times when meaning struggles over who belongs and who does not run deep and become hate filled. This also applies to communities of intellectuals themselves. Many of the agents in this story, both men and women, were Jewish and all suffered the indignities of prejudice, exclusion, and persecution, a state-of-affairs they seldom spoke of themselves at the time or in retrospect. In his memoir of Jewish ancestors in Vienna during the century preceding World War II, Edmund De Waal writes: "Not talking about anti-Semitism was possible, not hearing about it was impossible" (De Waal 2011). Those who were not Jewish were nevertheless tainted by their closeness to Jews, by marriage or friendship, or by their shared political alignment with the social democratic movement, at the time (as well as later) often erroneously equated with internationalist communism, a "label that stuck," as Christian Fleck has phrased it (Fleck 2011: 137). If, as Fleck and Andreas Hess have argued, the sociology of communism is an absent field in the history of sociology, so too is the sociology of social democracy in its many and varied intellectual and political expressions and the role of research-based social planning as a tool in the improvement of human lives within the field (Fleck and Hess 2011; Lyon 2017; for detailed descriptions of the many, and shifting, shades of "left" encompassed by the different members of the Vienna Circle, see Reisch 2005).

In his recent book on the intellectual and research partnership between de Toqueville and Beaumont, Hess shows that a complementary partnership incorporating both common and disparate domains of interest, mutual dependencies of various kinds, including differences in talent, interest, and financial resources, can enhance work in ongoing debate on an almost daily basis (Hess 2018). Through their very practical activities as personal assistants, researchers, data-collectors, translators, networkers, travel companions, fundraisers, and supplementary editors and writers, many collaborating women can equally be shown to undermine the myth of the solitary "genius" as the foundation on which intellectual progress rests. In Per Wisselgren's analysis of influential couples in the early development of social science in Sweden, the significance of private routines in couples living and working together is noted with a basic conflict recurring between, on the one hand, the dream of a

more equal type of "comrade marriage" and, on the other, the demands from an external world expecting male leadership and authorship as well as customary norms with respect to career development and domestic responsibilities. This raises interesting questions: Did the relationships serve as a resource or a hindrance in public and professional contexts? What did work and partnership relations look like? (Wisselgren 2011).

In the following sections I will try to approach some of these questions by starting with the final, and most successful, international outcome of Otto and Marie's collaboration published shortly before the outbreak of World War II. They were by then based in Holland as refugees and were to remain in exile throughout the war. Otto died shortly after the war ended in 1945. By then they had both become British citizens. Marie continued to develop their joint vision of a new kind of visual social and natural science until she died in 1986.

MODERN MEN – AND WOMEN – IN THE MAKING

In 1939, a very original, colourful, and forward-looking picture book entitled *Modern Man in the Making* was published by Alfred. A. Knopf in New York (Neurath 1939). It was the last collaborative work put together by Otto, Marie, and members of the team they had worked with for many years to develop visual, internationally comparative social statistics. The book was published in Otto's name as Director of *International Foundation for Visual Education* in the Netherlands, where Otto, his then wife Olga, Marie, and their chief designer Gerd Arntz had moved to after being forced to flee Vienna in 1934 following the political success of the far right. The publication was supported by Waldemar Kaempffert, who was a science journalist for the *New York Times*, friend, and distant relative of Otto's, and for a brief period, Director of the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago. Otto and the team were given a generous commission by the publisher, who was aware of their need for financial support. In the Acknowledgements at the end of the book, Otto singles out for particular thanks "Miss Marie Reidemeister, who has worked with me from the beginning of our pedagogical and scientific activities, and who, as chief of the transformation department, with her combination of scientific judgement and ability for visualisation, did the preparatory work" (Neurath 1939: 159). The book was simultaneously published in Britain and issued in Dutch and Swedish translations and became a commercial success. It consists almost entirely of richly coloured and imaginatively drawn charts full of intricate pictorial symbols and was carefully planned "page by page" with, as Marie wrote, "Otto Neurath writing the text, and the charts – made by the essential team of Neurath, Reidemeister, Arntz – designed to fit just where they were needed" (Neurath and Kinross 2009: 60). The foreword explains how an "attempt has been made to evolve for this purpose a special picture-text style which should enable anybody to walk through the modern world that is beginning to appear about us and see it as he may see a landscape with its hills and plains, woods and meadows" (Neurath 1939: 7). Otto was at the time well known internationally as the originator of a worldwide international multi-disciplinary movement for the Unity of Science, including plans for the creation of a scientific Encyclopedia.

The book's main theme is how to depict "modernity," simply interpreted here as a world of rapid technical change, material growth, improved human health, and an emphasis on scientific outlook and orientation for the sake of social and economic progress. With a popular audience in mind, the charts aimed to illustrate the great strides made by humanity since the beginning of civilisation on a range of variables such as health, living standards, education, communications, political participation, trade, and productivity. The evidence, colourfully displayed, had been carefully assembled

using a large number of different international and national statistical sources available to researchers as well as references to further sources of data and readings drawn from sociology, political economy, philosophy, literature, history, medicine, politics, and anthropology, to mention but a few of the discipline areas covered. There is an emphasis on factual information, as well as a more "grounded" history as experienced by ordinary people from across the world, one of the sociological models in this being Helen and Robert Lynd's book *Middletown* (1929). *Modern Man in the Making* treats evidence about colonial subjects, workers, and women as equally valid to that of the rise and fall of elites. But the book is neither proselytizing nor committedly ideological. As Christopher Burke points out, the book avoids words such as "progress," "justice, and "normal," with trends rather than causes indicated (Burke 2008: 24). Despite all the hard work that went into its production, the findings were emphasised as tentative and likely to be subject to revision as new evidence arose.

A couple of themes stand out: increased longevity, better health, improved living standards, growth in international trade, and migration, as well as the significant negative impact of disasters, both man-made and environmental ones, wars, plagues, earthquakes, and tsunamis over time. Whereas science could be shown to have responded to pandemics and occasional natural disasters with positive effect, wars were not yet treated as avoidable through improved international collaborative efforts. In all its attempts at simplicity, the book can be seen as a complex logical outcome of Otto and Marie's shared faith in the power of empirical evidence to debunk historical myths and the power of global knowledge, democratically assembled and accessibly disseminated, to help create a more humane world. In her and Cohen's first memorial volume in Otto's honour, Marie chose to include Otto's early passionately thorough attack on Spengler's conservative "big-picture" history of inevitable cyclical cultural disintegration through "foreign forces," an indication of her own commitment to this belief (Neurath and Cohen 1973: 158-213).

So how did Otto and Marie come to collaborate so closely on such a project, one that was conceptually highly original and "modern" for its time, but also painstakingly laborious in execution at the time? For this we have to go back and look closer at the role, power, and skills of women intellectuals at the turn of the 20th century.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE AND THE "WOMAN QUESTION" AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

It would have been hard to be a young man about to enter university in Europe at the turn of the 20th century without engaging with questions surrounding women's emancipation and the many varieties of feminism passionately discussed at the time. Women, largely home-schooled at the time, had come out as writers, mathematicians, political pamphleteers, and social activists. Many were in search of political influence and better opportunities in higher education and the labour market away from the traditionally expected future of subservience. (Honegger and Wobbe 1998; Offen 2000). Such debates took place not only within the domain of the aristocracy and expanding commercial bourgeoisie, but equally amongst workers and trade union movements. They also cut across religious boundaries, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, each encompassing varying degrees of anti "liberated women" orthodoxy. As an ambitious eighteen-year-old student in Vienna, Otto intensively debated "the woman question" with friends and colleagues.

When the Swedish feminist and author Ellen Key came to give a lecture in Vienna, Otto listened with enthusiasm. Her topic was the establishment of an educational open-air folk museum in Stockholm

developed as a popular leisure centre (Sandner 2014: 28-29).[4] Key's intellectual standing was not to be doubted, counting amongst her friends Rainer Maria Rilke, Stefan Zweig, and the first woman psycho-analyst Lou Andreas-Salome, who introduced Key's work to Freud. Her popular book *Das Jahrhundert des Kinder* (published in German 1901, in English 1909) was widely read. She caused rich debate not only because of her views on the need for state subsidised child care and co-educational school reforms, but also for her belief that familial love and maternal care, the essence of her gender as she saw it, could go hand in hand with individualist legal and political rights (see Offen 2000). Otto was unquestionably smitten, and a correspondence ensued in which his then girlfriend, Anna Shapiro—critical of Key's family-centrism—also became involved. Anna and her elder sister Rosa, later a renowned art historian and successful painter, were both organisationally active social democrats. Otto had met Anna after a period as a student in Berlin and military service. A few years older, she was an already accomplished writer, social democratic polemicist, poet, linguist, and student of economics and history at several European universities. What Otto lacked in private wealth he made up for with his boundless capacity for hard work and barrels of intellectual charm. They married in 1907 and soon published a textbook in social economics together. As part of another joint project, she translated Francis Galton's book, *Hereditary Genius*. Their partnership did not last long. Due to post-natal complications, a common condition at the time, Anna died shortly after their son Paul was born in 1911.

Otto expressed his profound devastation to friends and threw himself into good works of various kinds, including that of helping his old friend Olga Hahn, an equally brilliant woman and a graduate in maths and philosophy, whom he had known since childhood. Olga was the sister of mathematician Hans Hahn and, alongside Otto, one of the founder members of the Vienna Circle. Olga became blind and housebound whilst young, and in sympathetic support Otto organised friends to form a rota of visitors to read for her, himself included. Whilst married to Anna, he and Olga co-authored papers together on logic. After Anna's death Otto married Olga. Otto's son Paul claims he always saw Olga as "mother," despite his earlier years at boarding school, and attributed to her his greatest intellectual influence as "a first-rate mind," a quality which led to her friendships with many of Europe's great scientists at the time: Robert Frisch, Lise Meidner, and Max Born. Each proved helpful and supportive also to Marie later in life (Neurath and Cohen 1973: 29; Neurath 1982). The homes Otto and Olga set up together in Vienna became regular meeting places for Vienna's most intellectually and politically engaged activists, not all of them in political agreement, but all of them in search of good arguments and convivial spaces to engage in free from outside intrusions. We owe to both Otto's son Paul and Marie vivid descriptions of this welcoming household. When an earlier debating partner in the Vienna Circle, the mathematician Kurt Reidesheimer, originator of "knot theory," encouraged his sister Marie, at the time a student in Göttingen, Germany, to visit Otto and Olga whilst on a study tour of pedagogical reforms in Vienna, she was immediately hooked, both emotionally and intellectually. When offered an opportunity to stay and work with Otto, she immediately accepted.

Marie grew up with three lively brothers in a German household, short of money but rich in culture and learning. From a young age she showed an independent mind and early on became a convinced atheist and politically left wing, which caused some family friction throughout her life (Neurath, 1982). It was not only Otto's charm and the logic of scientific empiricism that caught her interest, but also their shared enthusiasm for radical social democratic politics and the new social science

[4] This museum, *Skansen,* remains one of Sweden's most popular visitor attraction with a collection of houses and interiors collected over time from across the country.

museum in the process of being created with the purpose of educating the people of Vienna about the social and economic changes in their lives. With academic qualifications in physics and mathematics gained in Göttingen, as well as courses taken at arts school, she had turned to pedagogy and teacher training as a realistic career possibility. Her combination of skills was a perfect fit for the needs of this new enterprise that would require statistical, as well as pedagogical and artistic, skills in the interpretation and presentation of social science evidence to popular audiences. Though, as she mentions in her later biographical notes, her brother tried to draw her away from Otto's overpowering influence—calling her "just a Neurathecho"—she took the work offered with enthusiasm, having been assured by Otto he was looking for an "independent mind" (Neurath, 1982:32). She soon found cheap lodgings for herself, but ended up bicycling between various locations across town in daily support of Otto's many part-time assistants and projects. As it turned out, Otto's offer brought an exciting future rich in intellectual and political stimulation, much travel, and backbreaking practical work, but also a financially precarious hand-to-mouth existence in a close partnership demanding courage and self- sacrifice.

THE ORIGINS OF VISUAL SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE ROLE OF THE TRANSFORMER

In the early 20th century, Vienna was famous for its modernist architecture and design, its science and technical museums, and its craft workshop exhibitions. Otto, in love with maps, military charts, and sketching since childhood, was already well experienced in museum and exhibition creation by 1924, initially as part of his war experience as manager of military resources in the German army during World War I. Most commentators on his civic and political engagement agree that this experience made a profound impression on his perception of how such "systems management," including the use of public information campaigns for citizenship enrolment, could be used in peace time to reduce poverty, homelessness, and ignorance. On returning to Vienna in 1919, after a brief involvement with a failed political coup aimed at reforming Munich and Bavaria towards greater economic socialisation, which landed him in prison, he joined the Austrian Social Democratic Party. Due to earlier acquaintance with its leadership, particularly Otto Bauer, he gained a prominent role in its efforts, initially successful, to transform Viennese civic life in a more cooperatively "grounded" and egalitarian direction, particularly with respect to urban planning and public education. As Director of its *Siedlungsmuseum,* a museum devoted to the development of slum clearance and new housing estates, Otto had acquired space for the creation of urban maps and exhibits which attracted large audiences (Vossoughian 2011: 39). When Marie joined his exhibition team in 1924, a new venture of a social science-based museum devoted to more general civic education, the *Gesellschafts und Wirtschaftsmuseum,* was being planned to be housed in new premises in the Vienna Town Hall. The museum was to be jointly funded by the municipality itself, the Viennese Chamber of Workers and Employees, alongside leading social insurance institutions. Democratic engagement had to be paid for, and one of the rationales Otto gave for an educational civic museum was that of accounting to the people for their democratic approval the tax expenditures required (Neurath and Cohen 1973: 215–221).

The many and diverse technical tasks involved in this project were daunting and required a new kind of organisation that could distil available statistical information and more efficiently produce the visual materials suitable for crowd-pulling displays. As many biographical comments about Otto show, he was a fountain of ideas, but less aware of the practical hurdles that had to be overcome in executing them. He shares this weakness with some historians of his activities. Nader Vossoughian's

richly illustrated book about Otto's long engagement with community development has a great deal to offer historians of urban planning, architecture, and the disciplines of design and mass communication. However, it gives us less detail about the time-consuming day-to-day practice of assembling and summarising statistical research data for mobile exhibition boards and presenting them in an engagingly attractive, accessible, and more importantly from Otto and Marie's scientific perspective, quality assured way. For this we have to turn to Marie and Otto's autobiographical accounts (see Neurath and Cohen 1973; Neurath 1982; Neurath and Kinross 2009). At the core of these processes lay the role of the "transformer," a role created for, and in practice developed by, Marie. Her skills in mathematics, statistics, and pedagogy made her well prepared for the task of effectively reducing complex tables available in various local and national statistical yearbooks to simple attractive visual diagrams, true to the data and efficient in presentation, yet open-ended and flexible enough to respond to changing concepts and data availability. Initially, hired temporary staff made drawings, and it was Marie's role to "transform" them into meaningful arrangements after daily discussion with Otto. Such discussions continued over the weekend, when Otto and Marie would go on regular walking trips in the mountains whilst Olga visited her mother. According to Marie, the relationship with Olga was on the whole "without conflict" with Marie sharing music, book readings, and walks with her (Neurath 1982: 33). Marie joined Otto on conference trips and associated travel abroad, one of the first to the Welwyn Garden City development in Britain in 1928, after which they began to practice English together. Both Olga and Marie attended the conference in Prague that launched the Wiener Kreis Manifesto in 1929.

The design of each chart was a collective effort, as Otto and Marie repeatedly described it, and Marie regularly raced between home and various offices with sketches for discussion. As Otto was always keen on reducing charts for simplicity to be more easily graspable for pedagogic effect, the sketches went regularly back to the drawing board for revisions. They adopted the simplified Futura type script and the principle of using same-size figures in varying multiples, rather than figures of varying size, to avoid distortions. Colours were chosen according to their vision-enhancing complementarity and brightness, and applied with consistency. The final, and most important, role of the transformer was that of quality assurance. This was to be achieved through a two-pronged process of submitting drafts to academic discipline specialists for comments on the use of evidence drawn from statistical year books (not always reliable), and of gaining "grounded" insights and evaluations from exhibition visitors themselves, including, for example, children and school teachers (Neurath 1982:34). In this process, the transformer role was a "trustee of the public" in a two-way process between assuring the quality of the social science data and the experiences of the users of the information (Neurath and Kinross 1973: 78).

When new accommodation was offered for the museum in the Vienna Town Hall in 1927, architect Josef Frank joined as a consultant to modernise the dark high-ceilinged space. Frank was himself connected to the Vienna Circle through his brother Philipp Frank, a mathematician and physicist and later an émigré working at Harvard University. With a thorough professional training in building techniques as well as interior design, Frank became an important partner in the exercise. Frank shared Otto's distrust of professional "experts," favouring a more "grounded," humane, and participatory approach to design, and was already a long-standing associate in the Social Democratic work of Vienna's various housing projects for workers (Jewish Museum, Stockholm 2007). Display cabinets and lighting were designed to facilitate visitors attending in groups after work. Displays and charts had to be made to fit into portfolios to be portable and reusable for conferences and travelling exhibitions. Illustrative pictures were cut by hand, which was time-consuming. The young psychologist Marie Jahoda occasionally joined as a part-time researcher (Fleck 1998). The work pace was

relentless, and it became clear that more professional design support was needed for the growing amount of commissioned work. At Otto's invitation, German graphic designer Gerd Arntz joined in 1928. Known in Germany for his stark and modernist woodcuts of the life of workers, he became the chief designer of simplified abstract symbols. When he joined the team, he introduced the mass linoleum printing of symbols to facilitate the process and systematise the creation of charts.

As knowledge about the "Vienna Method" spread with the growing number of visitors, requests to either bring an exhibition or train staff on how to create materials came from a number of cities abroad, each with their own perceived national needs and agendas: Germany, Italy, Holland, and the Soviet Union. The latter created a new institute for pictorial statistics, ISOSTAT, as part of centralised party campaigns, and asked the Neuraths to provide staff training. Otto, Marie, and Arntz made repeated visits to Moscow, not always appreciated by hardworking collaborators left behind in Vienna, nor appropriately remunerated by the Soviet party authorities who began to treat the visiting social democrats as "social-faschisten" not appreciative enough of Stalin's increasing centralisation of power (Neurath 1982:42-46). The international horizon was further broadened with participation in and the provision of visual displays for global organisations, such as the Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne based in Geneva. Funding for the work remained a permanent issue, however, especially after the stock market crash in 1929 and the political overthrow of the Austrian Social Democrats, a main source of the municipal funding.

As transformer-in-chief, Marie now had the role of instructor in the new techniques added to her portfolio of tasks. When "selling" the Vienna model of museums of "humanity" to America and the rest of the world in 1933, Otto emphasised the department of "transformation" as the most important one, acting between scientific specialists and technical design departments to ensure displays were correct, fascinating, and suitable for culturally diverse audiences (Neurath and Cohen 1976: 222). National "sub-offices," called variously "Mundaneums" or "Institutes," were set up abroad as local support. In practice, these were little more than a desk and part-time secretarial support. Otto's frustrations with some of the museum work seem to have evolved around failure by various "experts," be they party political ideologues, as in the Soviet Union, or aesthetically focused architects, to understand the meaning of "transformation" in the relationship between empirically established evidence and its understanding by a participating public, inhabiting the economic, social, and architectural world presented to them (see Vossoughian 2011).

