

GLOBAL DIALOGUE

11.1

3 issues a year in multiple languages

Talking Sociology
with S.M. Rodriguez

Margaret Abraham

USA: Plight and
Possibilities

Peter Evans
Gabor Scheiring
Christopher Muller
Suresh Naidu
Patricia Zavella
J. Mijin Cha
Marcus Anthony Hunter

Chinese
Migration
in Europe

Fanni Beck
Pál Nyíri
Ya-Han Chuang
Emilie Tran
Hélène Le Bail
Stig Thøgersen
Eszter Knyihár
Linda Szabó
Ting Deng
Jelena Gledić
Martina Bofulin

Theoretical
Perspectives

Walden Bello

Sociology from
Latin America

Esteban Torres
José Maurício Domingues
Viviane Brachet-Márquez
Sérgio Costa
Aldo Mascareño
Verónica Gago
Carmen Ilizarbe
Mariana Heredia
Guilherme Leite Gonçalves

Open Section

> **Introducing Global Dialogue's Polish Team**

MAGAZINE



International
Sociological
Association
isa

VOLUME 11.1 / ISSUE 1 / APRIL 2021
<https://globaldialogue.isa-sociology.org/>

GD



> Editorial

At the time this issue of *Global Dialogue* was being edited the US elections were one of the main topics in the media around the globe. In the meantime, we know that they have led to a post-Trump era but this does not mean that the problems witnessed by the US in the last years will not remain. In the section 'Talking Sociology' Margaret Abraham conducts an interview with the sociologist and Black Lives Matter activist S.M. Rodriguez. It gives insight into the history of resistance against racism in the US, and the intersection of social inequalities and concerns of social justice motivating this social movement.

In regard to the developments around the elections Peter Evans and Michael Burawoy organized our first symposium on the plight and possibilities in the US. The articles cover historical perspectives on US "racial capitalism" and analyze the effects of economic and political developments of the last decade, including declining welfare, challenging relations between the working class and communities of color, ecological problems and climate change as well as the disastrous effects of Trump's politics leading to the shocking January events in Washington. Facing this plight the authors also discuss what might be done to make change possible.

In our second symposium, focused on Chinese migration in Europe and organized by Fanni Beck and Pál Nyíri an overview of the history and present of the successive waves of Chinese migration to Europe is presented. The articles analyze the status of these migrants as well as the complex interethnic relations in European countries, and show how they are influenced by the political develop-

ments in China and how the COVID-19 pandemic affects their situation as well as the discourse on migrants.

Over the last years, we have been witnessing the increasing influence of far-right movements, parties and regimes for which the effects of neoliberalism, economic crises, unsolved problems of social inequalities and migration have been windows of opportunity. In the theoretical section, Walden Bello compares facets of the political programs, practices, and leadership of the far-right in the Global North and South.

Our section presenting the sociology of different regions focusses on Latin America. Esteban Torres organized a collection of articles inviting us to a voyage through social theories discussed and developed by prominent researchers, most of them active members of the working group *Teoría social y realidad latinoamericana* (Social Theory and Latin American Reality) of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO).

In the Open Section *Global Dialogue's* Polish translation team introduces their members and thereby gives insight into the variety of our collaborators' background and research interests.

We take this opportunity to express our thanks to Christine Schickert for her most valuable work as Assistant Editor for *Global Dialogue*, and welcome Walid Ibrahim (University of Jena, Germany) as her successor. ■

Brigitte Aulenbacher and **Klaus Dörre**,
editors of *Global Dialogue*

> ***Global Dialogue* can be found in multiple languages at the [ISA website](#).**

> **Submissions should be sent to globaldialogue.isa@gmail.com.**



**GLOBAL
DIALOGUE**



> Editorial Board

Editors: Brigitte Aulenbacher, Klaus Dörre.

Assistant Editors: Johanna Grubner, Walid Ibrahim.

Associate Editor: Aparna Sundar.

Managing Editors: Lola Busuttill, August Bagà.

Consultant: Michael Burawoy.

Media Consultant: Juan Lejárraga.

Consulting Editors:

Sari Hanafi, Geoffrey Pleyers, Filomin Gutierrez, Eloísa Martín, Sawako Shirahase, Izabela Barlinska, Tova Benski, Chih-Jou Jay Chen, Jan Fritz, Koichi Hasegawa, Hiroshi Ishida, Grace Khunou, Allison Loconto, Susan McDaniel, Elina Oinas, Laura Oso Casas, Bandana Purkayastha, Rhoda Reddock, Mounir Saidani, Ayse Saktanber, Celi Scalón, Nazanin Shahrokni.

