

## SASE Newsletter

### Volume I, Issue 1, Winter 2017

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## Upcoming Conferences

**Please take note:** the submission deadline for SASE/Lyon 2017 has been extended to **17 February 2017**.

Mark your calendars



### SASE/Lyon 2017 annual conference

*What's Next? Disruptive/Collaborative Economy or Business as Usual?*

hosted by the University Claude Bernard Lyon I

29 June – 1 July 2017



### 3<sup>rd</sup> SASE Regional Conference

Cartagena de Indias, Columbia

hosted by Universidad Tecnologica Bolivar

16-18 November 2017



### SASE/Kyoto 2018 annual conference

hosted by Doshisha University

23-25 June 2018

## Meet the Editors

This new and improved SASE Newsletter has been entrusted to a dynamic group of doctoral students and post-docs from both sides of the Atlantic. Each group of editors will oversee 2 biannual issues of the Newsletter before handing it over to a new cohort.

We are pleased to introduce the first generation of doc and post-doc editors:



**David Pinzur**  
Editor-in-Chief

**David Pinzur** recently earned his Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of California, San Diego. His dissertation research compares the information infrastructures constructed on two major, post-bellum, American derivative markets: the agricultural futures markets on the Chicago Board of Trade and New Orleans Cotton Exchange. The research highlights differences in how the markets created information through commodity grading schemes, moved information via telegraphic and statistical systems, and understood information using dominant economic interpretive frames. The dissertation traces these differences in two directions: backwards, to reveal the distinct cultural, political, organizational, and material factors that led the exchanges to such markedly dissimilar infrastructures; and forwards, to illustrate these infrastructures' divergent market-level consequences. The research combines several of his interests, including markets, finance, organizations, and science and technology.



Sebastian Billows

**Sebastian Billows** is about to defend his Ph.D. in sociology at Sciences Po, Paris. His dissertation questions whether law constitutes an effective resource to settle economic imbalances. His work addresses the case of French mass retail and their relationship with suppliers. Faced with the increasing market power of French mass retail, supplier successfully lobbied the state into protecting them. Combining economic sociology with sociolegal perspectives, his dissertations describes the transformation of French Business regulation and the way large firms responded to this new regulatory framework. Data was collected using interviews, participant observation and state archives.



**Ruggero  
Gambacurta-  
Scopello**

**Ruggero Gambacurta-Scopello** is a PhD candidate in Political Science at Sciences Po Paris, under the supervision of professor Patrick Le Galès. His PhD dissertation, whose title is *The State and the Politics of Economic Emergence in Brazil. The case of BNDES (1985-2016)*, deals with the transformations of Brazilian capitalism in the last 30 years. His research focuses on the activities of the Brazilian Development Bank, and uses mixed methods. Ruggero had professional experiences at the Directorate for Education and Skills at OECD, and also at UNESCO and "Le Monde". He graduated from a master in Political science at Sciences Po Paris in 2014.



**Emma Greeson**

**Emma Greeson** is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of California, San Diego. Her dissertation employs a multi-sited ethnographic research design along the value chain for used clothing between the United Kingdom and Poland to understand how value is produced for a highly heterogeneous product. The research examines where value is produced (in which spaces and social configurations), what exactly is being valued in various socio-material relations (the material and symbolic transformations accompanying valuation), and how the value chain is made and maintained (through which material, moral, and relational practices). This dissertation contextualizes existing accounts of valuation, offers a material and pragmatic account of valuation that can account for valuation of highly heterogeneous goods, and proposes a relational ontology of economic processes. Emma holds an MA in Central and Eastern European Studies from the Jagiellonian University (Krakow, Poland); her earlier research dealt with language policy and nationalism in Europe.



**Anne  
van der Graaf**

**Anne EA van der Graaf** is a Doctoral Fellow at the MaxPo who specializes in financial risk management of insurance companies and banks. Her PhD is called Framing Financial Risk: What does risk management manage? The research is based on ethnographic fieldwork in finance. She has carried out two participant observations, one in market risk management of a European bank in long term liquidation, another in the life and financial risk department of a large European insurance company. Besides research on finance, she is interested in gender studies, the relationship between state and economic actors, accounting and organization studies. Before joining the MaxPo in 2013 she finished her MSc in Research Sociology at the University of Edinburgh. She has two Bachelors' degrees from Erasmus University Rotterdam, one in sociology and another in econometrics and operational research.



## **Interview with Professor Christine Musselin**

### **Vice President for Research at Sciences Po Paris**

### **President of SASE**

#### **Can you describe your career path and your research interests?**

I should maybe start by saying that I did not begin as a sociologist. I first attended a business school, the École supérieure de commerce de Paris (ESCP Paris), and at the end of this school, which lasted 3 years, I wanted to work in the field of human resources. The person responsible for this program invited a lot of sociologists to speak during the classes, which is how I discovered sociology.

At that time, it was not possible to go from business school to a DEA (a post-graduate degree between a Master's degree and a PhD). There were only two DEAs open to people coming from business school—one at Dauphine University and the other at Sciences Po; the latter was directed by Michel Crozier. I did not get in the first time I tried—they told me I was too young and that I should get some experience and apply again the next year. So I did. I worked one year at Darty Ile-de-France (an electrical goods company), in the Human Resources department. During this time, I had the opportunity to read the writings of many sociologists because I really wanted to do a PhD.

I applied to the DEA again and was accepted; I began to work under the supervision of Erhard Friedberg and Michel Crozier. I did not have a specific idea of the dissertation subject I wanted to pursue, but there was an opportunity to study universities—to do comparative work on the French and German systems. This idea was born when Erhard Friedberg was invited to a conference where it was observed that there were no studies on this topic.

When he came back, he asked me if I wanted to work on this theme. In fact, universities constitute a very interesting form of organization, which differ from the highly corporate organizations studied at CSO, such as firms and administrations. But I did not want to become a specialist of higher education at first, I just wanted to work on these curious organizations called universities, and I thought I would focus on something else later on, like workshops.

I finished my PhD in 1987 and then applied for a position at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS). When you apply to CNRS, it is better to have a project that continues on from your PhD, since you already know the literature. As such, I decided to work on higher education, and started a project on higher education policies in France and Germany. That is how I started my work on this topic and what has led me to continue pursuing it many years later, though from different perspectives.

Universities still appear as a special kind of organization: How does leadership function in universities? How are decisions made? How are new programs developed? How does governance work? How do you manage them (or do you)? All these questions have been examined with a comparative outlook. That was the first perspective. The second perspective deals with higher education policies. I did not look at this through public policy analysis of specific policies, but rather focused on day-to-day activities in the ministries. It was a way to understand how ministries work and make decisions about universities regarding budget allocation,

accreditations of training programs, and—until 2007—attribution of positions. The final perspective is about the academic labor market. I wanted to understand how academics were hired, promoted and managed, through a multi-disciplinary comparison between France, Germany, and the US. This research was much more socio-economic, and it also became more quantitative in the more recent projects. I was trained in qualitative methods, but more recently we developed a project with an economist (Mareva Sabatier) and a specialist of management (Frédérique Pigeyre) to compare the career paths of French academics since the 70s. It was very interesting to use the two methods together, and it really offers results if you are able, from the beginning, to develop a study where you think about the quantitative with the qualitative and vice versa.

### **When did you first hear about SASE?**

I think I heard about SASE in the mid-90s. The first time I attended a SASE conference was in Washington, D.C. in 1995, and it was a quite small group. I had not taken part in SASE conferences before. I think the connection to SASE happened at that moment—a long time ago! It was the moment when I started thinking of working on the academic labor market and read the very challenging paper written by Lucien Karpik on the “economics of quality”. I was very happy to read that I would be in the same session as him and I remembered we spoke about it. I was convinced that it was a very powerful framework to understand hiring decisions in universities and I began developing this idea at that time.

But my first contribution at SASE was on another topic. It was about a comparison of the relationships

between the state, the professoriate, and universities in France, Germany, and the US. I wanted to stress how different they are, but also that higher education systems cannot be studied through state-university relationships, because the nature of the relationships between academics and universities, and the role and influence of academics in the decisions made at the state level, matter a lot as well. In other words, the interplay between the profession, the organizations, and public authorities has to be considered in the study of professional sectors.

### **Did you notice evolutions?**

Oh yes, definitely. The size of SASE was quite small, quite informal. I do not remember if we already had the networks because I was not involved in the association itself. At the time, I just applied to present a paper. SASE always met in the US, only later did we begin to have this Europe-US relationship. Furthermore, SASE was less oriented around political economy and more around sociology.

### **What are your expectations for the future evolutions of SASE?**

If you look at the program now, you see so many disciplines and methods, from sociology to economics, and you can observe that it is much more open to discussion than before. There are more considerable connections with other disciplines in terms of methods as well, from qualitative methods to web-based big data. I think we should leave it like this and we should not specialize SASE in *one* way of doing research. For me, the diversity of perspectives is precious to SASE: we should continue promoting it.

### **What is your program for this forthcoming year?**

It is difficult to have a program for SASE, since every president stays one year; I think I should stay very modest about that. My main objective is to have a great conference in Lyon, to get together the best people, and to have a very active network of people taking part in the conference. The topic we have chosen for Lyon is a way to open up SASE to new questions, and it shows that SASE is connected to issues in contemporary society.

SASE is an academic and professional society, but at the same time it should always be related to what is going on in the world. It should not be economic sociology or political science per se, but it should be related to crucial modern topics. This is something I really appreciate about SASE: the diversity of topics connected to the situation in the world. I believe social science can raise these crucial questions, and SASE fully promotes this objective.

