ACCOUNTS

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR, ALYA GUSEVA

Happy Spring to everyone! I am delighted to present our second issue, a result of several months of planning by a dedicated team of young economic sociologists.

As promised in my last Chair's column, this issue is all about crossing borders and building bridges: across subfields, disciplines, continents and ivory tower walls. In fact, while writing this column, I was reminded of a well-known quote from the Norwegian explorer Thor Heyerdahl: "Borders? I have never seen one. But I have heard they exist in the minds of some people." It is in the spirit of academic wanderlust that this issue will take you places far and wide. There is a report on the state of economic sociology in Israel (it is thriving!), and another one on the household finance panel at the recent annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association. There is a review of two recent books that straddle the fields of economic sociology and healthcare, and markets and morality; plus the accompanying interview with their authors, Don Light and Adam Reich. There are several interviews with economic sociologists exploring or actively pursuing non-academic career tracks, and with those teaching outside of sociology departments. We also managed to chat with Zsuzsanna Vargha, the editor of economic sociology_the european electronic newsletter, and with Koray Çalışkan, a US-trained, Turkey-based interdisciplinary social scientist who actively combines economic sociology with anthropological approaches and is a co-author (with Michel Callon) of a recently published programme on "economization." I hope you will enjoy the issue as much as we enjoyed working on it and join me in thanking both the editorial team, and all the contributors.

Before I move on to report on section affairs, let me also give you a taste of what is in store for the final summer issue of the Accounts. I am very excited to share with you that we will be featuring a Conversation on money with Viviana Zelizer and Nigel Dodd, an interview with Brooke Harrington on her new book and more "bridge-building" activities involving economic anthropologists and European economic sociologists. Stay tuned.

And now a few items of Section news. Thank you for your overwhelming response to the membership renewal plea! We have bounced back to our last year's membership numbers so quickly, that it must have set a record. We are in great shape, but

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we do not want to stop here. Our dedicated membership committee (Jenn Bair and Simone Polillo) is tirelessly scouting for new members. If we reach the magic mark of 800 members by September 30, we will be granted an additional (5th) panel at the 2017 meeting. Please consider sharing your excitement about economic sociology with your colleagues and students. Here is a link to gift membership if you are feeling particularly generous http://asa.enoah.com/Home/My-ASA/Gift-Section (the page will prompt you to log in).

The response to the call for papers for our inaugural Section preconference on The New Economy has surpassed all of our expectations. We got close to 80 submissions, which is undoubtedly a tribute to the vibrancy of our session. Now the committee is hard at work reviewing the abstracts and forming the panels. We will be in touch shortly with all of you who applied, as well as with the rest of you with a warm invitation to attend.

Our regular ASA program also looks great: besides an invited panel on the Infrastructures of Valuation, there are three open call Section panels (thank you, Bruce Carruthers, Tim Bartley and Marc Schneiberg, for weeding through many submissions!), four Regular panels on economic sociology (thank you, Victor Nee!) and what may turn out to be a record number of roundtables (thank you, Aaron Pitluck, for stepping up to the plate on this, and thank you all those of you who volunteered to serve as presiders!). I will keep you updated as the program gets finalized in early May.

Annual elections will run from late April through June 1. Besides a large number of ASA office seats, the Section will be voting for the next Chair-Elect, the Treasurer, two Council members and a student representative. While ASA elections are admittedly not nearly as contested or high-stakes as the current presidential ones, I urge you to vote. Historically, a rather small portion of section members casts ballots, so here, literally, every vote counts. Please stay involved.

The last thing I want to mention is the upcoming SASE conference at Berkeley on June 24-26. The theme is "Moral Economies, Economic Moralities" with the amazing Marion Fourcade at the helm, and it is promising to be a hit. SASE is as much about bridge-building for me as it gets: both multidisciplinary and international. Hope to see you there, and let's continue reaching across largely imaginary (but no less real) divides.

Until later,

Alya Guseva.

MEET YOUR COUNCIL

Lauren Rivera
Northwestern University
Kellogg School of Management
Associate Professor of Management & Organizations
Associate Professor of Sociology, Weinberg College of Arts & Sciences (Courtesy)

How did you become interested in economic sociology? How has this interest shaped your academic career and research endeavors?

While I've had a longstanding personal interest in the dynamics of work (I've held some pretty wild jobs, starting at age 14), I became interested in pursuing economic sociology while taking Frank Dobbin's graduate seminar at Harvard. Believe it or not, I actually entered my PhD program thinking I would become a networks analyst. But I soon discovered that qualitative research was my passion, and my interest in economic sociology has shaped the types of questions and field sites I've pursued during my academic career.

What makes you most excited about being an economic sociologist?

I think it's a great time to be an economic sociologist. There are so many changes that are taking place with respect to work and the economy as a whole that are ripe for inquiry. I also think that the subfield is becoming more diverse, both in terms of scholars and the type of scholarship that is welcomed, which really excites me.

How do you think your work, and economic sociology more broadly, can influence the social, economic, and political landscapes of contemporary society? Are there particular outcomes you hope your research achieves?

I think the public is hungry for research that helps them understand the massive economic changes that have taken (and are taking place) around them. I think economic sociology can provide some of those answers in a way that the discipline of economics cannot. With respect to my work in particular, I hope that my research not only furthers debates within sociology but also calls attention to the way that advantage—whether based on class, gender, race, or otherwise—is perpetuated in labor markets, with an eye toward

leveling the playing field.

Your work has focused significantly on gender. Why is it important to include gender as a main analytical focus in economic sociology? Can you tell us more about how researchers can best go about linking these subfields? What are the impacts of such an interdisciplinary approach?

I think gender is absolutely essential to include as an analytic focus because it is still one of the primary ways people categorize others, distribute resources, and organize work, whether we like to admit it or not. I'm thrilled that gender is becoming more central to economic sociology. I think that an interdisciplinary approach is necessary but not without challenges; the methods and frameworks between subfields do vary, and integrating the two requires a healthy dose of translation, which often amounts to longer word counts...

Please tell us about any projects you have in the works right now.

I have a new ethnographic project on junior faculty search committees, which I'm really excited about. In general, my work is moving more towards looking at how gender combines with other factors to produce cycles of advantage and disadvantage in labor markets. I have another project with Andras Tilcsik (Toronto) that looks at the differential returns to high social class signals for men and for women in hiring as well as an additional quantitative project with Jayanti Owens (Brown) looking at the effect of interviewer gender on women and men's fate in the hiring process.

Angelina Grigoryeva

Princeton University
Graduate Student

How did you become interested in economic sociology? How has this interest shaped your academic career and research endeavors?

When I was taking a graduate-level course in economic sociology with Professor Viviana Zelizer, I was particularly struck to see how sociological accounts not only extend conventional economic explanations, but also how the sociological approach to economic activity broaden the contexts in which economic processes are analyzed to a wide range of settings and the types of economic exchanges conceptualized (for example, gifs, informal economies, or unpaid domestic labor within households). Emerged at the very beginning of my graduate career, since then my interest in economic sociology and its analytic tools largely pre-deter-

mined my current research interests and projects, including my current work on the gender division of elder care and on household financial practices (as I discuss below).

What makes you most excited about being an economic sociologist?

As an economic sociologist, I am most excited about building up and strengthening intellectual bridges between economic sociology and other fields of sociology, particularly inequality research and gender scholarship.

How do you think your work, and economic sociology more broadly, can influence the social, economic, and political landscapes of contemporary society? Are there particular outcomes you hope your research achieves?

I think that the conceptual lens and analytic tools of economic sociology may be especially informative for understanding inequality processes and outcomes, especially in light of the growing prominence of finance for the economy and the concurrent rise of inequality. On the one hand, classic works in economic sociology – from Simmel to Zelizer – often focus on money, its social meaning and relational work around it. On the other hand, money – in the form of income and wealth – has long been the focus of inequality scholars, as it is a critical component of well-being and is related to a host of other inequality outcomes. I believe that an intellectual conversation between economic sociology and inequality and stratification literature may be informative for both lines of scholarship. In my research, I build on insights from economic sociology, particularly with respect to household financial practices, to examine their role in wealth mobility and wealth inequality.

Your work has also focused significantly on gender. Why is it important to include gender as a main analytical focus in economic sociology? Can you tell us more about how researchers can best go about linking these subfields? What are the impacts of such an interdisciplinary approach?

I view gender is an important organizing component of a wide range of economic activities, ranging from paid work in the labor market to unpaid family labor, and as such is also an important axis of inequality processes and outcomes. To answer your questions in one sentence, it seems to me that the focus on gender in economic sociology further extends contexts of economic activities, what constitutes economic activity, and areas of life in which gender inequality occurs. In my own work, focus on gender has informed my research on the gender division of elder care, an increasingly important component of unpaid family labor.

Please tell us about any projects you have in the works right now.

My research builds on insights from economic sociology to examine inequality processes and outcomes. My dissertation research focuses on household financial practices in the era of mass-participatory finance and point to their role in wealth mobility processes as a new mechanism of inequality. Using the Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF), it identifies three distinctive patterns of use of financial products and services as well as financial prudency habits. Notably, financial practices remain stable over time. Furthermore, household financial practices have distinctive effects on wealth mobility, above and beyond standard socio-economic variables usually considered in the inequality literature. The financial practices of the disadvantaged result in downward wealth mobility, whereas the financial practices of the privileged may facilitate or inhibit upward wealth mobility, depending on the nature of involvement with consumer finance. In my other projects, I examine the gender division of elderly parent care among adult children and historical evolution of racial residential segregation.

INTERVIEW

Koray Çalışkan

The sociological inquiries about the economy have often been characterized by the predominance of "what" and "why" questions, aiming to uncover the intricate relations between economy and society. In the last two decades we have also witnessed the emergence of a new wave of studies, driven primarily by the "how" questions, which have undertook a dynamic anthropological look at the economy.

Koray Çalışkan, a political scientist and economic and political anthropologist at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, is one of the proponents of this anthropologically-informed research program. In Market Threads: How Farmers and Traders Create a Global Commodity (Princeton University Press, 2011), Çalışkan carried out an ethnographic study of the global cotton market and characterized global markets as indexical possibilities, which, he argued, do not exist as such but are brought into existence when they are actualized by various human and non-human actors, and their use of market devices and discursive practices. He also wrote extensively on the meaning of price and on rural ethnography. In 2009 and 2010, he published a two-part article, "Economization, part 1" and "Economization, part 2," co-authored with Michel Callon, where they offered a critique of the existing social scientific accounts of the economy and challenged social scientists to shift their focus from studying the "economy" to the processes of economization.

Gökhan Mülayim (Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, BU) asked Koray Çalışkan to clarify some of his key arguments, and discuss his views on interdisciplinarity and U.S. economic sociology.

In "Economization, part 1" & "part 2", you and Michel Callon call for social scientists to stop treating the essentially imagined idea of the economy as if it had an ontological status and to shift their attention instead to particular cases of "economization." Could you talk a bit more about the concept of economization, how should economic sociologists adopt it, and what they can gain from it?

KC: These two papers that Michel and I wrote on Economization and Marketization did not only represent a call to shift researcher's attention to a new reality, it was an empirical and theoretical demon-

stration of how this shift has already been emerging. Now looking at new dissertation research on marketization, I am more convinced now than five years ago that the research programme of economization is successful. As the ghost of Substantivist and Formalist debate left us, we realized that the border wars between two camps of "what is embedded in what" produced more heat than light. Now researchers look more at processes of economization than objects of the economy or the market. Studying a process opens up a more accurate representation of actual economic processes and their universe than focusing on an object such as the market and trying to locate where its economic and social boundaries meet, cross and traverse… Furthermore, studying economization gives researchers an opportunity to study actors and structures simultaneously without assuming a hierarchy of power between human and non-human, collective and individual actors. In the end, instead of assuming the mere absence or presence of their role in life, a researcher can assess the "strength" of the power of different agents. [Economization] also helps researchers incorporate the analytical (such as economic sciences) and practical (such as trader reports) descriptions and interpretations of economic life into the research framework to account for the level of performativity in specific empirical contexts. Finally, such a programme of research could also provide the agents of markets and sciences with political tools to imagine better (depending on the motivation of the actor, more profitable, more just, less patriarchal etc.) relations of production and exchange. In summary, studying economization instead of the economy, helps researchers to better describe, understand, theorize and change the economic world.

In your critique of the existing accounts on the economy, the question of ontological asymmetry between people and things seems to occupy central place. What are the problems caused by this asymmetry and is it possible to overcome anthropocentrism in economic sociology?