Since their inception, public exhibitions have been acknowledged as political statements aggrandising rulers, revolutionary heroes, dictators, and rich entrepreneurs. Since Donna Haraway's detailed analysis of the history of the Natural History Museum in New York, and what she termed "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," few stones have been left unturned in the postmodern zeal of exposing the close relationship between public museums, the politics of their funders, the nature of evidence collection, and its "construction" for public education (Haraway, 1994). But this zeal for exposing what Frans Lundgren terms "the politico-didactics" of civic displays has left little room in the history of social science for greater understanding of attempts to de-politicize social information presented in a more valid, but also more democratic, and participatory way to facilitate exchanges between "experts" and ordinary citizens, and what quality assurance came to mean in such circumstances (Lundgren 2013; Sandner 2019).[5] Marie and Otto's collaboration over "visual statistics" shows the need for a more in-

[5] The museum devoted to the immigrant experience in the US, *Ellis Island,* has throughout numerous political upheavals and re-conceptualizations of immigration retained its quality of factual social science information through visual displays.

depth look at one of the shared "norms" of scientific practice at the time: the communication of its methods and findings to a universal public (see Merton 1942).[6]

THE PROJECT FOR THE UNITY OF SCIENCE AND ITS ACCOMPANYING INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

Concurrent with the development of Vienna's new civic museum, the lively discussions on the logical and epistemological foundations of knowledge continued in Otto and Olga's flat and the demand on Otto's writing for publishers grew, especially in relationship to the movement for the Unity of Science. Having incorporated the need for secretarial assistance in commissions improved their finances, but this meant that another task, that of typing to his dictation late into the night, was now added to Marie's other work (Neurath 1982: 35). In his attempt to summarize the "dizzying array of Neurath's thoughts and deeds," George A. Reisch offers a scholarly overview of the origins and development of the Unity of Science movement, part of which included Otto's proposal for an *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science* (Reisch 1994; see also Morris 1962). In their joint statement on the founding principles of the Vienna Circle drawn up by Carnap, Hahn, and Neurath in 1929, they noted how the anti-metaphysical sensibilities of the Circle pointed to the goal of a unified science in which the achievements of individual investigators would be linked and harmonized through a shared understanding of logic and scientific method. In Neurath's view, this meant *all* sciences, including economics, sociology, and history. Reisch points to three core aspects of Otto's commitment to this work: his epistemological faith that all the sciences could be united into a logically unified whole; his belief that his own broad and varied scientific and political interests could be integrated into such a coherent whole; and finally, his conviction that participatory and collaborative *planning* could act as an evidence-based problem solving and decision-making technique in both science and politics. He pictured (literally) the different sciences as making up a vertical "mosaic," as opposed to a horizontal pyramid, in which history, political economy, and other empirical social sciences could be accommodated. The Encyclopedia was to be a helpful tool in Otto's oft quoted metaphor of scientific practice: trying to mend a ship whilst at sea, using whatever skills and tools available on board (Neurath and Cohen 1973: 199). Though some of his fellow philosophers attended the Unity of Science congresses, Popper and Carnap amongst them, they did not all agree with Otto's notion of collaboration and collective planning as a future direction for the sciences, but they did support his suggestion of the establishment of an "Encyclopaedie" of the state of science as a "living force."[7] It should, in Otto's plan, be global and international in approach as well as practically useful, each volume accompanied by a set of pictorial diagrams in a universally accessible data Thesaurus.

This is where the work of Marie was again called upon. Given her earlier training in mathematics and science, Marie would not have been an outsider to these arguments, increasingly focusing on international collaborations and, for external political reasons, increasingly focusing on the search for alternative locations away from Austria and Germany. After the 1929 crash and the collapse of the Social Democratic Party nationally, the political and financial climate in Vienna was becoming more difficult. As nationalism grew, so did far right attacks on socialists, internationalists, peace advocates, and cosmopolitans, at the heart of whom were seen to be the Jews and their friends (see

[6] In his initial paper on the shared "norms" of scientific practice, Merton calls the need for communication and collective ownership of science findings "communism," and he refers to the British scientist, and well known communist, J. D. Bernal's reference to the republican notion of the public as "citoyens."

[7] For a detailed discussion of these lively debates, see Reisch 2005.

De Waal 2011 for the ferocity of the anti-Semitic anger in Vienna during this period). Otto grew depressed about Austria being squeezed between the intimidating behaviours of Hitler and Mussolini, and Marie made regular visits to The Hague to establish closer working relationships there. In his detailed work on academic refugees to the US and Britain at the time, Fleck points out that Austrian intellectuals and professionals, many of them active in previously successful social democratic politics, stayed only loosely connected to the more conservative universities, which, with growing immigration from the East, closed down career opportunities for outsiders. Hence, they had to earn their meagre living from teaching or rely on occasional international support (Fleck 2011). As Marie herself wrote: "new contacts with the West were essential for our future, which looked increasingly threatened" (Neurath and Kinross 2009: 45). International collaboration with overseas scientists provided a growing source for such contacts. Marie became a regular attendee at congresses of the Unity of Science and its various planning meetings, bringing crates of hand-painted picture drafts for display by train, boat, or plane.

Reisch, however, refers to such collaboratively produced visual materials as Otto's—"his"—throughout. To add insult to injury, he treats Marie's and Cohen's posthumously edited collection of memoirs and a selection of Otto's writings (in Marie's translation) as though it were a book written by Otto himself (as do Cartwright *et al* in their biography, 1966). He also largely avoids mentioning the fact that in between early discussions of these topics in Vienna and the Unity of Science's first formal congress in Paris in 1935, Otto, Marie, and Olga had been forced to flee Vienna to avoid arrest, ostensibly for being "reds," leaving many of their tools and materials behind.

FROM THE VIENNA METHOD TO ISOTYPE: EXILE IN THE HAGUE AND BRITAIN

As the financial depression deepened, and the polarised politics between the now right-wing state government and the still social democratic Vienna intensified, anti-Semitic attacks in Vienna grew more frequent, especially at the university. The future for the exhibition activities looked grim and the need for a move became more urgent. The team's designer architect, Josef Frank, left with his Swedish wife for greater safety in Sweden in 1933.[8] Marie summarised the dilemmas: Prague was ruled out as too dangerous, and the Moscow institute did not have anything intellectually attractive to offer, coupled with its persistent failure to pay the fees incurred for their work (Neurath and Cohen 1973: 62). They decided to relocate to Holland where a "place" was offered in the Library for the History of Economics, and a new name was invented: *International Foundation for Visual Education*. The move became more dramatic than initially anticipated. Otto, alerted by a coded message from Marie in Vienna, was forced to escape straight from Moscow. He travelled via Prague, helped by Philipp Frank—later to leave for the US—on a "doctored" passport provided by the Austrian Consul in Sweden. Marie and Olga followed, though not Paul, and together they set up a new home in The Hague in 1934, for the moment penniless but safe.[9] Their initial financial dilemma was aggravated by fear of being deported for shortage of an income. Marie's family sent regular monies to help,

[8] From 1942 Frank spent a period lecturing at the New School for Social Research in New York before returning to Sweden in 1946. Alongside architectural work, he collaborated with Estrid Ericson and *Svenskt Tenn* in creating its popular Vienna-inspired Swedish modernist design, characterised by simple forms and bright warm patterns and colours (Jewish Museum, Stockholm 2007).

[9] Paul Neurath was later arrested by the Gestapo and spent time in concentration camps. He escaped to the US where he worked as research assistant to Paul Lazarsfeld and became Professor of Sociology at City University New York. His book on his experiences in the concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald, *Society of Terror*, is a unique and powerful contribution to qualitative participatory sociology of ethnic and political persecution and oppression.

as did American publisher contacts. Later the same year, Arntz joined them, bringing what materials he could from Vienna, and work improved.

International contacts developed during the last years in Vienna now proved helpful. Work on the *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science* project continued unabated under Otto's leadership. The organisational committee for its first congress in Paris in 1935 included the first female Professor of Philosophy in Britain and active humanist, Susan Stebbing, a kindred spirit in her passion for mass education as a precondition for democracy (see Stebbing 1939). The University of Chicago Press agreed to publish the proposed volumes. In the end a staggering 26 volumes were planned, 260 monographs in all, and Carnap and Charles Morris became assistant editors. At Otto's insistence, the volumes included sections on applied disciplines such as education, law, engineering, and medicine (Morris, 1962). With eminent contributors such as Niels Bohr, Bertrand Russell, and John Dewey, there was a brisk sale of subscriptions, which brought needed income to support Marie and hired staff for the proposed accompanying ten-volume *Visual Thesaurus*. Several well-attended congresses followed in Prague, Scandinavia, Britain, and the US before the war. During an optimistically forward-looking discussion about their new future, the idea emerged to develop a picture-text style of wordless writing. Marie wrote modestly: "the idea came more from his [Otto's] brain than mine, but I did present one real gift to him at that time, the word "'Isotype.'" This word, an acronym for *I*nternational *S*ystem *O*f *T*ypographic *P*icture *E*ducation, a concept still in use, was the only contribution Marie gave herself credit for (Neurath and Cohen 2009: 63–64).

Other collaborative work that started in Vienna continued, such as work with the linguist and philosopher C.K. Ogden on visual additions to his proposed BASIC English (British American Scientific International Commercial English), based on a limited number of words. Financial support for this project came from Kegan Paul in Britain. They were soon invited to New York to work for the National Tuberculosis Association's mass pictorial information campaign aimed at non-English speakers. Further work was commissioned by other supporting publishers: Alfred A. Knopf for *Modern Man in the Making,* discussed above, and the Chicago publisher Compton for a children's Encyclopedia, each requiring many pictorial representations. They also received an invitation in 1936 to Mexico City to give instructions to a team developing a science museum. Travel meant working on sketches and ideas together on long train and boat journeys, but Otto turned down an offer to visit Trotsky, who at the time was living in Mexico City (Neurath 1982: 56). As Marie noted, all of these invitations led to their greater confidence in the belief that every kind of scientific statement was open to visual treatment (Neurath and Kinross 2009: 55). But political anxieties remained about what was happening in Europe, and they sent letters through intermediaries to friends and relatives in Germany and Austria for fear of causing damage to those who had remained. Book commissions were forthcoming, including one for a pictorial history of persecution and tolerance generously sponsored through Alfred A. Knopf by the US store owner and millionaire philanthropist Edgar J. Kaufmann (Sandner 2014: 243). Their last work in the Netherlands, most likely inspired by Marie's love of art, was a pedagogical exhibition about Rembrandt for a chain of department stores. With much of Europe in the grip of destructive fascism and war looming, it is hard to fully believe their expressed enthusiasm for these, each by itself limited, projects.

As German troops and bombers reached the Netherlands in April 1940, and German repressive laws on Jews and their associates came into immediate effect, Marie and Otto walked luggage-less through backstreets to the nearest harbour. After Olga's recent death they were on their own. They escaped on a small overcrowded boat and were rescued halfway across the English Channel by a British navy vessel. Arntz, a German "Aryan," stayed behind with materials and equipment. He was

soon recruited into the German army and later spent time in an Allied prisoner of war camp. He was freed to return to The Hague with Otto's help as guarantor of his anti-fascist credentials and worked with the Dutch Foundation for Statistics, but did not join them again.[10] As enemy aliens, Otto and Marie were both transferred to internment camps. They were thrilled to be in England, internment being a minor issue in comparison to what they would have faced on the other side of the channel, but again they had no money, nowhere to go, and little hope of long-term institutional support. With the increase in the number of refugees, the need for personal and financial guarantors to avoid deportation intensified. Susan Stebbing offered personal support, as she had previously done for Rose Rand, and donations in kind were offered by other women (Cohen 2011).

After release from internment, and with an offer of seminar teaching in social science and logical empiricism for Otto as well as living space from the socialist economic historian G.D.H. Cole at Oxford University, Marie for the first time became formal co-director of the new Board of what was to be called the *Isotype Institute*, of which Stebbing remained Chair till her death in 1943. Otto and Marie were both to act as Secretaries and Directors of Studies, to protect the continuation of the Institute in case something happened to either of them, and to ensure permanent legal employment to avoid deportation as the anti-immigration climate grew harsher. In their sitting room in Oxford, work resumed with Marie remaining in charge of accounts and employment contracts alongside her other work as general researcher, illustrator, secretary, translator, transformer, and editor. The collaboration was further cemented when they married in 1941.

Wartime work came their way through Susan Stebbing and the Ministry of Information consisting of film work and book illustrations, particularly school books. The renowned documentary film maker Paul Rotha, later innovator at the new BBC TV, was making wartime information films and had plans for animations to strengthen the effects of diagrams using ISOTYPE pictorial statistics. Otto collected the information and Marie made the pictures, the first one on how to save household waste during the austerity of war. They drew up plans for a *Visual History of Mankind,* a series of illustrated books, with Gordon Childe, an archaeologist at the University of Edinburgh with an interest in the socio-economics of prehistory. It was complicated work, and Marie wrote: "I sat helpless in front of the many pages of information and said: I can't make a picture of this. But Neurath just said: of course you can. It concerned life in lake-dwellings built on stilts." Whereas Otto knew history well, she knew technical science and they discussed every page before going to production. (Neurath and Kinross 2009: 62-63). They received further book commissions. Wolfgang Foges, Vienna-born director of a book packaging firm and aspiring publisher, offered publication opportunities for a series of children's books on science and technology. Regular financial support from the philosopher C. G. Hempel and resumed monthly stipends from Edgar J. Kaufman, both in the US, also helped (Sandner 2014: 271).

Work for the Unity of Science continued. Two more international congresses for the Unity of Science were held in Britain and the US, as war broke out, and the sixth international congress of the Unity of Science was held in Chicago in 1941. A proposal to suspend the project was mooted in 1943, but in the face of Otto's charge of "defeatism," the threat of suspension was lifted. A new offshoot of the project, the *Journal of Unified Science*, was managed by Otto from Britain and he drew up further plans for international expansion and additional congresses (Morris 1962). In his enthusiasm, Otto again clearly underestimated the practical work involved and the project became rather a shadow of

[10] Further biographical and archival material on Gerd Arntz can be found on the website: http//www.gerdarntz.org, including reference to his many designs for "the Vienna method" and ISOTYPE. I could find no evidence of any reference to Marie on this website.

his original plans. Alongside local libraries, Oxford's secondhand bookshops provided much of the underlying materials. Alongside ongoing teaching duties, he now turned his attention to the creation of a "pictorial autobiography" that would, as he saw it, be a first of its kind, and would incorporate visual evidence of his early love of military maps, scientific drawings, and hieroglyphs. This rather rambling attempt at "autobiography," which also aimed at exemplifying a limited vocabulary along the lines of BASIC, was only published posthumously, originally with Marie's help, from archival materials (Neurath 2010). For the purposes of this discussion, however, it should be noted that when his writing gets to the Vienna Museum of Social Sciences and the origins and principles of Isotype, his earlier "I" turns into a consistent "we" (Neurath 2010: Chapter 5). The work on the history of persecution also was never completed. But trying to differentiate Otto's many new book ventures with "visual" in the title that emerged during this period is difficult, and I will not try to do so. It is, however, hard not to feel sympathetic with Marie's plight in trying to do her best to "service" them all, including her own work on children's books.

With the end of the war in sight, "reconstruction" was again in the air. In 1945 the small town of Bilston, a deprived and polluted coal and steel mining town, invited Otto to become its consultant on community "happiness." The invitation came after Otto had given a talk on housing in Vienna to the International Friendship League—an organisation founded in 1931 to foster friendship across enmities in Europe—and impressed Bilston's town clerk with his community participatory approach to slum clearance and the development of housing estates. An exhibition was soon planned to enrol those who were to be re-housed into the planning process (Jeffreys 2016). In retrospect, this venture may not seem much in comparison to their earlier grand international aspirations, but it offered Otto and Marie fresh hope of a brighter, though intellectually less star-studded, future. Their long-term affections for Britain remained intact. A brighter future would not come to fruition, however. Otto died of a sudden heart attack shortly after the war ended in December 1945, leaving Marie to single-handedly further his and her own legacy.

LIFE WITH ISOTYPE AFTER OTTO

After Otto died, Marie was left in charge of the Institute and her own financial future. In her devastation over the loss of her best friend and their many daily conversations, she saw her new task as that of continuing their collective labours on her own. In this she was supported by their new network of local friends, many of them also refugees. She soon returned to Bilston and organised the planned exhibition to inform and enrol the town dwellers. As Marie's work there was done, an old colleague from Social Democratic Vienna and the first female member of its Association of Engineers and Architects, Ella Bigg—an émigré to Britain in 1936—became one of the architects working on the simple but sunnily white-painted terraced housing (Jeffries 2016).[11] Marie returned to Vienna and The Hague to settle legally tricky questions about the ownership and copyrights of Isotype titles and symbols. She stood up for her wish for independence and reached a series of compromises enabling Arntz to remain in employment in the Netherlands and herself in Britain to retain the title of the Isotype Institute. She also visited her now dispersed family in a war-ravaged Germany. Her desire to stay in Britain remained strong. With documentary maker Rotha at the BBC, she continued the collaboration over film production. Foges offered Marie and the institute accommodation at his firm in

[11] In an irony of history, the Bilston experiment, and others like it, was brought to an abrupt end when the conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s, strongly influenced by the free market economics of another Viennese thinker Friedrich A. Hayek, privatised British local authority communal housing.

London, which after the war became a subsidiary of the publisher Max Parrish. Foges and Parrish continued working with her over a series of colourful children's books on "visual history" and "visual science": the history of agricultural machinery, the working of atoms, and various technical and engineering processes, including one diagrammatically and colourfully explaining the London Underground. A large number of very popular books were produced, many of which have become classics in an ongoing genre and are still in print.[12] In the 1950s, she was put in contact with the Prime Minister of Western Nigeria to create word-less picture pamphlets and wall charts for major public campaigns on emerging policy issues: education for all, voting procedures, and health, a campaign now seen as a classic in the field of mass communication and health promotion.

In the same decade, an invitation from Alva Myrdal, at the time Director of Social Science at UNESCO, and Viola Klein, Austrian immigrant in Britain and an ex-doctoral student of Karl Mannheim, led to new charts being drawn on women's two roles. The internationalism inherent in the combination of faith in universally comparative methods of social data collection and the need for successful democratic practice to make the results more accessible to the public, and the role of women in this faith, can be traced to emerging international organisations since the establishment of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation after World War I. This faith included belief in the principles of the linguistic Esperanto movement and its search for a new culture-free language to promote peace and understanding through its Committee of International Cooperation, of which Marie Curie and Einstein, amongst others, were members. Women—Eleanor Roosevelt prominent amongst them—and women's organisations stayed at the forefront of attempts to assemble and analyse comparative information on social issues. Such evidence, it was argued, could both enhance world peace and improve labour and family relations.

This original home for faith in collaborative internationalism re-emerged with the establishment of the United Nations and its associated agency for science and education, UNESCO, after World War II. Otto Neurath and Karl Mannheim—at the time known in the Anglo-Saxon world more as "educators" than academics—were both offered posts with UNESCO. They declined due to other commitments at the time, but "Otto's" work on visual presentation is still seen as part of its heritage. In a paper by Jenny Bangham on the UNESCO Department of Mass Communication's early attempts to tackle the issue of "racism" and prejudice in response to Holocaust revelations, Otto is given credit for influencing the campaign with "his" creation of visual representations to bridge the gap between popular and scientific knowledge. But simplified Isotype designs were ultimately found to be too "modernist" for American audiences, and with Allied funding essential, UNESCO adopted images more culturally sympathetic to a US audience. As Bangham notes, approaches to questions about "race" through explanations of the inner structure of genes proved more contentious as an object of mass campaigns than the politically less contentious inner workings of technical machinery. However, Bangham dubiously lists several children's books published in Marie's name after Otto's death, and cited as models of "modernist" aesthetics used to convey scientific objectivity, as joint Neurath productions (Bangham 2015: 87).

When Alva Myrdal was appointed Director of the Department of Social Sciences at UNESCO in 1951, she worked hard to establish the principle of researcher autonomy vis-a-vis national financial and ideological pressures of various kinds (Herman 1993; Rangil 2013). The conflicting role of its full-time civil servants and academic experts was not, in its ideal form, unlike that of Marie and Otto's conception of an autonomous "transformer" as a "trustee of the public." On the one hand, they had

[12] For a record of these books see *Transforming Science for Young People: Marie Neurath and Isotype books for children, Exhibition at Reading University 2020:* www.marieneurath.org

pledged allegiance to the international mission of the UN and its procedures, and, on the other, were continually subject to pressures for national allegiance in the selection of research agendas and practices. It was in practice more complicated and, as history shows, continues to be so for both researchers and civil servants. One of Alva's own proposed projects was to return to international issues relating to women in the labour market, for which she had access to a variety of national data. The young Viola Klein was invited to collaborate to give the project academic depth, and she invited her refuge friend Marie to provide the Isotype charts. *Women's Two Roles* (1956) became a kind of model for future social scientific research on the position of women (Lyon 2007). In analysing his experiences at UNESCO, British cultural historian Richard Hoggart describes the organisation as a "physically ill-coordinated man who has been required to skate on thin ice for a good cause" (Hoggart 2011: 42). One can but praise the many women who worked so hard to hold "him" and "his" internationalism up.

With the London publisher Max Parrish now less interested in Otto's half-finished projects on visual memory and history, Marie turned her attention to salvaging Otto's memory in the eyes of the intellectual world. She undertook a collaboration with Robert Cohen (recommended to her by Carnap) on a memoir and anthology in English of some of Otto's writings (Neurath and Cohen 1973). As further book commissions began to dry up and the publisher hosting the Institute in London was reorganised, a new location for the Institute was required. What had now been Marie's Institute for almost two decades came to "a real end, just as it had a real beginning," as she described it (Neurath and Kinross 2009: 75). The material assembled at the Institute was donated to Reading University, at the encouragement of Michael Twyman, a graphic designer who developed what is considered the first department of Typography and Graphic Communication in Britain in 1975. In the same year, an exhibition of the material was organised and Marie was invited to teach students and to assist with the cataloguing of the large archive. Alongside archives in Vienna and The Hague, it remains a major source of material for ongoing research about the history of Isotype. She continued to work with the department till her death in 1986, shortly before which her student Robin Kinross, with her help, assembled a book about the principles of Isotype in her honour. Without Marie's involvement, this biography would have been more exuberant in its praise of her intellectual and practical contributions to the development of the most famous visual picture language invented in the social and natural sciences.[13]

CONCLUSION: THE CREATION OF A LEGACY

One of the questions asked early in this paper was related to the contribution of collaborating partners to their joint legacy as creative public intellectuals. It must be said that "the Neuraths" did not make it easy for each other. Although Otto did not personally sign his work when he considered himself part of a team and officially thanked Marie regularly as his highly important "transformer," surviving publications of their joint work are in his name only. There were limits to his modesty with respect to his co-producer and second-in-command. The memoir and anthology which facilitated Otto's rediscovery, largely written and assembled by Marie, and other later works done by her, are regularly quoted in his name. In her devotion to him, Marie created a double-edged sword with respect to her own legacy due to what Kinross, who worked with her, described as her lack of pretension

[13] The University of Reading also houses the Archive of Viola Klein, including a copy of her first dissertation, on the French novelist Celine, the preparation for which introduced her to the writings of Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge (Lyon 2007).

and self-effacing tendency to play down her own role (Neurath and Kinross 2009: 117-120). She has been taken to task by Günter Sandner (2014) for not giving enough credit to Otto's philosophical contributions and for understating the importance of his earlier relationships, and by Vossoughian (2011) for not being sufficiently critical of Otto's view of "the masses." Christian Fleck, in personal correspondence, has alerted me to her overreliance on often poor or manipulated statistical sources with little room for multi-variate analysis of hypothesised causal relationships, a fault she shares with Otto. But she has seldom been fully acknowledged for her own contribution to their joint legacy.

