

CRESCNews

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Financial Reform or Business as Usual? CRESC Assesses the Evidence

In October, CRESC's 'Alternative Report on UK Banking Reform' made waves in the debate about the extent to which the government should increase regulation in the financial sector following the 2008 crash in

the global financial markets. Drawing on research produced by a 12 strong working group of CRESC researchers and outside practitioners, CRESC's public interest Report challenged the old City of London arguments

about the social value of finance which have been re-used since 2008 to deflect any re-regulation which threatens to harm the competitive position of the City of London [continued on Page 2]

New CRESC Director: Welcome to John Law



John Law is joining CRESC in April. Following the departure of one of CRESC's founding directors Tony Bennett, John is moving from Lancaster to the Chair of Sociology at the Open University. He'll be working closely with OU colleagues Marie Gillespie and Sophie Watson as a CRESC Centre Director, and will be convening the new Social Life of Method (SLOM) research theme with Evelyn Ruppert and Mike Savage. John's background is interdisciplinary. [continued on page 9]

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THEME 1: REMAKING CAPITALISM

CRESC's Alternative Report on Banking Reform

Adam Leaver and Karel Williams

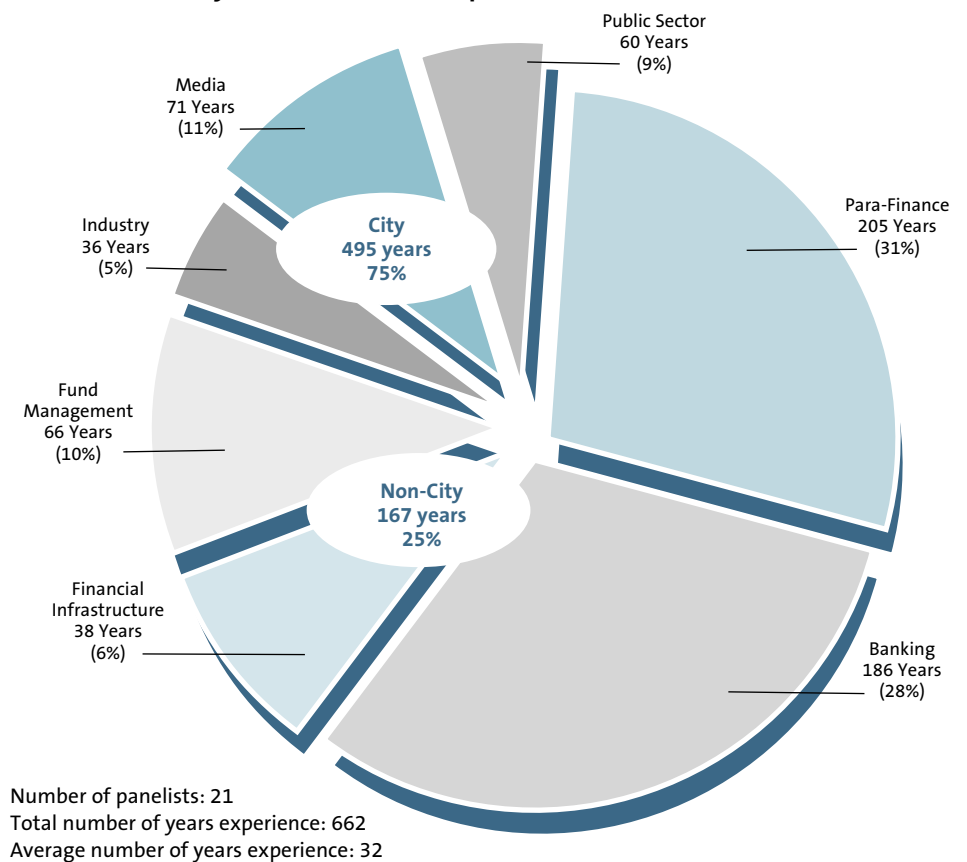
[continued from p1] It was thus unsurprising to CRESC researchers that in December's Pre-Budget Report the government announced a tax on banking bonuses and the New Year's honours list then pointedly omitted bankers, including the outgoing Lord Mayor. These changes marked the end of the cosy deferential relation between British political classes and London's financial elites. The bonus tax proposal predictably sparked a hostile reaction from the City. As Angela Knight of the British Bankers Association warned, the tax was 'populist, political and penal'.

It is likely that CRESC's 'Alternative Report on UK Banking Reform'* contributed to the shift in opinion in the preceding months. Earlier in 2009, the Treasury White Paper *Reforming Financial Markets* accepted the Bischof and Wigley reports' narrative about the benefits of financial services to the British economy. *The Alternative Report* was taken up in the Observer and the Guardian whose first leader (16 October 2009) praised CRESC's "excellent corrective" to the finance lobby's "fairy story" about taxes paid and jobs created. Subsequent coverage in the Guardian and Financial Times focused on the Report's political analysis of excessive "insider" influence.