KC: Historically speaking, sociological imagination emerged before the society. The very making of the society itself was a product of the development and popularization of such an imagination. Beginning from the second half of the 20th century, however, the sociological imagination began to suffer from a narrowing of focus regarding agents. The Communist Manifesto opened with ghosts hunting continents, otherwise invisible collective human actors (such as class) or non-human actors (such as the state) were rendered visible in terms of their motivations, interests and more importantly, the consequence of their actions. But with the institutionalization of the objects of research (e.g. society, state, culture, the economy), and with the making of Weberianism as an alternative to Marxism in the West, social scientists began to produce more and more accounts of the actions of fewer and fewer actors. More importantly, researchers began to assume the passivity of human and non-human agencies before they begin to carry out research. We challenge this assumption. To give an example, the gun lobby argues that it is men who kill, not guns. We say no. Guns have a role in the death of humans. Agency, or playing a role in life, can be defined not in terms of intellect, planning, interest or purpose, but it terms of the consequence of structuring possible fields of actions of humans and non-humans. It is possible to overcome anthropocentrism in sociology for the science of sociology contributed to the invention of perhaps one of the strongest non-human actors, the society… Why not invent and see more, or to put it better, why not open the gates of sociology to theoretically suppressed actors?

In Market Threads, you define global markets as indexical possibilities. What do you mean by this, and how does this idea relate to your critique of the asymmetry between people and things as well as your proposal for refocusing our attention from economy to economization?

KC: A nationalist believes in the materiality, the existence of the nation. This is how nations are "realized" despite the fact that they do not exist. Their presence is dependent on their everyday imagination and more importantly, their everyday maintenance. Markets are similar in this respect. They are imagined and realized on the ground as an indexical possibility. But there is more to market than that. For

many, the market is the place where exchange takes place, or the name of a series of actions that result in trade. I showed in Market Threads that the market is rather the very tool of engagement used by market participants as they pursued their interest. If one studies marketization as a modality of economization, one can better analyze, feel, describe and change relations of exchange and production. A study of economization requires a radical break from the prevailing understanding of markets. Markets do not just emerge as a relationship among self-interested buyers and sellers, governed by appropriate economic institutions. Nor can they be understood as economic relations embedded in wider social structures. They are relations of power, maintained everyday by constant interventions, production of devices such as prosthetic, associate and rehearsal prices, indices and various forms of struggles among the actors that make a global market possible. Furthermore, in addition to these complex relations of power, each market is also shaped by its primary commodity's specific nature, its production and agency. Markets are particular configurations of power whose workings cannot be understood by revealing a central logic of operation, for they have none. Thus, proposing free market reforms by setting prices free is not categorically different than proposing free society reforms by setting individuals free. Both logics share an absurdity and a level of abstraction hard to be found in the workings of actual markets.

"Economization, part 2" calls for a greater methodological affinity with anthropology, but for many sociologists such an orientation may be too descriptive to be analytical. What do you think that economic sociology can learn or borrow from anthropology? Do you think that the knowledge produced following the agenda you propose should be systematized at some point, or would you say that it is not productive for economic sociologists to debate the descriptive-analytical divide?

KC: I do not think that Michel and I proposed a merely descriptive perspective to study markets. Our definition of markets has three gears: The first gear draws on the empirical description of how goods are produced and exchanged in organized settings. But if one does not change the gear, she goes nowhere. The second gear consists of an approach to markets as arrangements of heterogeneous constituents such as rules, conventions, technical devices, metrological systems, texts, discourses, ideologies, scientific knowledge, technical information regarding markets and their role in exchange relations. And finally, the third gear is a call to approach the market as a space of confrontation and power struggle. So, clearly, what we proposed, was not only descriptive.

What can sociology borrow from anthropology… That I do not know. In my own work I do not recognize disciplinary boundaries anymore. One ends up being a political scientist, a sociologist, an anthropologist… It is partly a choice, partly conditioned by a social scientific context. After all, we are all called Ph.Ds, i.e., doctors of philosophy… In the world of expertise we are required to claim one. This is the power of discourse; it makes you speak in a way instead of silencing you. I gave up taking disciplinary boundaries too seriously. I have questions to be answered, many of them… And I have colleagues who approach them in various departments and schools. Their discipline hardly helps one judge the accuracy of their scientific output.

Regarding the systemization question: This is a possibility. Since we published these two articles, various new work on markets came out. Some of them use our proposed research programme with force and revise it. I believe such a systemization is already happening. For example, Julia Kierkegaard defended a very interesting dissertation in Copenhagen last year on marketization of Chinese wind power. Some others use parts of the programme that we proposed. We'll see in the next quarter century whether this programme will be successful. Sciences progress slowly, this is their condition of possibility.

Given your position as a U.S.-trained scholar that is currently non-US based, how do you see your own work in the context of the continental divide? What are your thoughts on the state and the trajectory of U.S. economic sociology?

KC: The US is the center of world academic research… Leaving the U.S. and carrying out your

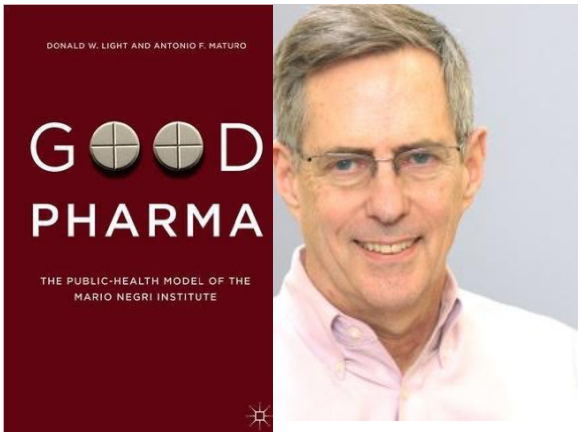
scientific work elsewhere. has a number of disadvantages. In the U.S. one can live as if he or she is covered with stretch film, secluded, reserved, and focused… There, politics around the scientist may stay away from the scientist if he or she choses. Here in Istanbul this is impossible. Especially if one lives in an authoritarian country like Erdogan's Turkey, it becomes even more difficult to focus. Imagine that Trump wins in the US and multiply this effect by 10, you'll see what I mean. Jokes aside, there is also a question of scale. In Turkey, there are many powerful social scientists, carrying out great and exciting new work. But compared to the U.S., the number of publications are still very low. My work on markets draws on research networks in the U.S. and Europe, not in Turkey. So it becomes more and more difficult to stay connected. However, living in Turkey has a great advantage. You are at the heart of the things you study… They touch you with greater force and heat. For an engaged social scientist, this is great. But it hurts at times, such as the government persecution of academics who signed a letter criticizing the Islamist AKP's handling of the Kurdish question. Seeing your colleagues taken in custody, losing their jobs, being prosecuted just because they expressed an opinion that Erdoğan doesn't like hurts you and your morale…

Regarding U.S. economic sociology… I think economic sociologists succeeded a lot. We live in difficult times. A slow-paced economic crisis has been melting working class income for a quarter century now. Sons and daughters of the previous generation, despite their better education, are now making less and less money, depending financially more and more on their families. Things are not going well in the first and other worlds… Economic sociology is needed more in such circumstances. However, to be taken more seriously, to be more successful in channeling research grants to sociology, social researchers must imagine more powerful tools of intervening and understanding the world. Sociology lacks that. We are usually regarded as people who show how the world is infinitely complex, instead of people who describe and analyze the complexity of the world with simpler tools. I do not know how to make this happen. Reading my own articles again, now I am not sure whether my own work is a good example either. But we have to find a way out.

REVIEW ESSAY

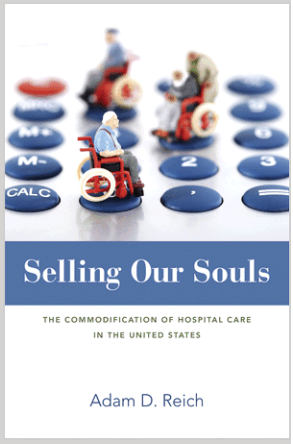
What Can Economic Sociology Say About Health Care?

By Alaz Kilicaslan and Carmen Rowe



More economic sociologists should study health care, and here is why. On the one hand, health care is treated as a real "commodity" in today's world, particularly in the US. Despite the role played by the public sector, medical goods and services are overwhelmingly bought and sold in the market through a variety of actors, including the pharmaceutical industry, insurance companies, hospitals, or nursing homes, which all make immense profits. One of the largest and most rapidly growing industries, accounting for more than 17% of the US's GDP, health care is increasingly becoming an essential part of political rhetoric, as evidenced in the current presidential campaign.

While health care reform currently tops presidential candidates' agendas, with views ranging from abolishing the Affordable Care Act to creating a single-payer system, they also offer solutions to address outrageous medication prices, especially following public fury over Daraprim's 5000% price hike (http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/21/business/a-huge-overnight-increase-in-a-drugs-price-raises-protests.html), which occurred overnight, this past September. With a growing awareness across the nation that the American health care system is costly and ineffective, economic sociology may shed light on the market dynamics in this industry and their social antecedents and consequences. On the other hand, health care is remarkably distinct from most other industries, in that moral judgments and debates pervade this field more than any of its counterparts, not least because it relies on a strong relationship of trust and information asymmetry between providers and clients. Thus, health care provides a fertile ground to study how values interplay with market forces; and with what outcomes for the actors involved, as well as for the larger society.



This review looks at two books, *Good Pharma* by Donald Light and Antonio Maturo and *Selling Our Souls* by Adam Reich, which are timely attempts towards understanding the potentially problematic relationship between money and medicine. Although they look at different sectors (pharmaceuticals and hospitals, respectively), both books address markets in the medical field through detailed examinations of health care organizations. The vital question Light/Maturo and Reich try to answer can be summarized as: Is it possible for medical organizations to remain loyal to their missions/values, and simultaneously survive in today's commercialized health care field? Light/Maturo and Reich not only vividly demonstrate the moral and professional challenges that the market poses to these organizations, but also show that there are different ways for health care providers to grapple with market forces and demands, in striking contrast to neoliberal ideology, which claims the embrace of free-market principles as the only viable way to thrive.

Good Pharma offers readers an extended-case study of a non-profit pharmaceutical organization, which not only managed to survive, but also flourished through the second half of the 20th century, in the midst of a for-profit friendly regulatory environment. Starting in the 1980s, throughout the world, policies such as the deregulation of pharmaceutical marketing and drug-development processes, as well as the strengthening of patent protection laws, have helped producers increase prices and make higher profits. The outcome has been an inefficient industry from a social perspective; one which consumes increasingly higher portions of national resources, yet with stagnant or declining levels of medical innovation. The industry now conducts its own efficacy and safety studies, and financial pressures force companies to test higher doses than needed, in order to insure efficacy, but with a higher risk of toxic reactions. Furthermore, this profit-seeking practice of raising doses has negative eco-systemic effects; as Light/Maturo note, pharmaceuticals are a source of water pollution, one which commercial water filters do not remove and which are not tested for by water companies. Thus, when the industry pushes higher-than-necessary dosages, greater toxic residues are produced in water supplies, reducing the quality of drinking water and producing negative genetic effects in wildlife. Without a holistic approach to pharmaceuticals, which acknowledges the social and ecological effects of pharmaceutical toxicity, the industry avoids accountability for its role in creating health and environmental harms.

In this context of an increasingly commercialized field, Light/Maturo highlight how the Mario Negri (MNI) Institute in Italy, which is comprised of independent scientists, has managed to create a 'moral economy', which remains loyal to the service ethos of medicine. This success story has been made possible by an organizational culture characterized by an open, collaborative work environment, with small teams managing their own work; minimal administrative and executive staff; flexible work schedules; gender equality; and low salary differences. More specifically, MNI operates on principles that are strikingly different from those of the pharmaceutical industry. It is funded through grants coming from government, industry, and academic sources, allowing the Institute to maintain institutional autonomy outside of Big Pharma's reliance on patents and aggressive marketing to consumers. MNI designs its research with an emphasis on transparency in trial procedures, results, as well as risks, serving as a contrast to Big Pharma's biased trials that exaggerate benefits and understate risks. Without an orientation towards maximizing profit, MNI is also able to pursue promising drugs and cures with low potential for profit, but high potential for promoting patient health.

Light and Maturo display great enthusiasm for a public health model, like that represented by the MNI, which favors public health and patient well-being (and more broadly, scientific integrity) over profit. But readers might still be left with a few questions, such as: Can this single case be replicated here, in the US, where, in the absence of a state-run health care system, coordination among actors and government regulation is weaker? And what would it take? After all, the MNI was founded through unique circumstances, with a fortune left in the will of a man named Mario Negri in order to establish an independent pharmacological research institute. And is the MNI model financially sustainable in a long run?

In contrast to the Mario Negri Institute, which is independent from the for-profit health market, the three US hospitals studied by Reich in *Selling our Souls*, though all non-profit organizations, operate within the health market, and thus they all must reconcile the contradictions between their social mission to promote public health, and their need to survive under competition. Whereas Light and Maturo focused on one organization through a longitudinal study, Reich provides a cross-sectional analysis of three hospitals. Drawing on data collected from 2006 to 2008 through field-level observations and interviews with hospital staff, he explores the variations that different hospitals display in their attempts to manage these contradictions; thus, his three cases all display unique organizational cultures, reflecting the different periods of US medicine in which they were founded. These different cultures affect the types of patients attracted by these hospitals, the medical practices used, and their financial situations. As Reich makes clear, the commodification of the hospital care field has not produced an automatic loss of professional ethics and values; however, attempts to reconcile market pressures with moral values are imperfect and contradictory, meaning outcomes are not always successful or ideal.