According to Hess, de Toqueville's earlier death left his collaborator Beaumont in charge of selflessly promoting, at his own expense, the memory of his lifelong partner lest his work be forgotten. He achieved this with considerable success (Hess 2018). Similarly, Marie was deeply concerned lest her husband, once the centre of a major intellectual network in a German-speaking country, would be forgotten in new immigrant foreign-language surroundings. Otto may have spoken fluent "broken English," as he himself said, but Anglo-Saxon academics did not speak German very well, if at all (Sigmund 2017:351). Marie shared this concern with the wife of Karl Mannheim, the psychoanalyst Julieska Mannheim, who ensured the translation and re-publication of Mannheim's major works after his equally premature death from heart failure shortly after the war. Britain had saved them all from the clutches of Hitler, but had also treated the original work of their famous husbands as linguistically and culturally obscure and not worthy of academic university promotion within existing disciplinary structures. In their efforts to make their husbands' work more accessible to a foreign English-speaking audience, they also simplified some of the depth of their work, which is now slowly beginning to be rectified (Lyon 2011).

Neither social nor natural science is gender blind, but they can be made less so by paying greater attention to the practicalities of its "enactment" in research practices. For a brief period of history, Marie and Otto Neurath created a visual language for the communication of social statistics that they hoped would enhance human understanding of each other and the world in which they lived, and in so doing, would assist in the creation of a more humane world. Today we have the visual "walk through the world" they envisioned and set in train at our fingertips on various internet platforms as more data are collected and made accessible, and as more sophisticated statistical models and algorithms are developed to interpret them. The turbulent political climate in which Marie and Otto lived, and the collaborative closeness with which they and their many friends and employees worked, makes disentangling their relative disciplinary contributions a test case in the complexity of what we call scientific progress. None of them were "marginal" in that they expressed no difficulties in forming a strong identity of their own, but they were "in the margins" both as citizens and later immigrants. This had major consequences for how their lives as public intellectuals were formed and received. They were carried through difficult times by groups of friends, connected through a gendered network of what Weber termed "eclectic affinities": overlapping cultural, political, and emotional commonalities, revolving around a shared passionate commitment to a view of open and accountable scientific methods as a universal pathway towards greater and more universal human well-being. A deeper study of the complexities of victimisation at this earlier point in history—when what counted as knowledge, truth, and falsity lost its meaning in a global "culture war" of prejudice, denigration, and exclusion—is an important task for future generations of historians of intellectuals in public. In this task I hope they will remember Marie.

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ARTICLE

Brazilian Social Theory in Circulation

Analysing the German Translation of Darcy Ribeiro by Suhrkamp

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Abstract

This article focuses on the paradigmatic case of the Brazilian Darcy Ribeiro, the Latin American social scientist most translated into German between 1976 and 1985 by Suhrkamp, a prestigious publishing house in the Federal Republic of Germany. From the perspective of the sociology of translation, this article explores the key role of mediators, genres, and styles in specific contexts, which explains the unusual recognition that Darcy Ribeiro received through translation by a publishing house with high symbolic capital in the production and circulation of social theory, despite the fact that he produced from the periphery.

Keywords

Darcy Ribeiro, sociology of translation, social theory, Suhrkamp, centre-periphery

INTRODUCTION

In the epilogue to the German translation of Darcy Ribeiro's book *Ensaios Insólitos* published in 1979 by Suhrkamp, its translator—the sociologist Manfred Wöhlcke—stated that "the Brazilian Darcy Ribeiro is undoubtedly one of the most important anthropologists and social scientists alive, although many Germans may take this statement with scepticism because they have never heard of him" (1979: 368, own translation). This provocation opened an extensive text, in which Wöhlcke assumed the role of introducer of Ribeiro's work and trajectory to potential readers, who were mostly unaware of the development of Latin American social sciences, their theoretical traditions and genres, and their academic and political relevance. Darcy Ribeiro (1922-1997) was the most translated Latin American and Brazilian author published by Suhrkamp, one of the most prestigious publishing houses in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Ribeiro's entry into Suhrkamp began with the publication of a central theoretical work: *O Processo Civilizatório* (*Der zivilisatorische Prozess*, 1971), followed by *Ensaios Insólitos* (*Unterentwicklung, Kultur und Zivilisation. Ungewöhnliche Versuche*, 1979) and *As Américas e a Civilização* (*Die Ursachen der ungleichen Entwicklung der amerikanischen Völker*, 1985). Additionally, Suhrkamp published two of his literary works: *Maíra* (1982) and *Utopia Selvagem* (*Wildes Utopia*, 1986). An example par excellence of the "committed intellectual" (Werz 1986), a "militant anthropologist" (David 2019), an "undisciplined" sociologist

(Bomery 2001), and a pioneer of decolonial/postcolonial studies (Ruvituso 2021a), Ribeiro was incredibly multi-faceted and productive as a politician, essayist, social scientist, and writer,[1] although his circulation outside of Latin America has been little studied to date. The present article analyses the circulation of Darcy Ribeiro's social theory (including in the form of essays) in the FRG, with emphasis on his translation into German within the framework of several collections by the Suhrkamp publishing house.

Current analyses of the international circulation of social theory underscore the historical and presently increasing global asymmetries and inequalities: Alatas (2003) points to the existence of an international division of labour—between recognized "centres" as producers of universal theories and "peripheries" as producers or objects of empirical research—within the framework of a long-term international "academic dependency." The preponderance of Anglo-Saxon production and the indexed publication system increase the South–North gaps and marginalization, in spite of advances in digitalization and access to information (Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010; Hanafi and Arvanitis 2014; Collyer 2018). However, Latin America developed its own autonomous and alternative circuits of production of social theory with national and less-researched transregional impacts (Connell 2007; Keim 2011; Beigel 2013; Svampa 2016; Ruvituso 2020). How can the translation of social theory be analysed when considering the direction of the flow of knowledge from "peripheries" to the so-called "centres"? The sociology of translation has developed over the last few decades (Heilbron 1999; 2000; Sorá 2003; Bielsa 2011; Sapiro 2018; Sapiro et al. 2020; Sorá 2021) and appeals to a perspective linking analyses of the national disciplinary fields—their singular forms and their strategies of use and appropriation in specific contexts—with transregional logics, which are especially marked by historical asymmetries and hegemonic paths. Following Sapiro, these flows reflect uneven power relations that need to be interpreted in light of different factors favouring (or hindering) the translation of scholarly books: power relations between peripheral, semi-peripheral, and central languages, symbolic capital and other properties of the author, the properties of the book, and the symbolic capital of the publisher(s) and networks (2018: 61). The role of agents (who have their own strategies and positioning) and the material conditions (books, journals, gatherings such as book fairs, conferences, grants, etc.) are the main analytical focus: "The mediators and the conditions provide explanatory factors for understanding, which theories and paradigms circulate and which do not" (Sapiro et al. 2020: 2). The sociology of translation mostly concentrates on different examples of the international circulation of literature and social theory produced in the central languages—English, French, and German—and their spaces. Nevertheless, some authors have recently analysed the processes of the translation of knowledge produced in "semi-peripheral" languages and peripheral spaces—for example, Dutch literature (Heilbron 2020), the Latin American dependency theories in Germany (Ruvituso 2020), and Argentinian authors published in France (Sorá 2021)—opening new dimensions into analyses of asymmetries and exchanges.[2]

[1] After studying ethnology at the University of São Paulo until 1946, Darcy Ribeiro undertook ten years of field research in semi-isolated indigenous communities (including the *ururú kaapor, guaraní kaiowá, and kadiwéu*). This experience marked his theoretical work and political commitment: He was co-founder of the *Parque Nacional Xingu*, still the largest indigenous reserve in the world, and founder of the *Museu do Índio*. He was the creator and the first rector of the University of Brasilia and served as Minister of Education (1962–1963) and as *Chefe da Casa Civil* (1963-1964) during the presidency of João Goulart, until the coup d'état in 1964. During his long exile (1964–1976) in Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile, and Peru, he was advisor to the governments of Salvador Allende in Chile and Juan Velasco de Alvarado in Peru. He returned to Brazil in 1976 and was only able to resume his university work in 1980. He was elected Deputy and Governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro (1983¬1987) and Senator (1991–1997). On the extraordinary political and intellectual biography of Darcy Ribeiro, see: Bomery (2001) and Vasconcellos (2015). Ribeiro's memoirs were collected in the book *Confissões* (Ribeiro 2012). On the construction of his archive in Rio de Janeiro, see: Quillet Heymann 2012.

[2] The reception of decolonial (Boidin 2009), postcolonial thought (Brahimi and Fordant 2007; Brisson 2018), and epistemologies of the South (Afresne 2021) in France have been also a topic of research.

With regard to the analysis of the translation processes of social theory produced outside the traditional scholarly centres, in five sections I will: (1) differentiate the position of Darcy Ribeiro in relation to other Brazilian social scientists translated into German in the FRG during the same period, and compare translations of his work (in terms of publishers and scope) into German, English and French. Using the analysis of various documentary sources: letters, epilogues, book covers, journals reviews, and interviews; (2) I will analyse Ribeiro's entry into Suhrkamp's collection *theorie* through the mediation of the sociologist Heinz-Rudolf Sonntag and his introduction in dialogue with the Marxist tradition and critical theory; and 3) I will reconstruct the mediations of the editor and writer Michi Strausfeld and the translator and sociologist Manfred Wöhlcke in the introduction to Darcy Ribeiro's scientific essays in the collections *edition* and *taschenbuch* between 1978 and 1985, focusing on the indigenous question, utopia, and the emancipatory future of Latin America. Finally, (4) I will reflect on the paradigmatic example of Suhrkamp's translations of Darcy Ribeiro regarding the key role of mediators, the mix of genres, and institutional and political contextual factors, enabling a recognition of social theory from the periphery in a space considered one of the centres of social theory production.

BRAZILIAN SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CIRCULATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DARCY RIBEIRO'S POSITION

The circulation of Darcy Ribeiro's work in the FRG developed in the context of political and cultural changes marked since 1959 by the impact of the Cuban Revolution, the experience of the Chilean *Unidad Popular* (1970-1973), and the Sandinista triumph in 1979. During this period, Latin America had a hitherto unprecedented period of centrality in political and cultural perception in Europe. This favourable context explains the growing recognition of Latin American political imaginaries as well as part of their cultural and scientific production in Europe (Kuhn 2011; Weitbrecht 2012; Kalter 2016). The acclaimed late "boom" of Latin American literature in the mid-seventies in the FRG (Einert 2018) was preceded by the reception of Latin American social scientists, with impact on the heated debates around underdevelopment, Western development aid, and revolution/liberation options within and outside the academic fields (Ruvituso 2020; 2021b). Likewise, in the FRG the construction of area studies and the agenda of "development aid" contributed to the creation of new networks with Latin America and other regions of the so-called Third World (Puhle 2018; Ruvituso 2019). Most of the social scientists translated into German during this period were from Brazil, which was, together with Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela, one of the "peripheral centres" of the production of social theory in Latin America (Beigel 2010; Svampa 2016; Giller 2020). Although different publishing houses were involved in the translation of Latin American social theory and political thought into German since 1968, the publication in Suhrkamp—the centre of the West German intellectual renewal—guaranteed circulation among a very wide audience. Suhrkamp had symbolic capital and scope incomparable to that of other publishers (Fellinger 2003; Niese 2017).

Table 1. Translations of Brazilian social theory into German (1968-1985): Top 10

	Author	nº Translations	Books	Chapters or articles	Publishing house/*Journal*
1	Darcy Ribeiro	7	3	4	Suhrkamp, Rotbuch, *Die horen, Lateinamerika heute*
2	Fernando H. Cardoso	6	1*	5	Fink, Suhrkamp, *Peripherie, Prokla*
3	Celso Furtado	4	2	2	Suhrkamp, Fink, Verlag für interkultur. Kommunikation
4	Florestan Fernandes	3	2	1	Suhrkamp, Fink, Verlag für interkultur. Kommunikation
5	Ruy Mauro Marini	3	1	2	Wagenbach, Rotbuch, Suhrkamp
6	Theotônio dos Santos	1		1	Suhrkamp
7	Octavio Ianni	1		1	Hoffmann und Campe
8	Francisco Weffort	1		1	Fink
9	Hélio Jaguaribe	1		1	Nomos
10	Miguel Wionczek	1		1	*Zeitschrift für Lateinamerika*
	Total	**28**	**9**	**19**	

* with Enzo Faletto

Source: Own research at the Library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut (Berlin).

The Brazilian social scientist most translated into German during the period 1968–1985 was Darcy Ribeiro, followed by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Celso Furtado, Florestan Fernandes, and Ruy Mauro Marini (see Table 1). Most of these authors identified with the dependency theories. The so-called *dependentistas* emphasized the global nature of development and underdevelopment, placing them in the context of the centre–periphery model and connecting economic and technological dependencies that forced countries to specialize in exporting raw materials with unfavourable exchange terms and into consumption patterns determined by the centre (Vessuri 1996: 188-189). Regarded as a Southern Theory, dependency was one of the most influential responses arising from the colonial experience and its consequences in Latin America, and it articulates the construction of social theory in the peripheries (Connell 2012). Although Ribeiro shared the critical perspective of the dependency theorists regarding the structural asymmetries between centres and peripheries, and he supported the concept of "dependent capitalism," his view and scope was distinct: "There is a matrix of origin that differentiates him from the other national authors," explains Guillermo David (2019), "and it is the indigenous question—and, above all, the indigenous experience—which was absent in the previous proposals, from which a perspective was opened up to question the general movement of society involved in the development process (*desarrollismo*) of his time" (2019: 30, own translation).

Table 2. Translations of Darcy Riberio's books into English, French and German

Title and original edition	English	French	German	Genre
O processo civilizatório (1968) Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira	The civilizational process (1968) Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press	-	Der zivilisatorische Prozess (1971) Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp	social theory
Las Américas y la civilización (1969) Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina	The Americas and civilization (1971) London: Allen & Unwin	-	Amerika und die Zivilisation (1985) Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp	social theory
Propuestas acerca del subdesarrollo (1969) Montevideo: Arca		L'enfantement des peuples, (1970) Paris: Les Éditons du Cerfs		social theory
Fronteras indígenas de la civilización (1971) México: Siglo XXI		Frontières indigènes de la civilisation (1979) Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions		social theory
Maíra: Romance (1976) Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira	Maíra (1984) New York: Vintage Books	Maira: roman (1980) Paris: Gallimard	Maíra: Roman (1980) München: Steinhausen Maíra: Roman (1982) Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp	novel
Ensaios Insólitos (1979) Porto Alegre: L&PM Ed.	-	-	Unterentwicklung, Kultur und Zivilisation. Ungewöhnliche Versuche (1979) Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp	essay/social theory
O Mulo: Romance (1981) Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Nova Fronteira	-	-	Mulo (1990) Zürich: Ammann	novel
Utopia selvagem: (1982) Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Nova Fronteira	-	Utopie sauvage (1990) Paris: Gallimard	Wildes Utopia: (1986) Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp	fable
O Povo Brasileiro (1995) São Paulo: Companhia das Letras	The Brazilian People (2000) Florida: University Press of Florida	-	-	social theory
Migo: Romance (1988) Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Guanabara		-	Migo: Roman (1994) Zürich: Ammann	novel

Source: Own research at the Library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut (Berlin) and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris).

The indigenous question, that of their survival and of how to live together in the difference, ran through all of Ribeiro's theoretical, essayistic, and literary work, as well as his political action and commitment (David 2019). Ribeiro argued that the entire history of humanity needed to be re-read in a new way to include the role of the peripheries and of marginalised people, especially Indigenous people, in the so-called "civilisation process." His voice provided a more distinctive critique than that of the dependency authors, evidencing not only economic, social, and political North-South asymmetries, but also the Eurocentrism of the existing theoretical and emancipatory imaginaries, including Marxism, as well as the hidden colonial violence of the so-called Western rationality and humanism (Mignolo 1995). The translations of part of his theoretical works into German exceeded those into English and French in terms of quantity and symbolic capital (see Table 2). In France, only two literary works reached a leading publisher such as Gallimard. Spaces for translations into English were more eclectic and were provided by different academic or commercial publishers in the USA or England, without reaching a space comparable, in terms of symbolic capital, to Suhrkamp in the FRG or Gallimard in France.

HEINZ-RUDOLF SONNTAG'S MEDIATION: THE CRITICAL THEORY OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The sociologist Heinz-Rudolf Sonntag (1940–2015) was one of the central agents in mediating the entry of Latin American social theory into the Suhrkamp publishing house. Sonntag became involved in Latin American issues at the so-called "Social Research Centre" (*Sozialforschungsstelle*) at the University of Münster, where the sociologist Hans-Albert Steger directed the section on the "Sociology of Developing Countries" and one of the first Latin American studies programmes in the Federal Republic, the so-called "Contact programme for social science research in Latin America" (*Kontaktprogramm zur sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung in Lateinamerika*). It was in this context that Sonntag met the Venezuelan sociologist Elena Hochman (1940), who began working as a scientific assistant to the programme in 1963. As a couple, Sonntag and Hochman decided to immigrate/return to Venezuela at the end of 1968. Already before their journey, the young Marxist Sonntag had established contacts with Günther Busch, editor of the Suhrkamp collection *edition*,[3] as well as with the editors of the left-wing journal *Kursbuch*, Karl Markus Michel and Hans Magnus Enzensberger. Sonntag's recommendations for texts by Latin American authors that should be translated intensified with his arrival in Caracas and made possible the translation or introduction of several authors' work into German. As a West German Marxist scholar situated in Latin America during a period of increasing internationalism and Third-Worldism promoted by the New Left (Weitbrecht 2012), Sonntag experienced a privileged position as a mediator for the publishing house Suhrkamp, especially between 1968 and 1971.[4] In 1969 Sonntag first met Darcy Ribeiro, who had just arrived in Caracas during one of his passages through his long Latin American exile, which began with the Brazilian coup d'état in 1964 (Darwich Osorio 2015). Sonntag successfully mediated the entry of Ribeiro, who was still unknown in the FRG, into Suhrkamp. In October 1969, Sonntag sent Michel

[3] Between 1963 and 1980, Günther Busch edited the first 1000 books of the collection *edition*, one of the most influential collections of a mix of literature, essays, and theory by the publishing house Suhrkamp that is considered the centre of the renewal of critical theory in the FRG (Fellinger 2003).

[4] Sonntag mediated the translation of the following books in the collection *edition*: *Die wirtschaftliche Struktur Lateinamerikas: Drei Studien zur politischen Ökonomie der Unterentwicklung* (The economic structure of Latin America: Three studies on the political economy of underdevelopment) by the Venezuelan economists Armando Córdova and Héctor Silva Michelena in 1969, Armando Córdova's *Strukturelle Heterogenität und wirtschaftliches Wachstum* (Structural Heterogeneity and Economic Growth) in 1973, and *Venezuela. Die Gewalt als Voraussetzung der Freiheit* (orig. Venezuela violenta/Violent Venezuela) by Orlando Araujo in 1971 (see: Ruvituso 2021b).

the English edition of the recently published *The civilizational process* with stimulating arguments for its publication:

> With the same mail I send you the English edition of Darcy Ribeiro's book. It should be noted that the Portuguese edition is much more detailed, as it contains an excellent summary criticism of the developmental theories of the academic social sciences, as well as those of "classical Marxism" whether by Lenin, Stalin, Kuusin, Konstatin or others. Perhaps, if you are thinking of publishing the book, you could take this part of the Portuguese edition (…) I hope that the book will first arouse your interest, then a certain enthusiasm and finally the desire not to hide it any longer from the readers governed by the SPD–FDP of the Federal Republic. I would like to hear from you soon.[5]

After several insistent letters, Michel—the editor of the Suhrkamp collection *theorie*—decided to commission Sonntag himself to translate Ribeiro's work and proposed to publish a preliminary study for German readers. While the other Latin American authors translated by Suhrkamp had been included in the collection *edition*, Ribeiro entered a very exclusive collection: he was the only Latin American author to be part of the collection *theorie*, together with approximately 200 other titles by European or US-American authors (mostly male), selected between 1966 and 1986 by Hans Blumenberg, Jürgen Habermas, Dieter Henrich, Jacob Taubes, and Niklas Luhmann. The translation, made by Sonntag as a mix from the Portuguese and English versions and in exchange with Ribeiro, also included an epilogue followed by Sonntag's interview with Ribeiro. With the translation of *The civilizational process* into German, Ribeiro was introduced in the FRG with a theoretical work that proposed nothing less than a new historical interpretation of the entire civilizational process, including the perspective of Latin America as part of the Third World in a pioneering way.

