

# Social Transformations in a Globalizing World

Edited by Arnaud Sales



## Sociology Today

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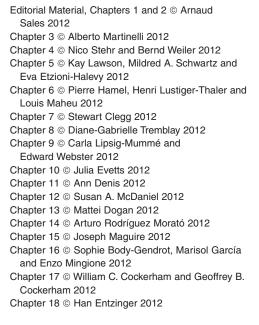
SAGE Publications Ltd 1 Oliver's Yard 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP

SAGE Publications Inc. 2455 Teller Road Thousand Oaks, California 91320

SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area Mathura Road New Delhi 110 044

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte Ltd 3 Church Street #10-04 Samsung Hub Singapore 049483

Editor: Chris Rojek Editorial assistant: Martine Jonsrud Production editor: Katherine Haw Copyeditor: Lotika Singha Indexer: Judith Lavendar Marketing manager: Michael Ainsley Cover design: Wendy Scott Typeset by: C&M Digitals (P) Ltd, Chennai, India Printed and bound by: MPG Books Group, Bodmin, Cornwall



#### First published 2012

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#### Library of Congress Control Number: 2012931138

#### British Library Cataloguing in Publication data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-84920-469-9



To our Children and Grandchildren Valérie and Benjamin Annabelle and Olivia Antoine and Charlotte

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de l'Université Laval, 2008); Un modèle québécois? Gouvernance et participation dans la gestion publique (Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2006) (with B. Jouve); Urban Movements in a Globalizing World (Routledge, 2000) (edited with H. Lustiger-Thaler and M. Mayer); and Action collective et démocratie locale (Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1991). He is currently working with L. Guay on Cities and Urban Sociology (to be published by Oxford University Press).

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### Preface

Contemporary societies are facing transformations, the scale, force and sometimes brutality of which are comparable to those experienced in the passage from agrarian to industrial society, still in progress in several countries today. Humanity has in fact rarely known a world as turbulent and as quickly changing as ours. Never have as many social actors, processes, forces been involved in such a variety of transformational processes in a large number of domains. Sociology and the other social sciences are thus confronted with major challenges in attempting to understand and interpret this disorganized race towards advanced modernity.

Sociology Today: Social Transformations in a Globalizing World presents a theoretical and substantive analysis of the social transformations that occurred at the turn of the twenty-first century in a meaningful and selective collection of essays exploring the transformational dynamics specific to various domains of social life. The goal of this collection is not to cover every single domain ever surveyed in an encyclopedic exposé, but to mirror the diversity and variety of transformations underway in today's societies and transnational spaces, and enhance our understanding of what is happening in our life worlds, work lives and frames of social existence.

The general idea is to use *specialized research* to show the contingent paths taken by social actors to resolve problems – in various fields and at different levels of interrelationships – with which they are confronted in our complex, shifting social world. The contributors to the collection have examined specific dynamics of *social fields* rather than social totalities. The essays reflect not only the contribution of sociological research today but also the diversity of sociological traditions, and how sociology is more than ever in step with one of the founding projects of the discipline: understanding the permanent transformation of social life as triggered by human action.

This book is a collaborative effort on the part of a group of internationally renowned sociologists, all of whom enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to contribute to the collection. Without their input, steadfast cooperation and unwavering patience, this work would not have been possible. I extend my very special thanks to them. It was a true pleasure working with them. One common characteristic among them was that they have all made a significant contribution to their respective fields of research, while expanding knowledge of their research within the International Sociological Association (ISA). Many of them have in fact assumed various responsibilities within their respective research committees or on the ISA Executive. Most are or have been members of the ISA Research Council or have participated in its academic activities. The diversity of their professional connections in Africa, Australia, Europe and North America further enhances the international scope of the collection. In this sense, the book is a natural fit with the SAGE Series in International Sociology, which 'encourages debates of international significance and charts out future trends of sociological importance'. To ensure the contents of the book are suitable for use as a teaching tool, each chapter includes a glossary along with discussion questions set by the author.

