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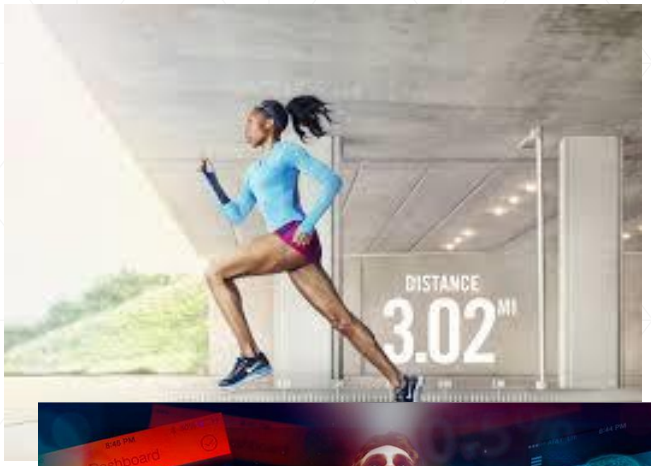
Promises of the new sociological Schools in a total quantified world. How to face financialization and *dataization* of cities?

AUH Encontros
Fabrice Bardet, ENTPE - University of Lyon, 12.09.2017

"A total quantified world" ?


DISTANCE
3.02 MI

KCG
RICE

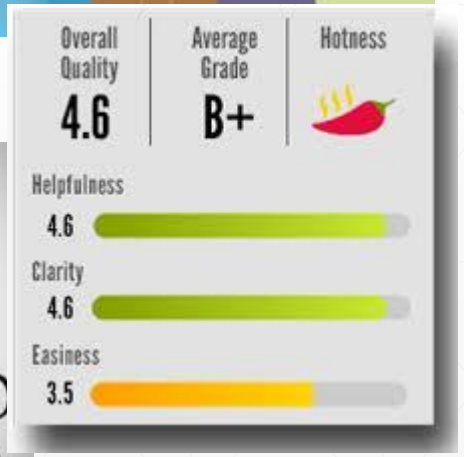
Cinque Terre

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
High
AAA
Most likely that debt obligations will be honored
AA (+−)
High likelihood that debt obligations will be hon
A (+−)
Reasonable likelihood that debt obligation will be honored.
BBB (+−)
There is a likelihood that debt obligations will be ho but compared to the higher rating (A), there is the possibility of a diminished likelihood of debt repay
BB (+−)
Repayment does not pose a problem at pre but may become problematic in the future.
B (+−)
Probability of repayment is weak, with cause for c
CCC
Repayment is uncertain and there is the dan of default on debt obligations as a real pos
CC
High likelihood of default on debt obliga
C
Extremely high probability of default on debt obligations.
D
Defaulting on debt obligations.
Credit ratings range from AAA to D, and are further subdivided into a total of 20 ratings (see ch

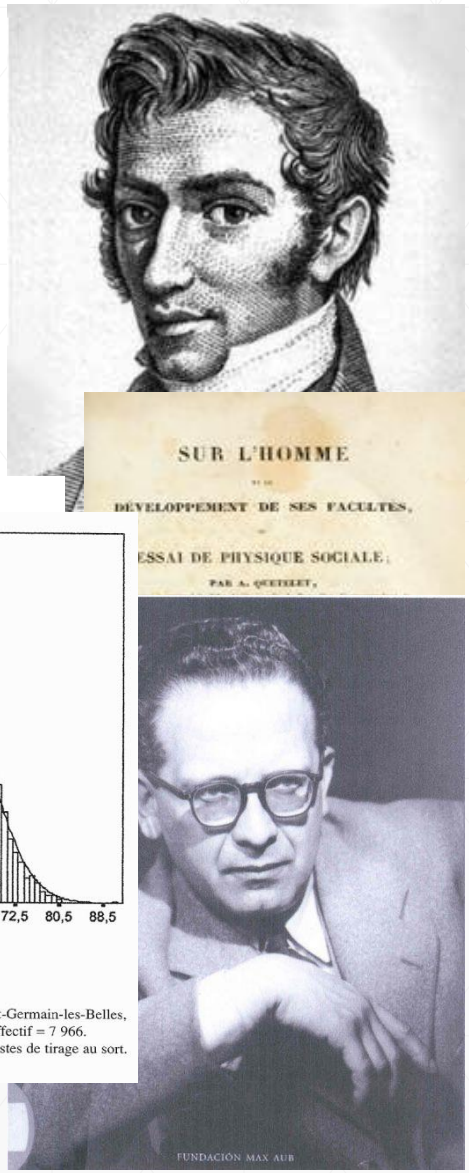
EXCLUSIVE RANKINGS
10 DIETS That Really Work!
DELL
U.S.News
BEST HOSPITALS
2012 Edition
Get Top Care in:
Cancer, Heart, Neurology, Orthopedics, and more
Plus: Premier Hospitals in Your City
FREE MEDICAL TESTS that could save your life
A Peek Inside The Brain (photos p.36)