Like the dependency theorists, the starting point of the work was the question of the "causes of the unequal development of the American peoples." According to Ribeiro, it was necessary to develop a new general theory of evolution that included "the multi-linear paths" of socio-cultural developments. Ribeiro initially elaborated a classical structuralist model: the history of human society over the last ten thousand years can be explained as a consequence of "technological revolutions" and "civilisation processes." For Ribeiro, however, there are no linear stages in this process: socio-cultural evolution includes the possibility of progress and regression and, above all, of mixed social formations and phases. In fact, according to Ribeiro, all societies present more or less deep irregularities or gaps. The originality and provocation of the scheme consisted of the fact that the focus of the civilisation process was no longer Europe and its phases and expansions, but rather multi-linear paths from different periods that included Africa, Latin America, and Asia on the same level. Ribeiro provoked his Marxist contemporaries with his theses on feudalism/capitalism: feudalism, according to Ribeiro, is not a socio-cultural formation or a phase of human evolution, but rather a regression. Inventions like the steam engine and the locomotive are not Western, white, or Christian achievements, but rather human achievements. He also pointed out that technological advances could have negative consequences for humanity: from the loss of autonomy to the destruction and disappearance of the diversity of cultures, which is manifested first and foremost in the "*índios*" (Indigenous people). Ribeiro not only exploded contemporary approaches to modernisation (liberal and Marxist), but also the Western conception of the actors of development/civilisation and their history. He also proposed new terms for a dialectical explanation of underdevelopment: Socio-cultural development

[5] Letter by Heinz-Rudolf Sonntag to Karl Markus Michel (Caracas, 13.10.1969), in: Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, own translation.

is a dialectical movement of progress and regressions, historical integrations, and evolutionary accelerations.

In the epilogue of Sonntag (1971), Ribeiro was presented in dialog with the dilemmas of Marxist thought, the critical theory, and the dependency theories. Sonntag explained Ribeiro's position as "a critical theory from the perspective of the underdeveloped world," and this brought about substantial changes in views on emancipation and development. The Eurocentric interpretation of the "class struggle" had to be revised, because the population of vast regions of the Third World could not be interpreted within these categories, neither in their historical configuration nor in their future projection. At the same time, Ribeiro's position differed from the current development theories at the time that postulated "the development of underdevelopment" in their inability to include broader historical processes, such as the pre-colonial period. Finally, after explaining in detail Ribeiro's theory of evolution and civilisation and the criticism he had received, Sonntag compared Ribeiro's "structuralism" with that of his famous French colleague Claude Lévi-Strauss, especially from a political and geopolitical point of view. The central difference between the two scholars is that Ribeiro, beyond explaining, wanted to draw practical consequences:

> Rather, it is a structuralism with an inverted sign: The structure is built precisely to expose the practical consequences it implies. Darcy Ribeiro insists that his scheme of development, that his theoretical work, is not a play on words devised by an intellectual for intellectuals. This statement is justified. His theory formulates a 'possible consciousness' (Lukács-L. Goldmann) and thus becomes a 'driving element' in the historical process. As far as the social sciences are concerned, they overcome a dilemma; the critical theory of underdevelopment assigns to them new fields of work and a class analysis appropriate to the complexity of the situation in underdevelopment [...]. Only those who still believe that the navel of historical events lies somewhere between Vienna, Berlin, Bonn, Moscow, Washington, and Rome will resent the fact that this is a theory of the Third World and for the Third World, which gives the First World a marginal role in the realisation of the 'future society' (Sonntag 1971: 254–255, own translation).

Despite Sonntag's claim that Ribeiro represents a "Third World theory for the Third World," some reviews of the book demonstrate the effects that Ribeiro had on European reading. The sociologist Wolf Lepenies wrote in the prestigious daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*: "Ribeiro's book should make Europeans even more reflective, because it was written by someone who was involved in the events described, and it shows us that 'underdeveloped' peoples are now able to see their own situation and thus lay the foundations for improvement" (Lepenies 1971). In his late commentary, the journalist Rupert Neudeck (known during the 1990s for his actions to save Vietnamese refugees) compared Ribeiro to Frantz Fanon: "The first man who frightened Europeans and gave us a new awareness of the Third World. In *The civilizational process* Ribeiro had developed a new imaginary of history with centres in Africa, Asia and Latin America, trying to reawaken 'the often pharisaic conscience of Europeans'" (Neudeck 1982).

DARCY RIBEIRO IN THE MEDIATION OF MICHI STRAUSFELD AND MANFRED WÖHLCKE: THE INDIGENOUS QUESTION WITHIN ESSAY

In 1976, the Frankfurt Book Fair was held with Latin America as a special guest. In that context, Suhrkamp prepared the launch of 17 Latin American authors (all men) in German, initiating the (late) translation of Latin American literature in the FRG (Einert 2018). The following year, Michi Strausfeld—the central mediator of the so-called "boom" and continuing German reception of Latin American authors for several decades[6]—travelled to São Paulo to participate in a seminar on Brazilian literature. It was in that context that she heard about the "surprising and original" first novel by the still "legendary" Darcy Ribeiro (Strausfeld 2019: 316). The novelty was the novel *Maíra*, published in 1976 in Rio de Janeiro.[7] Together with the Italian editor Inge Feltrinelli, Michi Strausfeld travelled to Rio de Janeiro to meet Darcy Ribeiro, who had cancer and had been able to return to Brazil to begin treatment. In his book of memoirs, Strausfeld describes this unique encounter with Ribeiro at his home in Copacabana, which was decisive for the subsequent translation into German of, among other works, Ribeiro's second book: *Ensaios Insólitos*, published in the collection *edition* by Suhrkamp in 1979.

> We quickly agreed by letter to publish a selection of his essays, which came out in German in 1979 under the title Unterentwicklung, Kultur und Zivilisation. Ungewöhnliche Versuche. The novel Maíra was published and inspired both readers and critics—it was a description of the indigenous peoples, which, without exoticism or tropical clichés, described their lives in their harshness and beauty and at the same time explained the dangerous influence of the whites. The author also exposes en passant the mostly misunderstood conflict between 'nature' and 'civilisation' (2019: 317, own translation).

The translator chosen at Ribeiro's own recommendation was the sociologist Manfred Wöhlcke,[8] one of the few German experts on Brazil in the FRG. Wöhlcke, who had already translated a book by the Brazilian economist Celso Furtado, not only agreed to translate the text, but also proposed to write the introduction for German readers, which was finally published as an epilogue, similar to Sonntag's for the first book. However, in contrast to the academic style of *The civilizational process*, this second book opened up a more provocative dimension for its reception in the German academic field: Ribeiro's essays did not comply with the norms governing the borders of disciplines or genres, mixing anthropology with literature, scholarly quotes, political positions, and diagnoses of the present and the future from a national, continental, and global point of view. The book was presented as a

[6] Michi Strausfeld (born in 1945 in Recklinghausen) was responsible for Latin American, Spanish, and Portuguese literature at the Suhrkamp publishing house from 1974 to 2008 (more than 350 publications). She holds a degree in English, Romance, and Hispanic Studies from the University of Cologne (MA 1969) and a PhD from the University of Bonn (1975) on the Columbian writer Gabriel García Márquez. During the 1980s, she organized the literature section of the West-Berlin Festival Horizonte '82 and the German Book Week in Madrid in 1985, organized by the Frankfurt Book Fair. For her long trajectory as mediator of Latin American writers in the FRG see: Einert, 2018, and her own memories: Strausfeld 2019.

[7] Darcy Ribeiro's first novel *Maíra* reflected the tragedy of the indigenous village "Marium" and was based, according to him, on the memories of his experiences living with semi-isolated communities in the Amazonia.

[8] Manfred Wöhlcke (born in 1942 in Berlin) spent part of his childhood in the care of an adoptive family in Brazil. He studied sociology, political science, and Romance studies at the Christian Albrechts University in Kiel from 1964 to 1966 and received his doctorate with a dissertation on religious change and interethnic marginality at the Friedrich Alexander University in Erlangen in 1969. In 1967, during the preparation for his PhD thesis, Wöhlcke spent a research stay at the University of São Paulo under the supervision of the cultural anthropologist and sociologist Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiróz. In 1979, he completed his *Habilitation* at the Free University of Berlin with a study on the theory of dependent development. At the end of the 1980s, Wöhlcke left the social sciences to pursue his artistic vocation under the name Manfred von Glehn (interview conducted by the author with Manfred von Glehn, 09.09.2020). See also: https://www.manfred-von-glehn.de/Vita-Werk

set of short texts or "unusual attempts"[9] that had been written by Ribeiro between 1965 and 1979 in different circumstances (from Brazil, in exile, or in some passage throughout Europe), reflecting his social, political, anthropological, and philosophical thought in the form of an academic lecture, journalistic report, letter, or political speech. The central issues in these texts were the indigenous question, emancipation, and the future of the left.[10]

In the first part entitled "Obviousness," Darcy addressed, in an ethical-philosophical tone, issues related to science and "racist" common sense in history, the indigenous question, Western humanism, and the utopias of the future. In the following excursus, "Gentlemen's" (*Gentidades*), Ribeiro presented imaginary dialogues and memories with four central figures to his own intellectual and political trajectory: the sociologist Gilberto Freyre and the pedagogue Anísio Teixeira, as well as João "Jango" Goulart and Salvador Allende, the two defeated presidents with whom Ribeiro had worked very closely. In the third part, "Indianities," Ribeiro returned to the anthropological tone to address the past, present, and future of the indigenous question, strategies for living together within the nation, the role of anthropology, and the danger of growing cultural uniformity. Finally, the last three essays under the title "Diversities" dealt in a political-historical tone with the unity and difference of the Latin American continent.

Like Sonntag, Wöhlcke (1979) took on the role of mediator of Ribeiro's work for German readers. Reflecting on the fact that Ribeiro was still unknown in the FRG, Wöhlcke pointed out that this was the product of a historical situation in which there has been a tendency to expand the political and economic classification between industrialized and developing countries into the fields of culture and science. Wöhlcke then lamented that the "scientific essay" is increasingly sidelined in the German social sciences. In contrast, he explained, this genre is quite common in Latin America, where intellectuals like Ribeiro—a "fighting anthropologist"—consider social and political transformation as part of scientific commitment. From Ribeiro's case, Wöhlcke positions himself in the discussion on the validity of the essay in the social sciences, criticizing the current tendencies of German social scientists to "fear the essay form," related to the erroneous assumption that the results might lose scientific meaning and objectivity, and that the door will be opened to an infiltration of "ideologies." Meanwhile there is a tendency to believe that computer-generated results are not ideological, but it could be their best "packaging."[11] On the contrary, Wöhlcke explained that Ribeiro's studies were explicitly associated with values of socio-economic, political, and cultural emancipation and with the idea of "luck" (*Glück*) as a critique of "progress" and "rationality":

> As axioms, emancipation and luck produce a different science than (the supposed) freedom from values, which usually conceals the axioms of rationality and progress, although one could debate at length what rationality and progress mean exactly. Reading Darcy Ribeiro for the first time, one is reminded at the same time of Herbert Marcuse as of E.F. Schumacher (1979: 370, own translation).

[9] The original title *Ensaios Insólitos* was changed and published as "Underdevelopment, Culture and Civilization. Unusual attempts" (*Unterentwicklung, Kultur und Zivilisation. Ungewöhnliche Versuche*).
[10] There are some differences between the Portuguese version published in 1979 in Rio Grande do Sul and the German edition: The first two sections with the subtitles "Obviedades" and "Gentidades" were translated in full, only two of four essays—the last two sections—of "Indianidades" were translated, and from "Diversidades" three of five essays were translated.
[11] Wöhlcke based his arguments on the text "Objectivity in Social Research" by the Swedish sociologist and economist Gunnar Myrdal, which was translated into German and published as a book by *edition* Suhrkamp in 1971.

Wöhlcke also tried to explain Ribeiro's political position for West German readers: He could be seen as a "red–green" (*rotgrün*), wrote Wöhlcke, although this differed from the German categories, because "at the centre is the idea of anti-imperialism and democratic socialism as a precondition for overcoming underdevelopment, ethnic emancipation, and guaranteeing a sustainable ecological and human world" (1979: 371, own translation). After this introduction, Wöhlcke organized the arguments dispersed in Ribeiro's essays into three fundamental aspects that structured his theoretical and political work: The civilizational process from the point of view of Brazilian and Latin American development, popular education, and ethnic emancipation, explaining all three aspects in detail. At the end of the text, Wöhlcke summarized his experience as a translator of Ribeiro with the following words:

> Darcy Ribeiro really doesn't make it easy for a translator; he writes very lively, syntactically complicated, sometimes very humorous, sometimes ironic, often proverbial, suddenly very scientific and brittle, and then again quite undemanding; he draws a lot from the Brazilian language, which is often difficult to express in German; sometimes the translator feels he has to teach an ox to fly; I didn't make him fly, but at least I tried to show him some birds (1979: 396, own translation).

Following this conclusion, Wöhlcke added several pages of notes with explanations of words, places, people, and events mentioned in the text, completing an arduous task of translation.

The next translations of Darcy Ribeiro's essays into German were made in the framework of the Festival Horizonte '82 held in May-June 1982 in West Berlin, one of the most important European events focused on Latin American cultural production.[12] Michi Strausfeld, who had revisited Ribeiro in Rio de Janeiro in preparation for the festival, invited him to write the opening text for the *Magazin*, a large publication on the festival's programme and scope:

> For the *Magazin* of the Festival Horizonte '82 he wrote the opening text 'Latin American Nation' which begins with the phrase: 'Latin America has always existed under the sign of the utopia. I am even convinced that this is her place.' After that Ribeiro gave a concise and clear vision of the development of the continent over almost five centuries [...] He culminated with his personal utopia: that US imperialism can finally come to an end: 'I know that we will flourish as soon as we free ourselves from this imperialist oppression, and that they will be there too, because they will be free from the anti-historical role they embody today' (2019: 318, own translation).

Michi Strausfeld's central position in organizing the literary events of Horizonte '82 was accompanied by her key role in the publication of three compilations by Suhrkamp dedicated to different genres of the Latin American intellectual production prepared specially for the event. The translation of the essay "Cultural Creativity" by Ribeiro was included in the compilation of historical texts and documents edited by Ángel Rama under the title *Latin America's long fight* (*Der lange Kampf*

[12] Horizonte '82 was a festival of unprecedented characteristics in Europe with a focus on Latin America, held in West Berlin from 29 May to 20 June 1982. In this context, symposia, debates, readings, concerts, art exhibitions, film, theatre, and dance cycles were held in different parts of the city, with the participation of numerous Latin American writers, musicians, actors, filmmakers, painters, and social scientists. This was the second edition, within the framework of the *Berliner Festspiele*, of the "Horizonte" format under the direction of Gereon Sievernich, who had been appointed director of Horizonte '79, a festival focusing on the African continent.

Lateinamerikas) in the Suhrkamp collection *taschenbuch*. Additionally, Suhrkamp republished the novel *Maíra* (published in 1980 in German by the publishing house Steinhausen in Munich).

Among the guests of the festival were Darcy Ribeiro and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the most translated Brazilian social scientists at that time, representing different academic and political positions. While Cardoso remained true to his diplomatic and dialogic style and his pessimistic–realistic views on Latin America's present and future, Ribeiro took on his sweeping critical, radical, and confrontational style, accompanied by a vindication of utopia and the promise of an emancipatory future for Latin America. Invited to a roundtable called "North–South dialogue," in which Günter Grass, among others, participated, Ribeiro said:

> … that the West Germans had prepared Horizonte '82 as a showcase to show their people, as a further entertainment, picturesque curiosities of a huge and miserable region of the world, a region that will remain strange to the overfed Germans, unable in their present consumerist prosperity to elaborate utopias of universal meaning and scope, as they did in the past (in: Tibol 1982, own translation).

Interviewed by the Spanish channel Rtve, Darcy Ribeiro argued: "The impression I have, what I feel, is that they bring me here like someone who buys a leopard skin to decorate their house." He also called the idea of a "North–South dialogue" a "joke," since Europe is more like "a museum where we come from time to time to look at antiques," where Latin America is "misunderstood."[13] Ribeiro's constant provocations in the framework of the West Berlin festival were framed in his critiques of the South–North dependencies, the Eurocentrism of Marxism and critical theory, and the forgotten indigenous question, themes that had accompanied his theoretical reflections and political action for several decades and that had found a singular space of reception in the FRG through the translations by Suhrkamp. While some Latin American intellectuals, led by Mario Vargas Llosa and Octavio Paz, criticised the figure of the worn-out "committed intellectual" and art as the bearer of ideologies—characteristic of the sixties and seventies—Darcy Ribeiro claimed utopia as the engine of the future for Latin America. After the festival, Ribeiro continued his presence within Suhrkamp, both as a social scientist and a writer. In 1985, the editors of Suhrkamp hired Manfred Wöhlcke to translate the theoretical book *As Américas e a civilização*, originally published in 1969 in Buenos Aires and edited in Portuguese in 1977 (Rio de Janeiro, Editora Vozes). Entitled *Amerika und die Zivilisation. Die Ursachen der ungleichen Entwicklung der amerikanischer Völker,* this publication was the longest text by Ribeiro translated into German by Suhrkamp, in total 685 pages. The book was introduced as the second part of *The civilizational process* and contained a detailed history and typological conceptualisation of the indigenous peoples of Latin America, as well as a conceptualisation of their future within the framework of current socio-cultural and technical uniformity. Already installed in the Suhrkamp canon, and in a format that returned to the academic and scientific style of his first translated work, this volume needed no mediation and no epilogue or introduction to German readers. The leitmotif of Ribeiro's final book translated by Suhrkamp was utopia. The book *Utopia Selvagem*, presented as a fable, was published in Rio de Janeiro in 1982 and appeared in the Suhrkamp collection *edition* in 1986. This final translation, in the German publishing house's most influential book collection, closed Ribeiro's extraordinary trajectory at Suhrkamp.

[13] Darcy Ribeiro in a report on Horizonte '82 for the Spanish broadcaster Rtve, 1982. Available at: https://www.rtve.es/play/videos/el-arte-de-vivir/arte-vivir-cita-berlin/3311366/ (accessed 05, January 2021)

CONCLUSION

In this article, I addressed the translation process of the Brazilian author Darcy Ribeiro at the prestigious German publishing house Suhrkamp. From the perspective provided by the sociology of translation, I analysed different stages of the role of mediators in specific contexts, explaining Ribeiro's entry and continuity in the Suhrkamp publishing house in a period that spanned from 1971 to 1986. The extraordinary translation of Ribeiro at the Suhrkamp publishing house could be seen as a break in the strong, unequal international circulation of social theory between "centres" and "peripheries." I distinguish four main interconnected factors explaining this unusual direction and the intensity of Ribeiro's circulation in the German language:

1. A favourable institutional and political context: The recognition of Darcy Ribeiro in the form of his translations by Suhrkamp took place during a period in which Latin America enjoyed increased international political centrality. During the period 1968-1989 and in the context of the Cold War, the institutional development of Latin American studies and area studies, the construction of development aid policies, and the centrality of the development agenda along with the relevance of the Third World liberation movements for the European New Left increased interest in Latin American cultural production, social sciences, and political ideas. This was the context of the reception of Latin American dependency theories, the theology of liberation, and some Latin American literature, songs, and cinema, to name only a few examples. In addition, I underlined the relevance of some key cultural events focused on Latin America in the FRG, such as the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1976 and the Festival Horizonte '82 in West Berlin in 1982, as crucial institutional factors influencing the decisions of editors and publishing houses.

2. Originality and global scope: In his work, Ribeiro announced nothing less than a new perspective on the "civilizational process," questioning the Eurocentric western imaginaries of history, progress, rationality, humanism, and emancipation a pioneering way and putting indigenous people at the centre of global ethical concerns. He distinguished himself from his contemporaries, the so-called *dependentistas*, not only through the diversity of his work in terms of genres and disciplines, but also in his conceptual proposals. Although he supported the concepts of dependent capitalism, centre periphery, and marginality, Ribeiro put the question of Eurocentrism, the ethical function of the social sciences, and indigenous people at the centre of the debate. With this, he spearheaded a significant turn in the social sciences, which later circulated globally as decolonial and postcolonial criticism. Although the originality and pioneering character of his conceptual and epistemological contributions undoubtedly contributed to the interest in his work in a favourable context for the circulation of Latin American authors, these factors alone do not explain his translation into German by the publishing house Suhrkamp.