The first hospital explored by Reich, PubliCare, was originally formed in 1887, as a county-run hospital; however, in the 1990s, the financial burden of running the hospital led the county to sell it to a not-for-profit health care company, the Westside Health Corporation. Since its foundation, PubliCare has been committed to helping the underprivileged. For the medical professionals in this hospital, their identities were built almost in opposition to the market. In catering to the needs of the poor, a sense of camaraderie was formed among employees; however, as an organization, the hospital was struggling financially, and there was disorganization stemming from an unclear division of labor and a lack of formal systems. For example, record keeping was inconsistent and incomplete, leading to an unnecessary (and potentially risky) duplication of tests.

The next hospital examined by Reich, HolyCare, opened in 1950, and until 2007 it was operated by a group of nuns known as the Sisters of St. Francis. Since its foundation, HolyCare has emphasized the emotional and moral aspects of care, with a reputation as an "ultraprofessional" organization (P. 75) that assures individual dignity, through comfortable and aesthetically pleasing amenities and attentive personalized care; however, it is not accessible to all. As the most business-minded of the hospitals, serving the wealthiest clientele, the religious values of the hospital were seen as being used instrumentally, to attract wealthy patients and thus to serve the organization's financial bottom line. Interestingly, Reich found that some believed that the instrumental use of these values became more transparent after the Sisters of St. Francis retired. The managers, as well as most of the medical professionals, did not see a clash between their professional mission and market values. Yet, while the hospital has state of the art facilities and equipment, providing a sense of personalized and humanized care, the entrepreneurial spirit of the hospital resulted in uncoordinated care as physicians frequently behaved as individual proprietors instead of a team. With an emphasis on individual billing, doctors had incentive to pursue patients with good insurance plans that pay out higher reimbursements; furthermore, this emphasis on individual billing provided incentive to engage in potentially risky overtreatment.

Lastly, GroupCare, a health management organization employing salaried doctors, was founded in 1979 and opened its hospital in 1990. At this time, a focus on rationalized and scientific care, aimed at bringing standardization and cost-efficiency to medicine, emerged. Most of the managers and physicians at GroupCare saw themselves as taming the market, as reconciling their professional mission and business needs through standardized care. Through the wide use of electronic medical records, as well as peer-developed protocols and monitoring practices, management strategies aimed to standardize physician behaviors and to align physician economic interests closer with the organization's financial interests, in the hopes of producing an efficient organizational model. However, there are some indications that the needs of individual patients may have been forsaken for the needs of the whole population of patients, producing potential undertreatment in some cases, and the organization can be criticized as overly bureaucratic, potentially stifling professional discretion.

In conclusion, Reich underscores the challenges of balancing financial realities of commercialized health care with patient wellbeing and the moral mission of medicine. He points out that it is difficult to say which model is the best based on typical quantitative indicators of effectiveness and quality of care, such as mortality rates in connection with various procedures, as all of the hospitals were strong in some areas and weak in others. Furthermore, patient satisfaction rates were similar across the three hospitals. However, given his analysis of the different organizational practices, he leans towards the GroupCare model, claiming it is the model that will mark the future of hospital care. In fact, across the world and within the US, hospitals are shifting towards this model, emphasizing standardized diagnostic and treatment practices based on evidence-based medicine and a prepaid system of health financing. We also know that, with the Affordable Care Act, there is increased incentive for the hospital sector to provide care in a model similar to GroupCare, as its main intention is to eliminate the problem of uninsurance, by covering the maximum number of individuals, even if for a limited level of service.

But, as a point of critique, isn't the high level of professional subordination to large-scale organizational forces potentially problematic? If physician discretion is lost, physicians could be forced to primarily serve organizational and governmental interests, as opposed to public interests. Physician discretion in a weakly regulated system has arguably failed to serve the public interest, so it is not to say that physician discretion guarantees public concern, but it is still worth questioning if this organizational model might lead to a centralization of power, outside of the public interest. Lastly, while Reich believes that GroupCare is the model

for the future, in a context of increasing income stratification, it is worth questioning whether the future of health care is somewhat more stratified than suggested by Reich. While the GroupCare model expands in many hospital settings, much has also been written about the rise in boutique medicine and luxury hospital care. Thus, is GroupCare, and its potential to rationalize care, the future for most, with the future for the wealthy being more in line with a HolyCare model, with increasing personalization and luxury in care?

Both books reviewed here demonstrate the challenges and hardships for surviving, as moral institutions, in today's commercialized health care field. But there is reason for hope. The no-patent MNI model described by Light and Maturo has actually already been implemented in the US by a few institutions, such as the Vaccine Research Center or National Cancer Institute. And as we see in Reich's work, even in a problematic structural context, physicians can still retain a great deal of their service ethos and professional mission. But it seems a universal health care system is a must to realize the goals both declared and implied by both authors. After all, the Mario Negri Institute was made possible due to the coordinated, single-payer system in Italy, which made it easier to motivate the scientific community and health care providers to collaborate with one another. Furthermore, in its current state, GroupCare only caters to its membership clientele; with a universal health care system, that could be enlarged to include the whole population.

We followed up with Don Light and Adam Reich on some of these questions, as well as on the broader issues of morality and markets and the possible useful synergies between economic and medical sociology. This interview is featured below.

In what ways can economic sociology inform medical sociology, or the study of medical organizations and institutions? What might be some potential areas of research for those interested in studying at the intersections of these two subfields?

Adam: There's been lots of great work that straddles the fields of economic and medical sociology (Kieran Healy's *Last Best Gifts* comes immediately to mind, as does the work of Donald Light, W. Richard Scott, and Rachel Best). Since medical spending makes up more than 17% of U.S. GDP, it would be surprising if economic sociology did not have a contribution to make here!

Don: Medical sociology divides roughly into two parts: sociological patterns and trends in health and illness, and sociological studies of health care organizations. Economic sociology can inform patterns of health and illness in terms of gender and the ethnic economy, the key role markets play in promoting either health-damaging or health-improving products or services, and the ways in which pharmaceutical markets persuade patients and doctors to prescribe new drugs that 90 percent of the time are found little or no better by independent review teams, yet pose substantial risks of harm. How do markets for controlled painkillers like Oxycodone differ from markets for heroin? Deaths from the former exceed deaths from the latter, and profit margins are probably higher.

On the provider and organizational side of delivering services, health care services are a major part of the economy and growing rapidly. They pose deep challenges to assumptions in economics and economic sociology. Theoretically and practically, they do not fit prevailing models of markets and competition, especially in the United States, which ironically believes market forces should drive medical decision-making. Yet health care least meets the requisites for beneficial competition. Buyers do not know the cost or value of many services. Market signals are vague and delayed. What economists call "market failure" is pervasive; yet it's not so much failure as pernicious competition, where sellers exploit the vulnerabilities of end user (i.e. patients), who are often not buyers.

Market relations are layered, with sellers' middlemen ("managed care") and patients' middlemen (their insurers) claiming to make clinical services more cost-effective and efficient. Why is it then that they have produced the most costly, segmented health care among affluent nations, with the worst outcomes? Why is theory so at odds with reality? Why does "moral hazard" apply more to providers than to patients? Bilateral oligopolies and monopolies prevail – all claiming on TV and billboards that they offer "the best" care. Uncertainty and fear play large roles, as Parsons originally noted. So there are fascinating studies of economic sociology in health care waiting to be done.

In economic sociology, there has been an effort to reject the notion that economic interests/money necessarily corrupt personal relations and social realms. Do you think this applies to medicine? Can there be a market for health care or are market forces completely incompatible with the provision of health care?

Adam: An important insight within recent economic sociology is that markets do not necessarily debase moral values—that market exchange can be constitutive of social life rather than threatening to it. This is a tremendously useful idea, but I think there are a couple of limitations with it. One is that it tends to focus on the way people and organizations make sense of market processes rather than on the material consequences of these processes. Perhaps wealthy people love Downtown Abbey in part because it helps them feel comfortable with our country's tremendous economic inequality. But if the market can make a morality in its own image, then observing the coincidence of morals and markets only gets us so far! A second is that the moralized markets school tends to privilege cases in which morals and markets are successfully reconciled, rather than cases of failure or disruption (Catherine Turco's excellent work on failed moralization attempts has been important to my own work).

Don: For the first half of the 20th century, leading economists consistently explained why markets do not work in clinical medical services because they fail to meet basic criteria for normal, beneficial price competition. Then a new generation of conservative economists asserted that markets would make medicine more efficient, without addressing the previous reasons why they would not. With exceptions where a service can be routinized, costed, and compared, applying markets to medicine leads to pernicious competition. Even when they can, like prescription drugs, the sellers control testing and produce biased results. They repeatedly hide harmful side effects and hire ghost-writing teams of unnamed science writers to shape the medical literature, and they negotiate confidential price contracts. How does a market with secret prices work? Yet billions are spent in such markets.

Regarding the first claim that economic interests do not "necessarily corrupt personal relations and social realms"; in medicine, many studies have shown that physicians confidently claim that taking favors or being paid by drug companies does not affect their hard-earned, board-certified clinical judgment. Yet many studies document it does. Drug companies track the pay-back for the billions they spend to alter what physicians do compared to colleagues not on the take.

Adam, based on your fieldwork in hospitals, how important do you consider money and financial incentives for creating successful organizational cultures and for motivating professionals to give good care? How does money interact with other sources of motivation for healthcare professionals?

Adam: I'm skeptical that financial incentives alone can create the organizational cultures that deliver quality care. It just seems too easy for physicians and other health care practitioners to game the financial incentives

in place (either over-treating or undertreating depending on what is more highly compensated). But I do think that health professionals are quite sensitive to social pressure, and that this has been used as a very effective tool to create and sustain quality care. Doctors have long been expected to review (and be reviewed by) their peers. The rise of electronic medical records might be able to make this sort of peer-review more rigorous.

In the book, you implied that a "fee-for-service" financial structure may promote overtreatment; however, the emphasis on cost reduction/effectiveness in the standardization of care was also described as potentially producing undertreatment. Is it possible to avoid both overtreatment or undertreatment in the current US medical market?

Adam: In the case of the U.S. at this point in time, overtreatment seems like a much more glaring problem than undertreatment, except where access to care is concerned. But what's the best model to avoid both overtreatment and undertreatment? This is the million, or rather trillion, dollar question. I think pre-paid group care organizations like Kaiser Permanente and Intermountain Health are on the right track. The problem is that because they have to compete with organizations providing too much care, they cannot be entirely up front about how they ration it. Rationing is a dirty word in U.S. health care, but resource allocation has to happen one way or another. This is one of the many interesting tensions between mission and market in the health care field.

Don, you are a lifelong critic of the pharmaceutical industry and its practices in the US; however, the concerns and problems you describe are persisting. What organizational policies should be implemented in order to build a patient-oriented pharmaceutical industry? How can we overcome pharmaceutical industry resistance in the US since they are so powerful as an actor?

Don: I'm not a critic. I just describe what companies do and they keep producing examples of misleading research and testing and promotion. Chances of getting companies in the US to stop biased research, testing and promotion are practically nil; but consider what the team of sociologists, political scientists and others of us at the Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard found. The industry retains twice as many lobbyists as members of Congress to "help" them write legislation that, for example, prevents the FDA from requiring evidence that new drugs are clinically better than existing ones for patients, or from giving "safety" (the going term for serious clinical harms like liver damage) much priority. Congress prohibits Medicare from doing what all other affluent nations do: negotiate prices based on added value. Instead, laws allow companies to set whatever price they want for new drugs and mandates that taxpayers pay for them without question. Companies can also raise their high prices further in subsequent years. We call this dynamic "market spiral pricing." (see http://www.pharmamyths.net/_market_spiral_pricing_of_cancer_drugs__120860.htm)

Research finds that the current rules and practices reward companies to produce mostly minor variations that can warrant a new patent and monopoly pricing. These drugs bear substantial risks of harmful side effects, and prescription drugs have become a major health hazard – the 4th leading cause of death. The probability of serious harm exceeds the probability of benefit. Yet all are approved as "better" by the FDA, where reviewers are paid by the company submitting the drug in a bold conflict of interest.
In order to build a patient-oriented system, rather than a patent-driven system, for researching better drugs, one would have to de-commercialize it. A patient-oriented health care system would start by identifying the greatest unmet patient needs and then funding research to seek effective drugs or other interventions. Then one would have competitive grants based on blinded reviews, and the research teams would use practices developed by the Mario Negri Institute to minimize corporate influences that now so widely compromise science and bias medical knowledge. Promising compounds would be tested for clinical superiority so that

patients and their doctors would know the probabilities of benefits and harms. Over 90 percent of all clinical trials today are incapable by design to provide such information. This R&D process costs a fraction of current corporate practices and is fully funded so that once approved, drugs could be cheap as well as more effective than so-called innovative drugs now.

You raise a controversial idea that eliminating the profit motive does not negatively affect creativity and innovation. What can replace profits and patents as engines for scientific progress?