The tax revenues from the finance sector are now offset by the immediate cost of bank bail-out. In the five years up to 2006/7, the finance sector paid and collected £203 billion in taxes in the UK, but the immediate, upfront cost of the UK bail-out was £289 billion, and this could rise potentially to £1,183 billion. This is a pro cyclical sector which socialises its losses so that the tax payer is largely responsible when the bubble bursts.

In finance, rising profitability on the upswing does not translate into new jobs. By 2007 the finance sector directly employed around 1 million workers (mainly in retail), which was no more than in 1991. Indirect employment

Exhibit 1: An analysis of the Bischoff Report



Source: Publicly available information on the members of the Bischoff Working Group

(i.e. jobs in consultancy, accounting and law dependent on finance) added another 500,000 workers. According to these figures the finance sector (directly and indirectly) employs less people than British manufacturing.

Finally, finance concentrates rather than diffuses prosperity because of the geographical clustering of wholesale employment in East London. Highly paid investment banking jobs are heavily clustered within the City Mile and Canary Wharf, whilst retail banks do not create jobs as they must control high street and back office head count as they attempt to deliver shareholder value.

If we ask why these points had not previously

been made, the answer is that finance sector insiders and lobbyists had undue influence over the Bischof and Wigley reports. As CRESC calculated, the Bischoff committee members had 75% of their 662 years of work experience in the City or City-related services. Another Guardian first leader (26 November 2009) used these results to lambast official reports, like the Walker Report on bank governance, as "chaps talking to chaps and coming up with a few limp proposals that need not inconvenience anyone too much". So CRESC helped make the financial crisis into a democratic issue.

* downloadable from the home page of our web site at www.cresc.ac.uk.

THEME 2: REFRAMING THE NATION

Researching Transformative Events: Witness Seminars as Method

Francis Dodsworth

Over the course of the last year work in Theme 2 has taken a new methodological direction with the use of the witness seminar as a research format. In research carried out in concert with CRESC's affiliated 'Tuning In' project, and along with researchers in Theme 3, two witness seminars were held on a) the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971, which saw the establishment of Bangladesh as an independent state, and b) the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which marked the end of the post-war settlement in Eastern Europe and the beginning of the fall of communism. These two witness seminars drew together members of the BBC World Service who reported on these seminal events at the time, many of whom had not seen one another since the events took place, along with other agents involved in the processes they reported on.

A witness seminar is essentially a form of group interview in which participants in the events under discussion can meet together to debate their role in and perception of the issues. The format was devised in the 1980s as a means of studying the recent past by the Institute for Contemporary British History (now the Centre for Contemporary British History) at the Institute of Historical Research. Unlike traditional oral history, which relies on individual interviews carried out by a researcher, the witness seminar allows the participants to interact with one another, taking the conversation in different directions as new details or perspectives are uncovered. Although usually mediated by an academic chair with a set of issues they ask the panel to address, this gives much more freedom to the participants to engage with one another and may draw out issues that would otherwise have remained buried as



participants stimulate one another's memories, or react to discoveries about others' perspectives or motivations that were unknown to them at the time the events took place. This approach prevents the discussion of the subject from being dominated by the perspective and concerns of the researchers involved, giving a good sense of what the participants considered important and the extent to which they agreed about this. We found it also gave significant insights into the operation of the BBC World Service which might not have been evident from individual interviews.

The witness seminars were important events in themselves, both for the researchers and hopefully for the participants, providing a form of commemoration and camaraderie as well as a source of information for further study. However, we did not want to make the witness seminars the end of our research, rather we sought to use them as a way of stimulating a new research trajectory. Therefore we used the information and perspective we gained from these seminars to frame a new set of questions or an array of traditional oral history interviews that allowed us to follow up the issues raised in the seminars in more depth and to offer critical engagement with some of the comments made.

“A witness seminar is essentially a form of group interview in which participants in the events under discussion can meet together to debate their role in and perception of the issues.”

THEME 3: GOVERNING CULTURES: CITIES, POLICIES AND HERITAGE

Researching the City

Sophie Watson

Researching the City is a significant new research initiative in Theme 3 to complement those research areas that were already thriving - notably an engagement with the relationship between governance and culture, in particular museums and the heritage sector. This initiative takes forward the notion of the city as a tool of government and pushes it into an exploration on how the materiality of urban space intersects with urban cultures. The notion of materiality encompasses the importance of economic processes in understanding cities as well as the idea of the city as a built environment which 'solidifies' social and cultural processes in visible and material ways. Buildings and built environments are thus read as texts which reveal embedded social and cultural processes. Visual signs, symbols and artefacts are key here. So too are the ways in which governmental policies act to embed social and cultural relations in particular urban spaces and forms.

There are a diversity of projects commencing or in progress on the topic of 'The City' taking up a number of different themes. Francis Dodsworth and Sophie Watson are exploring the ways in which different faiths have been made visible, tangible and legible in East London through their inscription in places, texts, images and public practices. Simon Carter's project takes tuberculosis as a case study to analyse the ways in which the science of epidemiology came to be deployed as a key resource in policy making and government practices concerning public health in the mid twentieth century, in particular focusing on how it was crucial in demarcating urban/rural boundaries.