3. *The active role of mediators*: I analysed Ribeiro's entry into Suhrkamp's exclusive collection *theorie* in 1971 through the direct intervention of the sociologist Heinz-Rudolf Sonntag, who sent from Caracas the recommendation letter to the editor in Frankfurt am Main together with the recently published English version of the book *The civilization process* in the USA. With Ribeiro, Sonntag, who had already been successful as a mediator for other Latin American authors in the collection *edition*, managed to get a Latin American author into the exclusive collection *theorie*, which was composed mostly of (male) theorists from the centres. Sonntag introduced these texts in dialogue with Marxism and critical theory. The Latin American literary editor Michi Strausfeld, who met Ribeiro during her trip in Brazil in 1977, was the key agent for the continuation of Ribeiro's Suhrkamp translations. Ribeiro's social theory in the form of essays was reintroduced by his second

translator, the Brazilian sociologist Manfred Wöhlcke. In an extensive epilogue to the German translation of *Ensaios Insólitos,* Wöhlcke contextualised Ribeiro's eclectic and original position between social science and political commitment in Latin America, explaining the central place of the essay in Latin American intellectual and academic fields. Thus, the German editors and translators of Darcy Ribeiro acted not only through direct intervention with recommendations to publish, but also by their introduction of Ribeiro's thinking in prefaces that tried to position him in central debates within the intellectual field in the FRG: Marxism, critical theory, underdevelopment, emancipation, and the future of the left.

4. The diversity of genres and the translation into other "central" languages: The fact that Sonntag introduced Ribeiro with the book *The civilizational process*, a theoretical text with a global/universal scope and as part of the Marxist and critical theory debates (that were central to the West German intellectual field), together with the fact that the text had already been translated into English, could explain the early recognition of an author who had been unknown to the Suhrkamp editors until that moment. Following Heilbron: "It also holds that once translation into a central language does occur, the chances of being translated into other languages increases" (2020: 140). Three years later and within the framework of the late "boom" of Latin American literature in the FRG, the second discovery of Ribeiro took place through the novel *Maíra* by the literary editor Michi Strausfeld, who mediated the continued translation of both Ribeiro's social theories in form of essays and his literary works, focused on the indigenous question. I argued that expanding the breadth of style and genre of Ribeiro's translated work, far from impeding interest in his work, increased its circulation. Thus, from universal theories to eclectic essays, novels, and fables, Ribeiro's unusual mix of genres and disciplines aroused the enthusiasm of intellectuals of different fields and in different contexts in the FRG. This explains how Ribeiro became part of different collections in Suhrkamp, being published in *theorie* and *edition*, as well as in the *taschenbuch* collection.

Despite the number and scope of the translations, the centrality of Suhrkamp in the FRG, and the long epilogues that accompanied his books, as well as the relevance and pioneering character of his conceptual and epistemological contributions, the Brazilian Darcy Ribeiro did not manage to establish himself as part of the current canon in the social sciences outside Latin America. The translation of part of his work into German between 1971 and 1986 (and also into French and English), as I have explored in this article, provides a sound material basis for revisiting Ribeiro as a pioneer global thinker denouncing the Eurocentrism of the social sciences and historical narratives, trying to put the indigenous question at the centre of a global ethical debate while at the same time investigating strategies for living together in difference.

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ARTICLE

Pearl Jephcott's 'Troubled Areas'

From Nottinghamshire to Notting Hill

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Abstract

The work of largely forgotten sociological researcher Pearl Jephcott is increasingly being recognised for its methodological complexity, innovation, and community-orientated approach. Here we revisit two of Jephcott's lesser-known works. Both work around issues that attracted great sociological interest in the 1950s and 1960s but were in many ways pioneered by Jephcott. The authors begin by exploring her study of youth delinquency in a Nottinghamshire village, Hucknall, and move on to revisit her work on North Kensington in the late 1950s, widely viewed at the time as what she called 'a troubled area'. Alongside this we offer some examination of Jephcott's biography, as well as some of the history of this particular area of sociological research. This closes with a review of the 'lessons' contemporary researchers can learn from Jephcott's two studies.

Keywords

ethnography, sociology, Pearl Jephcott, delinquency, community studies

INTRODUCTION

> *It is always distressing if a piece of research is left to gather dust among the archives of a department* (Sprott 1954: 2).

The sociogenesis of ideas, research designs, theoretical work or past research findings is a central concern in the history of sociology and the justification for revisiting such work is certainly not new or novel (Halsey 2004; Platt 2014; Fleck 2015; Kiem 2022). Yet, Sprott (1954) points to an important challenge for those researching the history of sociology. Given the sheer volume of published work from the growing community of researchers and writers in the post-second world war era, it is inevitable that a significant amount of past sociological research has been disregarded and gathers dust in archives and libraries. The consequence is that the process of looking back to utilise past research remains partial and incomplete – if such work is considered at all. Moreover, where past studies and writers are considered, the focus tends to be on the established scholars, the 'canon' or key institutions or significant individuals. As Law and Lybeck (2016: 8) argue, documenting the history of sociology has failed 'by restricting its historical self-conception to canonical figures' and by neglecting 'the actual history of its discursive developments'. Focusing on the canon ignores the very real impact of power differentials on careers, publishing, grant capture or broader academic life.

Who becomes part of the cannon, and *whose* ideas are championed is not a straightforward reflection of academic value. As such, turning our analytical gaze back to the past, and engaging reflexively with non-canonical figures, are important 'to produce more accurate understanding' (Fris 2009: 326) of both 'then' and 'now'. Relatedly, there is a danger that past research relegated to 'context', or a version of 'sociological common sense' can be ignored given the privileging of the contemporary lens. This, as we have argued elsewhere, is not only wasteful (see Goodwin and O'Connor 2015), but epistemologically problematic, as it positions time as the sole arbiter of relevance, rigour and quality. Past studies should not be viewed as 'historical artefacts' somehow sealed in the vacuum of time, but part of a holistic process of sociological knowledge production connecting the past and the present (and possible futures). From this perspective, considering past studies becomes less about 'context' or what happened 'at the time' but asking what analytical possibilities do they retain for contemporary understanding? Such lessons are not minor concerns for the history of the discipline but part and parcel of the whole process of what we have become or 'how did this/we come to be' (Goodwin, Hughes and O'Connor 2016).

It is against this backdrop that, for the last ten years or more, we have been arguing for a re-evaluation of the works of a largely forgotten British sociologist Pearl Jephcott (1900-1980) (see Goodwin and O'Connor 2015; 2019). To contribute further to this re-evaluation, we focus in this paper on what can be learned from two of her lesser-known community-based studies of 'delinquency'. These studies, written ten years apart, deal head-on with issues of social class, housing, community, ethnicity and crime: *The Social Background of Delinquency* (1954) and *A Troubled Area: Notes on Notting Hill* (1964).[i1] Jephcott, certainly not a canonical figure who has been overlooked since her death; is significant in this regard, as her approach to studying delinquency was something of a corrective to the pathologised, attachment-based models so dominant in the 1950s and 1960s. Rather than offering a 'quick fix', Jephcott sought to understand the underlying issues associated with urban areas which had come to be seen as 'troubled'. Jephcott analytically prioritises the lives and experiences of communities, families, women, mothers and children, and considers issues of gender, class and race at a time of major social change. Perhaps uniquely, Jephcott dealt with *'people as people, not as abstract conceptions of social action or social systems'* (Goudsblom 1977: 6-7).

Our intention is to underscore: *why* these studies of troubled areas are important, and *why* they retain contemporary relevance. In so doing, we reveal some of the core, substantive concerns and methodological devices that have come to characterise Jephcott's sociology: an orientation to document and explore *in order to explain*. It is an approach to sociology where the researcher offers *evidence-based recommendations* rather than political tracts. We begin by offering a brief biographical sketch of Pearl Jephcott before proceeding to consider the studies and their significance.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF PEARL JEPHCOTT (1900–1980)

Pearl Jephcott was born on May 1st 1900 and grew up in Alcester, Warwickshire, in the United Kingdom. Her father was Edward Arthur Jephcott (1862–1926), a local auctioneer who lived in

[1] *A Troubled Area* (1964), as a research site, is connected to what would become the area of the Grenfell Tower tragedy of 2017. The issues Jephcott documented, such as errant landlords and multiple occupancies, poignantly foreshadow a tragedy that was to so devastatingly impact this part of North Kensington.

Alcester all his life, and her mother was Agnes Amelia Boobbyer (1862–1952), from Llanfrynach, Brecknockshire, Wales. Jephcott attended Alcester Grammar School where she wrote for the *Alcester Grammar School Record*. In 1918 she attended the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, to study Latin, French, English, history and economics before graduating with a degree in 1922 in history. She later returned to Aberystwyth to complete an MA in 1949 on *'Studies of Employed Adolescent Girls in Relation to their Development and Social Background*'. There are two phases to Jephcott's professional life. First, she began a career as a worker in the youth and community sector, becoming one of the first organising secretaries for the Birmingham Association of Girls Clubs as well as working for the Durham Association of Girls Clubs during the economic recession of the 1930s. During this period Jephcott wrote two books focused on young women, their work and leisure time – *Girls Growing Up* (1942), *Clubs for Girls* (1942) and *Rising Twenty: Notes on Ordinary Girls* (1948). The second stage of her career began at the age of 50 after accepting a post at the University of Nottingham to work on *The Social Background of Delinquency* (1954). Jephcott published the book, *Some Young People* in 1954, and moved to the London School of Economics (LSE) where she wrote the book *Married Women Working* (1962). Jephcott was later funded by The North Kensington Family Study, to examine the long term impact of the Notting Hill race riots via an immersive ethnography, resulting in another publication, *A Troubled Area* (1964).

Jephcott's employment at the LSE ended abruptly in 1962 (see Oakley 2015), leading to a move to Scotland and the University of Glasgow. There she lead a project on youth leisure in Scotland, published as *Time of One's Own* (1967), and her highly influential study on high-rise living, *Homes in High Flats* (1971). Jephcott subsequently continued her research career with projects in the West Indies, Czechoslovakia, Guiana, and Hong Kong. Her final research project for the Birmingham City Housing Committee focused on high rise living in the city centre of Birmingham. The report *Young Families in High Flats* (1975) was published when Jephcott was 75. Pearl Jephcott died aged eighty on the ninth of November 1980. A productive life, with richly detailed books, show Jephcott as methodologically creative, and an innovator who used her sociological imagination in inspired and inventive ways to offer 'reality congruent' analyses. That is, research that captures the 'mundane' or 'ordinary', 'everyday' lives, stories and experiences. This research approach occupies no 'side' or 'angle', but empowers respondents to speak. At the same time, we can see a complex, non-standard academic career of many institutional moves and short term, insecure jobs with limited permanent prospects. Despite her productivity, Jephcott's marginal status rendered her increasingly invisible during and after her career (see Goodwin and O'Connor, 2015; 2019).

THE CRIMINOLOGICAL MILIEUX: LOCATING JEPHCOTT'S 'TROUBLED AREAS' STUDIES

Delinquency, juvenile delinquency, anti-social behaviour, gang violence, racially-motivated riots and associated urban decay and disintegration, were central themes within the social science literature of the 1950s and early 1960s in Britain and the USA (Stott 1950; Glueck and Glueck 1950; Scott 1951; Ferguson 1952; Malcolm 1958; Elias and Scotson 2008). This seems to reflect a growing interest in criminology, crime and delinquent behaviour from the 1930s onwards (with the establishment of the 'Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency', or ISTD, in 1932 in Britain), and which reached a peak in the 1950s with the establishment of the journal *British Journal of Delinquency* in 1951 (Bowling and Ross 2006). Major concerns of this research included issues of cause and treatment, leading to questions such as; why do some people become criminals or behave

delinquently? Is delinquency an 'individual' problem or a 'social' problem? Stott (1954: 368, 366) refers to this as the dilemma of 'determinism versus free will' leading to a 'moral dilemma' of responsibility. Who or what is responsible for the problem of delinquency, and how can this problem be 'treated'? These questions led to much policy intervention, with many different disciplines and approaches tussling for influence (Goldson 2020).

The works of Scott (1951) and Malcolm (1958) are illustrative of some of this research. Scott (1951: 5), in discussing the treatment of juvenile delinquents, encapsulates the prevailing view suggesting juvenile delinquency as a result of 'psychological' failings in individual young people who 'are apparently at the mercy of their impulses'. Likewise, Malcolm (1958: 366) documents the social basis of racially-motivated gang violence and signals towards the long-term consequences of racism within British society, but does so by positioning this as an issue with 'trouble-seekers' and 'thugs'. In these two examples, delinquency and community 'troubles' are conceptualised as problems of individuals. This approach is aligned with the influential intellectual orientation towards delinquency and criminology between the 1930s and 1950s, psychoanalysis (Bowling and Ross 2006), as well as developmental psychological approaches more broadly, including attachment theory (e.g., Bowlby's 1944 juvenile thieves study). Such approaches take, as their starting point, the way in which children and later adults become 'maladjusted' to the social world via 'insufficient' family environments and/or relationships. As such, individual 'problems' tend to become emplaced and explained as 'problems' of family and environment, leading to common-sense ideas that 'bad' environments or 'bad' families lead to 'bad' (delinquent or criminal) individuals. Prevailing views about the appropriate role and place of children, and child-parent relations, were crucial in this. This is significant given that the notion of juvenile delinquency in particular had become more prominent from the turn of the twentieth century, with levels of youth delinquency rising during the second world war: and not abating after the war ended, as many had hoped or assumed (Bradley 2014).

It is perhaps no surprise, then, that a critical engagement with the 'pathologising of delinquency' and detailed explorations of the social location of anti-social, troubled or violent behaviour, became key motifs in Jephcott's work. However, these two studies are part of a rising tide of studies in social psychology and sociology which challenge the assumption that criminal or delinquent behaviours are examples of deprivation (Bradley 2014) among individuals or groups of individuals (be it circumstantial, familial, material or individual). A very early example of this approach is evident in Glueck and Glueck's (1930) research in America which saw the authors follow the 'careers' of criminals for five years after their release from prison. The study ultimately concluded that it was administrative and policy issues that influenced the 'success' or 'failure' of a criminal, more so than the character of an individual 'criminal'. Although Jephcott's work in this area didn't receive a similar level of attention as her research on women, class, work, housing, or leisure (see Jephcott 1962 and 1971) (with these works now largely over-looked), the contribution Jephcott made to understanding issues of delinquency are no less significant. Also important is that it is undergirded by many of the key characteristics of 'Jephcottian research' (see Goodwin 2015; 2019; Goodwin and O'Connor 2015; 2019). We will now turn to an overview of the two Jephcott studies*; Social Background of Delinquency* (1954) and *A Troubled Area: Notes on Notting Hill (1964*). Figure 1 provides an overview of the shared areas of concern within these two studies.

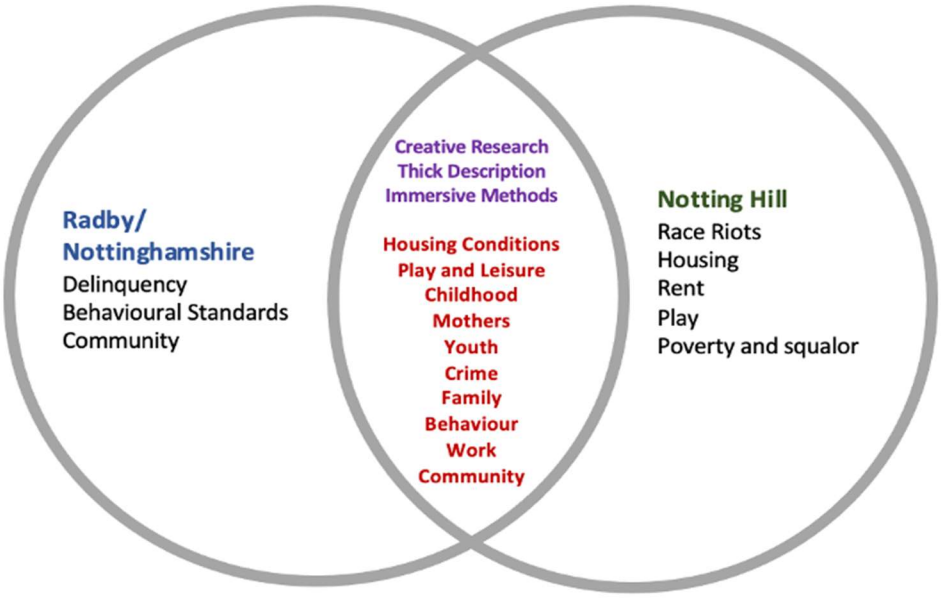

Figure 1: Shared Concerns between *Social Background of Delinquency* and *A Troubled Area*

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF DELINQUENCY (1954)

The Social Background of Delinquency (Jephcott et al. 1954), funded by the Rockefeller Foundation,[2] was an exploration of juvenile delinquency in the Nottinghamshire mining town, 'Radby' (Hucknall) between 1952 and 1954. Although the report remains unpublished, it has come to exemplify Jephcott's approach to research. Like her other research in male-dominated sociology of that time, she was not directly allocated the funding. The Rockefeller Foundation awarded $7,500 to Professor W.J.H. Sprott at the University of Nottingham. Despite this, it was Jephcott, along with Michael Carter, who designed the study, committed significant time to the field, collected extensive and varied data, developed the analytical and interpretative framework and who, finally, wrote up the subsequent report and its findings. As Sprott suggests, 'their report is entirely their own work' (Jephcott et al. 1954: i). Central to their analytical approach was an orientation to 'delinquency' that moved away from the dominant discourses individualising delinquency, so prevalent at the time. Instead, Jephcott sought to offer a more sociological understanding of delinquency by locating delinquency relationally, as grounded in specific family 'standards' emerging from within certain class-based communities or streets. Here they begin to develop the argument that the behaviours a

[2] Philanthropic foundations such as the Rockefeller Foundation provided significant funding that supported the postwar reconstruction of social science research in the UK. This occurred to such an extent that the Foundations defined the nature of sociology and acted as gatekeepers for the research and the researchers. For example, according to some (see Fisher 1980; Platt 1996; Haney 2008), the Rockefeller Foundation tended to prioritise quantitative, scientific, realistic approaches to research that 'provide unbiased, objective solutions to social problems' (Fisher 1980: 224). The funded research also had something of an American flavour, given the individualised and the pathologised aspects of anomie preoccupying American sociology of that time. Additionally, funding decisions relied heavily on personal connections (see Haney 2008). Indeed, here it is evident from the Rockefeller Foundation archives that the funding for 'The Social background of Delinquency' is rooted in Edward Shils letter introducing J.W. Sprott to the Foundation in 1952 and the subsequent character reviews and assessments. One reads '…an "academic", a pupil of Ginsberg, but good of his kind' (Rockefeller Foundation June 18th, 1952).

local community defines as 'delinquent' are socially situated and arise out of processes of social interaction and imitation. They state the study was:

> ... concerned with testing the hypothesis that within working-class areas different standards are upheld, and with relating this to the distribution of delinquency (Jephcott et al. 1954: 26).

Or, reflecting their broader sociological orientation, the study represented:

> .... much more than a study of delinquency: an enquiry, as Professor Sprott puts it in his Foreword, into 'the social climate from which so many of our delinquent come (Tong and 'HM' 1954: 307).

This social climate, these different social conditions and standards, were examined in 'Radby', a working-class mining town in Nottinghamshire, in the English east midlands. In 1954 Radby had a population of 24,000 of which 3,000 were miners working at three local collieries. Radby was recorded as a long-established community established in 1086 which expanded massively due to its proximity to the east midland coal seams. Following industrial expansion, the town initially developed within clearly defined boundaries between railway lines, and within these boundaries was a combination of Victorian terrace houses, poor quality housing and some social housing. The area had 20 churches and chapels and 13 public houses, with the public houses and other drinking establishments being central to social life of the community. In 1947 a social housing 'estate' was built to house workers migrating from London. The estate soon developed a notorious reputation for delinquency and criminality. The *Nottingham Evening Post* for 1950 details assault charges, stabbings, attacks with razor blades, indecency, poaching, murder, illegal gambling and theft; with one article in the *Post* suggesting:

> [Radby] stands by officials – discourteous people are warned. [Radby] council have decided to take a strong line with housing applicants who abuse and threaten their officials and housing clerk (Nottingham Evening Post, May 1950).

The research design of Jephcott's study is multifaceted, ethnographic in orientation and includes interviews with local officials and those identified as key informants. It includes interviews with residents, comparing personal histories to explore the standards of conduct in working-class homes, as well as participant observation and direct engagement with community activities. Both Jephcott and Carter relocated to Radby and took up work in the local area: Carter at the post office and Jephcott at the local school. Surveys of leisure time were conducted. Jephcott also deployed what she described as 'the playroom method', which enabled her to meet local families. As part of this she encouraged children to write, draw or paint in response to images provided:

> Then there were the writers, children who made up stories about a given picture. Their stories revealed what things these children noticed, and what they regarded as commonplace. The girls of 11 to 13 wrote of love, kissing, and husbands, of rows between husband-and-wife and of remarriage. Crime, hangings, jail, murder, theft, accidents at the pit, the police – came into many of the tales of both boys and girls. Considering the age of the writers (none over 13) they seem to interpret the pictures they were asked to write about in a very unchildlike way. Their world of imagination was nearer that of the "News of the world" than of fairy tales and adventure stories (Jephcott et al. 1954: 93).