Don: Patents do not promote creativity and innovation. The explosion of patenting after the Bayh-Dole Act in 1980 has not produced more new drugs or more clinically superior drugs – the two definitions for "innovation." (see http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Papers.cfm?abstract_id=2282014)

Most of the important medical advances occur out of the same motives that drive first-class economic sociologists: an intense curiosity, a drive to solve a problem, a desire to do something important, a passion for making the world a better place. Like medical researchers up to the current, commercialized era, they received a salary and often worked from grant to grant. Why is it controversial to say that most medical and pharmaceutical advances have not been driven by profits?

When I drew on NSF data, I found that more than four-fifths of global funding for basic drug research to discover new molecules (only half of which improve patient health) comes from non-commercial sources. This is obscured by companies taking over the end of the development pipeline and final application so that we read "Merck has developed a new…" when often the company did not develop it but bought in after discovery and even early development. For playing this role, companies set prices at 50-100 times ex-factory costs, and then we think we cannot live without them!

ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGY IN ISRAEL

Circuits of Global and Local Knowledge

By: Oleg Komlik

Economic sociology in Israel is thriving. After years of gradual disciplinary evolution and scholarly elaboration, Israeli economic sociology has become soundly established. This essay aims to explain the emergence of this field of research and to profile the contemporary economic sociology in Israel.

Our point of departure lies in the contention that Israeli economic sociology - as an umbrella term for the variety of socio-political studies of economic organizations, institutions and processes – has been constituting from the 1980s onward in the spirit of two concurrently unfolding academic trends: on the global level, the stimulating revival and remarkable spring of economic sociology in the US and Europe, and on the local level, the growing influence of critical sociological approaches on Israeli sociology as a whole. Decades after the establishment-oriented structural-functionalist sociology ceded the economy as a topic of inquiry to economics and produced papers echoing the dominant ideology and government policies, researchers associated with different streams of critical sociology, especially interested in elites, power and political economy of labor, have begun to problematize notions of economic phenomena which for years were conceptually simplified and (un)intentionally omitted. Finally, the institutionalization of economic sociology was intensified by the transformative and detrimental consequences of the Neoliberal conquest of the Israeli society and polity during the 1990s (e.g. Shafir and Peled 2002; Shalev 1998).

In 1992, after returning from Columbia University where he obtained his PhD, Ilan Talmud pioneered the first courses in 'new economic sociology' in Israel - "Social capital" and "State and entrepreneurship" (see also Talmud 1992, 1994; Burt and Talmud 1993). Daniel Maman started offering a course on Social Networks in 1996, several years after submitting his dissertation on the institutional linkages between the economic, political and bureaucratic elites in Israel (see Maman 1997a, 1997b). Today, at the beginning of the 2016, all sociology departments at universities and many colleges boast of having at least one or two faculty members dealing with sociology of the economy. These researchers have a noticeable presence at international conferences, they fruitfully collaborate with American and European colleagues, and their students are awarded competitive doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships abroad.

This community of academics is diverse: whereas their educational backgrounds, methodological lens, the-

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oretical realms and empirical focuses differ, they all are invested in illuminating various angles of the mutual embeddedness of State-Economy-Society. There are four main areas of scholarly interest. I will briefly depict each of them, concentrating on relatively recent publications. Because the subject matter is broad, space is limited, the boundaries of the field occasionally make inroads into other departments, and vice versa -- this overview will unavoidably be partial and confined only to the Israeli context.

1. Sociology and politics of economic knowledge

Sociology of economics probes the social and political processes, mechanisms and conditions of formation, articulation and diffusion of economic ideas, models and theories. In this respect academic, practical and administrative configurations of economic knowledge are always embodied in particular economies, epistemic cultures and institutions.

In the framework of nation-building and policy-making in the decades before and after Israel's independence in 1948, Krampf (2010a, 2010b), and Yonay and Krampf (2014) traced the evolution of local economic thought, adaptation of foreign ideas, erection of academic economics schools and inputs of professional carriers of economic knowledge. Studying the same period, Frenkel (2005), and Kalev, Shenhav and De Vries (2008) examined the politics of diffusion and translation of Scientific Management and Human Relations principles into the infant industry.

Mandelkern and Shalev (2010) detected the causal role played by the power resources of economists intended to stabilize the 1980s Israeli economy as it spiraled into hyperinflation crisis. Maman and Rosenhek (2011) compellingly showed how starting in the mid-1980s, the utilization of a "depoliticized" language of economic models and the close relations of Israeli academic and state economists with their American counterparts served as tools of bureaucratic and political power in bringing about the neoliberal shift in the Israeli political-economic regime and the strengthening of the Central Bank.

More recently, looking at state programs of financial literacy, Maman and Rosenhek (2015) reveal how they confer moral meanings to practices of personal finance, inserting thereby the neoliberal and financialization institutional logics into everyday life. In the same conceptual line, Adriana Kemp and Nitza Berkovitch (2013) deal with NGOs' programs of "economic empowerment" for marginalized women in Israel. Galit Ailon (2015) presents an interesting qualitative analysis of the calculative techniques and clarifies another - performative - aspect of economic know-how: popularization of financial trading by training schools, firms and books.

2. Political economy, labor and welfare state

Historically, these topics of research have strong foothold in Israel, trespassing sub-fields, methods, theoretical traditions and academic departments.

Synthesizing his own prolific work, in Mo(ve)ments of Resistance: Politics, Economy and Society in Israel/Palestine, 1931-2013, Lev Grinberg (2013) argues that events in the social history and political economy have been shaped not only by economic and political forces but also by resistance struggles of marginal groups: organized workers, Palestinians, and Mizrachi Jews. Astute observations on the constitution of subordinate populations as unprotected labor under varying political and economic circumstances over the second half of the 20th century were offered also by Rosenhek (2003).

Tali Kristal's (2013) detailed account of income inequality from 1955 to 2005 reveals that market-oriented state policies and workers' fragmentation led to a decline in labor's share in national income during the current stage of neoliberal capitalism.

Combining neo-institutional and fiscal sociology, Michal Koreh and Michael Shalev (2009) described a 'quiet revolution' in the financing of social insurance that has transferred employer obligations to the state budget and profoundly altered intra-governmental power. Intra-state conflicts, institutions and de-politicization also

delineated trajectories of Active Labour Market reforms that were pivotal in the neoliberal reorganization of the welfare state (Maron and Helman 2015).
On the meso level, Shalev and Lazarus (2013) explored the role of the state as an employer of Palestinian women in the social services. A microsociological perspective of job insecurity, class and gender in a "flexible" labor market was offered by Orly Benjamin's (2015), and Benjamin and Nisim's (2012).

3. The 'big economy': business groups, banking and finance

The study of financial markets and banking, and their inextricable and multifaceted linkages with the state and corporations is already a well-established purview of economic sociology in Europe and the US. To grasp the effect of inter-industrial relations on the survival of an individual firm, Talmud and Mesch (1997) found that structural embeddedness in the national transaction matrix and political embeddedness in the national economy play an important role in shaping corporate likelihood of durability.
Daniel Maman paved the way with a series of studies about the emergence, social-political organization and transformations of large business groups in Israel (1998, 1999). Thereafter, Maman (2004, 2006) put under a magnifying glass the constitution of the new Israeli corporate law in order to understand the balance of power between the state and the 'big economy', and the 'global' scripts versus the local factors. Based upon the concrete historical analysis and defining neoliberalism as a state project, Oleg Komlik (forthcoming) scrutinizes the dynamics of the institutional changes of the banking sector initiated by the coalition of state agencies and aimed at the construction of a market-based financial system.

4. Information economy and technology

Using a social network approach, in Wired Youth: the Social World of Adolescence in the Information Age Mesch and Talmud (2010) examined the effects of internet use on young people's involvement in social, leisure and extracurricular activities. In a brand new ethnographic and netnographic project, Talmud delves into the social fabrics of cryptocurrency trading. Talmud is exploring the possibility of enacting an alternative monetary system "from below" and constructing a global online financial market in the face of institutional hostility (Talmud 2015; Darr 2014).
Darr and Rothschild (2004) attributed the limited absorption of immigrants from the former Soviet Union into the existing high-tech economy by their relative lack of social capital and their loose penetration into local informal social networks. A decade later, by focusing on enterprise resource planning implementers, Darr (2015) put a question mark over the distinction between technical and social skills and pointed to the growing convergence of service and technical-computerized skills in the nowadays economy.

A summary before moving forward

Economic sociology in Israel is interlaced with the rich insights of American and European scholarships of (new) economic sociology. Concurrently, it also encompasses the local spirit of critical inquiry and an intellectual passion to unravel the mazes of socio-political morphology of the economy. This is how the circuits of global and local knowledge have been crystallizing.
We all, therefore, have much to look forward to the further development and ramifications of economic sociology in Israel.

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TEACHING ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGY

Michel Anteby

John Walsh

As more economic sociologists take academic positions within business and policy schools, they face unique challenges and opportunities. How do they articulate the importance of our field for high-paying customers looking for actionable takeaways for non-academic jobs? To investigate where the 'rubber meets the road,' we spoke with two economic sociologists teaching master's students in professional schools: John Walsh, Professor in the School of Public Policy at Georgia Institute of Technology, and Michel Anteby, Associate Professor of Organizational Behavior at Boston University's Questrom School of Business. They offer these insights:

We've noticed that in professional schools it's a lot easier to find economic sociologists teaching organizational theory than economic sociology more broadly defined. Why do you think that is, and what might be the implications?

John Walsh: I think that organization theory is an established part of the curriculum in schools of management, public administration, and policy, and the economic sociology perspective is a fruitful way of understanding organizations and presenting that material to students. One implication of this is that some of the broader meaning of the economic sociology perspective may get less coverage in the curriculum, although in an organizations course, there is often flexibility to incorporate related perspectives.

Michel Anteby: Most professional school students hope to manage at some point a private, public, or non-profit organization. To do so, their immediate attention is on their next career move (i.e., the stepping stone toward that goal) and the lessons they can bring to their new employers. Thus, focusing on the organizational implications of any theory is an easier fit with students' aspirations, than, say, discussing one of my favorite articles: the commemoration of the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington D.C. (Wagner-Pacifici & Schwartz's 1991 AJS piece). The implication is that we need to tailor the presentation of our research to students' most pressing interests.

Which lessons of economic sociology do you emphasize when teaching professional students? How do you convey these lessons to a classroom of people likely looking for actionable takeaways for non-academic jobs? What is particularly challenging about this?

John: My goal is to present general theories of behavior and lots of examples. I tend to focus on empirical papers—some qualitative and some quantitative, so that the students can learn to generalize to the examples they are likely to find in their own setting. In my course, there is usually a mix of policy, management, and engineering students, and so I tend to mix examples from lots of different types of organizations, as well as to draw from students' own examples with organizations they are familiar with. Even though my class is very theory oriented, students come to an understanding of how those theories can help inform their experiences and decision-making at work.

The challenge is getting the students to suspend disbelief for the duration of the class. Rather than focusing on specific applied management tools, I am focusing on theories of how organizations work. From there, the students can develop their own strategies for problem solving in the situations that arise in their particular settings. To do this, I try to keep the material lively, link it to a variety of contemporary examples, and try to get them to see some of the beauty of an economic sociology perspective.

Michel: The three main teaching venues for economic sociologists in professional schools are courses in (micro) organizational behavior, (macro) strategy, and ethics. While there are obviously other teaching venues (e.g., elective master's courses or doctoral seminars), the three courses tend to be required of all students in master's curriculums and therefore need to be regularly staffed. Depending on the course, different lessons can be conveyed. For "ethics," the fit with economic sociology is perhaps the most obvious. For instance, discussing the efforts needed to construct moral frames can prove very informative to students. As an example, I have used surrogacy agreements involving intended parents in the United States, transnational commercial brokers, and surrogates in India to explore competing moral frames when engaging in "business" transactions. In organizational behavior courses, questions of how individuals find jobs, navigate labor markets, and are deemed fit or not for given positions can benefit immensely from an economic sociology lens. In all these courses, economic sociologists might find it most challenging to learn content beyond their expertise. Given the large student cohort size in professional master's programs, it's common for colleagues teaching another section of the same course to share their material with newcomers, thus easing the onboarding of economic sociologists into professional schools.

Which economic sociology topics (or general lessons) do you find professional students find most useful or beneficial? Which works do they have the easiest time connecting with?

John: They like the informal organization perspective, and the garbage can/organization learning models. More generally, they resonate with the insights from the bounded rationality perspective (we read Simon early on). The network theory models are also popular, although here I try hard to push them beyond an individualistic "strategic networking" perspective to a more structural, whole-network perspective. They also appreciate reading original research articles rather than twice-digested policy or management textbooks.