OECD
PISA
OECD Programme for International Student Assessment

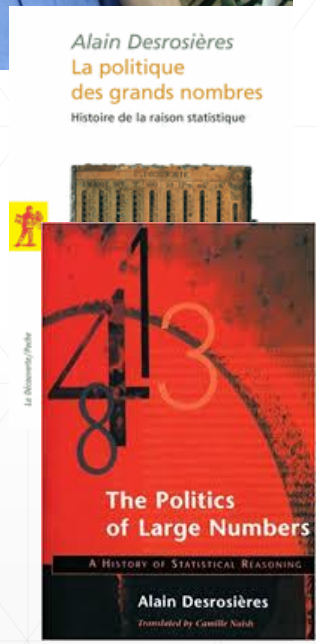

Overall Quality
4.6
Average Grade
B+
Hotness
Helpfulness
4.6
Clarity
4.6
Easiness
3.5

Back to Sociology's birth

- Positivism
  - Sociology from biology (4th 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



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))

Desrosières' grid

Types of State	Political economy	Modes of intervention	Statistics
Engineer State (Europe XVII – XVIII)	Mercantilism Competition of Nations	Development of technocracy. Public works	Census. Cost/benefit analysis
Minimalist State XIXth	Physiocraty. Extansion 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
Providence State Europe – End of XIXth	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, unemployement. Surveys on labor budgets
Keynesian State Post 1929	Keynesianism	Strong monetary and budgetary politicies	National accounts. Economic analysis. Consumer prices index
Neoliberal State	General extansion 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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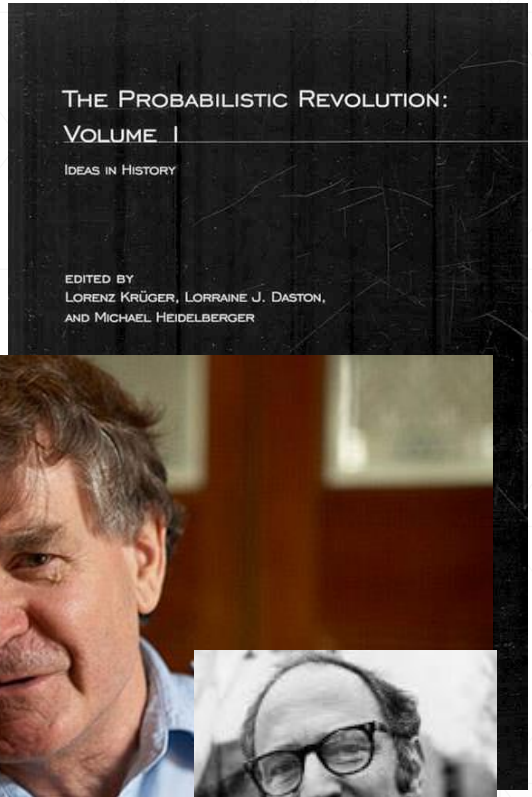
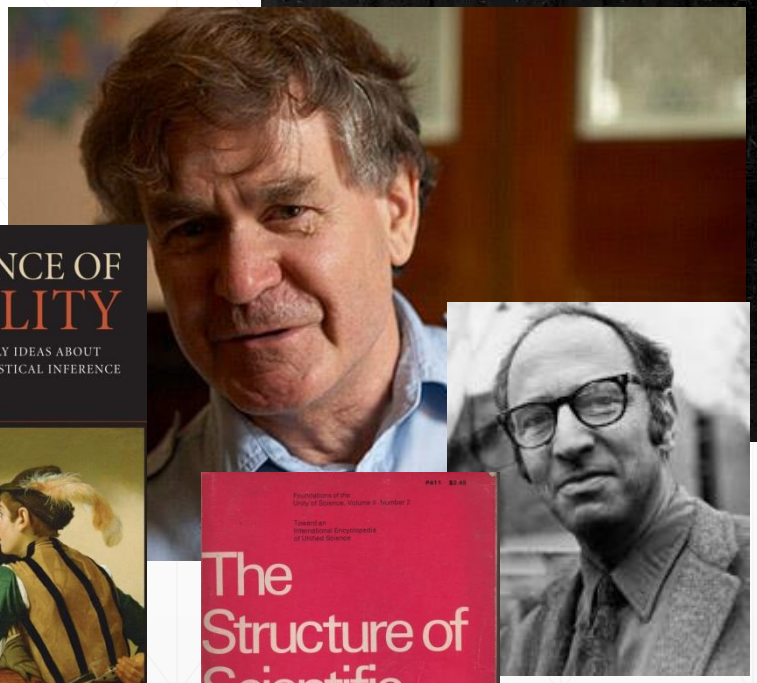
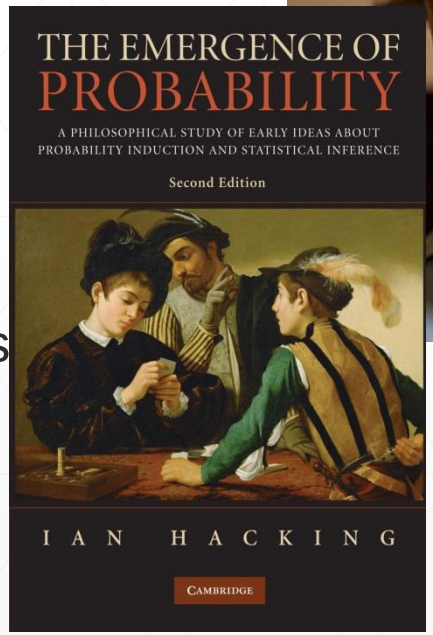
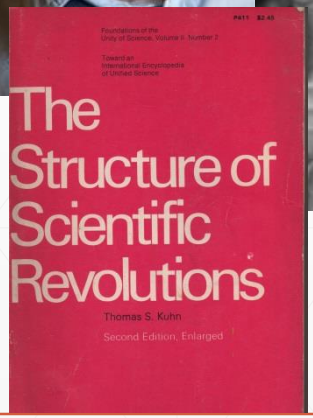
Probabilistic Revolution