The result of this extensive and detailed fieldwork is a rich, ethnographically detailed case study, in which they were able to piece together the different standards of conduct in Radby as a whole, and

in detail in focused research sites. Relationships between family members and neighbours are spotlighted. Jephcott notes:

> The streets do not have much to do with each other. The children do not play together and do not seem to know each other. The busy main road that lies between them is probably the real barrier though Charlotte Street has not much opinion of Carnation Street. 'It's very quiet up here', say Charlotte Street residents, or, 'they are a rough lot in Carnation Street – you should hear them down at the Plough [local pub]' (1954: 159).

The findings of the study are drawn around comparisons of pairs of streets identified as 'good' or 'bad', depending on delinquency rates. The themes highlighted are those through which the various standards of the streets are most visible. For example, it's noted that children in 'bad' streets are more likely to witness or be involved in the arguments of parents, whereas in 'good' streets parents take pains to hide their arguments from children. Perhaps the most significant concluding point drawn here is that many families in 'bad' streets seem to be 'living for the present', and that this plays out in how these families spend their money, approach work and leisure, and importantly how residents across all the streets understand themselves and each other. Residents of Radby all note, for example, that one of the bad streets, 'Dyke Street', is known as being a 'unit', with a great deal of loyalty to their street and their community. Jephcott notes that these families live in very close proximity to one another (with kinship groups and relatives often just up the road), and don't place as much emphasis on privacy as in other streets (namely the 'good' streets). There is easy communication amongst the families on this street and a great deal of support for one other, especially in difficult times and especially between women. Without this kind of clearly bounded network, many of these families would struggle. Jephcott notes that this is a positive thing which encourages a tight-knit set of standards based on community support, but the struggles of Dyke Street are also part of the social conditions which contribute to delinquency rates.

Jephcott also highlights the commonplace nature of delinquency in 'bad' streets. In contrast, in the 'good' streets, parents and neighbours made efforts to 'train' their children in particular behaviours. In these streets, Jephcott notes, occurrences of delinquent behaviour, such as stealing, were arguably more problematic for their uncharacteristic nature. In noting this, Jephcott asks us to consider why we focus on the statistically 'high' areas of delinquency rather than 'anomalies' in areas with an otherwise respectable reputation and generally 'non-delinquent' standards of behaviour; 'this suggests that measures designed to prevent the occurrence of delinquency should be closely related to the particular factors which give rise to any particular type of delinquency' (Jephcott et al. 1954: 287). The question of how social problems are framed, treated and understood as part of local social conditions is centralised. The prevailing issue becomes that of community responsibility and empowerment, similar to *A Troubled Area,* as we highlight later in this paper.

The closing sections of the report compare and evaluate the findings of the Radby project to two community projects from the time; the Chicago Area Report led by Clifford Shaw in the 1930s in America, and a study Sprott had been involved with on the relocation of prisoners back into small community neighbourhoods in China. The focus of this discussion is on how neighbourhoods take responsibility for and treat delinquent and/or criminal behaviours, and what the potential is for community action. Jephcott importantly notes that although the potential for collective action is possible in Radby, particularly on some of the 'bad' streets, the focus would have to be practicality rather than morality. Jephcott notes that residents of Dyke Street, for example, are more likely to ask 'does this work?' rather than 'is stealing bad?'. Practical issues such as inadequate housing, the

physical and financial dangers and inconsistencies associated with particular types of work, and poverty, would have to be addressed first. Above all, Jephcott points us towards how such issues affect a person's mindset; she notes that in most of the 'bad' streets, an attitude of 'there is no justice in this world' prevails; 'Why then, abide by the laws when life is weighted against you, and when reward is not related to merit?' (Jephcott et al. 1954: 294). We see here an emphasis on the lives and experiences of residents of the area, of their needs and priorities, rather than on broader 'narratives' of the area itself.

A TROUBLED AREA: NOTES ON NOTTING HILL (1964)

The second study of Jephcott's considered here is *A Troubled Area: Notes on Notting Hill* (1964: 18); a consideration of 'the causes of the general malaise of North Kensington' carried out between 1962 and 1963. The location for the research was the part of North Kensington known as 'Notting Dale', which had become synonymous with the race riots of 1958 and labelled a 'poor troubled area', that was socially disintegrated and lacking in cohesion and community. 'Troubles' often referred to in this area included criminal activity, forgery, theft, fighting, prostitution, child neglect and more. Jephcott's study emerged as a direct consequence of the riots which, as explained in the foreword to the book, had: 'brought North Kensington into the limelight as a district where people came to live because they had to and left as soon as possible because they wanted to' (1964: 11).

The aftermath of the 1958 race riots saw North Kensington labelled as an area populated by 'troubled families' with multiple problems. The troubled families moniker emerged in the post-war era and has been used by successive governments to target social policy interventions by identifying families perceived as problematic. As Lambert and Crossley have argued, during this period:

> Problems of neglected and 'unruly children', household squalor, poverty and delinquency were located in the family, and services framed intervention by finding the cause of these problems and the social work solution in the mother. The publicity that these 'rehabilitation' services generated over their purported 'success' shaped post-war family social work policies and interventions, despite their limited evidential basis (2017: 88).

In the aftermath of the riots, attention focused on the borough and the mayor set up a committee to investigate the underlying causes of the unrest, with a particular focus on community relationships. Although the committee itself proved to be short-lived, it led to the establishment of the 'North Kensington Family Study' (NKFS).

The NKFS committee, which included Marie Jahoda and Eileen Younghusband, appointed Jephcott as the lead investigator and invited her to write the book of the project. In typical style, Jephcott set out to investigate the social problems of the neighbourhood in great detail, with an emphasis on the experiences of local residents. She focussed not on the episode of unrest or tension between different parts of the local community, but on the daily lives of residents and how the community could be supported to make changes themselves. This, importantly, seems to go beyond the initial policy priorities of the project.

The research began with a mapping out of what was referred to as 'the Circle area' of 39 streets within a radius of seven minutes walking distance from Ladbroke Grove Tube Station. In 1962 Jephcott

rented an office space locally and made a point of 'walking the field' to familiarise herself with the area. Finding ways to integrate and become part of the community were a trademark of Jephcott's research. This quotation exemplifies some of the reasons for this in the Notting Hill study:

> …the writer [Jephcott] was quite unfamiliar with Notting Dale. The first few months' work indicated some of the complexities likely to be involved in attempting even an impressionistic study. It also pointed to the need for establishing continuity of contact with the local people if the problems common to the district were to begin to emerge (Jephcott 1964: 35).

The first four months of the project were also spent consulting 60 people in 'official' positions (unspecified in the book, although reference is made to health visitors and social workers) about the perceived problems of the area. This enabled introductions to 90 households, mostly derived from snowball sampling, since officials advised the team that 'door knocking' would not generate responses from local residents. The condition of the housing in Notting Dale was a primary preoccupation of Jephcott and the research team, who recognised that over-crowded, multi-occupancy housing, and exploitative or inept landlords created problems of poverty, squalor and generally terrible living conditions which in turned created:

> seemingly overwhelming problems for the public services and voluntary organisations, and distorted human relations for those forced to live the kinds of lives described in this book (Jephcott 1964: 12-13).

A more focussed exploration of residents living in 20 multi-occupied houses (MOHs) emerged from this observation. One hundred and twenty four homes were identified within the 20 MOHs. Jephcott sought a richly detailed picture of the homes of these residents, including physical characteristics of the homes and the buildings, social characteristics of the tenants and the value for money (e.g. rents, landlords, furnishings, amenities) of such squalid living conditions. These observations demonstrate Jephcott's approach:

> the room looks on a filthy yard where the children scratch about among the dustbins. The mother has four children under five and hardly gets out at all. An official's record book notes her as 'often depressed' (Jephcott 1964: 53).

Jephcott identified poor quality housing conditions as 'the most urgent of the problems and that from which many of the other troubles derive' (Jephcott 1964: 19).

Two months after the initial project started the second phase of work began. This phase aimed to establish cooperative action projects to mobilise 'short-term and small-scale action concerning specific problems'. Again, Jephcott's key concern here was to ensure that local residents were involved in plans to improve the local living conditions. She was at pains to avoid top-down activity that didn't reflect the concerns of the community and instead encouraged an element of self-help. Jephcott was concerned that:

> Some of the current effort smacks overmuch of 'we' and 'they'. It takes for granted that certain reforms are desirable before ascertaining the views of those who will be most involved (Jephcott 1964: 140).

Therefore, her aim in initiating the three projects was to empower and encourage local residents to define local problems for themselves, and see how far they would go in acting on them. The three projects were chosen based on issues most referred to by residents:

- Loneliness of old people;
- Unsightliness of the dustbins;
- Lack of outdoor play-space.

A social worker led these three projects and devoted considerable time to them. The three projects varied in their success. The most successful initiative, the drive to provide more outdoor play-space, resulted in the establishment of playgroups in the district and the founding of the Play Groups Committee chaired by a local resident mother. Outside spaces were identified and requisitioned for the purposes of establishing outdoor play facilities (one in a communal garden and one in a housing estate forecourt). The schemes ran initially for a thirteen-week period and although attendance was low, the mothers involved 'at first suspicious and sceptical' became engaged and enthusiastic about the facility and committed to maintaining the groups. At the end of the project two outdoor playgroups had been established, both with employed paid staff and involving plans to establish permanent buildings. Some years later, correspondence from the North Kensington Family Study offices reveals the on-going success of the project demonstrated by the establishment of two further groups and the greater involvement of outside agencies such as the Greater London Council and the Save the Children Fund. At this point, the NKFS office had plans to extend the work already completed with the aim of including 'adequate play facilities … in redevelopment plans' (Godfrey-Isaacs 1966: 2) in the neighbourhood. Thomson refers to the importance of this project as 'reflective of the desire to move beyond an era of welfare and charity, to one of participation' (2013: 208). Indeed, he highlights that this initially voluntary movement, started by Jephcott as part of this project had led, by 1970, to a shift from the provision of children's play being a voluntary parent-led and largely unfunded activity to it becoming a local government responsibility.

What is striking about Jephcott's style and approach to research, and to 'action', is that she was concerned with the well-being of the residents. In contrast to much of the activity at the time which, in common with current government policy, focused blame on the families and residents themselves, Jephcott's concern was far broader. Throughout the study she highlights the challenges faced by the residents and the inequalities in these communities and broader society. Her interest lies with the individuals often most maligned or ignored at the time – single mothers, adolescents, young children, newly arrived citizens, people of colour. Indeed, Jephcott is critical of those who place the blame on the residents: 'it is easiest of all to put the blame for the bad conditions on the people themselves…'.

In the concluding recommendations, her concern for social justice is evident. She writes at length about the migrant population and the welfare of this community:

> Another urgent matter and one which ought not to be permitted to harden, is the possibility of Notting Dale's migrant population being allowed to settle for lower standards than those of the white one… constant reminders are needed about the democratic principle of equal opportunity for *all* citizens (Jephcott 1964: 133).

LEARNING FROM JEPHCOTT'S STUDIES OF 'TROUBLED AREAS': CONCLUDING REMARKS

It may seem to social scientists now, seventy years later, obvious – even naïve – to suggest some of the ideas and practices highlighted in these studies and their effects. However, even today, it is still embedded in imaginations that crime, poverty and other 'troubles' are the problem of individuals or individual families, and this view becomes part of the geographical character of particular areas. Some suggest there has been a resurgence of this in the UK since the mid-2010s (see discussion in Shildrick et al. 2016). In line with this, interventions still take place which emphasise 'rehabilitating' or 'working on' individuals or particular families without paying sufficient attention to their social environment or their self-articulated needs or worries. In avoiding this type of approach and demonstrating alternatives, Jephcott's work continues to problematise this highly individualistic, divisive and pathologizing imagining of delinquent or 'troubled' behaviours and areas. Her work remains vitally instructive for a number of reasons.

Lesson 1 – Prioritising 'social worlds'

Others have argued that Jephcott resists pathologizing narratives about people and communities (see Hazely et al. 2019; McCarthy 2019; Batchelor 2019). This point is also evidenced in these studies. *The Social Background of Delinquency* includes a wealth of high-quality data and, as a body of work, it rivals that of any of the more well-known community and delinquency studies from that time and stands alongside classics such as *A Village on the Border* (Frankenberg 1990) and *The Established and the Outsiders* (Elias and Scotson 2008) amongst others. Indeed, Wilson (1958) highlights the significance of the findings of Jephcott and Carter (1954):

> contiguous and similar-looking working-class streets might live by different codes and have different habits (Wilson 1958: 96).

This refers to Jephcott's proposition that areas, and their residents, have a 'different scheme of priorities' (Jephcott et al. 1954: 26). Citing Pearce, Jephcott (1954: 4) argues 'a child who has grown up in a society of thieves may have a character which would make a community of Puritans shudder. Nevertheless, this child in his way is just as mature as any other'. Importantly, the differing priorities of people aren't positioned as any more or less 'right' or 'wrong' by Jephcott, but shown as a reflection of social conditions which in themselves have no inherent morality, and do not imply tainted, stunted or problematic psychological 'development'. In these studies, Jephcott prioritises the 'social worlds' (Jephcott et al. 1954: 9) of people in an area rather than diagnosing the psychological troubles of an individual or groups of individuals.

Lesson 2 – Listening to Residents' Voices and Perspectives

Both studies explored here destabilise, even ignore, dominant narratives about people and places in order to get at the 'heart' of the matter: the people themselves, their lived realities and the 'social worlds' (Jephcott et al. 1954: 9) they form together. Part of the reason for engaging with Radby and Notting Dale, for example, was that they had become *known* as 'troubled' or 'problem' areas and that many local interventions had done very little to help. Jephcott acknowledges the role of research in dismantling problematic assumptions in order to better understand people's lives and work to help improve them *on their own terms*. Jephcott's approach to this was fairly radical for its time: instead of imposing ideas on residents about what is 'wrong' with their area, she instead asks residents *about their perception of the area*. Jephcott prioritises 'what these things mean' (Jephcott et al. citing Plant

1954: 78) to local residents, rather than centralising prevailing concerns or perceptions about an area. Above all, it seems Jephcott was a good listener; she heard and amplified the voices of the communities she worked with in an empowering process that aimed for change.

Lesson 3 – Evidence-informed and Data-Driven Facilitation and Practice

Unlike other examples of community and delinquency studies of the time (see for example Elias and Scotson 2008), Jephcott's orientation was to meaningfully assist communities. This is not to say that other research has not been transformative or helpful. However, Jephcott embraces and questions her 'footprint' as a researcher in local communities. In *A Troubled Area* (1964), the intention is clearly to support members of the local community to make changes which are relevant to their own lives. In contrast, in *The Social Background of Delinquency* (1954) published ten years earlier, Jephcott made preliminary observations on the impact of the ethnographic research tools employed, particularly focusing on whether they seem to benefit the community. Speaking of the playroom method, Jephcott says one of their drawbacks was that it was 'extremely disappointing' to the children when it ended, and remarks that the parents must also have felt 'let down' (Jephcott et al. 1954: 93). Jephcott is drawn to the ways that the lives of the families are altered through research, positioning 'research' as intertwined with 'real life', and uses 'data' to inform her approach and assess its impact. Jephcott embraces this impact as an inevitability, and seeks to *increase* the possibility for meaningful change. She does this by playing a facilitator role, a role which limits her place in defining 'problems' or 'troubles', either in behaviour or in an area. Both the 'problem', and Jephcott's role as investigator, are re-orientated.

Lesson 4 – Revealing 'truths' through 'ordinary lives'

Jephcott doesn't use the same conceptual or epistemic language or frameworks social scientists of the past and present often rely upon. Instead she explores how the lives of people can be understood (and transformed) through the mundane, the ordinary and the everyday. This is something which others have already pointed out about Jephcott's work (see for example, Goodwin and O'Connor 2015, and the Special Edition of Women's History Review 2019), and is linked to lesson one. 'Everyday' in this sense refers to the 'trivial, commonplace and seemingly insignificant' (Crow and Pope 2008: 597) aspects of social life; it is the 'daily round of encounters and interactions' and 'rituals and repeated behaviours'.[3] In *A Troubled Area* (1964), waste disposal, laundry, cooking arrangements, bathroom facilities and family activities (e.g., children's playtime), are all highlighted. Jephcott also notes, in Notting Dale, that migrant families are generally in lower quality accommodation. Yet, she argues, 'constant reminders are needed about the democratic principle of equal opportunity for *all* citizens' (Jephcott et al. 1954: 133, original emphasis). It seems that local authorities, including social workers and police, were unaware of this, or else didn't want to acknowledge or act on it. In Jephcott's formulation the 'problem' is re-orientated from a problem of community disintegration to one of basic provision and systemic inequalities, including racism.

[3] Crow (2002) highlights this as a fairly common feature of early community studies. However, the level of detail and data obtained by Jephcott far exceeds that which can be seen in other examples from the time (Goodwin and O'Connor 2015).

Lesson 5 – 'Doing' Research Creatively

We have begun to argue elsewhere that Jephcott's research is extremely creative (see Goodwin and O'Connor 2019). Creative, in this context, means thinking differently about how to approach research, often in a way which runs 'out-of-step' with mainstream approaches. This is something Jephcott is now becoming known for. This creativity partly comes from Jephcott's immersive and data-driven approach already highlighted. In seeking to explain, to respond, and address issues and problems from *within* local communities, 'standard' practices may not be the most suitable. In the Radby study, this creativity is embodied in the immersive, participatory way that Jephcott and Carter conduct the study. They sought to reveal information of a 'different order' to statistical data, or to the 'usual' data produced in community studies. In *A Troubled Area* (1964), a series of photographs were taken to capture the conditions and experiences of residents in the area. Contrasting photographs of hallways, clothes on the back of a door, mothers with their children, overflowing bins and cluttered (inadequate) outdoor spaces, and a vibrant market scene. People are often featured in these, although not always. These photographs act as a tool to exemplify the 'social worlds' (including the materiality) of the local residents, and creatively illustrate some of the descriptions and observations offered by Jephcott, or by residents in her interviews and informal discussions.

Overall, Jephcott was attuned to the lived realities of the people in these studies and thus sought to collect a vast range of rich data from a variety of perspectives. Such research and data contribute to our understanding of how things have come to be. This begins to signal the ways in which some things have changed, but significantly, the ways in which some things have *stayed the same*.

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BOOK REVIEW

The Cultural Embedding of Foreknowledge in Modern Society

Recent Contributions to the Analysis of Social Prediction

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Andersson, Jenny (2018) The Future of the World: Futurology, Futurists, and the Struggle for the Post-Cold War Imagination. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
284 pp.
ISBN: 9780198814337
Price: £67.00

Pietruska, Jamie L. (2018) Looking Forward: Prediction & Uncertainty in Modern America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
288 pp.
ISBN: 9780226475004
Price: $48,00

The desire to know the future, or at least glimpses of it, is as old as human culture, and ideas of the future, literary and scholarly utopias, and more generally, social hopes have consistently occupied a place in humanities research. More recently, however, social prediction and the practices, rituals, discourses, and tools of prediction in modern societies have seen an increased scholarly interest. This holds true for the anglophone literature, and one is tempted to attribute this to the belated translation into English of Reinhart Koselleck's 1979 book *Vergangene Zukunft [Futures Past]*, which appeared only in 2004 (Koselleck 1988 [1979]; 2004). Yet there has also been a considerable increase of publications in German literature. The two books under review thus contribute to a burgeoning literature, and they do so in innovative ways.

To assess their innovative character, some remarks on the state of art are required. Recent contributions to the literature on how people produce and disseminate foreknowledge seem to take one of four alternative approaches to their object. First, we find studies focusing on a specific *field of foreknowledge*: forecasts of the weather (Harper 2012; Fine 2007), of economies and markets (Friedman 2014; Beckert 2016; Beckert and Bronk 2018; Reichmann 2018), or of the climate

(Heymann, Gramelsberger, and Mahony 2017a). Second, we find studies that relate the stories of *individual forecasters or futurists* such as Herman Kahn (Ghamari-Tabrizi 2005), Hugh Everett III (Byrne 2010), or Ossip K. Flechtheim (Keßler 2007). Third, we find studies that describe specific *avant-garde groups of people or movements* (McCray 2013; Turner 2006; Lepore 2020). And fourth, we find studies that restrict their attention to a specific *place and time* concentrating on prognostication efforts in a specific country or region in a specific historical epoch—mostly, in recent years, the Cold War (Andersson and Rindzevičiūtė 2015; Rindzevičiūtė 2016; Tolon 2012; Dayé 2020; Eberspächer 2019; Seefried 2015).