Michel: My sense is that professional students really appreciate the interconnected view of human behavior that economic sociology promotes. Most of these students have worked and have come to recognize the complexity of our society. They like that economic sociology accounts for what they experienced. As an illustration, when learning about ethics, students love to discover studies into given markets (e.g., work by Rene Almeling, Marion Fourcade, Kieran Healy, and Viviana Zelizer). These deep dives allow them to make sense of competing moral views and revisit the complexity of morality. In organizational behavior courses, I often build on Harrison White's insight that identities are built in contrast, as a means of teaching about how identities can drive efforts and actions. I would never dream of assigning "Identity and Control" to my professional students, but I do ask them to reflect on who they are, who they are not, and how relations to these "others" impact their career decisions. Economic sociology helps students gain a better grasp of inter-connections and inter-dependencies at work.

What has teaching professional students taught you about how economic sociologists might broaden the appeal of their work to audiences beyond the academy?

John: I think it is important to focus on real contexts in which our theories get developed and tested, and to show that these can guide practical decision-making. The main effect of this perspective is that it provides students and practitioners with increased awareness of their surroundings and gives them a language for understanding what they are seeing in organizations.

Michel: Teaching to professional students has taught me to anchor my research in empirical puzzles. This anchoring is also helpful, by the way, to any book or article writer. Puzzles are what drive most people and readers, so these students are a good sounding board for any sociologist.

What advice would you give to economic sociologists teaching professional students for the first time or those considering this direction for a career?

John: Focus on the sociological insights in these contexts, rather than following the professional school "toolbox" model. One of the hardest things is to break the bias toward "action" in professional schools. I find that students from management and policy have been trained to offer opinions, but are not as well trained at thinking through problems and offering insights that are consistent with the observations (in the papers presented and in prior papers they have read). So, they often seem disappointed when I push them to justify their opinions based on the empirical evidence at hand. But they eventually come to think sociologically and begin to apply what they have learned from a body of theory and empirical evidence in order to address circumstances that they face in their particular work setting. Thus, my advice is to "stick to your guns," and demonstrate the utility, and the fun, of the sociological perspective by applying it through a variety of empirical examples that illustrate the different theoretical perspectives and insights that economic sociology brings to the study of organizations.

Michel: Regardless of audiences, I would generally tell sociologists to teach about what they know. Students appreciate and recognize expertise. It also helps to be upfront about your expertise. You will never be able to compete in terms of "insights" or "life lessons" with a management practice faculty (e.g., a former CEO now teaching at your school), but your strengths reside in making research insights resonate with students' lives. For instance, while a practice faculty might encourage students to adopt merit-based promotion systems in organizations, you can add that some meritocracies have been shown to favor men vs. women and suggest why this might happen (cf. Castilla & Benar's 2010 ASQ piece). Similarly, when a practice faculty might tell students to follow their "true north" in selecting careers, you can help students understand the current occupational segregation in the United States and discuss why some categories of individuals have been selected or select into certain lines of work (cf. my work with András Tilcsik and Carly Knight on gay and lesbian occupations). Economic sociology can provide a more complex and realistic view of workplace dynamics and thus help students distinguish data and facts from managerial ideology and dogma.

Is there anything else you think readers of Accounts might benefit from hearing or thinking about?

John: Bringing a sociological imagination to professional schools is an exciting opportunity for economic sociologists. Close engagement with practitioners (through teaching and through consulting) can provide new examples, data, and research questions that can help economic sociology develop as a field. A strong vocational ethos in contemporary American universities makes it likely that professional schools may be the growth opportunity in the university. Economic sociologists can participate in this growth while still engaging in the disciplinary program of economic sociology, both in teaching and in research.

PUBLICATION OUTLETS

The European Newsletter of Economic Sociology

Zsuzsanna Vargha

Alya Guseva caught up with Zsuzsanna Vargha, the current editor of the *economic sociology_the european newsletter* who is spending her sabbatical semester at MIT http://econsoc.mpifg.de/newsletter_current.asp

Zsuzsanna, many of our readers may not be familiar with the newsletter. Can you briefly tell us about its history, scope, distribution and goals.

"Newsletter" is actually a little misleading of a name for a journal of research papers, but the name is a remnant from the past. The Economic Sociology Newsletter is published by the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Germany. Every year it has a different Editor, who is invited to design the issues and invite contributions. The Newsletter was founded by the Max Planck in 1999, to foster the development of the then-novel field of economic sociology in Europe. The scope is broad-ranging from political economy to historical, cultural and social-technical approaches. It was designed to be distributed electronically, which at the time was an avant-garde thing to do. Today the subscribers, I have been told, number around 2,000.

What sorts of papers are published in the newsletter? Are they commissioned or do you also publish unsolicited pieces? Who are your typical authors?

Each issue of the Newsletter typically features a set of research papers. These are shorter in length than a regular journal article and either present original research or an original discussion of the author's research projects (see some of the papers in "Working the market" issue by Sophie Dubuisson-Quellier and Pierre

Francois). The authors are often located at European institutions and they are mostly sociologists, but neither are requisite attributes. As you may know, economic sociology in Europe is found in much broader berths—in management schools, geography departments, and engineering schools—so affiliations can be diverse. The authors come from all career stages, from very junior to very established scholars.

The Newsletter publishes pieces by invitation. Under my leadership these are mostly presenting new research, very often ideas that are shared publicly for the first time. Most Newsletter issues have been thematic, and I continue this tradition. I think this is a good venue for showcasing interesting problematics and emerging sub-fields – similarly to the previous Editor Asaf Darr's approach. Some of the previous Newsletter issues have also featured position pieces on the state of an emerging field, for example on the sociology of finance, and many have featured interviews. This time I wanted to present readers with a wide range of empirical cases and theoretical approaches, and provide space for a variety of authors pushing the boundaries of our discipline, among them established authors engaging in new fields and early career authors introducing their projects to a wider public. The great advantage of the original format of the Newsletter, for both authors and readers, is that it allows and even welcomes a certain intellectual freshness.

You assumed the role of the editor this year, following a long list of well-known names like Olav Velthius, Nina Bandelj, Phillippe Steiner, Nigel Dodd, Patrik Aspers, Jens Beckert and Richard Swedberg, the last three, together with Johan Heilbron, also serving on the Newsletter's editorial board. What are your goals for this year? How is the Newsletter different under your leadership?

My editorial goals for this year are twofold: first, to invite the economic sociology community to investigate how technical financial expertise shapes economic life and show the emerging sociological work that explores this area. Every Editor brings their own view of economic sociology and their own areas of expertise, and structures the Newsletter issues around themes they deem important. I have worked on the sociology of finance, looking at how finance is constituted in mass personalized sales interactions, and I have been studying the calculative infrastructure of accounting. These sub-fields have very strong bases in Europe. The Editorial Board invited me based on my research agenda in the sociology of finance and accounting. Accounting and insurance have been important in the formation of capitalism by establishing and redefining notions of risk, valuation and distribution.

The first issue which came out in November spanned across a wide range of questions around insurance, from marketing to discrimination and risk-based valuation, while the current issue coming out in March raises questions around old and new forms of valuation in accounting, from the epistemological status of financial statements to the social value of an organization's performance. The third issue will focus on finance from the perspective of the consumer, the domestic, the household. This intersection of finance and consumption is rather new despite Zelizer's work, and close to my own interests originating in the sociology of consumption (I also helped set up the ASA Section on Consumers and Consumption). This is also an area that you, Alya, have shaped in the US and beyond, not in the least by organizing topical sessions at the ASA and at SASE (Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics), a core international economic sociology conference.

The second aim, or better, style, is to journalize the Newsletter even further—to focus on presenting longer research papers. This offers the opportunity for our readers to immerse themselves in the empirical stories, which is necessary to understand their significance. My view is that the stories of technical infrastructure require ample space to be told properly, and sociology has all too often wrapped them up neatly in the blanket

of the "social", so that the exact ways in which calculation matters have been obscured. The sociology of markets has contributed to doing away with this blanket in many ways. The longer papers also allow us to go beyond the technical description and appreciate the political stakes of tinkering with financial design.

The Newsletter is European, and you currently have a position at a European university though you are US-trained. Do you see a difference between European and American economic sociology traditions? Do you consider the Newsletter to be distinctly European or more of a bridge between European and American economic sociology communities?

I do see some differences, but these should also not be overstated, and the boundaries have been rather fluid in this field. The sociology of markets has typically been very transatlantic in its development, and the question of the social embeddedness of the economy has been an equally overarching one. There is also significant traffic of academics going between the US and Europe, which also helps link the discussions. True, some philosophical stances, which are fairly new or not used much in American sociology, are very important in Europe. I am talking about the influence of science and technology studies, but also of Foucault and other post-structuralist thinkers, on conceptualizing the economy and markets. You see this in some of the Newsletter articles. Having worked in both traditions, I see that some statements, which are completely accepted in one as a starting point, are deemed radical or superseded in the other. Some of the substantive interests have also been differently defined—in Europe the varieties of capitalism and the welfare state are key issues, which also have to do with the particular economies involved. But financialization has become global, and so has its sociology. Let's also not forget that Bourdieu is alive and well on both sides of the Atlantic!

If there is a difference it is probably more in the style of sociology rather than in the topics, as many US sociologists have Europe as their object. Yet I think that robust conversations have overcome the differences in style. If anything, economic sociology could continue its path of becoming less Western-centric, wherever it is practiced. Not even mentioning beyond Europe for now, but within it, Eastern Europe, on which I have worked a lot, is not equally part of the discussions, nor present as a valued research site, and this is difficult to remedy, even if, ironically, Polanyi himself was Hungarian! The Newsletter has begun this process, however, for example with Vadim Radaev's Editorship.

Overall, the Newsletter is distinctly European and it isn't. On the one hand, it has aimed to present work being done primarily at European institutions, to a European, American, and increasingly global audience. On the other hand, we have had US-based and US-trained Editors and many contributors have also had intertwining trajectories. The Newsletter encourages this diversity by virtue of its structure, through the rotation of Editors, who shape discussions based on their varied backgrounds and takes on economic sociology. That is, the Editor of the Newsletter enjoys complete independence from the Board and is free to pursue his/her own intellectual agenda. Overall, my view is that the differences in styles of sociology tend to become secondary when we congregate around large shared intellectual issues. The questions may be asked a little differently, and the methods used may differ, too, but this only enhances our ability to address lasting questions about economic life. This is very much the view taken by the Newsletter, and as such it has acted as a bridge between the American and European economic sociology communities.

ANTHROPOLOGY CONFERENCE

Anthropologists on household in times of finance

How does the growing significance of finance in the global political economy reshape the contours of everyday economic life of one our most fundamental units of analysis, the household? How might we observe financialization in ethnographic fieldwork? These and other questions organized the conversation in the panel "Rethinking the Household for the Age of Finance" in the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Denver this past November.

The session, sponsored by the Association for Political and Legal Anthropology and by the the Society for Economic Anthropology, featured five papers by graduate students and early career researchers and two sets of comments from distinguished discussants. The goal of the panel (organized and co-chaired by two PhD candidates, Ainur Begim from Yale and Mateusz Halawa from The New School for Social Research) started from the premise that more conceptual work is needed to understand how these kinds of households become embedded in global financial flows and networks through consumer loans, mortgages, investment instruments, and individual retirement accounts. As these financial forms and practices spread well beyond the Anglo-American context and as global financial crises and neoliberal policies create new conditions of uncertainty and precarity, the household as a financial unit becomes critical for the study of everyday life post-2008.

Mateusz Halawa's paper, "Making a Living: How Young Couples in Warsaw Start and Practice a Household" co-authored by Marta Olcoń-Kubicka, with whom Halawa studies the economic lives of young Polish households. They explored practices of handling money and financial instruments among the emerging middle-class in the first postsocialist generation. Many notions of the household reify it as a functional, bounded, and stable unit. In contrast, their paper treated the household as an ongoing process, not a ready-made thing, and attended to the practices of running a household in which individual desires and deeds converge and diverge, some resources are pooled while other are kept separate, and the very virtues and futures of living together are negotiated and, at times, questioned. The paper tracked the domestic uses of money and finance in order to argue that these intimate transactions not so much happen in the household, as they are constitutive of it.

Ainur Begim's paper, "Life Insurance, Financial Planning and Personhood in Postsocialist Kazakhstan", was based on 15 months of field research in 2012-2013. She examined the emergence of life insurance as a savings device for multi-generational households, focusing on often illicit accumulative life insurance schemes, peddled using multi-level marketing techniques, to protect and valorize liquid assets. To be insured, a policyholder makes annual premium payments and at the end of the policy term, typically in 10-15 years, he or she expects to receive both the premium payments and accumulated interest. Financial advisers, who sell these accumulative life insurance schemes, primarily market them as a savings rather than insurance device, appealing to both the idealized western standards of living with dignity and traditional Kazakh values of respecting elders and supporting close kin, in turn shaping new visions of what the Kazakh middle-class family and household ought to be.