Regional Editors

Arab World: (*Tunisia*) Mounir Saidani, Fatima Radhouani, Habib Haj Salem; (*Algeria*) Souraya Mouloudji Garrouddji; (*Morocco*) Abdelhadi Al Halhouli, Saida Zine; (*Lebanon*) Sari Hanafi.

Argentina: Magdalena Lemus, Juan Parcio, Martín Urtasun.

Bangladesh: Habibur Khondker, Khairul Chowdhury, Mohammad Jasim Uddin, Bijoy Krishna Banik, Sabina Sharmin, Sebak Kumar Saha, Mohammed Jahirul Islam, Abdur Rashid, Sarker Sohel Rana, Juwel Rana, Helal Uddin, Masudur Rahman, B. M. Najmus Sakib, Eashrat Jahan Eyemoun, Shamsul Arefin, Yasmin Sultana, Shahidul Islam, Ekramul Kabir Rana, Saleh Al Mamun, Sharmin Akter Shapla, Ruma Parvin.

Brazil: Gustavo Taniguti, Angelo Martins Junior, Andreza Galli, Dmitri Cerboncini Fernandes, Gustavo Dias, José Guirado Neto, Jéssica Mazzini Mendes.

France/Spain: Lola Busuttill.

India: Rashmi Jain, Nidhi Bansal, Sandeep Meel, Pragya Sharma, Manish Yadav.

Indonesia: Kamanto Sunarto, Hari Nugroho, Lucia Ratih Kusumadewi, Fina Itriya, Indera Ratna Irawati Pattinasarany, Benedictus Hari Juliawan, Mohamad Shohibuddin, Dominggus Elcid Li, Antonius Ario Seto Hardjana, Diana Teresa Pakasi, Nurul Aini, Geger Riyanto, Aditya Pradana Setiadi.

Iran: Reyhaneh Javadi, Niayesh Dolati, Abbas Shahrabi, Sayyed Muhamad Mutallebi.

Kazakhstan: Aigul Zabirowa, Bayan Smagambet, Adil Rodionov, Almash Tlespayeva, Kuanysh Tel, Almagul Mussina, Aknur Imankul, Madiyar Aldiyarov.

Poland: Justyna Kościńska, Jonathan Scovil, Sara Herczyńska, Weronika Peek, Aleksandra Wagner, Aleksandra Biemacka, Jakub Barszczewski, Adam Müller, Zofia Penza-Gabler, Iwona Bojadzjewa.

Romania: Raluca Popescu, Raisa-Gabriela Zamfirescu, Iulian Gabor, Monica Georgescu, Ioana Ianuş, Bianca Mihăilă, Veronica Oancea, Maria Stoicescu.

Russia: Elena Zdravomyslova, Anastasia Daur.

Taiwan: Wan-Ju Lee, Tao-Yung Lu, Tsung-Jen Hung, Syuan-Li Renn, Yu-Chia Chen, Yu-Wen Liao, Po-Shung Hong.

Turkey: Gül Çorbacioğlu, Irmak Evren.



The symposium takes a look at the **plight and possibilities in the US** after the 2020 presidential elections. The articles cover historical perspectives and analyze the effects of economic and political developments of the last decade. Facing the events that took place in Washington in January 2021 the authors also look to the future and discuss what might be done to make change possible.



This symposium presents a range of research on **Chinese migration in Europe**. While some contributions focus on migration movements in the 20th century, others deal with the significant changes in the social and economic status of Chinese immigrants in the 21st century.



In the face of today's global challenges, **Latin American sociological theory** is becoming an increasingly important point of reference. This symposium shows the originality of Latin American theorizing in all its breadth and heterogeneity, with research always starting from their local point of view on the way for global theory.



Global Dialogue is made possible by a generous grant from **SAGE Publications**.