Apart from being concerned with approaches to knowing the future, the two books under consideration share the goal of moving beyond some of the limitations that result from following one of these perspectives. They do so, however, in different ways. Jenny Andersson's *The Future of the World* marks a deliberate attempt to go beyond the restriction of *place and time* (fourth perspective), whereas Jamie Pietruska's book, *Looking Forward*, questions the feasibility of a focus on a specific *field of foreknowledge*.

In order to overcome the restrictions related to focusing on one specific field of prognostic activity, Pietruska compares several fields with the aim to identify the "culture of prediction" in place in late 19th century North America. Pietruska argues that by this time, daily forecasts had become increasingly widespread, thus extending the battle zone of their epistemological legitimacy to include not only scientists and philosophers, but also farmers, lay weather forecasters, government officials, fortune-tellers, journalists, and insurance companies. Together, they built the networks that, by collecting data, made crucial predictive endeavors possible and helped in their dissemination.

The term "culture of prediction" had initially been proposed by Gary Alan Fine (2007) to emphasize the cultural work that went into countering the inherent uncertainty and, it might seem, presumptuousness of predictive claims. Cultures of prediction have been described to be functional insofar as they stabilize predictive knowledge claims that are epistemologically highly unstable due to the unavailability of empirical data about the future (Heymann, Gramelsberger, and Mahony 2017b). Pietruska, however, extends this term to cover not only the producers of foreknowledge, but also the consumers. Thus, she traces the history of predicting changes in international cotton trade (chapter 1), daily weather forecasts (chapter 2) and the reluctant attempts to produce long-range weather forecasts (chapter 3), and reviews how 19th century economists, among them Samuel Benner and Edward Bellamy (whose utopia *Looking Backward* from 1888 is alluded to in the title of Pietruska's book), were envisioning the future of the economy (chapter 4).

In contrast to these instances of prediction which are more widely addressed in the history of science literature, a lengthy chapter 5 then turns to the doings of fortune-tellers and addresses how representatives of this group responded to charges of illegitimacy. By the 1870s, Pietruska shows, consulting fortune-tellers had become a real trend, a "craze." Among others, she relates the story of Mary Kroeger, known as Countess Habeba, who offered her services during the second half of the 19th century, first in Washington, DC, and later in New York City. Kroeger frequently advertised in local newspapers, and as a matter of fact, fortune-telling was a hot topic for the media at that time, where various people debated and tried to make sense of this cultural phenomenon. What was it that drew people to consult such service of dubious value? Was it superstition, a reminiscence of apparently obsolete forms of pre-modern thinking? Was it to be taken as indicating a movement of anti-Enlightenment?

Drawing on coeval newspapers, Pietruska argues that people—and especially women, who had emerged as the main customers for fortune-tellers in this era—had learned to take their predictions with a skeptical distance. "[T]he appeal," Pietruska writes (p. 207), "was not the relative accuracy of the fortune but rather the experience of the telling, a form of self-reflexive epistemic play that transcended fixed categories of authenticity and quackery such that clients understood [its] entertainment value […]." Fortune-telling was understood as "a transaction in which patrons exchanged a small amount of money for the hope of more rewarding financial and romantic futures" (p. 213). Just like other predictive endeavors discussed in the earlier chapters, fortune-telling had become a means of coping with uncertainties.

However, the alleviating psychological effect of the discussed forms of social prediction did not follow from resolving the uncertainties of modern life, but rather from promoting their acceptance. In Pietruska's book (and in fruitful and acknowledged contrast to the other conceptualizations of the term mentioned above), this is what constituted the specific "culture of prediction" in the US during the decades leading to 1900: The shared web of meaning fostered not the epistemological stabilization of predictive claims, nor their cognitive authority, but rather the acceptance of uncertainty as a key characteristic of modern society.

The concluding chapter 6 elaborates on the consequences of this finding, resulting in a broad historiographical argument—one that the comparative approach allowed Pietruska to defend quite convincingly. The argument challenges a well-established position, namely that the late 19th and early 20th century culture was informed by a "search for order" (Wiebe 1967). Pietruska's argument transforms and develops this position. She shows that while predictability might have been inspired by a "search for order," it "yielded just the opposite: acceptance of the uncertainties of economic and cultural life" (p. 3). The diffusion of techniques of prediction did not only make society more rational, in the sense that foreknowledge allowed for better decisions. It also helped people to develop a more reasonable position towards foreknowledge, allowing them to assess the limits of what can be known more wisely than before.

While Pietruska thus takes aim at the limitation to a specific *field,* Andersson challenges the restrictions of *space and time* that characterize many historical and sociological treatises on prediction. Her book covers the history of futurology. Her starting point is the claim that concurrent accounts of the history of futurology describe it as a distinctly U.S.-based endeavor of the Cold War era. This, she argues, underestimates the transnational aspects of the field's emergence and neglects both the continuities from earlier decades and the impact that futurology had on shaping the post-Cold War world. After an introductory chapter 1, chapter 2 delineates her intellectual program for a "new history of the future" that should proceed from conceptual history à la Koselleck and others to become an "intellectual world history." She claims that in contrast to other accounts, which "sought to trace a line of continuity between particular forms of expertise produced by military concerns in the Cold War and later forms of neoliberalism and neoconservatism," her research shows that the international field of prediction was far more heterogeneous than these accounts suggest (Andersson, p. 27; see also p. 9).

Based on these historiographical considerations, the substantial historical narrative begins in chapter 3. It discusses how a series of influential thinkers—ranging from Martin Heidegger and Hannah Arendt to Lewis Mumford and Ossip K. Flechtheim—conceived of the future and of the responsibility of intellectuals to address it. Despite the considerable differences among them, Andersson argues that all these thinkers felt the need to tame the disruptive effects of modern

rationality by reconsolidating human reason and developing it to counter global capitalism, totalitarianisms, and the dawning age of the atomic bomb. Of the persons named, Ossip K. Flechtheim (1909-1998) is most likely the least well-known. Born to a Jewish family in a town now located in Ukraine, Flechtheim grew up in Germany. After the Nazi takeover, he left Germany and after several stations in Europe arrived in the United States in 1939. Here, he was in contact with representatives of the Frankfurt School (most notably Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse), as well as with Lewis Mumford, Isaac Asimov, and Thomas Mann. Flechtheim's most influential conviction—and the core of his ideas on futurology, a term that he coined—was that even at the risk of creating anxieties and despair, a human being had the right to know what to expect. As Flechtheim put down in several writings from the 1940s, knowledge about the future thus was a core element in the intellectual and moral education of the citizen in the 20th century. To Andersson, Flechtheim's futurology (and the similar ideas of Mumford) provided a link between European cultural critics à la Oswald Spengler and the emerging, more radical forms of social theorizing that would inform the various social movements in the 1960s, because it emphasized the future as central theme of democratic protest.

At the time that Flechtheim, Mumford, and other left-leaning intellectuals were discussing the moral and intellectual functions of futurology, the future also became a core issue of liberal debates. Among the spaces where these debates took place, Andersson singles out the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF; cf. chapter 4). Here, the notion of future was in a language rooted in modernization theory, and future research was "part of a kit of strategy devices, planning tools, and instrumentalities designed to promote and protect a specific version of the future." (Andersson, p. 50) The Congress was a meeting place for a large number of influential thinkers, yet for the history of futurology, the encounter between U.S. sociologist Daniel Bell (1919-2011), French political theorist Bertrand de Jouvenel (1903-1987), and representatives of the Ford Foundation proved to be decisive. After a 1960 meeting of the CCF, the Ford Foundation decided to support de Jouvenel's *Futuribles* project. *Futuribles*—which was both the name of the research institute headed by de Jouvenel and of the journal that it produced—became the first transnational home of futurology. Bell had organized a series of talks of de Jouvenel throughout the United States, and he visited the institute in 1962 on behalf of the Ford Foundation, of which he was a consultant. Subsequently, Bell became a member of the project's scientific advisory board (together with Eugene Rustow and the ubiquitous Edward Shils). To the Ford Foundation, the *Futuribles* project was an important link to the otherwise quite unreceptive scenery of French social science (cf. p. 60).

De Jouvenel's understanding of the task of futurology was made most clear in a book that became a classic of futurology, published first in French as *L'art de la conjecture* in 1964 and then translated at the initiative of the CCF as *The art of conjecture* in 1967.[1] The future was a result of decisions taken in the present. These decisions should be informed by a comprehensive yet necessarily speculative view on the future consequences of these decisions. The art of conjecture consisted of comprehensively describing the possible consequences of present choices. These descriptions were called *futuribles,* a coinage melting the terms "futures"—in its plural form—and "possible," thus referring to the imagined future worlds that had to be evaluated normatively in order to provide orientations to present-day decision makers. Despite its systematic nature, conjecture was no science. Rather, it

[1] Andersson claims, on p. 58, that the CCF produced an English translation of *L'art de la conjecture* already in 1962 (p. 58); there certainly existed earlier versions of the text, one of them even published as a book in 1963 in preparation of a specific meeting under the title *Futuribles: essay sur l'art the la conjecture*. Yet for the book itself, all consulted sources, among them Colquhoun (1996), WorldCat, and the respective entry in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, support the publication dates given above.

"included the active creation of desirable images of action so that forms of behavior could be influenced beforehand" (p. 63).

After having sketched the transnational origins of futurology, Andersson turns to some better-known parts of the history of 20th century prediction efforts. Chapter 5 discusses the efforts on prediction undertaken at the RAND Corporation, a research organization established shortly after the end of World War II as a collaborative project between the U.S. Air Force and Douglas Aircraft Company that developed into a prototypical Cold War think tank. RAND researchers pioneered various influential techniques of futurology, among them the scenario analysis and the Delphi technique. While at RAND these techniques were mostly used to explore issues of military relevance, the late 1960s saw an increasing application of these techniques to problems outside the military realm. Chapter 6 thus returns to Daniel Bell, now relating the events around his term as the president of the Commission for the Year 2000 in the American Academy of Arts and Science. While the Commission itself did not reach its self-proclaimed aims, its activities informed Bell's influential book *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1973).

Andersson's book is the result of a grant of the European Research Council that allowed her to assemble a group of scholars from across Europe, among them people who grew up on the Eastern side of the Iron Curtain, such as Eglė Rindzevičiūtė and Vítězslav Sommer. Chapter 7 reflects the cultural and linguistic diversity of the group led by Andersson and describes selected approaches to prediction taken in the Soviet countries. The lines of research covered are Radovan Richta's work on the Scientific-Technological Revolution (STR) in Czechoslovakia, the forecasting efforts headed by Bestuzhev Lada in the USSR, and the studies carried out by the Center for Methodological Future Research in Bucharest under its director Mihai Botez. All these efforts were taken out in close awareness of and direct engagement with the events taking place outside the Soviet bloc, thus corroborating Andersson's claim that futurology must be understood as an international endeavor.

Chapter 8 then describes a series of international events taking place in the late 1960s and early 1970s that show how de Jouvenel's idea about the active role of men in shaping the future played out with intellectuals who, in stark contrast to the aristocrat-liberal de Jouvenel, were politically drawn to the Left. Its main focus is on the "Mankind 2000" conference that was organized in 1967 in Oslo by Johan Galtung and Robert Jungk (Jungk and Galtung 1969). Again, this was a very international event: virtually all actors featured up to now participated in the conference. The activist-leftist spin, however, was not to the liking of all—as Eric Jantsch wrote to Jungk in a private letter: "If we cannot meet to discuss our common area of interest, future studies, without you bringing your whole world and trying to drag me into this mess, then I will regretfully stay at home." (cf. p. 162; I provide my own translation of the original quote). Apart from interpersonal disgruntlements, the new activist spin had consequences for the use of the established techniques of future studies. "As futurists rejected scientific prediction, they turned the models and forecasts developed by futurology on their head and used them as tools with which to imagine possible exits from the existing system." (p. 179) Inspired by the writings of Brazilian Paulo Freire, Robert Jungk created the future workshop (Zukunftswerkstätte) as an interactive and deliberative education tool. The future, in Jungk's perspective, had to become a matter of open democratic debate.

The development of the 1970s are then discussed in chapter 9. Indirectly, and delayed by various obstacles, the "Mankind 2000" conference led to the creation of the World Futures Studies Federation in 1973. The Club of Rome published *The Limits to Growth* in 1972 (Meadows et al. 1972),

the UNESCO established the Global Futures Network, and in parallel, the future became a playground of visionaries of various sorts, among them Barbara Marx Hubbard. The concluding chapter 10 emphasizes once more that foreknowledge was relevant to all sorts of people and therefore evades the restrictions of an easy narrative, as many recent works on the social sciences during the Cold War apparently suggest. It was "a fundamentally heterogeneous enterprise, in which highly morally charged notions of humanity and the world met." (p. 225)

Both books under review make a clear thesis and use considerable and far-reaching evidence to establish them convincingly. They are also correct in pointing out the limitations of the current scholarly literature on social prediction. The comparative approach taken by Pietruska allows her to corroborate her thesis and at the same time convince the reader of the fruitfulness of the approach; her crystal-clear writing does everything to support these two intellectual objectives.

Andersson's book, on the other hand, falls prey to its author's ambition. Restricting oneself is a burden, but also a duty if one wants to describe the development of a scientific field. The more heterogeneous a field, the more the author is required to make cuts. Andersson's wish, however, to develop a comprehensive view on the history of futurology apparently hindered her from making decisions as to what parts of the story should be left out. As the book stands now, it exemplifies—rather than analyzes—the heterogeneity of the field. The amount of undigested details from individual biographies that the book contains makes it hard to follow the argument. Further, while the chapters are put in chronological order, the events described within these chapters extend beyond singular points in time, forcing the story to jump back in time with every new chapter.

Another issue that emerges in the comparison of the two books regards the scrutiny of the two publishers. Pietruska's *Looking Forward* is an impeccable book and testifies to the quality of the editorial efforts of its publisher, the *University of Chicago Press*. In contrast, Andersson's *The Future of the World* reads like neither language editors nor peers had taken sufficient care to help her level out some of the countless errors which the book contains. These range from orthographic mistakes—the last name from Eugene Rustow (Rüstow) was not Rostow, as she continuously claims; it is especially important to be clear in this regard in order to avoid confusing Rustow with contemporary modernization theorist Walt Rostow—to more problematic errors, such as claiming (on p. 86) that Olaf Helmer was born in Vienna (he was born in Berlin) and declaring his friend Carl Gustav Hempel to be the leading figure of the Vienna Circle (which, while entertaining relations to its members, he certainly was not). Andersson also claims that Helmer and Nicholas Rescher started developing the Delphi technique in 1946—wrong again! Rescher had been, at most, in loose contact with Helmer during that time, mostly through their mutual friend and acquaintance Carl G. Hempel (Rescher 1997). The Delphi technique was developed at the RAND Corporation, with the first studies being carried out in the late 1940s by Norman C. Dalkey and Helmer, whereas Rescher joined RAND only in 1954 (Dalkey and Helmer 1962 [1951]; Dayé 2018). Also, the classic treatise of mathematical game theory, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* by John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, not only receives a new title (on p. 80): *A Mathematical Theory of Games and Human Behavior*; what is more, von Neumann and Morgenstern are even credited for introducing the Prisoners' Dilemma (instead of RAND researchers Merrill Flood and Melvin Dresher).

Unfortunately, similar carelessness appears with regard to the interpretation of intellectual positions—for instance, when Andersson declares that when philosophers Olaf Helmer and Nicholas Rescher introduced the term "inexact science," they "meant the social sciences" (p. 87). Only a few lines later, Andersson claims otherwise: "All sciences, said the paper, are inexact" and exactness "was thus not the relevant difference between natural and social science" (p. 87). This, it should be added,

is a correct interpretation. Helmer and Rescher posited that in some "branches of physics, such as parts of aerodynamics and of the physics of extreme temperatures, exact procedures are still intermingled with unformalized expertise. […] They must therefore properly be called sciences, but they are largely inexact since they rely heavily on informal reasoning processes" (Helmer and Rescher 1959, 26). A proper reading by an editor or a peer would have helped her clarify this and similar issues in the presentation of ideas.

On at least one occasion, this carelessness of author and publisher grows into a potentially derogatory statement: futurist and billionaire Barbara Marx Hubbard (1929-2019) certainly was a controversial figure in the futurology field for her advocacy of spiritualism. But to claim (on p. 205) that she had been married to Scientology founder L. Ron Hubbard when, in reality, her husband had been philosopher and artist Earl Hubbard, puts a large question mark over the historiographic diligence of the author and over the quality assurance procedures of *Oxford University Press*. This is very unfortunate, because it undermines the otherwise important contribution Andersson's work would be able to make to the history of social prediction.

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BOOK REVIEW

Fleck, Duller, Karády: Shaping Human Science Disciplines

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Fleck, Christian, Matthias Duller and Victor Karády (2019) *Shaping Human Science Disciplines – Institutional Developments in Europe and Beyond*, Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
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This is a productive book, both in content and organization. The authors demonstrate how a rigorous and theoretically informed analysis of the social sciences and humanities can contribute to our understanding of the historical development and institutionalization of social science in diverse national settings. Historically, the analysis of social science and the humanities has primarily been conducted by scholars of the disciplines themselves, which carries the risk that such analyses primarily serve to provide consecrated accounts of the scholars' disciplines. Furthermore, the history of the human sciences has tended to focus on the ideas and content of the disciplines' research and less on their institutional and demographic structures. The book addresses these historically underexplored structures by analyzing the institutional properties that have framed the changes, and the battles over ideas and techniques within the human science disciplines. As the editors write: "The primary focus of every chapter in this book concerns the institutional development of seven preselected disciplines from the social sciences and humanities in eight countries". They follow this with the claim that better knowledge about the institutional conditions, enables us to better understand how the content of knowledge changes.

The book consists of ten chapters focusing on the institutional setting and changes in seven selected social sciences and humanities disciplines across eight countries (the UK, France, Germany, Sweden, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands and Argentina) – each country has a chapter devoted to an analysis of the social sciences and humanities in that country. The book provides a good starting point for comparison with and further analysis of other countries. The book has its origins in the EU-funded project International Cooperation in the Social Sciences and Humanities (INTERCO-SSH) – hence the primary focus on Europe. It forms part of Palgrave Macmillan's book series Socio-Historical

Studies of the Social and Human Sciences. The book analyses the institutional changes that have occurred within the human sciences during their rise, especially since 1945, a period which witnessed the widespread growth of universities and science. The book offers a study of seven disciplines: economics, political science, sociology, psychology and anthropology from the social sciences, and philosophy and national literature from the humanities. Hence, it focuses on the classic social science disciplines, and supplements this with an analysis of disciplines from the humanities. As several chapters show, defining the disciplines is not that easy. National statistics on the human sciences vary in what they record and how they do so. This is compounded by the fact that what constitutes political science or anthropology in one country differs elsewhere. This is one of the points that the book illustrates; how we organize the academic world in disciplines and fields of study varies greatly and is closely associated with political struggles both within and outside the universities. This evokes the puzzling question of how a rather small set of disciplines came to circulate between countries, and to work as the consecrated norm for how to organize social science and humanities research – although the exploration of this is beyond the scope of this book. The selection of disciplines in the book is in many ways justified, among other things by their size and importance both for organizing the internal structures in the social sciences and humanities and for their relations to political institutions. One thing we should be aware of in the studies of the human sciences is that in focusing on the classic disciplines, we risk overlooking other ways of organizing research and higher learning that have emerged in recent years, such as studies in trans- or interdisciplinary programs.

The editors lay out an analytical framework that identifies core variables for understanding the inner life of disciplines as well as their relations to the outside world. They have hence asked the contributing authors for each chapter to present and analyze statistics on the number of educational programs, students and faculty, specialized publication outlets, the financial and organizational support of the disciplines as well as the demand for the disciplines' knowledge and graduates. Alongside these variables, the authors analyze professional associations and the influence of the general political and social situation in their countries. All in all, the editors provide a simple and tight framework for the empirical chapters and hence provide a framework for an implicit comparison the reader can undertake while reading the book or selected chapters. Likewise, this framework can be extended to an analysis of other countries not included in this book.

As one reads the chapters, there are of course many things one learns about the specific country cases: about the way universities have evolved and how they have been regulated; about the sometimes strange routes of the specific scholars and disciplines; and the shifting relations between social scientists and political institutions. There are five central points that run through the eight country chapters.

The general growth of the social sciences and humanities is the first and probably most important institutional change that all chapters report. All the chapters cover the period from 1945 until the present, and all have witnessed growth in the number of students, study programs, journals, and faculty. This picture is of course a part of a general trend of massification in higher education and of growth in all sciences (and forms of education that are linked to the science, knowledge and technologies upon which modern societies rely). The trend is thus related to what some would call the emergence of the knowledge society. The chapters show the variability of the growth between countries and disciplines. So, even though we see the social sciences increase in all countries, the growth is not of the same magnitude. Some of these differences are associated with the contrasting economic conditions between the countries, but this does not explain all the variation.