### **How does SASE adapt to current topics?**

There is stability in topics in the SASE conferences, with the networks that do not change a lot from one year to the other. We had a discussion last year on how to decide about the stability of the networks: Should we renew them or not? You also have the mini-conferences, which are more related to the topic chosen by the conference organizers than the networks. The topic chosen for the next conference will be guiding some of the mini-conferences. As a president of SASE, you do not have a lot of room to maneuver, to decide what will be in; the role is much more to

decide the next topic, and find the most interesting one.

### **In your opinion, what is the possible influence of research on public policy?**

The reception of research is an important question, but it really depends on the country. If you consider the role of think tanks across nations, it is possible to identify frameworks that either facilitate or impede the influence of the academic sector on public policy. If you have some academics in powerful think tanks—and this can be the case in the US or the UK—you might have more influence, but in France and in countries where think tanks are quite rare or not very well established, the capacity to influence policy is quite low. It is not about the interest or quality of the research, which might be very solid, but rather about the channels between the researchers and the policymakers. French policymakers are trained in public law, not research. In this context, the diffusion of research results is more difficult. Academics do not know and are not trained to exchange with policymakers, and policymakers are not trained to understand and use research production.

### **Do you think SASE can have an influence? Can it produce public debate and reflection outside the academic circle?**

I am afraid I would not say that. Mainly, SASE is a laboratory for thought and reflection where we confront different approaches and methods. It is easy, when you come to SASE, to see what is new, what is going on, who is working on what; it is not only an opportunity to give a talk but to listen and learn, to connect with new people. It can work as a place for networking and developing new approaches. Outside the SASE

group of people, the main influence is through the SER, which diffuses results of research and participates in the improvement of research quality.

SASE's website is also very important in terms of diffusing information and reaches a larger audience than just SASE members. I am very happy about the transformation of the newsletter, since it has the potential to reach a larger group than the core SASE members. It is, for me, a vehicle in the diffusion of SASE.

Finally, we are developing a new service through SuAVE (Survey Analysis via Visual Exploration), which is a kind of interactive directory where SASE members can describe their activities and learn what other SASE members are doing in a very innovative way. It is connected with the development of the new website—I invite everyone to discover it. It is really great and aims to improve communication and the circulation of information. It can be a very powerful medium.

### **What do you like about SASE?**

It is organized, structured, and professional, but not too big. Maybe it is very personal, but I do not like the huge “markets” with thousands of people. The size of SASE, with 1000 people, is still very manageable; you do not get lost there. I like the atmosphere of the conference itself. It is a place of intellectual stimulation where you can truly discuss the papers.

### **How is the interdisciplinarity managed at SASE?**

Several disciplines are present within the conferences, but there is not exactly a disciplinary confrontation during the sessions. There is pluridisciplinarity, not interdisciplinarity—disciplines stand alongside one another.

Interdisciplinarity requires a lot of work and discussion between methods and approaches that has to be done ahead of time, at the very beginning of the formulation of research projects. In the research project I am working on right now, on the impact of LABEX (Laboratories of excellence) funding on research performance, we began to work in an interdisciplinary way from the start, with Emeric Henry, an economist, Jérôme Aust, a political scientist from CSO, and Ulrike Le Pont, a postdoctoral fellow. It takes a lot of time to compare methods, results, and to think with both qualitative and quantitative optics. Confronting pure economics papers and papers using ethnographic methods during a conference, for instance, might end up being a bit vain. It is more in the projects themselves, in the long run, that methods can be crossed fruitfully. SASE is an association that enables people with different scientific backgrounds to meet and exchange during the conferences. It helps to set the foundation for common projects that utilize different methods, but it also provides an opportunity to present the results of research undertaken with an interdisciplinary perspective.

*Interview conducted by  
Ruggero Gambacurta-Scopello  
r.gambacurtascopello@gmail.com*



## SASE/Lyon Featured Speakers



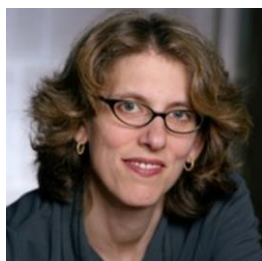
**Yochai Benkler** is the Berkman Professor of Entrepreneurial Legal Studies at Harvard Law School and the Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University. Since the 1990s he has played a role in characterizing the role of information commons and decentralized collaboration to innovation, information production, and freedom in the networked economy and society. His books include *The Wealth of Networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom* (Yale University Press 2006), which won academic awards from the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Association, and the McGannon award for social and ethical relevance in communications. In 2012 he received a lifetime achievement award from Oxford University "in recognition of his extraordinary contribution to the study and public understanding of the Internet and information goods." His work is socially engaged, winning him the Ford Foundation Visionaries Award in 2011, the Electronic Frontier Foundation's Pioneer Award for 2007, and the Public Knowledge IP3 Award in 2006. It is also anchored in the realities of markets, and was cited as "perhaps the best work yet about the fast moving, enthusiast-driven Internet" by the Financial Times and named best business book about the future in 2006 by *Strategy and Business*. Benkler has advised governments and international organizations on innovation policy and telecommunications, and serves on the boards or advisory boards of several nonprofits engaged in working towards an open society. His work can be freely access at [benkler.org](http://benkler.org).



**Tim Jordan** is Professor of Digital Cultures and Head of School of Media, Film and Music at the University of Sussex. He is currently working on new economic practices in digital contexts, examining a range of case studies, including Google/Baidu and search, Facebook and social media, Uber/AirBnB and regulatory disintermediation, free and open source software production, and the maker movement among others. He has been involved in analysis of the social and cultural meaning of the Internet and cyberspace since the mid-1990s. Jordan's most recent book is *Information Politics: Liberation and Exploitation in the Digital Society*, which is about the politics of information. He has also had a longstanding interest in hacking and hacktivism, and has previously published: *Hacking: Digital Media and Technological Determinism* (Polity 2008), *Cyberpower* (Routledge 1999) and, with Paul Taylor, *Hacktivism and Cyberwars* (Routledge 2004). Jordan has played a role in analyzing social movements and popular protest with publications including *Activism!: Direct Action, Hacktivism and the Future of Society* (Reaktion 2002), as co-editor of *Storming the Millennium* (Lawrence and Wishart 1999, with Adam Lent), and as a founding editor of the Taylor and Francis journal *Social Movement Studies*.



**Helen Nissenbaum** is Professor of Media, Culture, and Communication, and Computer Science, at New York University, where she is also Director of the Information Law Institute. Her eight books include *Obfuscation: A User's Guide for Privacy and Protest*, with Finn Brunton (MIT Press, 2015), *Values at Play in Digital Games*, with Mary Flanagan (MIT Press, 2014), and *Privacy in Context: Technology, Policy, and the Integrity of Social Life* (Stanford, 2010). Her research has been published in journals of philosophy, politics, law, media studies, information studies, and computer science. Grants from the National Science Foundation, Air Force Office of Scientific Research, and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office of the National Coordinator have supported her work on privacy, trust online, and security, as well as studies of values embodied in design, search engines, digital games, facial recognition technology, and health information systems. Recipient of the 2014 Barwise Prize of the American Philosophical Association, Nissenbaum has contributed to privacy-enhancing software, including TrackMeNot (for protecting against profiling based on Web search) and AdNauseam (protecting against profiling based on ad clicks). Both are free and freely available.



**Juliet B. Schor** is Professor of Sociology at Boston College and is also a member of the MacArthur Foundation Connected Learning Research Network. Schor's research focuses on consumption, time use, and environmental sustainability. Her most recent books are *Sustainable Lifestyles and the Quest for Plenitude: Case Studies of the New Economy* (Yale University Press, 2014), which she co-edited with Craig Thompson, and *True Wealth: How and Why Millions of Americans are Creating a Time-Rich, Ecologically Light, Small-Scale, High-Satisfaction Economy* (2011 by Penguin Press, previously published as *Plenitude*.) As part of her work with the MacArthur Foundation, Schor is currently researching the "connected economy," via a series of case studies of sharing platforms and their participants. She is also studying the relation between working hours, inequality and carbon emissions. In 2014 Schor received the American Sociological Association's award for Public Understanding of Sociology. She is a former Guggenheim Fellow and a former Brookings Institution fellow. She is the recipient of the 2011 Herman Daly Award from the US Society for Ecological Economics. In 2006 she received the Leontief Prize from the Global Development and Economics Institute at Tufts University for expanding the frontiers of economic thought. She has also received the George Orwell Award for Distinguished Contributions to Honesty and Clarity in Public Language from the National Council of Teachers of English. She has served as a consultant to the United Nations, at the World Institute for Development Economics Research, and to the United Nations Development Program. Schor is also a co-founder of the Center for a New American Dream ([newdream.org](http://newdream.org)), a national sustainability organization where she served on the board for more than 15 years. She is the vice chair of the board of the Better Future Project, one of the country's most successful climate activism organizations, and is a co-founder of the South End Press and the Center for Popular Economics.

## Academic Opportunities in Europe

*This article is the first of a two-part series designed to introduce graduate students and early-stage scholars to academic opportunities abroad – wherever ‘abroad’ may be for them. In part one, presented here, we offer resources and advice for early-career American scholars seeking to work in Europe. The European environment has plenty to offer in terms of research, but also comes with its own unique set of challenges.*

One of SASE’s unique features is its near-even split between American and European members: collaboration across the continents is built into the DNA of the organization. The commitment to showcasing academic work from both sides of the Atlantic is evident in the mix of articles featured in *Socio-Economic Review* and the range of locations for annual meetings. In this spirit, this article asks: What opportunities exist for more sustained trans-Atlantic collaboration, particularly for early-career scholars?

