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# Promises of the new sociological Schools in a total quantified world. How to face financialization and dataization of cities?

Fabrice Bardet

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# Promises of the new sociological Schools in a total quantified world. How to face financialization and *dataization* of cities?

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**AUH Encontros**

Fabrice Bardet, ENTPE - University of Lyon, 12.09.2017

**"A total quantified world" ?**

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**Dashboard**

- Fat mass: 29.6 lb (Today, 11:47 AM)
- Heart rate: 79 BPM (Today, 11:47 AM)
- This week: Remain stable
- 0.5 lb lost this week
- Air quality (Today, 11:30 AM)

Rating Marks for Long-Term Bonds	Definitions
AAA	Most likely that debt obligations will be honored.
AA (+-)	High likelihood that debt obligations will be honored.
A (+-)	Reasonable likelihood that debt obligation will be honored.
BBB (+-)	There is a likelihood that debt obligations will be honored but compared to the higher rating (A), there is the possibility of a diminished likelihood of debt repayment.
BB (+-)	Repayment does not pose a problem at present but may become problematic in the future.
B (+-)	Probability of repayment is weak, with cause for concern.
CCC	Repayment is uncertain and there is the danger of default on debt obligations as a real possibility.
CC	High likelihood of default on debt obligations.
C	Extremely high probability of default on debt obligations.
D	Defaulting on debt obligations.



**EXCLUSIVE RANKINGS**

**U.S. News**

**BEST HOSPITALS**

2012 Edition

**Get Top Care in:** Cancer, Heart, Neurology, Orthopedics, and more

Plus: Premier Hospitals in Your City

**FREE MEDICAL TESTS** that could save your life

**A Peek Inside The Brain** (photos p.36)

Credit ratings range from AAA to D, and are further subdivided into a total of 20 ratings (see chart).

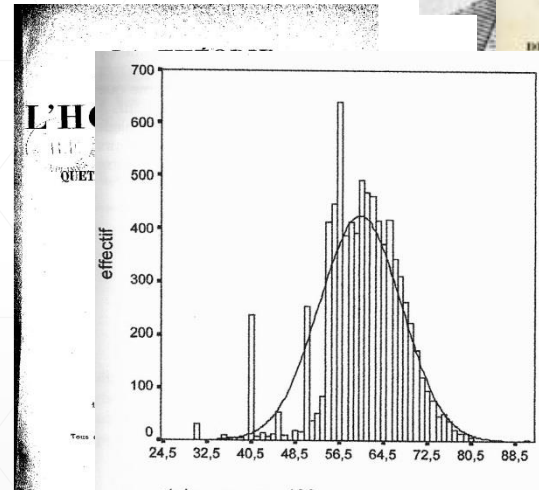
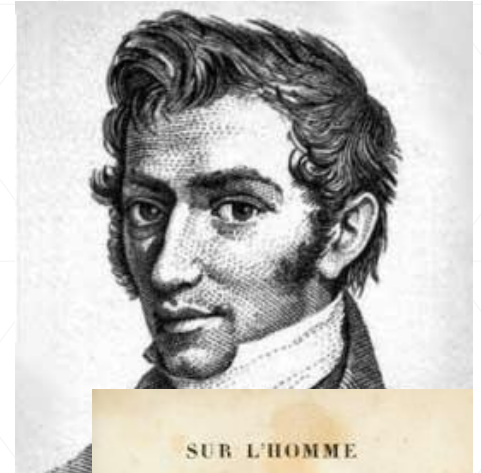
**OECD PISA**

OECD Programme for International Student Assessment

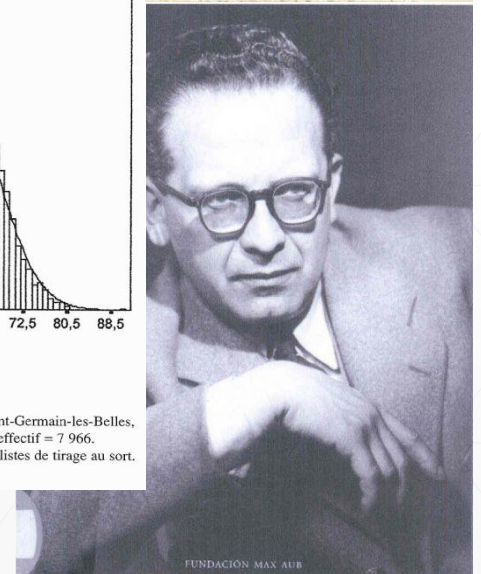
Overall Quality	Average Grade	Hotness
4.6	B+	
Helpfulness	4.6	
Clarity	4.6	
Easiness	3.5	

# Back to Sociology's birth

- Positivism
  - Sociology from biology (4<sup>th</sup> book of Auguste Comte)
- And also quantification
  - Quetelet (Lazarsfeld 1961)
  - Durkheim and the ENS network
  - Halbwachs on cities (1909)
- At a moment when quantification was lacking



Graphique 2 : stature des conscrits, cantons de Saint-Germain-les-Belles, Nexon et Saint-Yrieix, classes 1843-1872, effectif = 7 966. Arch. dép. de la Haute-Vienne, I R 120 à I R 149, listes de tirage au sort.