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

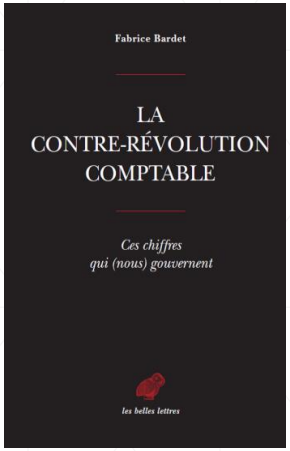








Accounting counter-revolution



- 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 enterpreneurialism
  - Accounting in Nixon federal administration
  - The economic crisis and

And then came the financial valuation

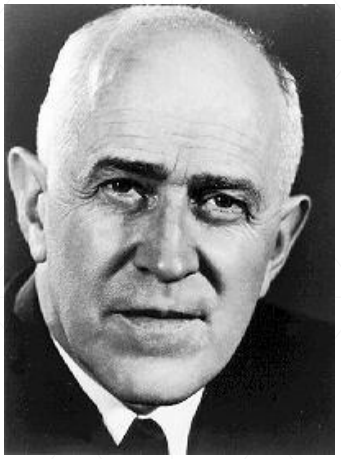
- The Agency Theory
  - Stephen Ross, MIT Sloan School (TAER, 1973)
  - Jensen & Meckling (JFE, 1976); 68 000 citations…
  - Fama & Jensen (Separation of ownership and control, TJLE, 1983); 19 000 cit.
- The extension of the “net present value” calculus
  - Very old primary forms, before the success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

MANCHESTER 1824
The University of Manchester
Alliance Manchester Business School

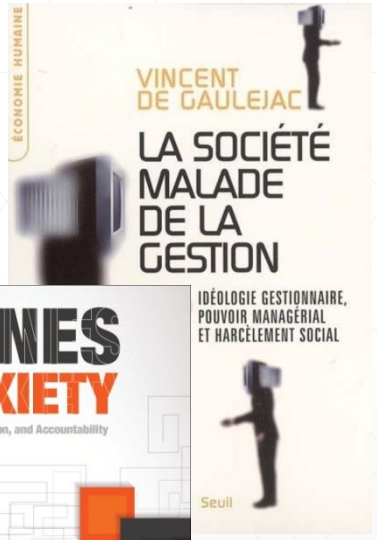
A massive colonisation of organisations and policies

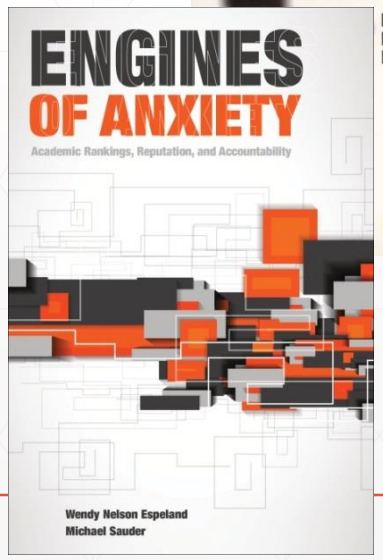
- Financial sectors
  - Accounting: the international standardization (IFRS by IASB)
  - Bank: statistical estimation of risk in Basel II Accords (2004)
- Non-financial sectors
  - The “Social Return On Investment” notion
    - G8 Social Impact Investment Forum (2013)
    - Impact Reporting and Investment 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, T*he society sick of management* (2005)
  - Espeland and Sauder on rankings (2016)
- What is coming with big data





Komar & Melanid's exhibition, MOMA, 1992

France Most Wanted

Portugal Most Wanted

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