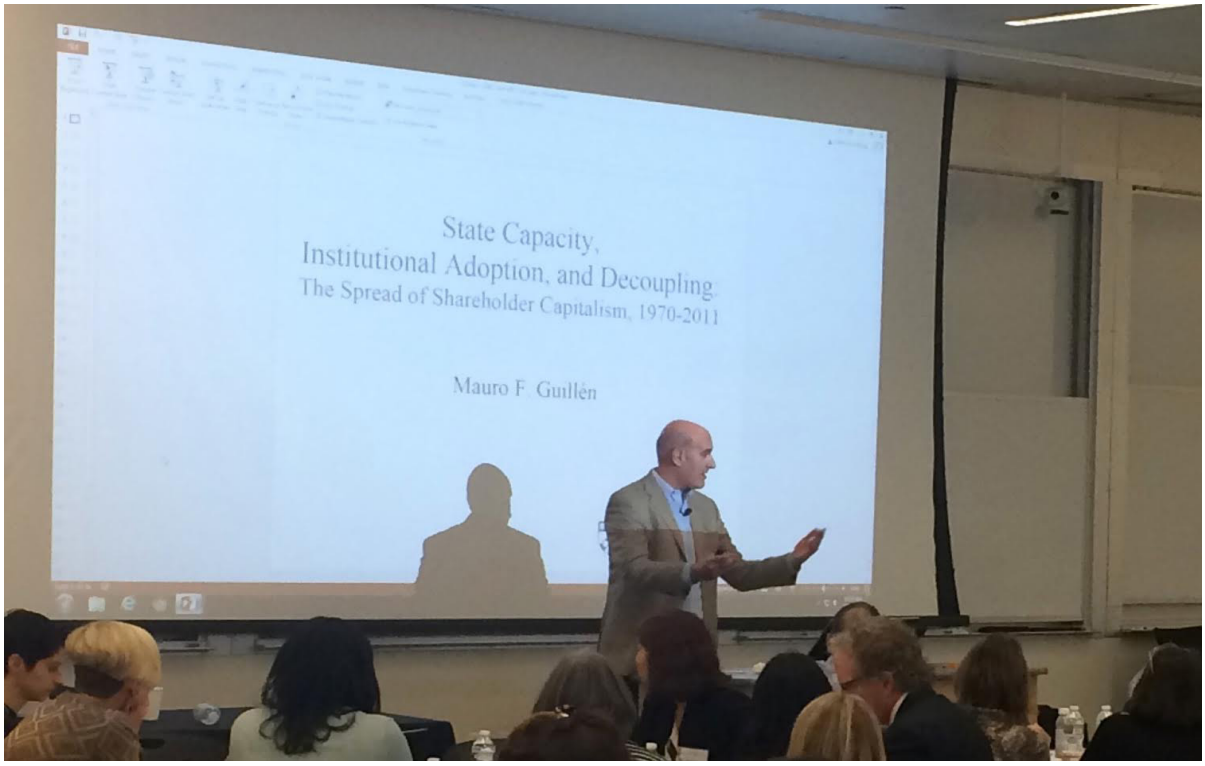
Georgia Harman's paper, "Homes with Value: Housing Finance and the Transformation of Homeownership in Mexico focused on matters of housing and credit." Twenty years after the reform of Infonavit into a mortgage finance institution, Mexico's provident housing fund for workers has transformed into the largest mortgage lender in Latin America. The explosion of available credit facilitated by the reform has dramatically restructured the predominant material and financial methods of household construction in urban Mexico. Widely available housing finance facilitated the creation of a housing market, stimulating the development of a residential construction industry and reorganizing people's relationship to homeownership through 30-year debt obligations. Harman used ethnography to track how this process has facilitated a reorganization of the relationship between people, household, and economy – and restructured urban geographies and the meaning of homeownership. She examined the processes through which structures are defined as acceptable receptors of finance and individuals as credit-worthy homeowners, and the repercussions for urban space and the Mexican household.

Nicholas D'Avella's paper, "Architecture is for Everyone: Design Practice and the Matter of Care" took further the concern with urban space and shifted attention from the dwellers to those who get to make dwellings for others with all the ideological, political, and ethical implications of that practice. In the aftermath of Argentina's political and economic crisis in 2001, buildings became an important form of economic investment for middle class Argentines, resulting in a boom in investment-driven construction. D'Avella wondered about the economic and social imaginaries congealed in home designs. He examined the politics of architectural education and production in Buenos Aires and found in drawings and models the technologies through which students were invested with ways of caring for the built environment that extend beyond market value, offering the possibility to conserve particular human-building relations in the face of the economic priorities that threatened to overtake them.

Hadas Weiss's paper, "The Making of Financially Literate Households" started from the observation that households today are implicated into global finance through a variety of means popularly referred to as "financial inclusion". Most operate structurally: creating wide-ranging demand for credit and then supplying it profusely with multiple strings attached. But there is one project with a truly enlightenment bent: educating the public to be discerning consumers of, and shrewd investors in, financial products. In one of the first attempts at an ethnography of financial literacy Weiss examined the logic of household economics that finance sets about to transform, and trace the social and political implications of their mutual implication.

A number of themes came up in discussion, which included comments from Caitlin Zaloom (NYU), who is working on a monograph on the transformations of contemporary middle-class American households, and from Jane Guyer (Johns Hopkins) who extensively studied and theorized African households. If the households are ways of ordering material resources in space and time, how might we further theorize the materiality of the household? We discussed the intersections of finance, architecture, planning, and place-making and how shifting trajectories of capital generate spaces with particular qualities in different scales: the city, the neighborhood, the building, the home. Following Caitlin Zaloom, we traced the origins of the concept of the household to Ancient Greece in order to appreciate how morality and materiality intersect in household production and consumption. A discussion around heteronormativity of certain household ideologies and instruments of household finance and financial education led us to consider Jane Guyer's call to better account for legal frameworks, which co-constitute not just global financial orders, but also enable and constrain household practice. We are hoping to continue these conversations next year, centering on mortgage instruments.

ECON SOCIOLOGY CONFERENCE



2015 Annual Economic Sociology Conference

With three years under its belt and rapidly growing attendance, the annual Economic Sociology Conference provides an opportunity for members of our subfield, particularly graduate students on the market, to present their work and reflect on the state of the field. We spoke with past organizers of the conference to learn more about the intellectual history and planned trajectory of this important event.

The first conference, organized by Jason Greenberg in collaboration with Gino Cattani and Delia Baldassarri, took place at New York University in 2013. As Greenberg explains, his motivation for creating the conference was to establish a more robust community of economic sociologists in the New York area:

> *As a graduate student in economic sociology at MIT, I benefited greatly from the community of scholars working in economic sociology in the Cambridge area (not to mention the classes offered)...When I moved to NYU I realized how valuable the community I experienced in Cambridge was, how much I benefited from it, and, ultimately, how much I missed it. Notwithstanding a cluster of excellent universities and scholars, there simply was no robust community of economic or organizational sociologists in the greater NYC area. Gino [Cattanti] and I discussed organizing a workshop in economic sociology that would help foster and maintain a community of scholars interested in economic sociology in the greater NY area. When Delia Baldassarri joined NYU, I asked her if she would be interested in helping to organize such a workshop. She answered in the affirmative. The rest is history.*

Subsequent organizers at Yale in 2014 (Olav Sorenson, Jim Baron, and Marissa King) and MIT in 2015

(Kate Kellogg, Ezra Zuckerman, Emilio J. Castilla, and Roberto Fernandez) shared Greenberg's goals of promoting greater community among economic sociologists, bringing greater coherence to the subfield, and providing an opportunity for job market candidates to showcase their research. Although the conference's format has changed over the years, it has always included presentations on the "state of the field" from eminent scholars. The most recent conference featured, among other expert presenters, Devah Pager speaking on employer discrimination, Shelley Correll on gender and organizations, and Mark Mizruchi on the political sociology of corporate action. As Sorenson notes, the organizers felt it particularly important for scholars to take stock of broad fields like economic sociology, in which members publish in a variety of venues and work in a range of institutional settings:

> *[What I found most useful about the conference was] hearing summaries of what has been happening recently in research areas of interest to me but which are not directly related to the research that I have been doing personally. Because economic and organizational sociology gets published across a wide range of outlets these days — everything from AJS, ASR, and Sociological Science to ASQ and Organization Science to field journals in sociology and management — it's hard to stay abreast of the field simply by scanning journal tables of contents.*

In addition to lending coherence to a larger research agenda, the conference also brings together economic sociologists housed within both sociology and management departments, an important feat in a subfield as frequently fragmented as our own. As Kellogg, Zuckerman, Castilla, and Fernandez explain:

> *This [conference] is perhaps especially valuable for students (and faculty) who are not in sociology departments. A conference like this, which is hosted by a business school but which includes many participants from sociology departments, helps to reinforce their (our) identity as sociologists. It also promotes awareness of economic sociology among non-sociologists.*

The conference offers particularly meaningful benefits for young scholars. Conference attendees are asked to nominate one outstanding economic sociology student from their doctoral program who is on the job market that year to present in a poster session during lunch. This is a favorite aspect of the conference for both organizers and participants. Job market candidates who presented at the poster session noted that the format had many benefits. The poster presentations helped to raise candidates' profiles within the subfield, allowed them to get feedback on their work at a critical time, and gave them a valuable opportunity to practice and refine their "elevator speeches" in preparation for campus visits.

Thus far, participation has been largely limited to the invited conference presenters, presenters' doctoral candidates on the job market, and students, affiliates, or graduates of the host institutions. The 2016 event will be held at Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Management. We admire and applaud the work of these economic sociologists, and extend our gratitude to Jason Greenberg, Olav Sorenson, Marissa King, Kate Kellogg, Ezra Zuckerman, Emilio J. Castilla, and Roberto Fernandez for their prompt and insightful responses.

SOCIAL POLITICS JOURNAL

Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society

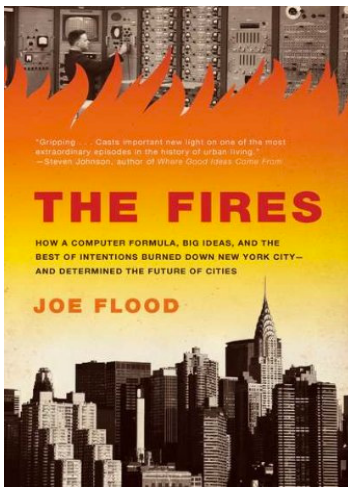
The mission of *Social Politics* is to provide "incisive analyses of gender, politics and policy across the globe". It seeks to bring gender, in all its diversity, to the forefront of research on states, polities, economies and societies and to situate these analyses within international and comparative contexts. The journal's vision is to engage with concerns of gender, both as they are articulated by self-identified feminist activities and expressed in other arenas in which feminists work, such as challenging capitalist practices and logics, environmental politics and human rights activism. *Social Politics*' intellectual roots are broadly located in the explosion of theorizing of states and politics sparked by social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and carried through to the present in the form of critical, feminist work that bridges theory and empirical research. These are all vibrant and exciting fields of scholarship in which *Social Politics* has already made a mark. The contributors to the journal over the years have investigated the underpinnings of social policies as they crisscross public and private, interrogated politics that deepen inequality and institutionalize hierarchies and shown the gendered elements of modern state power and social politics to be multiple and to vary by time and place. The journal has also played a leading role in bringing gender into mainstream scholarship – especially on the welfare state - while pioneering new concepts and approaches for the comparative study of power, policy, and politics from a feminist perspective.

Social Politics aspires to be a trailblazer in the areas core to its mission and a vehicle for scholarship of the highest standard, both theoretical and methodological. It seeks to air a wide range of debates and highlight differences as a productive and fruitful route to critical scholarship. The recently-appointed new editors – Kate Bedford, Mary Daly, Margarita Estévez Abe and Aleksandra Kanjuo-Mrčela - intend the journal to be even bolder in its emphasis on comparison and 'talking across differences'. They are are actively planning for the journal to have a wider geographical reach so that it can facilitate dialogue among an even broader range of scholars. In sum, the aim is that *Social Politics* will continue to be a leading light in debates and new research agendas around gender, class, sexuality, race/ethnicity and nation, the politics of global markets and economies, transnational governance, and the gendered contexts and contests around care practices and policies as these play out in diverse parts of the world.

http://sp.oxfordjournals.org/

BOOKSHELF

Read any good books lately? That's the question we asked a handful of scholars this summer, with the nudge that thoughtprovoking books can come from beyond sociology. Here's what they had to say.



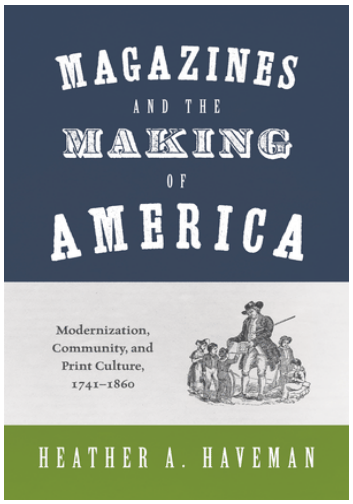
ELIZABETH POPP BERMAN (UNIVERSITY AT ALBANY, SUNY)

The Fires: How a Computer Formula Burned Down New York City—and Determined the Future of American Cities
By: Joe Flood
Riverhead Books, 2011, 368 pages

I knew New York City was a much grittier place in the 1970s, but I didn't know it was this gritty. In The Fires, journalist Joe Flood describes New York in which the backdrop to the World Series was the Bronx on fire. Block after block of the city burned during these years of fiscal crisis and urban decline.