Several projects focus on questions of urban governance. For example, Allan Cochrane's research reconsiders regional and urban politics and power, questioning scalar approaches and looking for other ways understanding governance spaces, theoretically drawing on notions of assemblage and topology. Kevin Ward is



Shanghai Skyline

involved in a program of work arguing for a conceptualization of the making of urban policy through both its territorial and relational geographies. This considers how cities are assembled by the situated practices and imaginations of actors who are continually attracting, managing, promoting, and resisting global flows of policies and programs. Eric Swynedouw's research explores the transformation of urban democracy over the past two decades. Here, the objective is to reassess 'the polis' as a democratic space in an age of depoliticisation. This project is framed through the lens of changing forms of urban governance, particularly with respect to urban development strategies on the one hand and urban environmental practices on the other in a variety of European urban geographical settings. Bringing a more historical focus to such questions, Francis Dodsworth is exploring the establishment of a wide range of governmental institutions and practices instituted between 1780-1835, the aim of which was to reform both the structure of the city and social practice within it. This project explores the intersection of

social practice, infrastructure and institutional organisation in the government of the modern city.

Questions of the transnational and global have been exercising urban theorists over the last couple of decades, and this area is explored by Nina Glick Schiller in her research on the relationship between the migrant and the city. This represents a development of migration theory which contests the methodological nationalism of most migration studies that remain fixed within the comparative framework of individual nation-states and state policies. Other research looks at the materiality of the city through the genealogy of objects such as street bollards (Evelyn Ruppert) - to investigate how social change is congealed in the design, operation and presence of urban objects - and blue plaques (Sophie Watson) - to explore shifts in the cultural and material practices of incorporating figures into the national memory.

THEME 4: TOPOLOGIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The 2012 London Olympic Legacy

Gillian Evans

The organisation of a series of public lectures marked a turning point in Theme 4 researcher Gillian Evans' ethnographic research about London's Olympic legacy. Embedded within the communications and marketing team of the Olympic Park Legacy Company, Gillian's challenge, as a participant observer, was to prove that she too could engage the public in events designed to communicate key legacy messages, raise the profile of the Legacy Company and contribute, thereby, to the task of realising the Olympic legacy. Learning in-depth about how the legacy is being planned and focusing on the processes through which a complex material entity – a new piece of city - is to be brought into being, Gillian's personal challenge for the public lecture series was to create the opportunity for critical debate.

The 246 hectares of Olympic Park land was assembled via compulsory purchase order out of mostly post-industrial brown-field sites in the lower Lea Valley. It will play host, in the summer of 2012, to four weeks of world class sporting events and after this, the hope is that the billions of pounds of public money spent on transforming contaminated industrial land and waterways into usable parkland, development platforms and sporting venues will begin to reap dividends. As one of the largest regeneration projects in Europe takes shape over the next forty years, the aspiration is for the growth of a new metropolitan district of London. Change and development within the park is to be integrated with transformation in the areas around the fringes of the park which are some of the most deprived boroughs in the whole of England. The Olympic Games are billed as a once in a lifetime opportunity to bring change to the lives of everyone living in the East End of London and it was on this promise that the bid to host the Games was won.

Regeneration projects are, however, notoriously difficult developments to deliver

and this is the first Olympic Games to ever make legacy promises. Everyone in the East End of London can allude to the precedent of nearby Canary Wharf. A massive regeneration project that is still growing, Canary Wharf is a financial district first developed in the 1980s under a laissez-faire Conservative government with a trickle down model of socio-economic change for surrounding neighbourhoods. Unfortunately that model delivered little in the way of local benefit and even as the area now boasts the creation of 90,000 jobs in a service economy associated with the world of finance and could claim (at least before the recession) to be creating significant wealth at the city-wide and national level, it has done little to ameliorate the devastating effects of post-industrialisation on the ex-docking communities of the East End. This has meant that the spotlight is on the Olympic Park Legacy Company to prove that the lessons of Canary Wharf have been learned in terms of urban planning and design, that everyone now understands that it is essential to integrate the new development into the surrounding areas rather than creating an island of middle class prosperity in a sea of deprivation; to come up with a model of development that has socio-economic transformation of local areas at its heart and to engage local working class residents who are proud of their history and their locality and who need to feel ownership of the development as opposed to being excluded from it.

Working on behalf of the Olympic Park Legacy Company and liaising with some of the foremost urban studies centres in central London universities, Gillian designed events aimed primarily at postgraduate students, but that attracted a much wider audience including local and central government stakeholders and which generated significant press interest including BBC Radio 4 You and Yours. 1200 people in total attended the



Growing a New Piece of City: designing a legacy for 21st Century London

events each of which reflected the specific focus of interest of each urban studies centre and debated one of four timely legacy themes. The universities Gillian worked with were the London School of Economics and Political Science, University College London, Goldsmiths College and Queen Mary. Respective urban studies centres were The Cities Programme, The Urban Lab, the Centre for Urban and Community Research and The City Centre.