## Acknowledgments

This book would not have seen the light of day without the confidence expressed by Julia Evetts, Editor of the SSIS Series (CS Monograph Issues and SSIS Books), and Chris Rojek, Senior Editor for Sociology, Cultural Studies and Sport Studies at SAGE Publications, in the book proposal I submitted in 2008. Julia Evetts has provided unwavering support for the project, which admittedly has taken some time to emerge from limbo. Her encouragement, advice and editorial recommendations were essential at critical moments in the development of this collection. With publishing approval received from Chris Rojek and his committee in the spring of 2009, the process of building the collection was launched and it proceeded on a stable footing. Jai Seaman, Commissioning Editor for Sociology at SAGE tracked the development of the manuscript, while Martine Jonsrud, Editorial Assistant for Sociology was in charge of publishing the book. In 2010, Sujata Patel assumed the responsibilities of Editor of the SSIS Series and has extended her unflinching support. Along with the contributors to this book, I would like to extend our sincere gratitude to the above individuals for their support over the years.

Special thanks are also due to Yan Sénéchal, doctoral student and lecturer at the University of Montreal's Department of Sociology, for his invaluable contribution to this collection. His ever-accurate comments, which emerged from a careful reading of the texts, were immensely helpful. He also formatted the manuscript in keeping with publishing standards and tracked the consistency of the references, biographies, discussion questions, glossaries and keywords.

Lottie White, my long-standing translator, skillfully translated the texts that needed to be translated for the project, while paying singular attention to the accuracy required by theoretical texts. I am especially grateful to her.

I also extend special thanks to Valérie Amiraux, Steven Brint, Mona-Josée Gagnon, Nilüfer Gole, Solange Lefebvre, John McCarthy, Anthony M. Orum, Melvin Seeman, Theresa Scheid, and Neil J. Smelser who, as part of an anonymous peer review process, agreed to devote their time to reviewing several papers. In addition, I would like to warmly thank Michael Lester, who carefully read through and commented on most of the chapters. Everyone of the reviewers has our deepest gratitude for contributing to this labor of scholarship.

At the Center for Corporate Governance of the University of Technology in Sydney, Australia (UTS), I was able to work peacefully on preparing the formal project proposal at the invitation of Thomas Clarke, the Director of the Center. I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to him and his wife Elizabeth Clarke for their welcoming reception in the five months I spent in that magnificent city. In addition to being a warm and friendly city, Sydney boasts an intellectual climate that propelled my work forward on various levels. I would also like to thank Andrée Demers, Director of the Department of Sociology at the University of Montreal, who arranged appropriate working conditions for me throughout this process.

I am particularly indebted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada as well as to the University of Montreal's Faculty of Arts and Sciences and its Dean, Joseph Hubert, for their financial assistance in the preliminary stages of this project.

Finally, I owe a huge debt of gratitude to my wife Dominique Sales for the conversations we have had about this project, for the time she has spent reading through and reviewing my work, and most importantly for the life we share together.

Upon completing this work on social transformations, which proved far more complex than I had first imagined, I would simply like to say how much I have learned in the area of sociological reflection. On the strength of this experience, I know full well that more could be done with such a collection. I can only hope that the opportunity will present itself in future, for the topic is endlessly fascinating.

> Arnaud Sales October 2011

## Part I Introduction

## Transformations in the Multiple Domains of a Turbulent World

Arnaud Sales

#### Introduction

Throughout history, the primary concern of many individuals, groups, communities, organizations and societies has been not to transform their social universe, but far more frequently to try to stop, contain or stabilize change, and maintain social order, often within the framework of relationships of power and domination. Prime examples of this are: the rules associated with kinship structures; the continuing struggles to preserve patriarchy; the role of religious authorities in the integration and protection of a system of values, beliefs and rites; the role of the state in the protection of property, and production- and trade-related conditions; and processes to maintain a political order through civic command and obedience relationships. Hence, many actors, networks and communities have tended to activate the stabilization and reproduction processes of social forms and practices, and impose through 'common law' (Durkheim, 1893, 1933) related requirements on members of the concerned social entities. Anthropology, sociology and political science have assigned considerable importance to the problematics of *stability*,<sup>1</sup> *equilibrium* and *reproduction* in an attempt to understand how social life is organized.