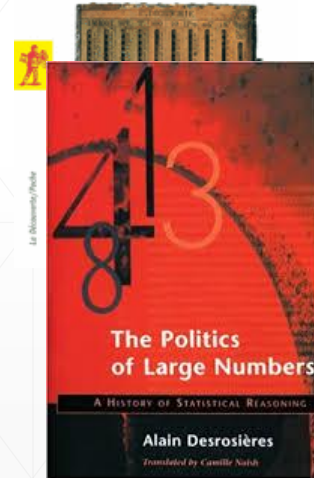


# Alain Desrosières's School

- Families of numbers: accounting, measures, statistics
- Alain Desrosières grid of analysis on statistics (2005)
  - A student of French Polytechnique School (X)
  - Statistician (ENSAE)
  - Taught by Pierre Bourdieu (1962) who aimed to relaunch French quantitative sociology, abandoned since Simiand and Halbwachs (Bourdieu, "Fieldwork in Philosophy" in *Choses dites*, 1987)
    - Bourdieu had just published *Work and workers in Algeria* (1962) with statisticians from INSEE in Alger...
    - ... and he was looking at Lazarsfeld work ("Notes on the history of quantification in sociology", 1961)
  - Engaged since 1976 in a program dedicated to the history of statistics
    - His main book: *The politics of large numbers* (1998 (1993))



Alain Desrosières  
La politique  
des grands nombres  
Histoire de la raison statistique



# Desrosières' grid

Types of State	Political economy	Modes of intervention	Statistics
<b>Engineer State</b> (Europe XVII – XVIII)	Mercantilism Competition of Nations	Development of technocracy. Public works	Census. Cost/benefit analysis
<b>Minimalist State</b> XIX <sup>th</sup>	Physiocracy. Extension of market to land, work and national currencies	Fight against extrem poverty. Anti-trust laws	Statistics promoting markets transparency (agricultural sector in US). Measures of markets failures
<b>Providence State</b> Europe – End of XIX <sup>th</sup>	Probabilistic analysis of social phenomena. Protection against hazard	Social laws : labor laws, workers compensation acts, workers and peasants pensions, unemployment compensation. Compulsory insurance	Statistics on working time, salaries, unemployment. Surveys on labor budgets
<b>Keynesian State</b> Post 1929	Keynesianism	Strong monetary and budgetary politics	National accounts. Economic analysis. Consumer prices index
<b>Neoliberal State</b>	General extension of market mechanisms. When impossible, promotion of quasi-market procedures	Public private partnerships. Market incitatives. Ratings and evaluations	Individual performance indicators. Net present value

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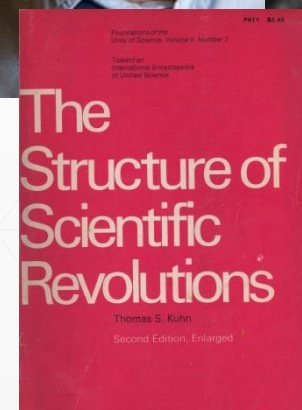
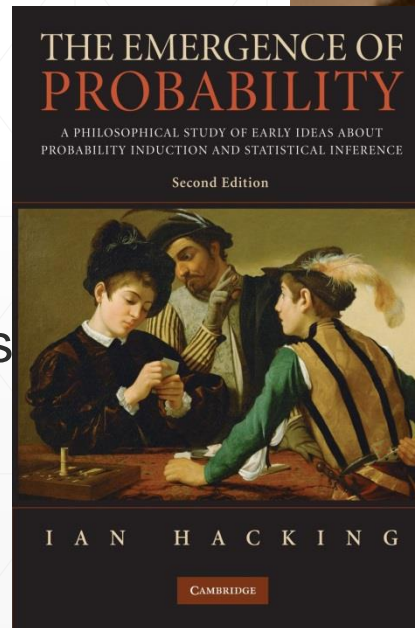
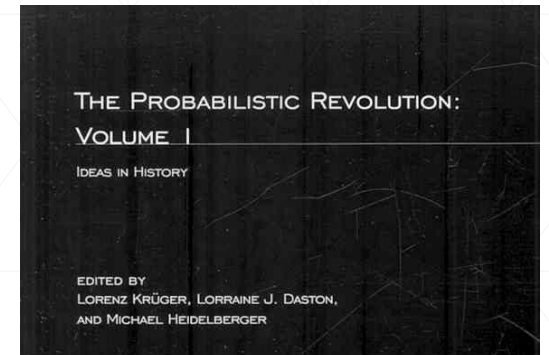
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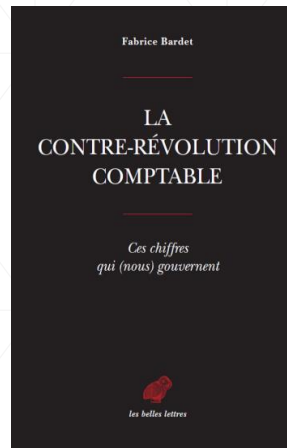
# Probabilistic Revolution