Titles of the four events which took place in November 2009 were as follows:

- The First Legacy Games: the physical and socio-economic development of the East End of London.
- Growing a New Piece of City: designing a legacy for 21st Century London.
- The Art of Regeneration: creating an artistic and community legacy for London 2012.
- The People's Legacy: community participation in the shaping of East London 2012 and beyond.

The success of Gillian's events has led to the extension of her ethnographic research placement with the Olympic Park Legacy Company and she now has the opportunity to observe legacy planning until 2012. For more information about the Gillian's research project 2013 and Beyond see:

<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/disciplines/socialanthropology/about/staff/evans/>

For more details of the Olympic legacy and each Lecture Series event showing the list of speakers for each lecture and podcasts see www.legacy-now.co.uk/education/lecture-series/

THEME 5: TRAJECTORIES OF PARTICIPATION AND INEQUALITY

New research: on how parents' encouragement affects children's cultural activity and prospects

Mike Savage

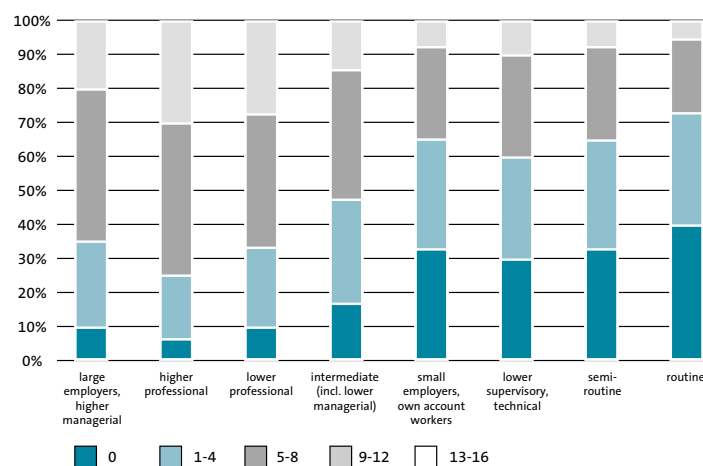
CRESC is launching a new theme of research entitled 'trajectories of participation', convened by Mike Savage, which focuses on how individuals move into, and out of, various kinds of social engagements and cultural activity during their lives. This will also contextualise these patterns through a series of historical analyses of cultural engagement in post war Britain.

An important early paper on these issues by Simone Scherger and Mike Savage demonstrates the importance of parental encouragement for affecting the educational attainment, social mobility prospects, and cultural participation of Britons today. They analysed the wide ranging evidence on parental encouragement for cultural and artistic activity when children were growing up contained in the Department of Culture, Media and Sports *Taking Part-Survey* (2005 and 2006). Slightly more than 50% of Britons had never, as children been taken to dance or classical music performances, and only 12 per cent had been taken at least three times a year. Museums or art galleries have a quite similar distribution, though at a slightly higher level. Children were most likely to have visited historic sites, though still around 35 per cent had never been taken. There are striking findings regarding libraries, where there was a strong polarisation between those who never went there with their parents or other adults (around 43 per cent) and those who went there at least three times a year (46 per cent). Around half of the respondents were encouraged to read a lot by their parents. Only one third were encouraged a lot to play musical instrument(s), act, dance, sing, draw, paint, write stories, poems, plays or music.

Scherger and Savage grouped together all these different kinds of encouragement into

one index. This shows that parents from different social classes have very different proclivities to encourage their children. The children of higher professional fathers score systematically higher than any other class. This is a very sharp contrast to those in routine occupations where only three per cent score so highly. By contrast, 40 per cent of the children of routine workers are in households with very low scores of 4 or less points. Lower professionals are closer to higher professionals, with the higher managers and large employers rather further behind and closer to the intermediate classes than to the higher professionals.

Figure 1: Overall-index parental socialisation for different parental classes



Weighted percentages. Unweighted n=10,568

Savage and Scherger go on to show that parental encouragement affects how well children do in the educational system, even controlling for social factors such as social class which are known to be important. In a final model examining the determinants of upward mobility, they show that, as expected, the experience of higher education boosts the odds of being upwardly mobile. However, the intensity of parental

socialisation into cultural activities has a clearly significant effect over and above that of education. After the inclusion of the additive index of parental socialisation, the explanatory power of the model rises slightly, and the effects of educational achievement become slightly weaker. Being taken to arts events or to the library, and being encouraged to be active in the arts, in sport or in reading enhances the chances of being upwardly mobile and makes a difference within the lower and intermediate classes. Part of the effect of education on mobility chances can be traced back to differences in cultural socialisation. Gender, ethnicity and exact

class of origin do not have any significant effects.

This research suggests that cultural capital is a significant feature in the shaping of people's life chances and builds on the arguments developed in CRESC's influential *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion* project. The book resulting from this study, by Tony Bennett, Mike Savage, Elizabeth Silva, Alan

Warde, Modesto Gayo-Cal and David Wright, *Culture, Class, Distinction* was published as part of the Routledge CRESC book series in 2009 and has already been hailed as a 'landmark text' by a reviewer in the *British Journal of Sociology Cultural Transmission, Educational Attainment, and social mobility* by Simone Scherger and Mike Savage, CRESC Working Paper No 70, is available from CRESC website.