English edition: ISSN 2519-8688

> In This Issue

Editorial 2

> TALKING SOCIOLOGY

The Brilliance of BLM: An Interview with S.M. Rodriguez
by Margaret Abraham, USA 5

> USA: PLIGHT AND POSSIBILITIES

What Might be Done about the United States?
by Peter Evans, USA 9

Deaths of Despair and the Health of Democracy:
Challenges for Sociology
by Gabor Scheiring, Italy 11

Human Capitalists
by Christopher Muller and Suresh Naidu, USA 14

The Future of Reproductive Justice in the US
by Patricia Zavella, USA 16

The Fight for Climate Justice and the Biden-Harris
Administration
by J. Mijin Cha, USA 18

Radical Reparations
by Marcus Anthony Hunter, USA 20

> CHINESE MIGRATION IN EUROPE

The Changing Place of the Chinese in Europe
by Fanni Beck, Hungary and Pál Nyíri, Netherlands 22

From Silence to Action: The Chinese in France
by Ya-Han Chuang, France, Emilie Tran, Hong Kong,
and Hélène Le Bail, France 24

Chinese Students in Europe
by Stig Thøgersen, Denmark 26

Chinese “Golden Visa” Migrants in Budapest
by Fanni Beck, Eszter Knyihár, and Linda Szabó, Hungary 28

The Chinese in Italy: Businesses and Identity
by Ting Deng, USA 30

The Changing Status of the Chinese in Serbia
by Jelena Gledić, Serbia 32

Chinese Migrants and COVID-19 Pandemic
by Martina Bofulin, Slovenia 34

> THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Social Distancing: The Relevance of Sociology
by Walden Bello, USA 36

> SOCIOLOGY FROM LATIN AMERICA

The Universalist Aims of Latin American Sociology
by Esteban Torres, Argentina 39

The World Paradigm: A New Proposal for Sociology
by Esteban Torres, Argentina 40

Linking Global Sociology with Global Modernity
by José Maurício Domingues, Brazil 42

Historicizing Theory: A Proposal for Latin America
by Viviane Brachet-Márquez, Mexico 44

Rethinking Interdependencies
by Sérgio Costa, Germany 46

The Age of Neglect: A Systems Theory of Crises
by Aldo Mascareño, Chile 48

Researching Neoliberalism from Latin America
by Verónica Gago, Argentina 50

Towards A Post-Liberal Grammar
by Carmen Ilizarbe, Peru 52

Scales, Inequalities, and Elites in Latin America
by Mariana Heredia, Argentina 54

Primitive Accumulation and the Critique of Law
by Guilherme Leite Gonçalves, Brazil 56

> OPEN SECTION

Introducing *Global Dialogue*'s Polish Team 58

“While Europeans – and North Americans – took for granted their universality and saw their particularity as immediately conceptually generalizable, Latin Americans had to begin from their particularity since their universality was in principle denied”

José Maurício Domingues

> Researching Neoliberalism from Latin America¹

by **Verónica Gago**, Universidad de Buenos Aires-UNSAM-CONICET, Argentina

The investigation that I develop in my book *Neoliberalism from Below: Baroque Economies and Popular Pragmatics*² aims to discuss the notion of neoliberalism, how to historicize it in our region, deepen theoretical debates, and trace genealogies based on struggles, with the goal of challenging the idea that neoliberalism is synonymous with the market and the opposite of state intervention. These debates are also concerned with characterizing the post-neoliberalism scenario in reference to Latin America.

> “Neoliberalism from below”

My attempt is to go beyond the definition of neoliberalism as a set of policies from above, as structural planning. Also, the formula “neoliberalism from below” that I have proposed reflects the need to recognize popular attempts to resist and reformulate neoliberal dispossession. By adopting this perspective, I seek to challenge totalizing readings of neoliberalism as well as those analyses that understand it exclusively in terms of the definitive defeat of subaltern subjectivities.

In contrast, I am interested in the plurality of dimensions in which continuities and discontinuities of neoliberalism are both at play, referring to deeper logics than those referenced by the political system.

I research the concrete functioning of neoliberalism from below in what I call “baroque economies” – a term for the “mottling” of times and logics of operations, of the production of saturated spaces and of plebeian initiatives – as a way of naming the political constitution of popular economies as terrains of struggle where “neoliberal reason” (a supposed norm of pure mercantile calculus) is appropriated, ruined, transformed, and relaunched by those who are supposed to be merely its victims.

Struggles within and against neoliberalism are struggles against dispossession and against financial apparatuses as a private solution to those dispossessions and as a new form of value extraction. These practices reveal the heterogeneous and ambiguous nature of the dispute between obedience and autonomy in the interpretation and appropriation of neoliberal conditions.