While we focus on this first central point that revolves around the growth of social science and the humanities, a sub-theme is the shift in size of the disciplines in social science and the humanities in relation to one another. Again, one theme becomes apparent in these chapters, and that is the dominance of economics and psychology at the expense of the classic humanities disciplines, here represented by national literature and philosophy. Despite a numerical growth in students, programs and staff, the humanities have experienced a relative decline in size and prestige. The role of the humanities in general education has been taken over by the social sciences. Between economics and psychology and the humanities, we find the 'soft' and critical social sciences such as political science and sociology. These disciplines have experienced significant growth, but with national variations and occasional setbacks.

A second but still central institutional shift that becomes apparent in the chapters is a demographic one, namely the feminization of academia. In the time before 1945, very few women were allowed into the university and even fewer were allowed to pursue an academic career. In the countries studied, this changed especially after 1960, but with variation between countries and disciplines. Hence, the more conservative countries and disciplines (economics and philosophy) have remained male dominated, while more progressive countries and disciplines have allowed women to pursue education and academics careers.

Thirdly, and linked to the feminization of academia, we have a shift in social structures and the status of the various disciplines. While previously, university education had been an asset reserved for the cultural elite, it has now become a mass phenomenon. Nevertheless, social recruitment varies between the different disciplines. As the chapter on France shows most vividly, the relative dominance of the various disciplines and the strength of their relations to powerful societal institutions, are structurally homologous with regards the social background of the students in the disciplines; dominant disciplines recruit from dominant parts of society. That said, the growth of faculty has also led to a decline in the prestige of the title of professor. This is seen particularly in the case of Germany, where growth and the professionalization of social science has led to the professors now being less the mandarins of the German state and more professional experts who compete with other professionals to create credible analyses of the social world.

Fourthly, the chapters uniformly show the close links between the social sciences and politics. The chapters to a lesser extent analyze the political use of knowledge or the politicization of knowledge production, but do this more in the context of the political steering of universities and particular disciplines. It is clear that the massification of higher education and research have characterized the political climate since 1945. In the UK, increments of growth often followed a shift in policies after a major reform. In Sweden, growth was tied to other political areas, and education was seen as a vehicle for a politics of growth, and internationalization. The political conditions in countries which have experienced dictatorships, such as Hungary and Argentina, obviously frame the institutional possibilities in these countries. In Hungary and Argentina, some scholars chose to leave their country during the reign of the dictator.

The fifth critical point throughout the eight country chapters is more reflexive. In the same way as there is a tendency to group all natural sciences (and medicine, technology and engineering etc. – fields with very different epistemic cultures and rationales) together under the heading STEM, we see the use of the abbreviation SSH for the Social Sciences and Humanities. This bureaucratic category, stemming from the EU, serves to group a large number of small, underfunded and diverse fields and disciplines in order to make them more manageable and hide their differences. As several

chapters show, and as is discussed in the conclusion of the book, the seven disciplines have produced credible knowledge under very different institutional conditions. Disciplines such as economics and psychology have, to a large degree, come out as winners. They are by now well-entrenched disciplines serving the state and market. On the other hand, the humanities are declining, and their mode of knowledge production (library or book research) devalued. The book hence serves as a warning against using bureaucratic categories such as SSH, since they can hide more than they reveal.

All in all, the editors have created a coherent and informative book that provides a simple and productive framework that others can use for studying the institutionalization of disciplines. The chapters closely conform to the framework presented in the first chapter, and this, on the one hand, provides statistics that enable comparison of the disciplines and countries, while still allowing for each country case to be presented with any necessary contextual specificities. The drawbacks of the tight framework are, on the other hand, that the chapters risk reading like a report, are a little repetitive, and in turn risk failing to address the central questions. However, this is not a major problem. One concern I do have about the approach of the book is related to the possible consequences of the focus on institutional factors. For example, focusing on the number of students obviously contributes to an understanding of the life of the disciplines. Nevertheless, this focus on institutional factors is perhaps not the best approach for illuminating why students enroll in specific disciplines and why some forms of social science knowledge appeal to different publics.

One issue that seems unaddressed, both in the theoretical framework and in the empirical chapters, is the international dimension. The book is constructed as a comparative analysis, and much is gained by that. However, research on the history of the social sciences has underlined the importance of international circulation and the colonial legacy of the social sciences. The chapters address the import of US-style social science in the post war period, but the relations to colonies (and for Argentina, the relation to Europe and the US) is less well covered. How did these relations influence the social sciences in the Netherlands and Italy? Related to this is the question of how we can explain the striking similarities in macro trends across the cases. And maybe this is also the puzzle the book leaves for the next one. What kinds of transnational circulation of policies and knowledge between countries have made the national fields of higher education look so similar? Summing up, the book is an interesting and practicable contribution to the sociology and history of the social sciences.

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BOOK REVIEW

Cordeiro, Neri: Sociology in Brazil

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Cordeiro, Veridiana Domingos and Hugo Neri (2019) *Sociology in Brazil: A Brief Institutional and Intellectual History*, Sociology Transformed, Cham: Palgrave Pivot.
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How does one write the history of the sociology of a peripheral country? Moreover, how might one achieve this in a country as vast and complex as Brazil? This is a very difficult challenge to perform. Cordeiro and Neri´s book, *Sociology in Brazil*, published by Palgrave-Pivot in the *Sociology Transformed Series*, has managed this task well. The book aims to produce an integrative reconstruction of sociology in Brazil over a period of almost 130 years. The volume deserves to be read since it gives a sound analytical description of the intellectual and institutional development of the discipline of the country. In addition, this historical account offers a re-interpretation of traditional narratives from a perspective combining both cognitive and institutional factors. It also aims to achieve a comprehensive narration of disputes between local sociological traditions, institutions from different cities and regions, and local key intellectual figures.

The book clearly identifies one of the main features of Brazilian sociology - its uncommon institutional structure - an essential piece of knowledge if we are to undertake a comparative perspective. The country has no undergraduate university degrees in sociology, but there are social science programs that combine anthropology, the political sciences and sociology. Academic specialization occurs at the graduate level (master and doctorate). This paradoxical situation has forced sociology over recent decades to establish a productive dialogue with similar disciplines. At the same time, it has encouraged sociology to re-think and strengthen its disciplinary borders, as well as seek to capture an international audience. This institutional distinction has hastened the development of the discipline. Over a period of almost ninety years, sociology in Brazil has developed from a couple of sociology chairs to 56 graduate programs distributed across 24 of the 27 states. Cordeiro and Neri's map also shows 1,870 sociologists teaching in local universities and nearly 30 top-ranked sociology journals. The authors also examine the tensions and problems of the institutionalization of the field and the complexity of the discipline's increasing professionalization.

The book is organized into eight chapters. The first is an introductory section (pp. 1–5), in which the authors reflect upon the difficulty of writing a brief history of the discipline in a certain region. They

chose to focus on the national contents of the discipline rather than a mere description of its development. Thus, the book emphasizes this idea, defining sociology in Brazil as "an entirely autonomous and independent body of work on both theoretical and empirical matters" (p. 2), which Cordeiro and Neri strongly defend as "Brazilian Sociology." Hence, the authors clearly set an analytical perspective that privileges the connection between sociology and national matters, so the development of international sociology and their links and influences remain secondary in the narration.

The introduction also underlines the significant role of the first period of local sociology – from the late 19th century to the 1920s – as a means to understand the entire history of the discipline in the country. This is unusual in the history of sociology in Latin America, since historians tend to favor the postwar period. Cordeiro and Neri also briefly compare the situation of Brazilian sociology with that of other Portuguese-speaking countries. At the end of this section, a table shows a historical map in which the authors illustrate the evolution of sociology from 1880 to the present, including relevant national issues, intellectuals, influences, institutional and research topics. This map operates as an analytical and comprehensive summary that helps readers to follow the whole work. It also visibly illustrates one of the key points of this history: the correlation between social changes and historical dynamics and the evolution of sociological ideas.

The second chapter focuses on the period prior to the 1930s (pp. 7–20). It aims to show that interpretation of the Brazilian social reality is much older than the institutionalization of sociology itself. Since the end of the 19th century, there have been many books published on social topics, such as the formation of the nation-state, identity, and racial issues. This intellectual production involved a kind of "social imagination," offering critical thought about Brazilian social reality, albeit under the influence of both culturalism and positivism. The first culturalist approach influenced further works and established a tradition of Essayism, which creatively combined literature, history, and sociology; whereas positivism decreased in importance over the decades. The book thus underlines the idea that Essayism played a key role not only in Brazilian sociology, but also in the general interpretation of Brazil's national history. Essayism was thus a definitive reference for scientific sociology because it raised questions for further exploration. But it also provoked reactions against its writing style and lack of scientific rigor. This is a key concern in the history of sociology in Brazil.

The third chapter centers on the 1930-1940 period, during which the first academic institutions were created (pp. 21-30). This period marks the official foundation of the history of sociology in Brazil, when the main institutionalization factors emerged. After the 1930 revolution, São Paulo elites found in the social sciences a way of training young leaders and bureaucrats to face the challenges of modernization. Thus, two key university organizations were established in the city: (1) the Free School of Sociology and Political Sciences of São Paulo, and (2) the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Languages at the University of São Paulo. In this section, the authors follow the institutional development of both, showing the nature of teaching and research. The first received funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, hiring sociologists from the US (among whom Donald Pierson was probably the most influential), and following the legacy of the Chicago School, there followed a teaching of sociology and also research on social change and mobility. Despite rapid take-off and growth, its momentum waned in the mid-1940s when funding was cut. Pierson's departure could also have influenced this loss of institutional dynamism.

The second organization, which was created in 1934, was given significant funds and the political support of the São Paulo State. In contrast to the first, this university found sociological inspiration

from France, with both Claude Lévi- Strauss and Roger Bastide arriving in the city and taking research posts. The former had only a brief stay but the latter remained for a long time and became quite influential. Bastide and the local scholar, Fernando de Azevedo, formed a leading duo, providing both political and sociological guidelines for teaching and research. Given those names among professorship the inheritance of structural functionalism was strong. Race and immigration were the main research topics, but these shifted in the following period.

Chapter four (pp. 31–51) moves the focus to the rising careers of the first generation of local sociologists. This period, lasting from the 1950s to 1960s, is identified as a golden era as a consequence of the high number of sociology publications, the impetus of the research, and the establishment of state agencies oriented to promoting university activities. Key figures were Florestán Fernandez along with his young students, Fernando Cardoso and Octavio Ianni, among others. These individuals were promoted to top academic positions in the 1950s and subsequently started their own research agendas at the University of São Paulo. The racial question gained more traction, receiving generous funding from UNESCO, but topics such as national identity and economic development were also added. Cardoso established sociology as a genuine scientific discipline. In doing this, he opposed the previous tradition of Essayism, including folk studies. This section of the book includes a detailed analysis of the teaching in São Paulo, including the revision of the so-called "Marx Seminary."

The fourth chapter additionally reviews two cases outside São Paulo. The first of these is the intellectual project of the Superior Institute for Brazilian Studies, located in Rio de Janeiro. Its Sociology Department was directed by Alberto Guerrreiro Ramos. This institution aimed to produce a sociological understanding of national development. Consequently, it promoted the political use of sociological knowledge. This was markedly a less autonomous intellectual institution than that of Sao Paulo. The rivalry between Ramos and Fernandes was notorious, given their different focus and strategies. Although they shared the diagnosis of the need for sociological teaching as an independent discipline, the first defended sociology as an ideological discourse, linked with a phenomenological position, whereas the second confined sociology within a territory of positivism and science. The second case is about María Isaura Pereira, who played an outstanding pioneering role in developing rural sociology studies. Having graduated in Sao Paulo and earning her doctorate in Paris in 1959; Pereira`s investigations of rural social movements plainly questioned the idea of evolution rooted in Brazilian sociology. She argued that traditions are not factors to be eliminated for progress. On the contrary, the past is a crucial part of the social dynamics of the country. Nevertheless, she did not recover the writing style and romantic values of previous periods because her research was based in robust empirical research and creative and modern theoretical analysis. According to Cordeiro and Neri, her name deserves to be singled out as an innovative Brazilian sociologist.

The following chapter focuses on a different period, 1964–1985, during the military dictatorship (pp. 53–70). In previous pages (p. 40), the authors had anticipated the changes in research that the 1964 coup d´état would bring. Using the metaphor of a 'twinkle in the eye', the book calls attention to the volume and speed of modifications within the field. The main outcomes were the obsolescence of racial studies (since the new political regime distrusted the topic), the massive exile of sociology professors, university purges, and repression. Nonetheless, the reform process facilitated the creation of departments, surpassing the old-fashioned chair system. In addition, both state funding and sociology courses were expanded. By the end of the 1970s, the number of university undergraduate courses in the social sciences peaked at 83 (p. 59). Local sociologists found new strategies to keep

sociological research alive. American agencies continued to fund new independent research institutes and individual grants. Meanwhile, Brazilian sociologists exiled abroad kept close interactions with their home institutions, strengthening networks and agenda. During that time, CEBRAP, one of the institutions free from state bodies, was very successful. It had been founded by Cardoso and other colleagues, and as a research and consulting organization focused on topics including planning, democratization, and social change.

Within that political and institutional atmosphere, paradoxically, a new and fundamentally theoretical framework emerged. This was "dependency theory," which had as a germinal point the worldwide famous volume *Dependency and Development in Latin America* by Fernando Cardoso and Celso Furtado. Cordeiro and Neri´s book reviews in detail the nature of this theory, briefly illuminating some subtle differences among figures and positions. This development inspired a productive debate that has lasted until the present. The authors show the significance of dependency analysis in the history of the discipline in Brazil. The shift from the national framework to the Latin American scenario is not well explained, however.

The sixth chapter focuses on the way Brazilian sociology underwent, once again, a radical shift when democracy returned to the country in 1985 (pp. 71–80). During that period, local sociology diversified its research objects and at the same time moved to more practical and urgent social problems, in which gender studies prevailed. This chapter compares the sociological topics researched in the 1980s and the 1990s in terms of their theoretical references and objects. According to this map, Brazilian sociology was gradually leaving behind its singularity. The idea that local social reality was a unique problem was abandoned. Moreover, one of the main events during that time was a long legislative scuffle to re-insert sociology into the secondary school curricula. In explaining this conflict, the authors re-construct the history of teaching of sociology in schools.

Sociology in Brazil was introduced into basic education relatively early during the 1920s. That occasion was constantly celebrated by local sociologists. Hence, when this teaching was constrained during the 1940s and subsequently proscribed by the military regime in 1964, the sociological community challenged the prohibition and demanded the re-establishment of sociological teaching in schools. This movement enhanced the organization of local sociology, giving a sense of professional and academic identity, assisting in a cohesive demand for democracy against authoritarian rules. This battle was extremely victorious. In 1983, a law was promulgated allowing modification in the curricula. Sociology was thus re-introduced in various schools in São Paolo, Brasilia, and Rio, although conflicts persisted. Much later, in 2008, sociology became mandatory in all high schools in Brazil. A very helpful table in the book (p. 75) clearly summarizes the various changes in curricula at schools.

Chapter seven aims to map the current situation of sociology in Brazil through quantitative data (pp. 81–92). This description shows a fruitful period for academic sociology. The expansion of state funding since 2003 has resulted in new federal universities and increasing research grants, benefiting the social sciences as a whole. The overview indicates the existence of 84 social science undergraduate programs with approximately 16,000 students. Also, it provides an estimation of 40,000 degrees awarded since 1934. Using information from the national university system, the authors analyze the composition of sociology professorships by age and gender. An important point is the comparative scrutiny of topics addressed in master and doctoral dissertations in sociology in both the 1980s and 2010s. It gives clear ideas about how classic issues such as social and labor movements, power, and government have lost relevance during recent times. Alternatively, research

on the body, gender and sexuality has had considerable growth. Topics linked with technology, social media, and cyber-culture are also very common. One can see therefore a shift from structural analysis to micro-sociological issues. Lastly, the chapter examines the weight of publications, both journals and books, within the sociological field.

Finally, chapter eight is a conclusive section in which Cordeiro and Neri review the main ideas of their argument (pp. 93–99). First, Brazilian sociology provided broader explanations of social problems during all of the periods discussed. However, it assumed a missionary role of understanding national singularities, which limited its flexibility to adapt emergent theories from abroad. Second, the field was particularly conditioned by its institutional teaching framework, in which, as aforementioned, there is hybridization at the undergraduate level and specialization in both the postgraduate programs and research activities. Third, Brazilian sociology has a very close connection with the sociological theoretical canon coined as the "triad": Marx, Weber, and Durkheim. These three classical names have become the core of theory. All phenomena or theory, including new sociologists and ideas, are required to be measured and evaluated by the words and, metaphorically, the 'eyes' of the sociologists. The authors also recall the important influence of Karl Mannheim in the past, but recognize that this German figure has since been forgotten. Fourth, Cordeiro and Neri reflect upon the importance of theory in Brazilian sociology regarding French-German continental thought. In spite of American funding, the Chicago School legacy of the 1930s and the positivist tradition, which in combination had oriented the discipline toward empirical research; local sociology in Brazil has historically had a philosophical basis. Thus, sociology in Brazil never failed in naïve realism. Data should be theoretically read, which, according to the authors, meant a creative epistemological position. As a final point, the book outlines the perspective of sociology after the elections of 2018, when a far-right president won the elections. Hence, after two decades of left and center-left politics that fostered higher education and research, a new and very uncertain scenario has opened.

As a whole the book meets the goal of briefly telling the history of sociology in Brazil. The authors insist that Brazilian sociology is characterized by its insulation, and one can clearly see the development of a strong national tradition within the field. However, one might add to the history the important links between Brazilian sociology and international organizations and sociologists. Indeed, the book's narrative privileges domestic factors but omits some international ones. Some points reviewed in the book (American funding and foreigner professors) are sufficient reasons to take global issues into account, although the authors considered how the discipline was able to neutralize that inheritance. It is true that the failure of the UNESCO research center in Rio during the late 1950s and early 1960s could have stirred a memory of remoteness. However, the inclusion of the role of both the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) and the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) in the training of Brazilian sociologists could have enriched the analysis. Also, the maturity of dependency theory is not understandable with the isolation thesis. Moreover, Cardoso and Faletto´s most recognized work is an attempt to outdo the Brazilian case and offer a comparison between Brazil and Argentina. The reception and creative use of ideas from sociological theory (e.g., Foucault, Bourdieu or even Gramsci), reveals many material and intellectual connections with others from abroad. Thus, the volume is plainly accurate in recognizing the role of national traditions but reproduces and almost exaggerates the image of isolation. The uniqueness of the language within the Latin American context could have compounded this insulated orientation. In this case, the myth of societal and national singularity is likely to combine with the isolation of the local discipline.

In conclusion, *Sociology in Brazil, A Brief Institutional and Intellectual History* demonstrates the power of the history of sociology, both in theoretical and empirical terms, to reconstruct the institutional and intellectual development of a discipline in a certain national context. In this case, the authors have carefully scrutinized secondary materials and databases, offering a comprehensive narrative. The book underlines the tension in the local teaching sociology flanked by the undergraduate hybridity and postgraduate specialization. However, the volume decisively recovers the attempts within the field to spot disciplinary borders and to keep sociology as an autonomous bulk of knowledge, although it missed the chance of better recuperating the stimulating dialogue amid sociology, anthropology, and political science. One could ask the authors how Brazilian sociology could have been improved by the important and well-known local anthropological traditions, even more with the remembrance of Levi Strauss' visitation. Also, it is the interrogation of the impact that discussions about democracy in political science courses had on local political sociology.

Furthermore, the point reviewed in the book on the role of sociology at local Secondary Schools is crucial. This led to the emergence of an active sociology of education, in which the name of Fernando de Azevedo, mentioned in the volume, should be recognized as a pioneering figure. The volume almost disregards this research area and focuses more on the achievements of political sociology or cultural studies. The Brazilian experience is in fact a leading case in the global context, since local sociology teachers have stimulated an extensive and productive discussion on how to teach sociology. This debate formulates pedagogical questions that should be raised and spread internationally. The issue of establishing a didactic of sociology ought to be considered, not merely as practical teaching tools but as a fundamental epistemology to be used when defending the legitimacy of sociology within public debates, including in schools. Thus, the Brazilian case could be a lighthouse in discussions about sociology's difficulties as a discipline internationally.

Finally, this call for the importance of sociology is related to the context of challenges and questions discussed in the final pages of the book. The current President of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, has accused sociology of being an ideology rather than a discipline of scientific knowledge. His project, called "School without party," has proposed to ban any curriculum content related to topics such as gender and politics. Evidently, these issues are taught mainly in sociology courses. Therefore, the threat to sociology is real. At least, fortunately, Brazilian sociologists are well organized and have a history of battling against authoritarian rules. As this volume has masterfully portrayed, this conviction has moved Brazilian sociology to a time of institutional expansion, based on a solid theoretical framework. This is a discipline oriented to understanding the development of a country trapped by poverty and marred by racial and gender segregation. Nevertheless, the future of local sociology is linked with the future of the country itself. There are many tensions ahead, but this book is a guideline to be used during the journey.