SOCIAL LIFE OF METHODS

The challenge of the digital

Mike Savage

In 2009-10 CRESC researchers, organized in a centre-wide integrating theme on *The Social Life of Methods* are pursuing a range of projects exploring the challenge of the digital to conventional social science research methods. This strand, organized by Evelyn Ruppert and Mike Savage picks up on the much discussed arguments of Mike

Savage and Roger Burrows 'The coming crisis of empirical sociology' in the journal *Sociology* (2007) which claims that the sample survey and the qualitative interview are losing ground to the widespread deployment of transactional data in business, government and administration. These projects will develop

these interests through focused case studies of how conceptions of 'population' and 'social relations' are being re-constructed. Our projects include interests in the deployment of digital data in census and population metrics; in archival sources, and as a complement to survey sources.

REVIEW

Picturing Rank

Andrew Hill

In July CRESC organised a visit to the 'Rank: picturing the social order 1516-2009' exhibition at the Grundy Gallery, Blackpool. (The exhibition also appeared at Leeds Art Gallery and Sunderland's Northern Gallery for Contemporary Art). This was followed by a seminar at which the exhibition curator Alistair Robinson and Gordon Fyfe of the University of Keele, who contributed an essay to the excellent catalogue, spoke about the show.

The broad remit of 'Rank' was to collect together and scrutinise how rank - a term deliberately chosen for the breadth of its connotations - has been depicted visually. This was something the show accomplished wonderfully well, in juxtaposing a profusion of very different material - including photographs, video, painting, frontispieces, posters, maps, cartoons and diagrams - gleaned from a sweeping five century time period.

'Rank' resonated with a series of CRESC's concerns. The politics of rank and the shifts in inequalities of power, income and status that underpin this politics were present across the exhibition. Alongside this 'Rank' drew attention to the multiple relationships that can exist between those who undertake the depicting and ranking and those who are depicted and ranked. Notable in its

questioning of this relationship was Nina Beier and Marie Lund's 'Most outstanding' (2006), with its images of groups asked to arrange themselves in hierarchies.

At the same time 'Rank' showcased the myriad techniques of visualisation deployed in the attempt to render visible and make sense of rank, demonstrating the capacity of these techniques to overshadow and take on a life beyond what they seek to depict. These processes were particularly evident in the charts and diagrams used to plot distributions of inequality, and the suggestion they contain that the world can be known in this way and might be acted upon and altered. These processes were evident, in a rather different sense, in historical works as well, such as Frith's persistently beguiling *Derby Day* (1856-8) and the cast of long departed figures it continues to make visible from mid-Victorian society.

In so doing 'Rank' raised questions about the visual as a source of knowledge and how this knowledge differs from that generated by textual and numerical sources. Drawing together a range of visually intriguing works, 'Rank' emphasised how these concerns cannot be separated from questions of aesthetics. In placing artworks alongside more factually orientated material 'Rank' highlighted how this isn't a process limited to

"The broad remit of 'Rank' was to collect together and scrutinise how rank - a term deliberately chosen for the breadth of its connotations - has been depicted visually."

works of art, but finds its way into more unlikely places as well, including Charles Booth's famous maps of London poverty from 1898-9, which continue to draw the spectator in with their colour-coded depictions of a fragmented, divided city that seems at once distant and close to that which we encounter today.

In bringing together these themes the exhibition served to raise a rather different conception of change - a focal point of CRESC's work - to those usually encountered in the social sciences. 'Rank' emphasised the way in which imagery offers not only an alternative and never simply commensurable account of change to that provided by textual and statistical accounts. But the exhibition also raised the question of the extent to which change can be rendered visible, and what remains as unseen as the story of the impoverished homeless man who is the subject of the 1896 photograph 'One of them'.

Anish Kapoor at the Royal Academy of Arts

Hannah Knox and Penny Harvey

Can sculpture escape its objects? Is sculpture not in itself an art defined by the object? If this is so, perhaps it is precisely amongst the sculptors and their current experiments with the limits, possibilities and agencies of matter and space that we might find some assistance in our own thinking as social and cultural analysts as to what is happening when objects and spaces open up or are effaced in the descriptions we provide of social and cultural phenomena.

Anish Kapoor's recent exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts provided the group of us who went from CRESC with an experience which certainly disturbed our expectations about objects and their capacity to surprise, disorient, provoke and erase themselves. At first a great fountain of silver spheres announces the exhibition in the courtyard of the Royal Academy. Some of us thought the tower of iridescent balls a little kitsch, a nod, perhaps, to the Christmas baubles adorning the shop window displays on nearby Oxford Street and Regent Street. Yet stand at the foot of Kapoor's sculpture and stare awhile and it starts to have the dramatic effect of transforming the four walls of the classical courtyard into a circular realm reflected over and over, the spheres reflecting other spheres until, at the top of the work you no longer see your own reflection or those of the sky or the ground or even the courtyard but merely a fractal of bubbles overflowing in the middle of the tower.