- Providence State
  - Birth of “unemployment”
  - Workers’ Compensation Acts
  - Pension laws
- Risk Society
  - Life Insurance
  - Quality tests
- Social experiments
  - In Sociology
  - In medicine



# Accounting counter-revolution

- The Keynesian state
  - Scientific Management
  - Cost accounting
  - National accounting
- The New Industrial State
  - The vertical firm model (Johnson & Kaplan, 1987)
  - Accounting in Nixon federal administration: the “zero base budgeting”
- In cities: From managerialism to entrepreneurialism
  - Accounting in Nixon federal administration
  - The economic crisis and



# And then came the financial valuation

- The Agency Theory
  - Stephen Ross, MIT Sloan School (TAER, 1973)
  - Jensen & Meckling (JFE, 1976); 68 000 citations...
  - Fama & Jensen (Separation of ownership and control, TJLE, 1983); 19 000 cit.
- The extension of the “net present value” calculus
  - Very old primary forms, before the success in 1960s (Parker, 1968)
  - The institutionalization (Brealey and Myers, 1988)
- Sociological works
  - Miller (1991)
  - The MBS, end of 1990s (Froud, Karel, Erturk, ...)



Accounting at LSE  
Ranked #1 University in  
London for Accounting  
IQS World University Rankings by Subject 2015/1

# A massive colonisation of organisations and policies

- Financial sectors
    - Accounting: the international standardization (IFRS by IASB)
    - Bank: statistical estimation of risk in Basel II Accords (2004)
  - Non-financial sectors
    - The “Social Return On Investment” notion
      - G8 Social Impact Investment Forum (2013)
      - Impact Reporting and Investment Standards (IRIS) by JP Morgan
    - Art sector invasion (Horowitz, 2010, *Art of the deal: Contemporary art in a global financial market*)
    - Environmental evaluation (Boisvert et Vivien, 2012)
-

# Quantophrenia!

- The US controversy

- William Ogburn's domination during the 1930s
- Pitirim Sorokin's revenge (1956)

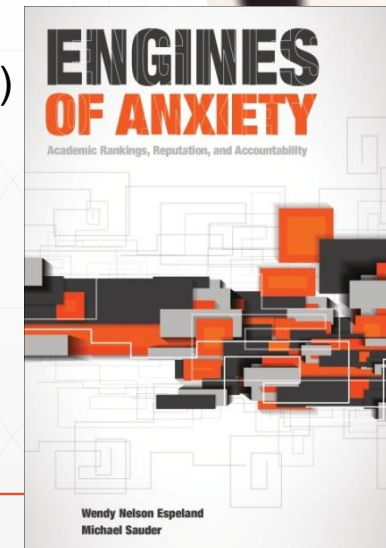
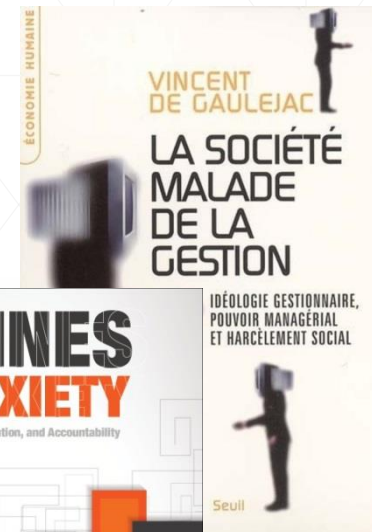
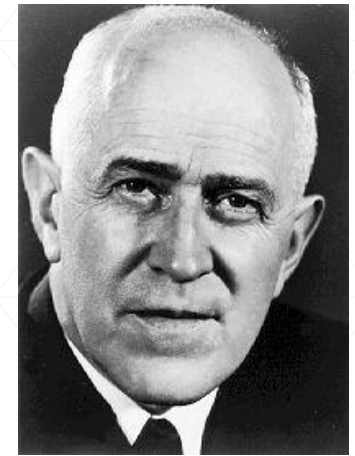
- The Current trend against NPM

- De Gaulejac, *The society sick of management* (2005)
- Espeland and Sauder on rankings (2016)

- What is coming with big data



Portrait University, Harvard University Archives, 19110507\_1



# Komar & Melanid's exhibition, MOMA, 1992



France Most Wanted



Portugal Most Wanted

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# Next step!

- **Defense of quantification policies analysis**
    - Quantifying = convention + estimation
    - Families of quantifications / elites
  - **In urban studies, two main positions**
    - New circuits of capital (Halbert)
    - New logics for planning, building and investing (Aalbers, Coulondre)
  - **Investing financialized tools in urban actors**
    - Developers
    - Public managers
  - **Investing big data uses**
    - Behind slogans no evidence
    - No rough data
-

# Governing cities by numbers

- XIXth: Doctors and engineers in the city
    - Tables of mortality
    - Public works to answer statistics
  - XXth: New Industrial States
    - From Scientific management to marketing and credit
    - The conquest of Traffic engineers (Dupuy, 1978)
    - From managerialism to entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989)
  - XXIth: From production to assetization
    - From to The success of Florida
    - Public managers
-