At the origins of sociology, however, the issue of change was paramount. The founding fathers of the discipline in the nineteenth century faced an ever-growing contrast within their societies. On the one hand, they experienced the extreme stability seen in many rural communities with age-old millenary traditions 'dominated by social and cultural mechanisms of reproduction' (Touraine, 1984: 14), the types of community that travelogs, and then anthropologists, described in faraway lands. Yet on the other hand, they were confronted by a world that was undergoing profound change, from the political instability in Europe, triggered by the French Revolution. They tried to account for this huge disparity through an evolutionary perspective by seeking 'universal laws' governing change, along with solutions to the attendant traumas. The social sciences were therefore assigned a far-reaching mission. Today we know more modest ambitions are in order.

The extraordinary scope and diversity of social phenomena cannot be dealt with (as Popper would say) in a singular, 'totalist' manner, and we cannot reduce transformations in the social world to a few universal laws.

We need to recognize (1) that social transformations result from a multitude of individual and collective actions which generate highly diverse processes that redefine social life and what it produces at various levels and in different fields in space and time; and (2) that these transformations far from being independent are often deeply intertwined and lead to other significant changes. A few examples of such transformations point to their complexity and potential impact: the arrival of new generations and migration flows; the redefinition of gender relationships; the rise of social movements; the emergence of innovative or 'deviant' discourses and practices by individual or collective actors; the diffusion of scientific discoveries and technological innovations; the implementation of new public or private policies; the decline of an important institution; economic developments or crises; the failure of political regimes; revolutions; and changes induced by internal or external armed or unarmed conflicts.

## Social Transformations and Social Fields: The General Approach of the Collection

This collaborative work presents theoretical and substantive analyses of contemporary social transformations through a meaningful and selective collection of essays exploring the transformational dynamics specific to various domains of social life. The goal is not to cover every single domain of sociological research, but to mirror the diversity and variety of transformations under way in today's societies and transnational spaces and help us understand what is happening in our lifeworlds, work lives and frames of social existence.

Sociologists, who are mindful of the reproduction phenomena to which considerable research efforts were devoted in the 1960s and 1970s, are more inclined today to acknowledge that the social world is in constant movement, in 'intensive and perpetual self-transformation' (Etzioni, 1968: viii), and that this, as we shall see later, applies to all social fields. We are living in a world marked by all manner of fast, continuous social changes that affect the lives of individuals, families, communities, organizations and systems, nation states and international networks, which, owing to their practices or operations, are the sources of these transformations. The radical emergence of what Bauman (2000) called 'liquid modernity', where competing social forms, values, standards, practices and lifestyles are in a constant state of re-composition, fundamentally commits sociology to being a science of change, and hence of movement, time, mobility and complexity (Touraine, 1973; Giddens, 1984; Sztompka, 1993; Urry, 2000, 2003).

Taking this conception of social life being in a state of permanent transformation as their point of departure, the authors in this collection examine the dynamics of social fields rather than social totalities such as specific societies. The general idea is to show on the basis of specialized research the contingent paths taken by social actors to resolve problems - in various fields and at different levels of interrelationships - with which they are confronted in this complex, shifting social world. From this perspective, this collection is not meant to provide a unified macrosociological portrait of social transformations even if references to the major transition from industrial society to new types of society are made in a metanarrative fashion: post-industrial society, information society, knowledge society or network society. In fact, a more pressing issue is how to take globalization into consideration, which as we shall see later on, transforms the sociologist's perspective, given that today it is more difficult to confine research to the traditional boundaries of individual societies. Globalization here is interpreted from an evolutionary perspective, as an accelerated transition from the Westphalian world of nation-states (Guéhenno, 1995, 2000) to a globalized human society through the intercontinental extension of interdependent networks whose ties are forged through a multitude of flows (Keohane and Nye, 2000; Held and McGrew, 2004; Sassen, 2007). The chapters in this volume show that if we choose to approach transformations in our social world from the perspective of social fields, the processes associated with globalization represent just one of many dimensions to be considered. We should therefore spend a few moments examining this approach, which reflects the research practices of a large number of sociologists and more generally social scientists.