This article is the first of a two-part series designed to introduce graduate students and early-stage scholars to academic opportunities abroad – wherever ‘abroad’ may be for them. In this first part, we offer resources and advice for American scholars seeking to work in Europe; a future issue of the newsletter will address Europeans wishing to study in America. The article draws on a number of interviews with early-career scholars who have academic experience on both sides of the Atlantic. Their responses paint a picture of Europe as open to Americans – particularly through post-doctoral fellowships – but also posing a unique set of challenges.

### **Online resources**

Interviewees noted numerous online resources for finding jobs and post-docs in Europe. Several sites list fellowships and full-time positions across Europe, both within and outside of the academy, including:

[academicpositions.eu](http://academicpositions.eu),  
[academicjobseu.com](http://academicjobseu.com), and

[www.timeshighereducation.com/unijobs/en-us/europe/](http://www.timeshighereducation.com/unijobs/en-us/europe/). These sites have the capability to search across Europe as a whole or to filter out opportunities in particular countries. The UK and Germany both have comprehensive national listings as well, at <http://jobs.ac.uk> and <http://academics.de>, respectively. A valuable site for historical researchers covering opportunities mostly in Germany (with lesser coverage for the rest of Europe) is at: <http://hsozkult.de>. Though, since any position that receives EU funding must be advertised EU-wide, it is a good idea to start with supra-state resources then follow interesting leads onto the national level.

Even sites that are not solely dedicated to listing European jobs can be valuable sources of information. The newsletters of European academic organizations in your discipline will provide job and fellowship information, as will your professional association’s job bank and section listservs. Also, the valuable humanities and social sciences postdoc wiki (at [http://academicjobs.wikia.com/wiki/Humanities\\_and\\_Social\\_Sciences\\_Postdocs\\_2016-17](http://academicjobs.wikia.com/wiki/Humanities_and_Social_Sciences_Postdocs_2016-17)) has decent coverage of the European market. Finally, you may want to directly check the websites of any departments, research institutes, or institutes of advanced study that do work similar to your own to discover the possibilities at each. (If you’re not sure where to look, some good starting points are listed at the end of this article.)

### ***Post-doctoral fellowships***

The above sites are good ways to search for fellowships sponsored by particular universities or research institutions. Such grants are designed to bring in scholars who can contribute to a project that is currently under way or has already been determined. But, in addition to this type of grant, there are many national and EU-wide fellowships that can be used to fund research at a university, institute, or corporation of your choosing. The location and topic of one's research are not delineated in the grant, but in your proposal – rather than waiting for the right post-doctoral project to come along, you propose the right post-doctoral project yourself.

One such EU-wide grant is the Marie Curie fellowship. This two-year fellowship is open to researchers with a PhD in any subject who wish to spend time researching in Europe at a university or other academic institution. Applicants are free to propose research on any topic, to be undertaken at any European institution. To apply for this type of grant, you contact a scholar or research group in Europe with whom you share an interest and propose the research you would like to undertake at their institution. You then co-author a grant application with the person who will serve as your mentor at the host institution, outlining the scope of your project. While these fellowships require a bit more initiative, they have great potential, offering you the chance to craft a research fellowship closely tailored to your interests, and often with few responsibilities other than research.

Proposing your own research through non-institutionally affiliated fellowships also works well in conjunction with what interviewee Lauri Tahtinen at Harvard's Center for European Studies dubbed the "small country strategy". Smaller European countries often have national research funds available for study

at their institutions, many of which attract less international attention than those in larger countries. Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark, for example, all offer funds for international scholars to conduct research in their country. These fellowships are likely to be less competitive than those offered by larger countries or prestigious universities, while still offering great opportunities to work with like-minded scholars. Additionally, this strategy may be a way to back into work at the top programs. Rather than applying for an ultra-competitive fellowship through an elite institution, you can secure funds from the EU or a particular nation to conduct research at the same university, possibly even with the same mentor.

Interviewees were uniformly upbeat about the opportunities for post-doctoral work in Europe. Jacob Habinek, post-doctoral researcher at the Max Planck Institute, states that there appear to be "plenty of opportunities in Europe for early career scholars," and Eva Marlene Haustainer, research fellow at the Harvard Center for European Studies notes, "U.S. PhDs are worth a lot in Europe." All expressed support for American scholars interested in doing a stint abroad as a way of building their CV or establishing collaborative networks.

### ***Full-time positions***

However, any American scholar looking not just for a few-years-long post-doc, but a permanent faculty position in Europe, will face a steeper learning curve and more entrenched roadblocks. The academy is organized quite differently in the US, the UK, and continental Europe: knowing the differences going in will help you set your expectations and focus your search.

In terms of the day-to-day experience, American scholars should be prepared for some significant differences.

Neil Visalvanich, who accepted a position as Lecturer at England's Durham University after doing his graduate work in political science at the University of California – San Diego, notes several differences. "First and foremost," he says, "academia is much more bureaucratic here and academics are less independent, at least when compared to the US." To this point, he notes the higher level of administrative duties and lack of individual control over the structure and administration of classes. He, and others, also pointed another significant drawback: lower pay. Faculty starting in European universities should be prepared to earn less than they would in the U.S. (and also to be unable to negotiate higher wages, which are often set by inflexible, bureaucratic pay scales). Of course, this loss in salary is offset to some degree by the generous social benefits such as free health care and extended parental leave that come with employment in an EU country. As another positive feature, Visalvanich notes that the teaching load is substantially lighter than at similar institutions in the US, a fact echoed by Aaron Donaghy, an Irish historian currently in a post-doc at Harvard. "Liberal Arts colleges in the U.S. will typically expect assistant professors to teach three or four courses per semester," he says, "whereas in the UK and Ireland, it is rarely more than two."

In addition to these everyday differences, there are significant structural differences between European and American academia. Many universities, particularly those on the continent, offer very few assistant or associate professor (or, alternatively, lecturer and senior lecturer) positions. Rather, the entry-level positions for academic careers are fixed-term research or teaching positions. Some can be very long (up to six years) and it is not uncommon for someone to pass through more than one before securing a permanent appointment. While they can

lead to a tenured position, these do not have the same job security and prescribed path forward found in the American assistant-associate-full progression. The uncertainty of needing to secure work every few years might dissuade some people, especially anyone who needs to relocate with their family.

The preponderance of fixed-term positions also makes the market for long-term academic positions in Europe very tight. For American scholars looking to enter the European market, the squeeze is even more severe. Since professorships are civil service positions in some countries, there can be significant bureaucratic hurdles to clear in order for American citizens to be hired. While not insurmountable, they make a permanent relocation far more difficult. Additionally, in contrast to norms in the U.S., European universities are more open to hiring graduates from their own programs, making outside applicants less competitive for jobs.

However, if you do manage to secure an open-ended appointment, you will have the benefit of the less harrowing European system of tenure. Many European institutions do not have the same system as the U.S. – with the preparation of a unique and extensive portfolio – but rather a probationary system that lays out specific requirements for passing on to tenure. One interviewee referred to this system as "tenure light," while another noted that it is designed just to catch people who are "flopping out".

For further information on the differences between American and European academia – as well as the national differences within Europe – check out the overviews provided by the European University Institute (<http://www.eui.eu/ProgrammesAndFellowships/AcademicCareersObservatory/Index.aspx>). These include information about the



structure of the academy in each country, links to country-specific websites, and basic explanations of cultural differences.

### *Next steps*

Given this environment, what first steps should American scholars interested in studying in Europe take? The consensus among interviewees was: start communicating. Jacob Habinek, a recent UC-Berkeley grad and current post-doc at the Max Planck Institute in Cologne stressed the importance of making links early. “It’s a good idea to start building connections in Europe early and to familiarize yourself with the places that hire people that do the kind of work you want to do. The institutional landscape of research and higher education in Europe is much more heterogeneous than in the US, and as with any other job search it helps to have a clear sense of the expectations of your potential employers.” In addition to helping you get the lay of the land and promote your work among like-minded scholars, these connections will pay dividends when it comes time to apply. Contacts can alert you to their country’s particular academic norms, which can strengthen your application. As Eva Marlene Hausteiner at Harvard’s Center for European Studies cautions, “Don’t take anything you know about how academia works in a certain country for granted: CVs look different, networking works differently, public talks and discussion behavior is often somewhat different from the U.S. Ask people who know the context for advice before you apply!”

### *Further resources*

In this spirit of promoting awareness and communication, we list below a few research institutes and university departments to check out as you start familiarizing yourself with the European socio-economic terrain. Consider this list a jumping-off point for finding individuals across Europe doing work that complements your own.

**Berlin Social Science Center**: A very large research center, housing research teams engaged primarily in international comparative research on economics and politics. Around 160 sociologists, political scientists, economists, legal scholars, and historians work here.

**Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies**: American readers may be familiar with the Max Planck Institute as the publisher of the European Economic Sociology Newsletter. The Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne, Germany is one of the smaller research units of the vast Max Planck Society, with the stated goal of studying the social and political foundations of modern economies. The institute has 32 full-time positions and approximately 33 spots for doctoral and post-doctoral students.

**European University Institute**: An international center for doctoral and post-doctoral studies located in Florence, Italy. Its Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies aims to address key issues facing the European Union in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, including the regulation of markets and governance of money in the Euro zone.