The blame, in Flood's book, lies at the feet of the experts: in this case, the RAND Corporation, which brought in its cool-headed modelers to tell the struggling city how it could cut fire department budgets without endangering the city. But rationalist faith ran up against the usual problems: politicos who made sure wealthy neighborhoods didn't lose their firehouses, firemen who provided bad numbers that served their own interests, analysts who were overconfident in their ability to predict. The best of intentions had catastrophic results for the city. It's a complex, deeply reported story with a sharp sociological edge. And the most gripping book about systems analysis you're likely to read.

EMILY ERIKSON (YALE UNIVERSITY)



Magazines and the Making of America: Modernization, Community, and Print Culture, 1741-1860
By: Heather Haveman
Princeton University Press, 2015, 432 pages

I am greatly enjoying this book, which provides a rich history of the magazine industry in North America, analyzes the impact of magazines on religious fragmentation, social reform, and economic development and serves up fascinating details about ante-bellum entrepreneurship, the dynamics of religious markets, and Sabbatarianism (among others) along the way. It is the result of a heroic archival effort and makes a significant contribution to understanding the material underpinnings of the transition to modernity, particularly the means through which early-modern relational patterns were reconfigured into translocal communities of interest (and the role of organizations in this process). It also has a much better title than another book I am currently reading on early-modern print culture, Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500-1820.

NON-ACADEMIC CAREER TRACKS

Is there life after economic sociology? We had the opportunity to talk about non-academic career tracks with three outstanding interviewees, each of whom has taken their sociological trainings in different and exciting directions. We speak to Peter Levin, who after experience in academia has switched onto a non-academic track; Karina Kloos, a more recent PhD who went straight to a non-academic career; and Charlie Gomez, a PhD student with recent experience in the private sector.

Peter Levin
Research Scientist, Intel Experiences Group
PhD in Sociology from Northwestern
peter.levin@intel.com

Charlie Gomez
User Experience Research Intern at Facebook, Summer 2015
PhD Candidate in Sociology of Education and Global Comparative Education
Stanford University
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Karina Kloos
Senior Research and Evaluation Specialist at Landesa
PhD in Sociology from Stanford
karinak@landesa.org

Tell us about how you landed on a non-academic career track. Were you always interested in working outside of academia or was this something you decided while working towards your PhD?

Peter Levin: I went for my PhD because I wanted to be a professor, and I had been an assistant professor for a long time before looking for a non-academic job. I had a great job at a great institution. My decision to leave academia was gradual, and it came mid-career. I started becoming restless about teaching, and I was increasingly disaffected by the disciplinary part of sociology. Of course, once I "decided" I wanted out, it took me another 3-4 years before I had the courage to jump.

I landed at Intel mostly by accident – I heard they had a lab, and I contacted the director out of the blue. What started as a conversation became a collaborative engagement and ended up becoming a permanent position at Intel Labs, in the user experience research lab (UXR). So we joined the long trail of hipster migration from Brooklyn, New York to Portland, Oregon…

Karina Kloos: When I decided to apply to PhD programs, I had already been working with nonprofit/non-governmental organizations for a few years. At the time, I had been exposed to enough international development work to have a sense of how much I didn't know and how much I needed to learn. For me,

the PhD was an opportunity to put a 'pause' on my work and see what I could figure out: explore issues in depth, learn about different theories for understanding social change, and develop research skills to critically analyze and understand what is -- and isn't -- effective.

I learned that I had been accepted to the PhD program at Stanford while I was living and working for a small educational non-governmental organization (NGO) based in Cambodia—one of the countries with the highest NGO densities in the world. When I started the program, my cohort teased me with phrases like "I heart NGOs" because I came in with such a keen interest in dissecting the NGO world… This turned out to be way too big for a PhD dissertation!

In my fourth year of the PhD, I found my way back to working directly with NGOs. I took on a consulting project for the Global Fund for Women. My job was to assess their work and impact over their twenty-five year history, which included funding more than 4,600 grassroots women's organizational across 175 countries (!). Bringing in my academic social movements background, I also worked with my advisor to frame a movement building strategy for the organization. That work really connected me and my academic experiences and knowledge back into the 'NGO world.' A year and a half later, just as I was finishing my PhD, I started working for Landesa, a global land rights NGO based in Seattle. In hindsight, I was really lucky. The kinds of jobs there are now, including the one I have today, weren't there six years ago when I started the PhD and had these kinds of quixotic aspirations.

Charlie Gomez: This past summer, I interned as a quantitative user experience researcher at Facebook. Going to graduate school in Silicon Valley affords many unique opportunities that you don't really have anywhere else. I'm still committed to a career in academia, but many graduate students in engineering and in computer science frequently leave to join companies in the Valley. It was only recently that colleagues of mine in the social sciences followed suit and joined start-ups and established tech giants – first as research interns and then as full-time employees. The academic job market is stereotyped as unpredictable and bleak. So, from my point of view, I couldn't pass up an opportunity to do academic research in-house at a company in the area. I wanted to see if I could have an equally fulfilling career doing industry research.

Did you get guidance from anyone regarding a non-academic job? Did you feel supported in your decision to not seek an academic position?

Peter Levin: Getting the support of your departmental and/or committee chair is important, if you are able to talk to them about it (and Debra Minkoff and Carol Heimer are rockstars). Honestly, in the end, most people want you to be happy.

But it was quite a break, at least in my personal experience. Sociology has no real love for corporate life, and I have fewer relationships with my former colleagues than before. It really is more of a divorce than just moving next door.

Karina Kloos: At Stanford, at least in Sociology, talk of working outside academia – outside a top-tier research institution, really – was generally treated as taboo. Because I started the program with the intention of returning to international development work, I didn't feel as bound or intimidated by that norm as others might have. I also was fortunate to have really good relationships with my main advisor, Doug McAdam, and also with Woody Powell, who I worked with a lot throughout my PhD. Doug was unconditionally supportive no matter my path. Woody was a bit more intimidating and more – I think he would admit –

invested in academia. I was pretty upfront about my intentions with him. I remember at some point stating clearly that I didn't want him to feel resentful or feel that he had wasted his time investing in me if I did indeed leave academia. He assured me he wouldn't. And he did ultimately support my decision to pursue my non-academic career.

Unfortunately, I don't think it's as easy for others. While the University made efforts to support non-academic careers, the department was pretty unsupportive, which I think is really unfortunate. So many people enter sociology PhD programs because they are passionate about an issue, such as inequality or gender. These are people who have developed incredibly useful skills! I wish there was a more supportive and encouraging culture to build up strong research skills exactly to bring those skills into policy-making, educational, and social change institutions.

Charlie Gomez: Most of my guidance came from fellow graduate students who had already taken the first leap out of academia. My advisors were very supportive. It was an opportunity to learn some valuable skills, as the data I was going to work with are truly unparalleled in size and scope (it's Facebook, of course!).

What are the most significant differences between your current job and academia?

Peter Levin: There are some structural differences, and one substantive one I can point to. First, there is a non-trivial amount of uncertainty with which you have to be comfortable. Reorganizations are not uncommon, and I have had projects pulled within days or weeks, depending on the needs of the organization. You cannot dwell on these things, or you'll just lose it.

Second, my corporation owns my time, my work, and my ideas while I'm working here. That is the inverse of academia, where the main things you own are your ideas. The upside of this is that I have been able to go to colleagues and say, 'I'm just failing at this,' and they will help finish it, or fix it, or revise it.

Third, I don't have to demonstrate being the smartest person in the room, because everyone here is already smarter than me, in complementary areas. That lack of ego can be pretty amazing because I get to tap my colleagues' brilliance. People are more mutually supportive in my current environment than what I experienced as an academic.

Finally, there is no room for your personal inner demons. I've been more productive at Intel than I was as an academic, because you have no choice. Presentations, projects, budgets, come, they arrive, they go, and that's it. There is no lingering 'paper in a drawer' that most academics have going on. Correspondence requires immediate attention, and deadlines are quick and continuous. Corporate decisions are inextricably linked to timeliness; getting it out the door is actually as important as getting it right.

Substantively, in academia I was working with other people who could do what I do, but who study different things. At Intel, I work with many other people who can do things I cannot do, and we study the same things. For example, I've done work on distributed ledgers and crypto-currencies, and this work brings together systems engineers, silicon architects, user experience researchers, and finance people. These are projects I simply could never do as an academic, because it requires skill sets that cut across disciplines. It is possible (and in some places they do this all the time), but I could never pull it off. Now, it's routine.

Karina Kloos: Working with people; towards a common purpose; that is greater than myself. The second year of my PhD I saw a documentary at the Stanford International Film Festival called "Happy" and those were exactly the three common denominators they identified that determined people's happiness. It may not be true for everyone, but it certainly was and is true for me. The PhD was a constant challenge spending so much time alone, working on my own dissertation project. While I really liked the people around me and was fortunate to collaborate on a few really great projects, most of the time it was a lonely slog. Now, I genuinely love walking into my office, knowing that I'm working on projects with other people, towards a common purpose, and for something that is way, way beyond myself.

Charlie Gomez: Academia, at least in the social sciences, tends to be monastic. My internship was much more team-oriented and collaborative, with many more deadlines that were much more frequent. Academic research is oriented towards perfection: you revisit and revise your theoretical framing and models until it's ready for scrutiny. In industry research, perfection is the enemy of "done." Of course, you want to do high quality work, but you often scope-out projects that were much smaller and that had practical impact on the business. It was much more bottom line driven than shaped by concerns for theory.

What do you enjoy most about working outside of the academy? Least?

Peter Levin: I enjoy the breadth of topics the most. Since I've been at Intel, I've worked on: a marketplace for personal data; "internet of things" around precision agriculture; the future of transactions; the emerging ecosystem around digital assistance. These projects have involved field observations, network analysis, interviews, building prototypes, and socializing strategy frameworks. I sometimes can't believe they let me do this stuff, and there have been a surprising number of occasions where I have no idea how to do most of it until I'm actually doing it.

On the downside, organizational uncertainty sometimes provokes anxiety. Two years in, I still spend more time than most worrying about how to reduce this uncertainty. That's a legacy of my academic inclinations, I think.

Karina Kloos: What do I enjoy most? Working and interacting with people. And I love the work that we do. I'm still doing research, but I get to connect the research more directly with the work (the projects and programs), and I get to personally connect with the people affected by our efforts. So the research takes on a whole different meaning and motivation.

What do I enjoy the least? Though it was isolating at times, I do miss the flexibility and autonomy I had during the PhD, and the time just to sit and think. That was a luxury.

Charlie Gomez: I think what I enjoyed the most was a sense of accomplishment. In sociology, it takes years to get a paper out, all the while knowing that the odds were never in your favor of it being published. In industry, it normally takes a few weeks to start and to finish a project. You also receive accolades more frequently for your work; you do feel more valued.

Yet, what appeals to me about academia, and why I want to be a research professor, is the freedom: freedom to study what you want, do what you want, when you want, etc. I think many in academia often take that for granted. While academia is far from perfect, I also found academia to be a bit more egalitarian. There's

a clear "command-and-control" structure in industry, which is a bit of a switch to get used to for some. In Industry, you have stakeholders who are not researchers, with very different worldview than you. Balancing their needs with what research can and can't do was certainly something new for me to consider.

Do you plan to stay involved in the discipline while working in a non-academic setting? If so, what ways are there to stay involved (e.g. publishing, conferences, etc)? Are these sorts of things rewarded where you currently are?

Peter Levin: I'm unlikely to be more than peripherally involved in academic sociology, at least as I see it right now. It's not so much whether books, articles, or conferences are rewarded where I am (they are, sure). It is more that I have so much less to say to sociologists.

On the one hand, the work I am doing now is cutting edge in so many respects. In surreal, sometimes eye-rolling fashion, I have worked on big (sometimes over-hyped) areas of modern technology – Internet of Things, Big Data, High-Performance Compute, Crypto-currencies. Because Intel builds mostly invisible infrastructure, I often end up working on building actual, silicon-based, future capabilities that will (presumably) shape the world.

And yet, I have almost nothing to say to sociologists about these things, because I'm just not terribly interested in advancing the discipline anymore. I suspect the content of my work looks more like 'data' for some intrepid PhD students. The work of translating the work into sociological terms, into things that sociologists care about, it is just too high for me.

For example, through an ethnographic study of farmers, I learned that technologies that allow for precision management of cattle, crops, and food markets are in the process of massively transforming our world. In some ways, I'm actually enabling that world. This is pretty amazing!

But at the same time, I am unlikely to advance the discipline of sociology with that knowledge, even if the data is interesting. It is just not enough of a sustained sociological study (theory, methods, etc.) to publish. And so those insights become substantively interesting, but not sociologically useful. Until, and unless, I wrote about institutionalism, commensuration, or financial domestication, it is simply not a particularly sociological concern. And I'm not really willing to do that.

