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- 1 In her elaboration of the utopian method, Ruth Levitas (2013) refers to a similar troika: ontological desire, archeological critique, and architectural design. I use archeology in a different way, stressing the excavation of real utopias.
- 2 Here are some examples: Mona Younis's (2000) comparison of liberation struggles in South Africa and Israel; Gay Seidman's (1994) comparison of working-class movements in South Africa and Brazil; Fareen Parvez's (2017) comparison of the politics of Islam in France and India: Ron Weitzer's (1990) comparison of the transformation of settler states in Zimbabwe and Northern Ireland; Vedat Milor's (1989) comparison of economic planning in Turkey and France; Jim Ron's (2003) comparison of state violence in Israel and Serbia; Soon Kyoung Cho's (1987) comparison of industrial organization in South Korea and California; Michelle Williams's (2008) comparison of the Communist Parties in South Africa and Kerala; Jeff Sallaz's (2009) comparison of the casino industry in South Africa and the US; Jennifer Chun's (2009) comparison of labor organizing in South Korea and California; Ofer Sharone's (2013) comparison of unemployment and job search in Israel and the US; Cinzia Solari's (2017) comparison of Ukrainian migration to Italy and the US; Marcel Paret's (2013) comparison of the politics of precarity in the US and South Africa; Hwa-Ien Liu's (2015) comparison of labor and environmental movements in Taiwan and South Korea; Gabe Hetland's (2015) comparison of participatory democracy in Venezuela and

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- Peru. As I always say, in sociology, two is a million times bigger than one.
- 3 After he left Madison, Maurice published a collection of essays by his former students. See Zeitlin (1980).
- 4 Our first and only joint endeavor in this project was an early article, entitled "Sociological Marxism," which joined an assessment of the history of Marxism, the potentialities of state socialism, and early versions of real utopias (Burawoy and Wright 2003). In a tribute to Erik's life and work I have traced his shift from a scientific Marxism focused on class analysis to a critical Marxism focused on real utopias (Burawoy 2020).
- 5 The term "ex-commodified" was first coined by Alex Barnard (2016) in his account of the Freegan movement in New York, where they politicized the wastefulness of capitalism by appropriating surplus food left in dumpsters outside supermarkets and restaurants. Freegans lived off the food as well as distributing it among the needy, underlining the enormous waste produced by capitalism. The movement hit hard times when owners started locking up their dumpsters. Capitalism cannot survive if wage laborers have access to an independent source of subsistence, a point underlined in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, where the starving unemployed are denied access to surplus food that is left to rot.
- 6 The formulations in this chapter developed from the *Universities* in Crisis blog I ran while ISA Vice-President for National Associations. Ideas and data specific to Berkeley are drawn from the BFA's weekly newsletter, That Was The Week That Was, that I edited with Celeste Langan for five years, and from various opinion pieces written for the student newspaper, The Daily Californian. I learned much from fellow board members, especially Wendy Brown, Celeste Langan, Leslie Salzinger, and James Vernon.
- 7 My first attempt to outline my theory of the practice of teaching was in a polemical piece that responded to my good friend Alan Sica's lament about the state of theory textbooks (Burawoy 2013). It was followed by an account of my theory course from the standpoint of teaching assistants (Herring et al. 2016).
- 8 It's not so simple, of course. There's another Smith, laid out in his *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), who recognizes that human beings are not only self-interested but have an interest in the well-being of others.

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