**MaxPo (Max Planck Sciences Po Center on Coping with Instabilities in Market Societies)**: As its name suggests, this research center is located at Sciences Po in Paris (see our institutional overview on page 18 of this issue) but operates in close collaboration with the Max Planck Institute in Cologne. Research is focused on how individuals, organizations and nation-states cope with new forms of economic and social instability.

**Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute**: An inter-disciplinary research institute dedicated to considering the economic and political challenges posed by the massive, unsettling economic and environmental shifts of the past decades. The Institute conducts research in eight



areas, offering a broad, holistic perspective on political economy.

**Copenhagen Business School**: A sizable school that situates business issues within their social, political, and cultural context. They host multiple research centers that promote inter-disciplinary research on broad topics such as competitiveness, entrepreneurship, sustainability, and the public-private distinction.

*The author would like to thank the interviewees you who generously contributed to this article: Benjamin Braun, Aaron Donaghy, Jacob Habinek, Eva Marlene Hausteiner, Lauri Tahtinen, Tod van Gunten, and Neil Visalvanich.*

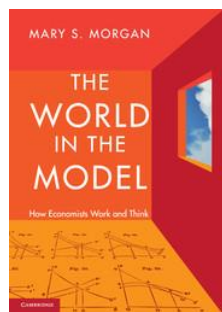
David Pinzur  
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## On the Bookshelf

In this new feature, we ask the voracious readers that make up SASE to recommend a few books they are reading (or re-reading!) and to tell us a bit about them.

[Olivier Pilmis](#), Sciences Po, Centre de Sociologie des Organisations



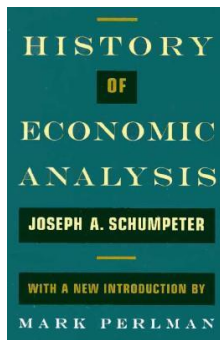
**Mary Morgan**, [The World in the Model: How Economists Work and Think](#) (Cambridge UP, 2012).

*Maybe the most comprehensive account of the ways economists handle models, build them, and use them. It raises major issues regarding how 'science' actually represents the world it claims to depict.*



**Alain Desrosières**, [Prouver et gouverner. Une analyse politique des statistiques publiques](#) (La Découverte, 2014).

*The last collection of writings by Alain Desrosières. In addition to his now classic thoughts on how objects and instruments interact, readers will find an insightful Foucauldian perspective on statistics as an instrument of power along with epistemological and methodological elements that go far beyond issues of quantification.*

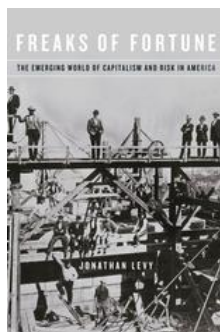


**Joseph A. Schumpeter**, [\*History of Economic Analysis\*](#)  
(Oxford University Press, 1996 [1954])

*The book every economic sociologist should read to understand the developments of economic analysis, and then realize 'economics' must not be reduced to 'neoclassical economics' alone (say, Gary Becker), whatever its importance. A book I always keep at hand, just in case.*

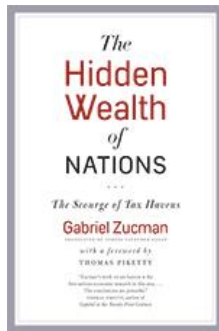
[Kimberly Kay Hoang](#), University of Chicago

There are four books that I have been reading ferociously over the last couple of weeks. I am currently doing research on foreign investment in frontier markets. This project involves interviewing financial elites who are making decisions to invest in markets where there is a lack of access to information, unclear legal and regulatory structures, and a great deal of speculation on future returns. The project looks at the articulation of inter-Asian circuits of global capital and the rise of new financial centers in Asia.



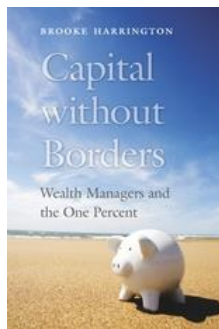
**Jonathan Levy**, [\*Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America\*](#) (Harvard UP, 2012).

*This is currently my favorite book out there. Freaks of Fortune is a story of how the modern concept of risk emerged in the United States. Levy tells this story of risk through the growth of new financial institutions such as risk insurance, mortgage backed securities, commodities futures markets, and securities markets. This historical masterpiece takes us back to what Tocqueville first touched on, that personal risk has always been tied up with notions of freedom and independence. The vision of freedom here is linked to the personal assumption of risk. To be free meant that one could offload that risk with new financial tools to manage that risk. What I find most inspiring about the book is that Levy was able to pull off such a big question without losing the nuance and attention to race and gender relations. He shows us that risk was raced and gendered because women and slaves were unable to insure themselves in these markets.*



**Gabriel Zucman**, [\*The Hidden Wealth of Nations: The Scourge of Tax Havens\*](#) (Chicago UP, 2015).

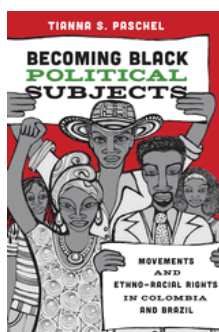
*This book looks at the world of global elites and the rapid growth of economic inequality around the world. It looks at the world of tax havens in countries like Switzerland, Luxembourg, and the Cayman Islands, where most of the world's elites are legally able to avoid paying taxes on capital gains made offshore. This book uncovers the hidden wealth that accounts for at least \$7.6 trillion dollars, or 8% in global financial assets.*



**Brooke Harrington\***, [\*Capital Without Borders: Wealth Managers and the One Percent\*](#) (Harvard UP, 2016).

*This book takes us into the world of wealth managers who specialize in protecting the fortunes of the world's richest people. Harrington got unique access to the world's global elite and shows how wealth managers use offshore banks, shell corporations, and trusts to shield billions of dollars in private wealth not only from taxation, but from all sorts of legal obligations. This is a rich ethnography that takes us to 18 different countries around the world and provides us with unique insight into how wealth managers gain the trust of the world's elite and provide culturally appropriate services to elites in different parts of the world. This book teaches us that global capital supersedes nation states.*

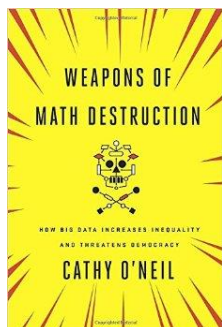
[Editor's note: Brooke Harrington's *Capital Without Borders* will be the subject of discussion in an author-meets-critics panel at SASE/Lyon 2017]



**Tianna Pashel**, [\*Becoming Black Political Subjects: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil\*](#) (Princeton UP, 2016).

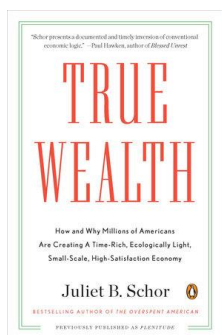
*This book focuses on the intersection of globalization in Latin America, politics, and racial ideology. The inspiration that I draw from this book is mostly methodological. Pashel brilliantly shows us where to look for a social movement in places where we do not commonly look for them. It pushes me to think about the kind of ethnography that is comparative in nature but not bound to one particular site: state, organization, or group. Activists worked in covert spaces in order to bring about change in ethno-racial legislation. This book inspires me to look for patterns in places where we do not traditionally think to look.*

Martha Zuber, SASE Executive Director



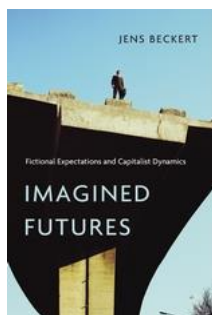
**Cathy O'Neil**, [\*Weapons of Math Destruction: How Big Data Increases Inequality and Threatens Democracy\*](#) (Crown Publishing, 2016).

*A mathematician's take on the frightening ways that math can be (and is being) used.*



**Juliet B. Schor**, [\*True Wealth: How and Why Millions of Americans Are Creating a Time-Rich, Ecologically Light, Small-Scale, High-Satisfaction Economy\*](#) (Penguin Press, 2010).

*She is one of the movers and shakers in the field of collective economy and she will be a featured speaker at SASE/Lyon.*



**Jens Beckert**, [\*Imagined Futures: Fictional Expectations and Capitalist Dynamics\*](#) (Harvard UP, 2016).

*Especially after Brexit and Trump's election, an original and stimulating way to think about capitalism... Good to think with!*

## A Guide to Socio-Economics at Sciences Po

*With a student body of 10,000 and a permanent faculty of 216, Sciences Po has become a major player in the French and European higher educational landscape. Among its sociologists, political scientists and historians, socio-economics has become a core field of research. This article aims to help SASE members navigate the intricacies of this French institution and find out about the variety of research projects there that address socio-economic issues.*

Sciences Po, also known as the *Institut d'études politiques de Paris*, is a semi-public university founded in 1872<sup>1</sup>. With a student body of 10,000 and a permanent faculty of 216, this institution has become a major player in the French and European higher educational landscape. Like the London School of Economics, it specializes in the social and human sciences, with a focus on political science, sociology, economics, history, and law. Over the past two decades, socio-economics has become a core field of research among Sciences Po's sociologists, historians, and political scientists. At least a dozen of the 41 members comprising Sciences Po's Sociology department (Sciences Po 2016) have an interest in economic sociology, an increasing number (mainly in Political Science) work in the field of political economy, and some members of the History faculty also address capitalism and changes in economic life.