Mirrors figure large in this latest exhibition of Kapoor's work. They provide the ideal medium for forcing the spectator to constantly re-evaluate what kind of object it is that they are looking at. In 'non-objects', one room of the academy is transformed into a hall of mirrors. The viewer is drawn to the polished surfaces, invited to play with the possibilities of bodily distortion – at one remove - as the reflection in the mirror presents a relational, unstable and changing form that induced a visceral queasiness or motion sickness in some of us. Here the question of which is the object-denied is constantly left uncertain – is it the visitor's



body that is in question as it becomes elongated, flipped or squashed in the reflection, merging with others or jumping unexpectedly out of a silvery pool? Or is it the mirrors themselves that are the non-objects, refusing scrutiny of their material composition and geometrical shape? Visitors are asked not to touch any of the exhibits but the mirrors drew us right up close as we tried to see the curve and line of the surface whose reflective qualities kept disorienting us. We dutifully refrained from touching these non-objects, and satisfied ourselves with breathing on the polished surface to force it to take some more recognisable form.

Other parts of the show were harder to keep our hands off. In the exhibit 'Svayambh' a huge sticky, glistening work of red wax creeps its way through the middle of five huge rooms of the gallery, shaped by the huge doorways that it is forced through, leaving a smeared trail of red on the door frames between the rooms and the rails upon which it moves. The slow-moving body is mesmerising and visitors are told over and over not to get too close and not to stick their fingers in the deposits left in the corners of the room. The gallery attendants watch people who all want to touch – to see what kind of stuff this solid, yet plastic material actually is. Another sign suggests that the prohibition on 'touching' may be to protect

the visitor - "beware, wax may stain clothes". The Royal Academy had given Kapoor its entire gallery space: what stain would the wax leave on the precious mouldings, doorways, floors? We found from another source that all had been treated prior to the mounting of the exhibit – another invisible skin placed between the wax and the gallery fabric necessary to sustain the illusion of direct sensation.

In a BBC interview with Alan Yentob, the sculptor talked about his preoccupation with the skin of the object. Materials are subtle and the choice of finish is a significant one, as this surface is what draws the viewer in, what engages the eye, what informs and what hides. The play with the unconscious is explicit – itself an illusory surface perhaps – as the exhibit pursues the scatological, the narcissistic, the sexual, the violent with school-boy enthusiasm and yet – as with the kitsch baubles - the banal masculinity of the wax ejaculated from a canon, and the cement excreted into solid piles enacts an illusory defacement. The Royal Academy is defaced and yet retains its institutional control both of its fabric and of the objects it displays. The objects play with scale, they impress and seduce and make you think about space and distortion, proximity and distance - they are beautiful and they made us laugh.

Warm Welcome to John Law

[Continued from Front Page]

Part sociologist and part from STS (science, technology and society), he's probably best known for his work with Michel Callon and Bruno Latour on actor-network theory.

He agrees with Latour that this isn't a theory. It's a toolkit or a sensibility for exploring the processes by which social and material relations get assembled and hold together. Indeed often, he says, structures hold together without being structures: they are non-coherent. And this has implications for research methods which often have a bias to consistency. Researchers go looking for coherent structures, and if they don't find them they think they've failed. But if the world is non-coherent, then perhaps we need to rethink the agendas that are built into our methods.

He is excited by recent work within CRESC that is exploring the performative character of research methods in domains ranging from financialisation, to the digital modelling of cities, and the remaking of social science methods. The argument is that these tend to produce – though often

in unanticipated and contradictory ways – the worlds they claim to be describing. If methods are indeed performative we need to think hard about the realities they produce, and what the alternatives might be. We need to be alert to the failures as well as the successes of research methods. We also need to find critical ways of engaging with new methods developed outside the academic world. Then we need to ask about the novel methods and social realities that might be created in social science in the next decade. Finally we need to think about the implications of new methods for the character of knowledge and its locations. CRESC members share an interest in these issues, though with different disciplinary perspectives and theoretical frames, and the SLOM theme will be an exciting opportunity to debate these issues in a wide-ranging interdisciplinary forum. This is a major reason why he is so excited to be joining CRESC.

John's STS background also informs his profound interest in the material world. The argument is that people and social collectivities are shaped at the same time as

materials, technologies, animals and the 'natural world'. He suggests that it is difficult to imagine separating them out. For instance, how the boundaries between people and animals get drawn shapes both sides of this divide: humans do not get shaped by the social alone. In his recent empirical work he has explored this 'post-human' sociology in a variety of areas: he's worked on foot and mouth disease, on farm animal welfare, and is currently working on salmon farming. The latter is an industry in which people, fish, genetics, micro-organisms, technologies, environmental issues, market transactions, supply chains, national and international politics, social inclusions and exclusions, regulations and human health are all mixed up. But how does this work in practice? And what does it tell us about emerging forms of the social? These are key questions for social research.