#### Social fields and research

Social fields are identified by way of two partially related processes. The first is the process of the *differentiation* of social activities throughout history in autonomous spheres, such as the differentiation of art and religion analyzed by Weber (1978, vol. I). The second process involves the social construction and progressive institutionalization of a relatively large number of research fields under disciplinary specialization. This process has led not only to the significant broadening of the corpus of sociological thematics in recent decades but also to the fragmentation of knowledge (Gulbenkian Commission, 1996; Wallerstein, 1997; Quah and Sales, 2000).

With respect to research practices, we should consider Bourdieu's definition of social fields as 'relatively autonomous social microcosms, i.e. spaces of objective relations that are the site of a logic and a necessity that are *specific and irreducible* to those that regulate other fields. For instance the artistic, religious, and economic fields all follow a specific logic' (Bourdieu with Wacquant, 1992: 97, italics in original). This relational space is metaphorically related not only to a network but also to a game in which relationships of power are established among the 'players' on the basis of the species of capital they use in the struggle to maintain their position. Fields are spaces where change is ongoing and as a result 'it is the field which is primary and must be the focus of research operations' (Bourdieu with Wacquant, 1992: 107). A social field is associated with modes of grouping, forms of organization and the achievement of goals and functions that generate issues, discussions, debates, modes of regulation, mobilization of resources, conflicts and struggles. Although fields have their specific logic and are relatively autonomous, they are still interrelated and exhibit dialectical relations, which sometimes renders them indissociable in their movements, as can be seen with the private and public fields.

#### Social fields and theory

As shown in many of the chapters in this volume, sociological work today no longer puts theorists and researchers in stark opposition to one another. Those who are oriented toward macrosociological theory conduct research on specialized topics, whereas those involved in field research focus on testing general theoretical statements or more specifically developing theoretical models directly related to their field. This work generally leads to what Sztompka (2000a) labels 'Explanatory Theory', which provides 'explanations or at least models allowing better organization of dispersed facts and phenomena, interpretation of multiple and varied events and phenomena'. In addition, a specialized field of research today is not necessarily built around perspectives defined within a single theoretical current or a single paradigm. As Susan McDaniel shows in her chapter with regard to transformations within the family, researchers need to call many perspectives into play (in this case, feminist theory, 'late modernity' conceptualizations) or devise more specific analyses to try to open up the field by connecting it to 'other social systems', thereby shedding new, brighter light on the topic and process under study. This collection also shows that specialized research often overcomes disciplinary barriers. Through a process of 'hybridization' (Dogan, 2000) multidisciplinary approaches can prove more productive than the systematic use of a single disciplinary theoretical model, even if testing the theory remains essential.

#### About Chapter 1

I have divided Chapter 1 into two main sections. The first section briefly discusses a series of general questions related to social change and ways of approaching social change: Why do we need to differentiate between change and transformation? Is the sense of the acceleration of the speed of change something new? What patterns and mechanisms of change are involved in the structuration and destructuration of models, organizations, institutions and social systems? To what extent have globalization processes called into question the societal approach to the study of change? The second section provides an overview of the different chapters and their contribution to our understanding of social transformations at the turn of the twenty-first century.

#### Section I - Social Change: Definitions and New Issues

#### Defining Social Change and Social Transformations

#### Social change

It is surprising that specialized books rarely provide a general definition of social change. Perhaps as Randall and Strasser noted 'the question as to what social change actually is is perhaps the most difficult one within the scientific study of change' (1981: 11). However, in this work, *social change* is defined as the modifications, fluctuations, differentiations, evolutions, reconfigurations and revolutions that affect social life in time and space through creative processes generated and shaped by individual and collective, spontaneous or programmed, intentional or unintentional *human action*. Chapter 2 on agency–structure relationships develops the basis for this definition.

Change can be described using various attributes, namely 'magnitude of change, time span, direction, rate of change, amount of violence involved' (Randall and Strasser, 1981: 16). The focus can be on determining the origin of change, the often interacting determining factors, the individuals, organizations and networks at work promoting new models of organization and action, the debates arising from change, related power struggles, and finally stabilization in new practices and new social forms.

Social reproduction and social change can be viewed as opposing concepts. But in the de-traditionalized societies in which we live today – where individuals can distance themselves from existing traditions (Martucelli, 2002) – reproduction and functioning are far from being stationary processes. They are often the source of what Streeck calls 'static changes' as opposed to 'dynamic changes' (2010: 684). But it must be underlined that a proliferation of minor changes can transform movements, organizations and institutions.