In this piece, I will present the origins and the main features of socio-economics at Sciences Po. Two points are paramount: First, this field of research is a new development and partly an outcome of Sciences Po's recent efforts to gain an international reputation in social and human sciences. Second, Sciences Po faculty who work in socio-economics are still a very diverse breed. Due to the diversity of their background,

departmental, and research center affiliation, their work covers different subfields of socio-economics.

The structure of this piece is partly historical and partly analytical. The first section is devoted to Sciences Po's history. Following this, I present several institutional features of Sciences Po (the importance of research centers rather than departments and professor status), which are mainly intended for readers who are not familiar with French academia. Finally, describing four research centers one-by-one (CSO, MaxPo, OSC, and CEE), I present the different research programs in socio-economics that exist at Sciences Po.

### ***Sciences Po's Profile: Better Education for Better Elites***

Sciences Po was founded in 1872 by Emile Boutmy, a Protestant social reformer and an intellectual trained in law, history, and philosophy. Until 1945, the institution was referred to as the *Ecole libre des sciences politiques*, which could be roughly translated as the "Independent School of Political Sciences". The plural in *sciences politiques* matters: The founders did not intend to focus on political science as an academic discipline. Rather, they brought together various academic fields, such as history and law, to train the ruling classes' future civil servants, decision makers, and powerbrokers in the art of government. France had just lost the 1870 war against Prussia, a national tragedy that Boutmy blamed on the flaws of its educational system (Scot 2013). His aim was to reform the training of elites in order to reform the French power structure, especially its bureaucracy.

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<sup>1</sup>From a legal standpoint, Sciences Po is not part of the publicly funded French university system, yet most of its funding is public and its degrees have the same legal standing as those granted by actual *Universités*.

The emphasis was placed on practical training rather than academic research. Until the 1970s, few teachers at Sciences Po were formally trained in a specific academic discipline. From 1872 until the 1970s, up to half of the university's faculty was composed of high civil servants (Scot 2013). Yet, in a way, socio-economics was already on Science Po's agenda. Back in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, many of Sciences Po's teachers were influenced by the work of Frédéric Le Play. Trained as an engineer, Le Play developed what he called *Economie sociale* ("social economy"), a new discipline that combined ethnography and statistics to better understand social problems caused by industrialization. The goal, however, was normative rather than scientific: Le Play was mainly concerned with preventing social unrest and making sure traditional social hierarchy was perpetuated.

The institution's focus on academic research and the creation of a large permanent faculty are fairly new developments. As of 2015, Sciences Po's permanent faculty was made up of 216 academics. Yet the permanent faculty coexists with about 3,000 external instructors. The latter, which are referred to as *vacataires*, are civil servants, business leaders, and academics who hold positions at other universities. In most cases, sociologists and political scientists who are permanently employed by Sciences Po teach at the undergraduate level<sup>2</sup>. At the masters' level, where emphasis is placed on professional training, especially for those preparing for the entrance exams (*concours*) to prestigious civil service

positions<sup>3</sup>, teaching is mainly conducted by *vacataires*.

### ***Navigating Sciences Po's Research Centers***

As I will show below, research in socio-economics at Sciences Po is very diverse. This is primarily an outcome of the coexistence of different research centers. In French academia, disciplinary departments (such as the Sociology department at Sciences Po) focus on teaching. Recruitment, the training of graduate students, and the day-to-day management of research take place within research centers, which the French refer to as *laboratoires*. CSO (*Centre de sociologie des organisations*: "center for the sociology of organizations"), OSC (*Observatoire sociologique du changement*: "observatory of social change") and CEE (*Centre d'études européennes*: "Center for European studies") are the three main research centers in sociology at Sciences Po. Yet, these centers are not only for sociologists—political scientists, historians, and economists also work in them.

Other research centers at Sciences Po serve a different purpose. For instance, both MaxPo (see below) and LIEPP (Laboratory for Interdisciplinary Evaluation of Public Policy) were established in recent years thanks to grant money received by Sciences Po. Because their financing is subject to change, they have no permanent faculty. Even their "directors" must be affiliated to one of Sciences Po's permanent research centers. Nevertheless, their financial resources allow them to attract a high number of doctoral students, postdoctoral researchers, and visiting researchers.

<sup>2</sup> Sciences Po grants a general bachelor's degree with no academic specialization. Each student follows mandatory and elective courses in Sociology, Political Science, Economics, History, and Law.

<sup>3</sup> The most prestigious *concours* is the one that leads to *Ecole nationale d'administration* (ENA). Many French politicians and business leaders are alumni of both Sciences Po and ENA.



### ***A Diversity of Statuses***

Within Sciences Po's permanent faculty, careers and statuses vary widely. Some faculty members are *Professeurs d'université*. Technically, their careers are managed directly by the state rather than by Sciences Po. Sciences Po also employs professors on a private basis. Some have permanent contracts, while others are waiting for tenure review. The third status is that of CNRS research fellow. Most research centers at Sciences Po have a dual affiliation; they are affiliated both to Sciences Po and the CNRS, the French national institute for scientific research. Each year, the CNRS recruits a few researchers through a national *concours* and then allocates them to research centers that are co-affiliated with universities. CNRS research positions are very popular and very selective, as the CNRS offers lifelong positions with no teaching requirements.

Doctoral students at Sciences Po are recruited after their master's degree. Procedures for recruiting new cohorts vary depending on discipline, research center, and funding type. Typically, doctoral students are former Sciences Po students who attended the *Master recherche* (2-year research track MA). The most common form of funding is the *contrat doctoral* ("doctoral contract") that is signed for three years. Most of these contracts involve a teaching duty of up to three (semester-long) seminars a year. However, it takes an average of five years for doctoral students to complete their dissertation and graduate. This means that after their three-year contract, doctoral students must find alternative sources of funding. Students apply then to *ATER*<sup>4</sup> positions offered by Sciences Po and other French universities. *ATER* are one-year renewable teaching positions that provide

both enough income and free time to finish one's dissertation.

### ***From Bureaucracy to Economic Life: Economic Sociology at the CSO***

The CSO is arguably the most important research center in socio-economics at Sciences Po. Among its 24 current members, at least 10 produce or have produced research related to economic sociology. This is an outcome of both the CSO's history and the rise of economic topics in French sociology at large.

The CSO was founded in 1964 by Michel Crozier. Crozier played a leading role in introducing and expanding organizational theory in France. At first, research conducted at the CSO was primarily concerned with public bureaucracy. The *Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, Crozier's masterpiece, was a study of SEITA, the French state-owned tobacco manufacturer (Crozier, 1964). However, in the 1980s, the CSO began paying attention to private business. As shown elsewhere (Segrestin 2014), CSO researchers saw privately-owned firms as more innovative organizational actors. Organizational phenomena such as R&D and "lean management" were hailed as models for a less bureaucratic society. Starting in the late 2000s, this interest in firms led to an interest in economic life in general. Some researchers, such as Pierre François and Claire Lemerrier, took up the study of firms' ownership structures and interlocks to understand broader transformations in French capitalism.

The rise of new economic sociology in French sociology at large is another factor that drew the CSO to socio-economics. In the past 10 years, the CSO expanded significantly and hired many young scholars from the different schools that make up French economic sociology. Sophie Dubuisson, who was trained at the CSI (*Centre de sociologie de l'innovation*) by Michel Callon, studies valuation

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<sup>4</sup> *ATER* stands for *Assistant temporaire d'enseignement et de recherche* ("temporary assistant for teaching and research")

processes and market devices. Other examples include Olivier Pilmis, who earned his PhD at EHESS with Pierre-Michel Menger, a specialist of uncertain markets, and Jeanne Lazarus, whose dissertation on banking and personal finances was supervised by Luc Boltanski. These newly hired academics have pursued their own strands of research, and some of them are now supervising doctoral students. Contrary to socio-economic research at MaxPo, which is covered in the following section, most of the research projects carried out at the CSO are micro-sociological and focus on processes rather than social structures and institutions.

### ***MaxPo: An Atypical Franco-German Venture***

Sciences Po has made a huge effort to become more international in recent years. The rationale behind this was that maintaining its domestic reputation and its ability to train the French administrative elites required broadening the scope of the institution and turning it into an academic powerhouse (see Descoings, 2007). Starting in the mid-2000s, Sciences Po launched an ambitious plan to increase the size of its permanent faculty and to make it more international.

Five years ago, in line with the plan described above, Sciences Po opened the Max Planck-Sciences Po Center on Coping with Instability in Market Societies, usually shortened as “MaxPo”. This original project was the outcome of a decades-long collaboration between the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (in Cologne, Germany) and Sciences Po. Marion Fourcade and Cornelia Woll were the first to serve as directors of MaxPo. Fourcade returned to Berkeley one year after being appointed; Woll, who earned her PhD at Sciences Po and the University of Cologne, replaced her for a short while before she became head of education at Sciences Po. The two current directors of MaxPo are Olivier

Godechot and Jenny Andersson. Godechot is a French sociologist who specializes in networks, careers, and finance, while Andersson is a historian trained in Sweden who, among other topics, works on economic forecasting and social-democracy.

MaxPo has become central in Sciences Po’s academic environment. It has achieved this status by inviting many visiting professors from prestigious institutions and by organizing exciting seminar series. It has been the home away from home for many of Sciences Po’s visiting scholars. In the last two years, for example, Jens Beckert, Heather Haveman, Neil Fligstein, and David Stark stayed at MaxPo for extensive periods of time. It also boasts a lively doctoral program, with two new doctoral students every year. Compared to the CSO, MaxPo is smaller but more international. While most seminars and activities at the CSO are conducted in French, people at MaxPo use English in their daily activities and doctoral fellowships tend to be awarded to international students. The nature of research projects at MaxPo also differs from those pursued at the CSO: While some projects use ethnography, many are comparative, with a strong emphasis on the financialization, economicization, and marketization of Western societies (see Godechot, 2016).