Karina Kloos: I would like to continue publishing papers. I have tried, and will continue to try to present and participate in conferences and workshops within academic institutions. I will also attend conferences that are geared less towards academic audiences. For example, this year I'll be attending the Land and Poverty World Bank Conference that includes a lot of researchers, but with an applied focus.

Mostly, I really want to serve as a bridge between academia and NGOs, and facilitate more collaboration across the sectors. There is so much opportunity there!

Charlie Gomez: I enjoyed my time as an intern, but my plan is to become a research professor. That said, I think everyone ought to plan on staying involved by publishing and attend conference to the best of their abilities where and when they can. Case in point: Facebook was supportive of this; they wanted researchers to maintain their connections with academia.

How would you define your professional identity? Do you see yourself as a sociologist or in what ways does sociology inform your identity?

Peter Levin: In terms of the tools, methods, and frameworks that I bring to my current job, I am a sociologist to the bones. But at Intel, the closest job title to what we do would be 'user experience' researcher, or 'analyst.' My current title is something more like 'strategic planner,' another term which captures very little of how I identify myself.

The running joke at Intel, among my small number of social scientist fellow travelers, is that after a career devoted to making distinctions with (and often feeling second-class citizens to) economists, everyone here thinks I'm an economist. The lesson is two-fold: life is unexpected, and funny; and the person sitting in the chair closest to the perceived, needed expertise becomes that expert.

Karina Kloos: I define myself sometimes as an NGO or development worker, sometimes as a researcher, sometimes as a social movements scholar, as that was primarily my focus during the PhD (in large part influenced by my advisor, Doug McAdam), and sometimes as a sociologist.

I do appreciate the perspective I gained through my sociology training. I was exposed to a broad array of new perspectives around gender, race, and identity, in addition to the fields I was more focused on that included political sociology, social movements, institutions, and organizations. I probably still underappreciate and underestimate how much my sociology training now informs how I understand the world from political, social, and economic issues in every day news, to how I understand and approach our work at Landesa on land rights, poverty alleviation, economic empowerment, and gender equality.

Charlie Gomez: I see myself as a sociologist, first and foremost. Even during my internship, sociology often informed how I went about thinking about the various projects I worked on.

Do you expect more PhDs to work in non-academic jobs in the coming years or decades?

Peter Levin: This is a big question, and I don't purport to know the future composition of the labor market. Maybe government, or non-profit organizations are temperamentally a better fit for sociology PhD students? Also, there are always opportunities for consulting-type project work as a student or faculty member, if you want to hustle for them.

Generally, I doubt there will ever be more than a small stream (at best) of PhDs permanently in corporate settings, at least in sociology. There are some organizations in anthropology that are trying to create pipelines into corporate worlds (EPIC, an organization that brings together ethnographic practitioners in corporate worlds, is pretty amazing). But there really are few good parallels in sociology. Without something like that, it is hard as a student or even professor to know where to start.

Karina Kloos: Yes! Building from my comments above, there simply are not enough academic jobs to employ all of the PhDs. Put differently, our system takes in too many PhDs under the current paradigm. And as such, we're setting people up for failure, or rather to feel like failures. With more awareness about and support for other, i.e. non-academic careers, I think we could fundamentally shift that system and mindset to appreciate how people with strong research backgrounds can contribute towards organizations, systems, policies, and programs out there, in 'the real world.'

More narrowly from my own experiences and perspectives in the international development/ nonprofit sectors, there are increasing demands and opportunities for those with strong social science backgrounds. PhDs, and academic institutions more broadly, have the capacity to offer the kinds of rigorous evaluation and research skills being demanded and could be effective contributors to those conversations and social change efforts.

Charlie Gomez: I definitely think so. My advisor had an interesting insight on this: thirty years ago, grad students in the biological sciences rarely went into industry, now it's the norm. I really think you'll see the same trend happen across the social sciences. We're highly skilled workers. Social data are everywhere, vital to many businesses. Yet very few people have the wherewithal to properly process and analyze it. And, to be sure, this isn't limited to quantitative researchers. Conducting ethnographies, interviews, and focus groups are all skills in high demand.

What things should PhDs consider or keep in mind when navigating the non-academic job market? Any advice or words to wisdom you would like to share?

Peter Levin: The single best piece of advice I can give for someone looking for a corporate-type job is: hire a professional career coach. Not a friend, not a partner. Hire a professional, ideally one who works with MBAs. This is a substantial cost. But I can tell you, almost certainly, you are doing your (non-academic) job search wrong. And the general rule is that it will take you about a month per $10k you want for your salary.

Karina Kloos: Fully realizing that it's not always feasible, I think it's really helpful if you are able to talk openly with your advisors about your interests. I think professors one-on-one would be more supportive than their departmental culture might suggest of their students pursuing alternative careers, especially if it's openly and honestly communicated, and earlier rather than later.

The other important thing I realized only once fully being back outside of academia is that you are not a failure for deciding you don't want to stay in academia. Sometimes when I'm back around people in graduate school, I can feel my own anxiety return. And then I go to work at Landesa, and feel great about what I'm doing.

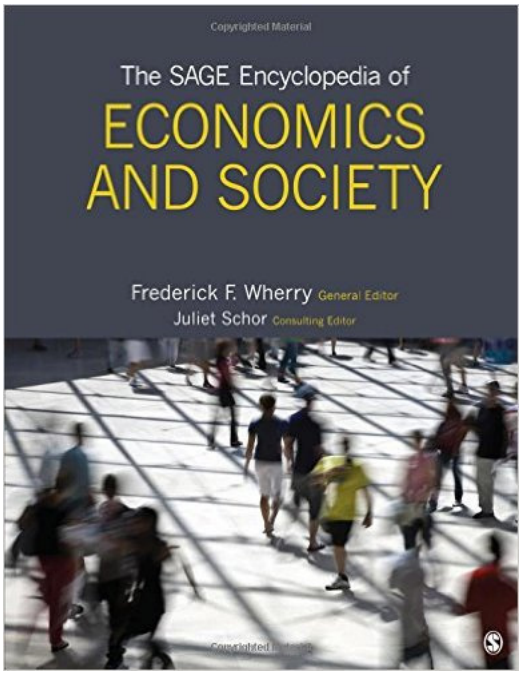
Finally, look for jobs in the social development sector! There's a lot out there and even more to come… (happy to field questions and provide recommendations: karinak@landesa.org)

Charlie Gomez: There is a whole world out there where your skills are highly sought after. Even if you don't have any interest in a non-academic career, a non-academic research internship is a great opportunity to learn new skills and to hone the ones you already have. And I don't think these skills are always technical. For instance, professors are part-researcher, part-teacher, and part-manager. Grad school teaches the former fairly well; not so much the latter. Non-academic opportunities are a great way to learn how to manage projects and people in a demanding and dynamic environment.

MEMBERS' PUBLICATIONS

The SAGE Encyclopedia of Economics and Society

Frederick F. Wherry - Yale University
Juliet B. Schor, Consulting Editor - Boston College, USA, Harvard University



Economics is the nexus and engine that runs society, affecting societal well-being, raising standards of living when economies prosper or lowering citizens through class structures when economies perform poorly. Our society only has to witness the booms and busts of the past decade to see how economics profoundly affects the cores of societies around the world. From a household budget to international trade, economics ranges from the micro- to the macro-level. It relates to a breadth of social science disciplines that help describe the content of the proposed encyclopedia, which will explicitly approach economics through varied disciplinary lenses. Although there are encyclopedias of covering economics (especially classic economic theory and history), the SAGE Encyclopedia of Economics and Society emphasizes the contemporary world, contemporary issues, and society.

ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT THEORY

Many members of the Economic Sociology Section of ASA have professional and social ties to the Organization and Management Theory Division of AOM. (http://omtweb.org) So what is the OMT Division all about? The OMT Division aspires to advance robust theoretical understanding of organizations, organizing, and management. We promote and develop the community of researchers, educators, and practitioners who advance organizational scholarship and practice and its application across domains and topics. Please consider joining our OMT community by emailing Ed Carberry at Edward.Carberry@umb.edu, or joining us at our social hours at the EGOS conference (http://www.egosnet.org) in Naples this July and/or the AOM conference in Anaheim this August. (http://aom.org/annualmeeting/theme/) If you are interested in getting more information on OMT, feel free to visit our website, like us on Facebook (https://www.facebook.com/omtdivision/), or follow us on Twitter (https://twitter.com/aom_omt).

ON THE MARKET

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Dissertation description:
In my dissertation, I delve into the complex case of the policy response to the housing market collapse in the recent financial crisis in the U.S., which provides useful empirical ground to explore a theoretical puzzle: how does culture affect policy action? I examine this theoretical question from three angles in the dissertation. First, how do cultural meaning structures affect the interpretation of economic events and the policies developed in response? I collect unique data – transcribed speeches from officials – and, methodologically, I use computational text analysis techniques and network analysis to address this question. I find that different government agencies constructed the crisis differently, which impacted the policies they advocated. In a second part of the dissertation, I test the extent to which the cultural meaning that economic events take on affect policy independently of other important factors such as economic conditions and political ideology. I analyze the foreclosure prevention policies enacted by some U.S. states, finding that how events are portrayed affect states' likelihood of passing policy. Finally, I examine how convergence or divergence of cultural meaning affect actors' ability to coordinate policy actions.

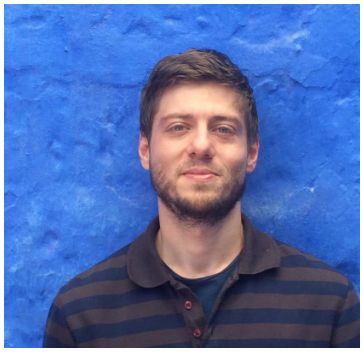
EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Emily Bryant is a third-year doctoral student in Sociology at Boston University. Her past research has considered how defendants testifying on their own behalf at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda employed various vocabulary techniques to account for their alleged actions in the 1994 genocide. Emily's current research examines the diffusion of microfinance funding practices across US foundations, and her future research will explore the valuation mechanisms underlying the decision-making processes of foundations engaged in transnational giving, particularly as this giving supports market-based approaches to poverty alleviation.

Rebecca Farber is a third-year doctoral student in Sociology with a concentration in Gender/Sexuality Studies at Boston University. Her dissertation examines medical tourism in Thailand and how the changing healthcare market impacts Thai transgender women, or kathoey. Rebecca will conduct ethnographic research to understand how kathoey's societal roles, health care access, and employment outcomes have changed as Thailand has become a global leader in medical tourism. Rebecca attended Bryn Mawr College and is a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellow.

Carly Knight is a PhD Candidate in sociology at Harvard University. Her dissertation explores the question of how the state structures corporate-society interactions through a historical investigation of the origins and changing meanings of the "corporate person" metaphor in American law. She also is involved in several other research projects related to corporations, markets, and inequality. Current projects examine how labor market considerations affect gender attitudes, the efficacy of antidiscrimination law on corporate behavior, and occupational segregation by sexual orientation. Her research has appeared in Administrative Science Quarterly.

Barbara Kiviat is a PhD student in sociology and social policy at Harvard University. Her research interests include economic sociology, stratification, and public policy. Her current project examines the spread of personal data, like credit history, into new social domains. She holds an MPA from New York University and an MA in business journalism from Columbia University.



Alaz Kilicaslan is a PhD Candidate in sociology at Boston University. His research interests include economic sociology, sociology of work, sociology of organizations, and medical sociology. He is particularly interested in the restructuring of work and workplace relations in professional fields. His dissertation project is a comparative study, which examines the organizational changes in Turkish public hospitals, characterized by the monetization and bureaucratization of healthcare service delivery. Accordingly, he conducted a year-long field research in Istanbul, Turkey between September 2014 and August 2015, by focusing on how two hospitals and their respective physicians respond to organizational changes in different ways, and how physicians' professional power and identities are being transformed in the process.

William Attwood-Charles is a fourth year doctoral student in sociology at Boston College and a member of Juliet Schor's Connected Consumption and Connected Economy research team. His research interests include economic and organizational sociology and the sociology of work. He is particularly interested in how work is organized and reorganized, as well as the experiences of individuals in relation to this process. His past research has examined the deployment of "lean production," a management model developed by the auto manufacturer Toyota, in the context of two healthcare organizations. His current research draws on ethnographic fieldwork from a makerspace to explore how hierarchies are produced and reproduced in leveled, "post-bureaucratic" workplace environments.

Kim Pernell-Gallagher is a PhD Candidate in sociology at Harvard University. Her dissertation is a comparative historical project that investigates why different countries developed different banking regulations in the years leading up to the recent global financial crisis. She finds that regulators in different countries adopted different policies because they subscribed to different conceptions of economic order, which can be traced back many decades. Another line of research uses quantitative methods to examine the rise and spread of risky, ineffective, or harmful organizational practices. One paper from this research program, "Learning From Performance: Banks, Collateralized Debt Obligations, and the Credit Crisis" received the 2014 James D. Thompson Award for the best graduate student paper from the Organizations, Occupations, and Work section of the American Sociological Association. Her research has been published in Social Forces and Research in the Sociology of Organizations.