John's email address until April 2010 is j.law@lancaster.ac.uk. Please feel free to contact him.

We would also like to welcome the following people who have also joined CRESC recently:



Modesto Gayo.

Modesto is a lecturer at the School of Sociology of the Universidad Diego Portales in Santiago, Chile. He was involved in the Cultural Capital and

Social Exclusion project, based at the University of Manchester and the Open University and has returned to CRESC as a visiting fellow.

Meral Özbek. Meral was trained as an architect in Middle east University, Ankara. And currently teaches at Mimar Sinan University in Istanbul at the Department of Sociology. Her principal academic



interests lie in the general field of culture and politics. She joins CRESC during 2010 as CRESC's Honorary Research Fellow.



Adrian Favell. Adrian is Professor of Sociology at UCLA, and Professor of European and International Studies at Aarhus University, Denmark. He joins CRESC as an occasional visitor in

the academic year 2009/10, with a comparative project to consider the sub-cultural sources of creativity in cities such as London and Tokyo and the role that migration/mobility can play in driving the dynamism of such urban global hubs.

Fabiana Li. Fabiana was awarded a Newton International Fellowship (2009-2011) and joined CRESC to work with Prof. Penny Harvey, her UK Sponsor. Her



postdoctoral research aims to describe the cultural dynamics that shape the transnational production and circulation of gold and focuses on a controversial mining project on the Chile-Argentina border.



Daniel Tischer. Daniel recently started his PhD at CRESC after finishing his Masters in Global Business Analysis at Manchester Business School. His PhD topic revolves around the

financial crisis and its impact on civil society.

Finally, we would also like to welcome as a core member of CRESC staff, **Alban Webb.** Alban is taking up the post of research fellow for research theme two Reframing the Nation and will be based at CRESC's Open University site.

To find out more about the work of people at CRESC and how to contact them please visit the CRESC website at: www.cresc.ac.uk/people

Question and Answer: Meral Özbek

Hannah Knox

Meral Özbek is working at CRESC as an honorary research fellow during 2009-10. She joins us from the Sociology Department of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Istanbul.

1. What brought you here to spend time at CRESC?

My interest in Pierre Bourdieu's social-cultural thought and methodological thinking brought me here. The related work done at CRESC excited me and I wished to become part of its seminar-workshop environment, to meet colleagues with similar interests, and spend in Manchester (which I think is a perfect city for studying and walking) some happy time of intellectual work without lecturing. When I wrote to Mike Savage, he kindly invited me. This is also the first time I have left Turkey for sabbatical study.

2. What are you working on during your time in Manchester?

So far I have been working on the CRESC workshop on "Social change and New Methods: New Perspectives on Turkish Literature", which was held on the 15th of January 2010 at the University of Manchester. As one of the participants, I did a presentation on Orhan Pamuk's last novel "Museum of Innocence", inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's internal-external reading method of Flaubert's novel *Sentimental Education*, in his *The Rules of Art*. I also rely in this work, which is a start for a larger project of literary field in Turkey, on the concepts and problems posed by Walter Benjamin (politics of remembrance and experience), M.M. Bakhtin (cronotope), Franco Moretti (bildungsroman, graphical thinking) and Henri Lefebvre (everyday life). Now the workshop is over, I am writing up the final paper from my presentation. I also plan to start a small analysis using Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA), with the help from colleagues at CRESC, looking at the homology between the narrative positions of focalization and



social-gender positions in the novel. I also hope to read some of the written material at CRESC to get acquainted with the conceptual and methodological debates in them as well as the research methods being used here, especially social network analysis and multiple correspondence analyses, in order to be able work in the long run comparatively on cultural fields and texts.

3. There is a lot of interest in CRESC in the idea of bringing studies of fiction into conversation with more conventional social scientific methods. What do you see to be the payoff of combining these approaches?

This interdisciplinarity, I believe, will bring enrichment. What is at stake here is to be able to envision the conjectural relation between social structure (the statistical regularities) and individual-collective practice and experience in changing everyday life patterns. But I think we need envision this conversation in a larger frame. We need to remember here the legacy of earlier works, too: such as Simmel, who showed us the objective-subjective mental structures of the modern era through the delineation of its "social types"; or Raymond Williams who coined the term "structure of feeling" as a surplus to compensate for a lack in social analysis. Newer sub-disciplines like the

sociology of emotions and personal lives or the anthropology of social networks are already making a bridge, and I believe asking their questions to the material of novels, and using their methods of analysis while positing novelistic spaces as both social and narrative fields in themselves will prove to be fruitful. There is much to learn from thinkers who have literary correlates to their theory or philosophy, like Benjamin on Baudelaire and Proust; Deleuze on Proust and Kafka; Zizek on various popular texts or Ranajit Guha on Tagore in subaltern studies. Theories of literature are very important, not only in that they provide us with models to comprehend human experience and individual subjectivities, but also, since their object of analysis are narrative and discursive forms, they teach us a lot about representation. Without this mediation of language, the nature of experience (or the demise of it) or ideologies (and doxa) are not conceivable. Think of Bakhtin and his concept of cronotope as a representation of the time-space model lived in the external social world. Likewise Franco Moretti's large scale venture. He analyzes world literature in time and space, linking singular literary pieces, not only intertextually but also spatially in the world arena, presenting the analysis of his vast data in visual figures like maps and diagrams.