### ***Addressing Inequalities in European Societies and Global Cities: OSC & CEE***

Together with the CSO, the OSC is the other main research center in sociology at Sciences Po. It was founded in 1988 by Henri Mendras, a specialist of modernization and French rural communities. Most researchers at the OSC work on social inequalities. In so doing, some of its members address issues pertaining to political economy, such as Emanuele Ferragina, who is interested in welfare regimes, social participation, and social capital.

The CEE is also an important research center at Sciences Po and is mostly composed of political scientists. Political economy is very strong there, with a focus on the comparative study of social policies. Bruno Palier and Colin Hay are particularly active in this research program.

CEE and OSC members share a common interest in global cities, especially Sukriti Issar, from the OSC, and Tommaso Vitale, from the CEE. This interest in urban phenomena has to do with the fact that Sciences Po offers reputable master degrees in Urban Affairs.

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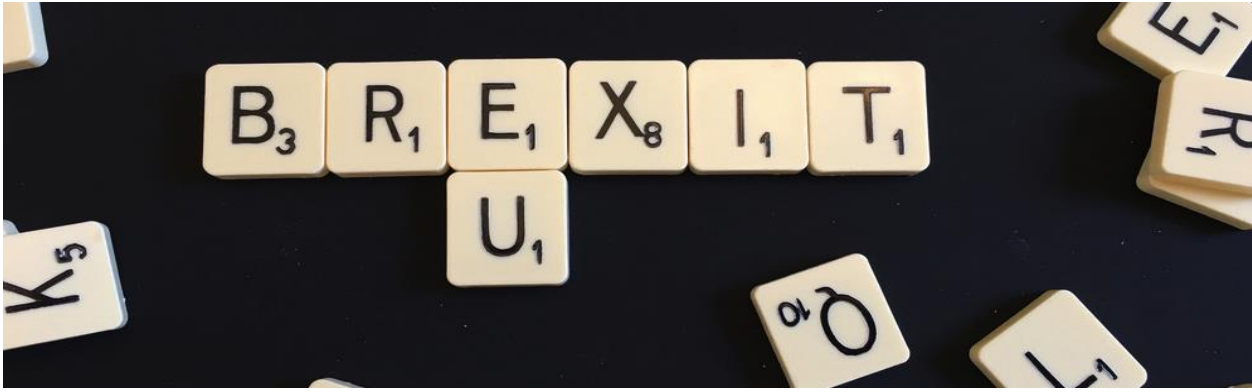
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## Brexit Special

During our conference at UC Berkeley this past summer, there took place a passionate impromptu session on the Brexit referendum. Many of those who spoke at the session were later asked to expand on their participation in writing. You can find contributions by Jacqueline O'Reilly, Julie Froud, Sukhdev Johal, Karel Williams, Chris Warhurst, Glenn Morgan, Christopher Grey, Geoffrey Wood, Mike Wright, Robert Boyer, Sabine Frerichs, Suvi Sankari, Akos Rona-Tas, and Patrick Le Galès [here](#), in the latest issue of Socio-Economic Review.

As SER was unable to publish all of the speakers from this session within their pages, we make the unpublished contributions available to you [here](#).

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## Book Review

*L'Ordre de la dette* by Benjamin Lemoine  
La Découverte, Paris 2016, 304p.

In *L'ordre de la dette*, sociologist Benjamin Lemoine explains how French public debt underwent a process of marketization over the last 60 years. He shows how successive reforms and discrete deregulation turned public debt into a commodity and the state into a common borrower. These changes led to a disembedding of the public circuit of state financing<sup>5</sup>. To explain these processes, Lemoine investigated the construction, definition, and use of public debt in

different settings. His data come from public and private archives, as well as interviews with a variety of actors, such as top bureaucrats, ministers' advisors, investors, financial communicators, experts, journalists, economists, spokespersons, and members of foundations, think tanks, and institutes.

The first part of the book is socio-historical. It begins in 1945 with the creation of a public "Treasury circuit", organized by several mechanisms: mandatory deposits from "correspondents" (credit organisms and public institutions), state-determined interest rates ("The

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<sup>5</sup> POLANYI Karl, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, Beacon Press, 2001.

*treasury behaves simultaneously as an investor and a privileged banker, because resources come to it automatically*”, p.49), and mandatory subscription to treasury bills by the banks. Debt was a credit with an administrative price, independent from the fluctuation of rates on financial markets. It guaranteed a low debt to GDP ratio and preserved public finance from the “wall of money” that brought down several governments before World War II.

By the 1960s, with the return of monetary and budgetary orthodoxy, the first steps of European integration and anti-inflationary policies, the system began to change. Finance minister Valéry Giscard d’Estaing (1962-1966) and his successors began to dismantle the Treasury circuit in the name of economic stability. The different public circuits were compartmentalized, and the public administration of credit was prohibited in the name of modernity and the new preoccupation with price stability. A new tool, the auctioning of debt (*adjudication*), modified the reality and turned the state into a fallible agent. The explicit goal behind these changes was to make the state into an “actor like any other on the market” (p.79). The state was to lose its centrality and power relative to lenders and to behave like a borrower trying to find the lowest interest rate on financial markets. Conversely, interest rates were to reflect the inherent risk of public policies (i.e., their conformity to “orthodoxy”). In other words, the market became a tool to discipline the state.

After the Socialist victory in 1981, the marketization of public debt was made irreversible. High-ranking officials in the Banque de France and the Trésor Public portrayed the administrative credit system as old-fashioned. Bureaucrats’ “*Treasury thesis*” (p.102) gradually spread among all the ministerial decision centers, in opposition to the new Socialist elite and its alternative propositions. Once the public

financial circuit was delegitimized, debt marketization developed through new public mechanisms and the rise of commercial practices to sell French treasury bonds. The state’s capacity for action became equated with the desirability and value of its debt.

Following this genealogy of debt, the second part of the book covers the current debates in France, with a focus on the controversies concerning the definition of public debt. This section shows how supranational institutions shaped the definition of public debt and framed it as a “problem”. The European Union set up a benchmark for states with gross debt figuring as the most important criterion (see, e.g., the common and arbitrary 3% deficit limit and the 60% of debt-to-GDP ratio). This criterion was subsequently appropriated by EU and state officials, who quietly reformed national accounting standards, importing “*an international process of financialization [...] inside the bureaucratic apparatus*” (p.186). Debates over the definition of public debt were brought back to the fore with the “Pébureau report” (2006), which, while submitted as a neutral and non-political commission, presented debt as a tragedy. The 2007 presidential race reflected this new consensus. Lemoine describes the normative debates that occurred over the perimeter, measurement, and definition of public debt – everything but its *production*: future pensions, public financial guarantees to banks, reversible debts (with a return), and more. With the growing narrative of the state having “empty coffers”, all forms of public expenditure became an object of concern, regardless of their status<sup>6</sup>.

Overall, this innovative and rigorous work defends five theses:

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<sup>6</sup> GUÉX Sébastien, “La politique des caisses vides”, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 2003, vol. 146, n° 1, pp. 51-61.

(1) In line with actor-network theory, Lemoine seeks to *understand public debt via its instruments*, i.e., the tools and operations that are used by those who handle public debt. This enables a clearer view of the implicit norms and the conventions taken up by bureaucrats. Instruments related to debt conveyed specific representations and thus shaped policy outcomes. Crafting an instrument always has normative implications and can contribute to the irreversible nature of certain political choices.

(2) The end of the Treasury circuit altered the public agenda. The evolution of the instrument led to *new public priorities* (orthodox financial and monetary policy instead of full-employment and public control of credit) *and new relationships between Treasury, government, supranational institutions, banks, creditors, and independent agencies*.

(3) Lemoine shows that the qualification, the amount, and the production of debt are political choices. He describes how *a displacement of practices* (the dismantling of the Treasury circuit and its replacement with new market-oriented instruments) *leads to a progressive and uncontrolled displacement of public policies*. A choice was made to use financial markets to discipline the state, affecting the autonomy of the latter.

(4) Lemoine argues that the relation between state and creditors is not natural, but *has been naturalized through particular instruments*. Public debt was invented based on conventions that varied over time and space. This work of critical sociology deconstructs a hegemonic feature of modern societies – rather than giving a “developmentalist” account, this book describes concrete actors in specific spaces (high officials in ministries, banks, and international organizations) who redefined public debt after changing the instrument of its production.

Benjamin Lemoine shows how public debt became a “problem” that justified policies of retrenchment, but his text would have benefitted from incorporating further dimensions and functions of public debt. For example, it does not touch on the redistributive nature of public debt. The dominant contemporary narrative is that public debt is “unfair” to future generations, those who supposedly will bear the burden of current spending; public debt is described as a direct transfer from future generations to present ones. In this framework, cutting current debt levels is a matter of justice, which is in fact the thesis of the “Pébureau report” analyzed in Lemoine’s book. But this narrative conceals the current vertical redistribution which public debt relies upon: the (often regressive) taxation of the population remunerates its creditors, whose taxation has been lowered with the hope of a “trickle-down” effect. In short, the State has given money back to households with the highest incomes and then borrowed back the money it gave them, with interest: the state offered a gift, and then rented it from the recipients. This inversed distribution is a critical point that helps to understand the order of debt.