If we agree that neoliberalism responds to certain cycles of struggle that hence, impact its scale of violence, the question is thus: How to identify neoliberalism’s forms of persistence and recombination and to simultaneously resist the assumption that neoliberalism can eliminate all antagonisms by equating life and capital? Put another way: What types of antagonism does neoliberalism in-

corporate and what conflicts cause it to mutate?

> A feminist approach to neoliberalism

My recent research continues to focus on a feminist reading of neoliberalism. I am referring to two recent books: *A Feminist Reading of Debt* (co-authored with Luci Cavallero)³ and *La potencia feminista. O el deseo de cambiarlo todo*.⁴ An analysis of neoliberalism has been a central feature of contemporary feminisms and therefore constitutes a crucial element of their internationalism. This is the case, first, because that analysis is a concrete interpretive key for identifying conflicts that were not previously understood as such, and mapping their connections. Second, it allows us to debate and challenge the ways neoliberalism translates and manages conflicts, through multiculturalism or subordinated inclusion that pacifies struggles. Lastly, it enables a diagnosis of the conservative reaction that has been unleashed against feminism’s transnational force, especially in Latin America.

That perspective frames a reading of the violence of neoliberalism that accounts for structural adjustment measures, as well as the way that exploitation takes root in the production of subjectivities that are compelled

“The relationship between patriarchy and capitalism has shifted to reflect an even greater global reliance on reproductive labor. But why is neoliberalism mutating in this way?”

to precarity and nevertheless fight to prosper in structural conditions of dispossession.

I work on four scenes of violence: (1) The implosion of violence in homes as an effect of the crisis of the figure of the male breadwinner, and his subsequent loss of authority and privileged role in relation to his position in the labor market; (2) the organization of new forms of violence as a principle of authority in popular sector neighborhoods, rooted in the expansion of illegal economies that replace other modes of provisioning resources; (3) the dispossession and looting of common lands and resources by transnational corporations, and thus the deprivation of the material autonomy of other economies; and (4) the articulation of forms of exploitation and value extraction for which the financialization of social life – particularly through the apparatus of debt – is a common code.

Analyzing neoliberalism and extractivism together is crucial for un-

derstanding the imperial dimension of neoliberalism (which is not always underscored in Euro-Atlantic perspectives), as well as in detecting the very source of the current violence.

Many feminist scholars suggest that the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism has shifted to reflect an even greater global reliance on reproductive labor. This raises the question: Why is neoliberalism mutating in this way?

> Financial extractivism

I am currently focusing on how financialization creates novel ways to (re)organize production and reproduction. But to understand how debt extracts value from domestic economies, non-waged economies, and historically non-productive economies in Latin America, we must see financial apparatuses as true mechanisms of both the extraction of value and the moralization of unfulfilled gender mandates – that is, of a certain articulation between

reproduction and production. We have analyzed (Cavallero and Gago, 2020) how this indebtedness has intensified to the point of colonizing everyday reproduction, taking advantage of gender mandates, while also responding to a demand for greater economic autonomy on the part of women, lesbians, and trans women in the heat of feminist mobilizations. Finance, run through with technical complexity and conceived with regard to its everyday impact, should be understood in terms of an extractive logic of capital, organizing what we call “financial extractivism.”

As I understand it, these features also show why the collective subjectivation deployed by feminist revolts today – in their popular, indigenous, dissident, queer, black forms, along with other compositions and territorialities – is a key component in the battle against neoliberalism’s power of limitless mutation (the infinite utopia of financialization). ■

Direct all correspondence to Verónica Gago <verogago76@gmail.com>

1. Translated in English by Liz Mason-Deese.
2. Originally published in Argentina by Tinta Limón in 2014 and then in Spain in 2015 by Traficantes de Sueños; in the United States in 2017 by Duke University Press (translated by Liz Mason-Deese); in Bolivia in 2018 by Autodeterminación Editorial; in Brazil by Editora Elefante (translated by Igor Peres); and in a shortened version along with other essays, in France in 2020 by Raisons D’Agir (translated by Mila Ivanovic).
3. Published in Argentina in 2019 by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation; in Italian in 2020 by Ombre Corte (translated by Nicolás Martino); and in English in 2021 by Pluto Press (translated by Liz Mason-Deese).
4. Published in Argentina in 2018 by Tinta Limón; in Brazil in 2020 by Editora Elefante (translated by Igor Peres); in Peru by La Siniestra; in Mexico by Pez en el Árbol; and in English in 2020 by Verso, under the title *Feminist International* (translated by Liz Mason-Deese).