In Bourdieu's theory of practice and his venture in analyzing Flaubert's novel *Sentimental Education*, there is something peculiarly paradigmatic, in bringing a lot of the above interests into conversation as well. He thought that this novel (through the work of formalization) already supplied all the tools for the analysis of its structure, since the structure of the social space the hero lived in was also the structure of the social space in which the author himself was situated. Through inferring the position-taking (point of view) of the writer from the novel, Bourdieu articulated his internal reading of the structure of the novel with an external reading whereby he could place the leading position of Flaubert in the production of the autonomous literary field that emerged in the 19th century France.

Finance In Question/ Finance In Crisis

12-14 April 2010, Manchester

In April this year, CRESC will be holding a distinctive and timely international conference about finance which invites analysis by, and encourages debate between, researchers from many disciplines who represent different kinds of political and cultural economy as well as social studies of finance. The emphasis of the conference is on finance in question as much as finance in crisis, as, well before the onset of crisis in 2007, there were many unresolved issues about the role of finance in present day capitalism. The conference will re-examine received ways of understanding finance and to consider what changes to financial arrangement may follow from present strains.

As with other major conferences, there will be multiple themes and an opportunity for academic researchers to present papers and propose sessions. Themes so far proposed include: money, capitalist calculation, market

devices and techniques; financial crisis, social relations and trust; the limits of prescience and the irrelevance of many economic knowledges; finance, restructuring and labour; politics/markets/moralities; states, re-regulation and governance of finance.

There will also be media and practitioner panels and plenary sessions where distinguished academics will be set to answer big questions about what and who is in crisis, why did nobody see it coming and whether more democratic control of finance is possible.

Plenary academics include Michel Aglietta (CEPII), Andrew Gamble (Cambridge), Donald MacKenzie (Edinburgh), Doreen Massey, Philip Mirowski (Notre Dame), Onora O'Neill, Mike Power (LSE), Saskia Sassen (Columbia) and Wolfgang Streeck (Max Planck)

CRESC Annual Conference: The Social Life of Methods

31 August - 3 September, 2010, Oxford

During the past century, social scientific methods have come to be extensively deployed in government, administration and business, as well as in academic research as a way of understanding and intervening in processes of social and cultural change. Maps, enumerations, surveys, interviews, indicators, software and visualizations proliferate. This poses an important question regarding how we can best understand how social science methods both shape, and are themselves shaped by economic, social and cultural forces. Developments such as digitization, new public spaces for debate, an increasing concern for 'evidence', and a challenge to the ability of some academic research to prove a

capacity provide 'useful' knowledge, pose specific practical and ethical challenges to established repertoires of social science methods. In August 2010 CRESC will be running a conference which aims to engage with these issues by taking a fresh look at where methods come from and what they do.

The conference promises to bring together a broad spectrum of interests of people from different social scientific backgrounds. We are particularly excited that the conference will also involve contributions from a number of artists. We believe that the social sciences have much to learn from artists and the methods that they deploy in their engagements with, for example, changing

social forms, with new media and materials, and with non-academic audiences. During the conference, these artists and related practitioners, including curators, will join with the community of social scientists in considering how the methods that each of us deploy in our work have the capacity to affect social and cultural relations. This promises to generate a lively interaction between artists and social scientists encouraging each of the participants to reflect upon the 'social life' of the methods that they use, and inflecting the conference with a reach that we hope will go far beyond the conventional limits of academic debate.

New CRESC Working Papers

The following working papers have been added to the CRESC website
<http://www.cresc.ac.uk/publications/papers.htm>

Working Paper No.71

The Ancestor in the Machine

Jeanette Edwards

Working Paper No.72

Against the Omnivore: Assemblages of Contemporary Musical Taste in the United Kingdom

Mike Savage and Modesto Gayo-Cal

Working Paper No.73

Cultural Participation, the Making of Distinction and the Case of Fans of FC United of Manchester

George Poulton

Working Paper No.74

New Populations: Scoping Paper on Digital Transactional Data

Evelyn Ruppert and Mike Savage

Working Paper No.75

Undisclosed and Unsustainable: Problems of the UK National Business Model

John Buchanan, Julie Froud, Sukhdev Johal, Adam Leaver and Karel Williams

Working Paper No.76

Affluence in the Making: The 1953-54 Household Expenditures Enquiry and Visualization of Taste

Shinbu Majima

Working Paper No.77

Urban Regeneration in East Manchester: A Process of Gentrification?

Camilla Lewis

Working Paper No.78

Old is New Again: National Responses to the Financial Crisis

Adriana Nilsson

Forthcoming Events

For more information about all our forthcoming events please check out our website
<http://www.cresc.ac.uk/>



The University of Manchester



The Open University