Lemoine focuses on the period between 1945 and 1966 – an exceptional historical parenthesis of illiberal economic policy. As such, his argument would have been strengthened by a short reminder of French public policy on debt before World War II, which would have also served to characterize the post-war administrative order. The uninitiated reader could also learn from episodes of debt regulation that occurred even earlier in French history: Philippe le Bel directly organized spoliation of lenders’ properties, while the Directoire regime (1795-1799) simply never reimbursed its creditors.

Additional quantitative data would have been useful as well. The author brilliantly shows the variation of tolerated



public debt, with the rise of the “unsustainable indebtedness” narrative in 1983, a time when the debt/GDP ratio stood at a mere 19.5% (compared with 93.5% in 2015 according to Eurostat). The analysis would be even more powerful if we were to remind the reader of the far steeper rates of public indebtedness experienced in the past, such as the 270% rate in 1921<sup>7</sup>. Such facts are in line with the book’s argument: the “problem” of public indebtedness is an ideological construction without empirical basis, and debt regulation can take many different shapes.

The argument also has political implications. Public debates over debt overlook its instrumentation. The clash between Keynesian and Orthodox economists has a lot to do with public deficit, yet it leaves aside the fundamental question of *how* debt is increased. Even among its critics, public debt is taken for granted and little attention is paid to its technical foundations, its infrastructure, and the social structure of the market for public debt. Critics of debt argue against a “moral institution” that dries up social relations (“*money’s capacity to turn morality into a matter of impersonal arithmetic – and by doing so, to justify things that would otherwise seem outrageous or obscene*”<sup>8</sup>), which leads to unfair social policies (the “*debt state*” becoming a “*consolidation state*”<sup>9</sup>) and which is often not repaid in real terms<sup>10</sup>. By and large, critics of debt may have

contributed to the naturalization of “sovereign” debt and to making political alternatives invisible.

Benjamin Lemoine’s questioning of the production of debt itself is formidable. He shows the necessity of examining both the quantitative figures of public debt and its concrete manufacturing. His work uncovers concealed normative choices by governments, and in so doing, he eloquently addresses Marx’s concern about debt’s intangibility: “*with the rise of national debt-making, want of faith in the national debt takes the place of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which may not be forgiven*”<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> ANDREAU Jean, BEAUR Gérard et GARNIER Jean-Yves (eds.), QUENNOUËLLE-CORRE Laure, “Dette publique et marchés de capitaux au xxe siècle : le poids de l’État dans le système financier français”, in *La dette publique dans l’histoire*, Comité pour l’Histoire économique et financière, Histoire économique et financière de la France, 2006, p.446.

<sup>8</sup> GRAEBER David, *Debt: The First 5000 Years*, Brooklyn, New York, Melville House, 2011, p.14.

<sup>9</sup> STREECK Wolfgang, *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism*, Verso, 2014.

<sup>10</sup> PIKETTY, Thomas, *Le capital au XXIe siècle*, Seuil, 2013.

<sup>11</sup> MARX Karl, “Chapter XXXI: Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist”, in *Capital, Vol.I: A Critique of Political Economy*, Courier Corporation, 2011, p.827.

## SASE Networks Spotlight

*The intellectual life of SASE is sustained in its Networks. While mini-conferences are usually one-off yearly events, Networks bring people together year after year to pursue a particular intellectual program. For this first issue of the newly-expanded SASE newsletter, the editorial board hopes to help shed some light onto the Networks. It is SASE's strength that it is so pluridisciplinary and wide-ranging, but this breadth also means that many people never learn about the discussions or innovations happening in Networks to which they have not submitted papers. In this issue we will take a closer look at five of SASE's current fifteen Networks. Stay tuned for spotlights on the rest of the Networks in subsequent issues of this newsletter.*

*In this issue, we hear from:*

- [Matthew Allen](#) and [Matthew Keller](#), organizers of **Network F: Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation**
- [Bruce Carruthers](#), [Alya Guseva](#), and [Akos Rona-Tas](#), organizers of **Network N: Finance and Society**
- [Reuven Avi-Yonah](#), [Yuri Biondi](#), and [Shyam Sunder](#), organizers of **Network P: Accounting, Economics, and Law**

*These Network organizers describe research networks with varying lifespans and histories. Through their descriptions, we get a picture of SASE as a changing organization, which has grown organically by building on emerging research areas and institutionalizing mini-conferences. It is our hope that SASE members will be able to take advantage of the information provided here, including not only more detailed information about specific Networks but also references to recent books and articles published by organizers, to engage even more deeply with the organization—and perhaps even to take up the invitation to present in a new Network!*

### ***When was your Network founded?***

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation) Matthew Allen:** Good question and we are not entirely sure. I think that it has been around since at least 2001, when I (Matt Allen) first went to a SASE conference.

**Network N (Finance and Society) Akos Rona-Tas and Alya Guseva:** It was founded in the fall of 2010 on the heels of a successful mini-conference on The Global Rise and Spread of Consumer Financial Services organized at the summer SASE meeting in Philadelphia. The idea for the mini-conference on finance was suggested to us by Marc Schneiberg, who introduced us to then-president Jonathan Zeitlin. We briefly talked and later wrote a short rationale for the mini-conference. In the fall, SASE asked us whether we would like to launch

a Network focused on finance, and we enthusiastically said yes.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** We founded the Network with the SASE annual meeting in Budapest, in 2005, through a mini-conference devoted to accounting, economics, and law.

### ***Were you one of the founders? Briefly, what was the genesis of the Network?***

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation):** I think that Sigurt Vitols was the founder of the Network—or at least he was the organizer of it when I started going to SASE conferences. Presumably, the rationale for the Network is to provide a more micro- or firm-level approach to the study of capitalism. Knowledge, technology, and innovation all add to the dynamism of capitalism; moreover, there is important variation in the types of

knowledge, technology, and innovation that firms help to generate. Understanding how the institutions of various types of capitalism both shape and are shaped by that diversity are important to explaining developments in, for example, worker rights, (in)equality, political views, and firms' location decisions. Dr Knut Lange, Prof. Florian Becker-Ritterspach, and Dr Geny Piotti took over from Sig in 2008. Geny left as a Network co-ordinator in 2011 when I joined. Knut and Florian left as co-ordinators in 2013 (I believe), when Matt Keller joined.

**Network N (Finance and Society):** Yes, we both were. We also invited Bruce Carruthers to join the Network, reasoning that three would be the magic number: better visibility and more opportunities to spread the work organizing the panels. We have known Bruce and his work for many years and enjoyed working with him in other formats. The time following the global financial crisis was ripe for a Network focused specifically on finance. Prior to 2010, papers with a focus on finance would most likely go to the Markets, Firms, and Institutions Network, the catchall for economic sociology at SASE. But because there was an explosion of interest in finance, it made sense to give it a separate home. We put our three heads together and came up with a name and a description.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** The Network was founded by its current conveners: Reuven Avi-Yonah, Yuri Biondi and Shyam Sunder. In 2005, we were discussing about topics of control, governance, and regulation. We identified a need to better understand legal, economic, and financial aspects that are central to these matters. We were convinced that received disciplinary approaches tend to not address them comprehensively. Therefore, we decided to invite scholars and experts in these fields to join us, to foster a dialogue and generate

trans-disciplinary understanding and knowledge.

***What academic disciplines are most represented in your Network?***

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation):** Just like the fields of innovation and technology studies, we have a wide range of disciplinary backgrounds represented. But the three most common are probably sociologists, political scientists, and economists, with a strong representation of scholars based in business schools.

**Network N (Finance and Society):** Several disciplines are represented (including economics and management, with occasional anthropologists and historians), but economic sociology dominates.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** Our research Network aims to synthesize and cross-fertilize disciplinary approaches to better understand our phenomena of interest. Accountants, economists, and lawyers have been attending our Network, along with sociologists, political scientists, and other social scientists. Occasionally, scholars from institutions and regulatory bodies contribute to our discussions.

***How has the focus of the Network changed over time?***

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation):** The Network has become more policy focused and many of the contributions to it address issues relating to inequality and policymaking. The focus of the Network has therefore shifted away from narrow technology issues towards the implications of innovation for workers, voters, and policymakers. This shift, I think, marks out Network F from other academic meetings on technology and

innovation. We still welcome papers with a tighter focus on technology and innovation as understanding the processes and institutions that structure those developments is important to explanations of macro-level change.

**Keller:** I've only been a Network organizer for a few years, but even over that time, policy-centered issues seem to me to have become more central to the kinds of papers we have received. To be sure, that may also be related to conference themes – like 2016's emphasis on moral economies and 2015's emphasis on inequalities – but it seems to me that since the financial crisis, there has perhaps been more of a political opportunity, and a greater interest in engaging with new strategic and policy paradigms in issues related to innovation, economic growth, and their effects. That manifests itself in papers that explore governance issues related to innovation and the knowledge economy at both the national and regional levels, as well as within firm strategies. It's certainly not the only or even the main focus of the Network, but it seems to be a stronger strain than when I started.

**Network N (Finance and Society):** The focus has not changed as we purposefully set the confines of the Network pretty broadly – Finance and Society – though the range of topics certainly expanded. For instance, when we started there was barely one panel out of ten or twelve that dealt with household or consumer finance, most of them focusing on financial markets and regulation. Last year we had three or four, plus panels devoted to morality, inequality, and responsible banking/social impact investing.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** While the main focus is sufficiently broad to remain stable, every year we seek and organize panels and Network conferences (series of panels) on matters of new interest within our broad framework.

*What are some of the most important issues or themes that have guided your Network in recent years? What do you think will be central in the next few years?*

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation):** I think that assessing how innovation feeds through into bigger, broader political outcomes will be important. At the moment, there is a challenge to relate micro-level decisions and outcomes to broader economic, social, and political outcomes. In a sense, we are all aware of the impact of technological developments on our lives, but our ability to explain how institutions help to structure and link decisions within (groups of) individual firms to national and international developments is limited.

**Network N (Finance and Society):** One significant trend that we followed is the reversal of globalizing processes. When we got into research on finance in the late 1990s and early 2000s, finance seemed to be moving towards the U.S. model partly by integration of local practices on U.S. terms and partly by imitation of U.S. practices. It is clear now that financial globalization has been fracturing along the national lines, and the trend will likely only strengthen in the future. A second important trend is the growing surveillance of consumer financial behavior and its integration with other instruments of governmentality. Not only are the data generated from the digitalization of consumer financial transactions monitored by states and market actors, but consumer financial information can also be merged with other types of data (phone and internet records, commute and travel data, etc.) making consumers more “transparent” than ever before. A related development is the growing importance of computer algorithms and information infrastructures that may appear neutral but, in fact, are powerful mechanisms of “social sorting”. Consumer finance data

already play a significant role in the accumulation of social advantages and disadvantages, for instance, when credit reports and credit scores guide the decisions of landlords, employers, and insurers. These processes create new sources of power and inequality.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** Since 2005, for instance, we have devoted special attention not only to critical social events such as the international accounting convergence and the aftermath of the North Atlantic Financial Crisis of 2007-2008, but also to fundamental topics such as the evolution of regulation, and the emergence of shareholder value and primacy in corporate governance and social responsibility. Our ambition is to constantly discover interesting and emerging issues to be investigated. We shall keep paying attention to accounting and control, auditing, corporate governance and social responsibility, financial and prudential regulation. But money, credit and banking, central banking, prudential regulation, sustainability, and tax avoidance are also important emergent issues.

***What do you get from SASE and this Network in particular that you do not get at other conferences that you attend?***

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation):** It's probably cliché to say, but I really value the ability to get to know people working in the field in a more engaged and ongoing way – and I think that's easier to do that at SASE conferences where there is a cluster of people working on similar topics, and where you cross paths with many of the same people from year to year. Second, because we have many more topically-related sessions, we can often develop a cross-session dialogue that continues outside of sessions – at least with a core group of regular attendees, which I'd like to see continue to grow.

Third, it's a really great way, for me, to see the work of up and coming scholars developing new ideas and approaches. There are several cases where I've been made aware of an intriguing line of work several years before it becomes more widely recognized. So the Network helps me keep up with multiple research streams, and in many cases makes me aware of new trends. Fourth, because SASE has such an international membership and a diversity of scholars, we really do get to more routinely engage in more cross-national, comparative discussions than I usually find at the more domestically-oriented conferences I attend.

**Network N (Finance and Society):** We are big SASE fans. What you get is an incredible sense of community interested in similar issues, but often approaching them from diverse disciplinary perspectives and refracted through different national traditions. You also get to hear about empirical developments in many other countries and regions. This is a great learning experience because you have a chance to find out more about your particular topic in other contexts. These meetings are conducive to thinking about your research comparatively, which the international and interdisciplinary crowd helps to foster. This is a very different experience from the one we get when we attend large disciplinary meetings like the ASA where topics are more segmented and the perspectives are more consistent.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** SASE has been an open and collaborative environment to the development of our intellectual venture. It has trusted us on the scientific work while assuring the organizational and reputational resources that have been required to establish, maintain, and develop it through time.

*Is there anything about this Network and its dynamics, frameworks, orientations, or central issues that make it different from other Networks?*

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation):** I just think this is a really exciting time to be engaged in research and debates about innovation, knowledge, and technology development. It's clear from the scholarly literature that the dynamics of generating innovative technologies have changed, particularly since around the early 1980s – which has given rise to intriguing new questions and answers about various aspects of those dynamics. And as new technologies continue to both emerge and be adapted for new purposes, both the mechanics of those processes and their socio-economic implications seem to me to be increasingly central to a range of academic and policy debates – whether it's the effects of advanced robots and artificial intelligence, or on how technologies are shaping things like consumption, politics, firm strategies, and patterns in inequalities.

**Network N (Finance and Society):** This Network is possibly a bit less oriented toward purely descriptive work and has a stronger engagement with theoretical and policy issues.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** Our focus on accounting is certainly distinctive, but also the ambition to address socio-economic instruments not only to understand and situate them in their organizational and institutional contexts, but also to analyze, assess, and possibly improve on their socio-economic performances.

*What would you want people to know about your Network?*

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation):** We are an interdisciplinary Network and we seek to synthesize the

contributions from a range of fields, including innovation, economic sociology, business and management, politics, and economics. We offer a supportive and collegiate environment to help contributors hone their papers and, hopefully, increase their chances of seeing their papers in good journals.

**Network N (Finance and Society):** Our Network believes deeply in methodological diversity and equally welcomes qualitative and quantitative, theoretical, empirical and experimental, cultural, institutional, historical, and structural approaches.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** The main message is that we are open to discuss and welcome scholars willing to engage challenging topics and an open dialogue across methods, disciplines and national traditions.

*What is your most recent book?*

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation) Allen:** I am based in a UK business school. Business schools here do not, in general, encourage book publishing – institutions and knowledge generation and all that. My latest theoretical piece on the socio-economics of innovations is: Allen, M. M. C. (2013) 'Comparative Capitalisms and the Institutional Embeddedness of Innovative Capabilities', *Socio-Economic Review*, 11, 771-794.

**Keller:** *State of Innovation: the U.S. Government's Role in Technology Development* (edited with Fred Block). Fred Block, Marian Negoita, and I are also working on a new book, tentatively titled "Innovation in the Post-Industrial Era," that is focused on the developmental network approach the U.S. government has taken toward energy innovation. Well, at least until the Trump administration. At this point it's very difficult to tell precisely what the direction of U.S. policy will be –



and I hope we'll start to see some papers trickling into the Network on that subject.

**Network N (Finance and Society):** We recently co-authored *Plastic Money: Constructing Markets for Credit Cards in Eight Postcommunist Countries* (Stanford, 2014). While a lot has been written about how markets work once they are built, our book explains how markets are engineered from the ground up – by selecting key players, ensuring cooperation, and providing conditions for the valuation of a product. We do this through a historical comparison of how banks constructed markets for credit cards in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine, China, and Vietnam in the two decades following the fall of communism. The book was the result of ten years of research that included fieldwork in all of these countries.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** Our research Network relates to our journal 'Accounting, Economics and Law: A Convivium', active since 2011. This is certainly our main outlet for publishing ideas and analyses that have been discussed at our SASE events. Feel free to have a look at it: <https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/ael>

*Anything else you'd like to add?*

**Network F (Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation):** Just a warm invitation to colleagues to submit papers or consider organizing a relevant session through our Network – which we're more than happy to discuss or supplement, if need be.

**Network N (Finance and Society):** We are very happy to see great interest among young researchers in the field of finance.

**Network P (Accounting, Economics, and Law):** We wish to thank Martha Zuber for her kind, open and effective support all

along our research Network work. In the future, we would be honored to be more involved in SASE's core activities, including by contributing to the plenary sessions and strategic planning.

Last but not least, perhaps the link to the 2017 call for papers in our journal:

[http://yuri.biondi.free.fr/downloads/SASE\\_NetworkP\\_Call2017.pdf](http://yuri.biondi.free.fr/downloads/SASE_NetworkP_Call2017.pdf)

*Interview conducted by  
Emma Greeson  
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## Call for PhD Project Abstracts to Be Featured in the SASE Newsletter

Have you finished your PhD project? Is the end in sight? Do you want the world to know about your research? The SASE newsletter is looking for presentations of finished, or nearly finished, PhD projects on socio-economic topics. Let us know about the theoretical insights and empirical results that have resulted from those years of hard work. Wherever you come from or whatever your topic, as long as it is related to socio-economics, we would love to hear from you. Send us an abstract of approximately 400 words sketching the research and results, and we will feature it in the newsletter (space permitting).

Send submissions to [mzuber@sase.org](mailto:mzuber@sase.org)

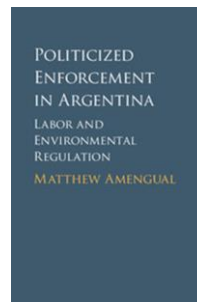
## Recent Publications



### *Leçons de l'expérience japonaise: Vers une autre politique économique?*

by Sébastien Lechevalier and Brieuc Monfort

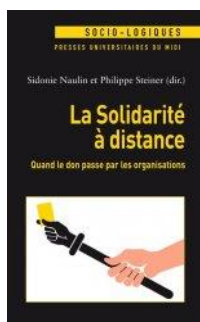
(Editions Rue d'Ulm, 2016)



### *Politicized Enforcement in Argentina: Labor and Environmental Regulation*

by Matthew Amengual

(Cambridge UP, 2016)



### *La Solidarité à distance: Quand le don passe par les organisations*

by Sidonie Naulin and Philippe Steiner (eds)

(Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2016)



### *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China*

by Sabrina Zajak

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)



### *Manager la RSE dans un environnement complexe: le cas du secteur social et médico-social français*

by Sandra Bertezene and David Vallat

(Editions EMS, 2015)



### *Managing Inter-Organizational Relations: Debates and Cases*

by Jörg Sydow, Elke Schüßler and Gordon Müller-Seitz

(Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)