#### Social transformation

It may appear artificial to differentiate change from transformation. Although the term *social change* may be considered generic, the term *social transformation* is viewed here as specific. A transformation is the result of a group of processes – on occasion still under way (because these processes should not be artificially brought to a close) – in a social field, the state of which differs significantly from what it was in the selected reference period. For example, the transformation of the post-Second World War family, which accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s, and is still in process, is the result of a host of micro-, meso- and macrosociological processes that have carved out varied family profiles and ways of intimate life: individual choices, experiences and learning processes; cooperative efforts, negotiations, individual and collective conflicts; scientific discoveries

#### Arnaud Sales

in birth control and new reproductive technologies; and reconfigured gender relationships, working environments and political decisions.

This definition of the concept of transformation, which still leaves considerable room for analysis, is nonetheless restrictive, because no in-depth sociological research has the capacity to embrace the totality of social life, although with the extensive corpus of existing research, we can continue to offer global interpretations and find significant trends. In the case of substantive research, we are compelled to limit the scope of the topic under study.

The concept of transformation does not necessarily imply brutal, rapid change. The essential thing is the depth of the change over the reference period or timeframe. Examples of profound change include the transformation of gender relationships as of the 1970s, in light of the combined effects of the feminist movement against patriarchal systems, women's access to higher education and the massive entry of women into the workforce (see Chapter 11). Another profound transformation is the shift from a collectivist economy toward a capitalist economy in China as well as in many former Soviet bloc states. This massive transition is a transformation that will definitely have one of the greatest long-term impacts on the economic and political equilibrium in the twenty-first century.

For many segments of the population, transformations are sources of new benefits but for others change triggers anxiety, resentment and trauma (Sztompka, 2000b; Alexander et al., 2004), with these 'past injuries' possibly leading to revolt, new conflict or regeneration:

The reviviscence of past injury is stronger than any desire to forget. The existence of resentment illustrates how artificial breaks between the present and past are, how intermingled past and present are, with the past becoming the present, more present than the present itself. History has borne this out time and time again. (Ferro, 2010: 13)

#### Speed of change

One may be tempted to say that humanity has rarely known a world as turbulent and fast changing as the world today. We are left with the impression that social life is being transformed at an accelerated pace, an impression that is strengthened by the fact that the changes are happening in every social field and every corner of the world, sometimes with great brutality. What was taken for granted and sometimes viewed as unchanging, what were called the 'traditional institutions' are disintegrating or being transformed under our very eyes while new arrangements are being put in place. This perception of the accelerated pace of social change is, however, not new. In 1963, Wilbert Moore noted '[b]y any crude measurement, the contemporary world appears to be changing more rapidly than at any time in human history ...' (1963: 2). It is true that during a time when the vast majority of individuals lived in closed, localistic networks with low social density (Collins, 1987), and when the population was illiterate, reproduction was more prevalent than change. With the Industrial Revolution, an increasing number of individuals were integrated into varied cosmopolitan interaction networks (Collins, 1987), which fostered the exchange of ideas, information, knowledge and goods, while the young were exposed – in contrast with a locally oriented traditional education – to 'centralized exo-education (as) an obligatory norm' (Gellner, 1983: 33). This opened up enormous possibilities, with creativity increasing tenfold while 'the magical attitude toward forces in the larger world' dissolved in favor of more forward-looking abstract, relativist ideas (Collins, 1987: 116).

So, in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the turn of the twentieth century, the acceleration of change became apparent, and the perception and explanation of change became a focus for the observers who witnessed the birth of the labor movement; the strengthening of the nation state; revolutions; the institutionalization of compulsory schooling; the development of large corporations based on scientific research; the internationalization of trade tied to the birth of the first modern multinationals and the first massive wave of economic globalization; a significant renewal in pictorial and musical art forms; and in the technical area, telephony, wireless telegraphy, and the emergence of more rapid mechanized modes of transportation, in terms of not only the railways, but also automobiles and aviation which in the long run would transform lifestyles, industry, commerce and military activities. Greater caution is needed in thinking we are experiencing a period during which humanity is being confronted with the most rapid change ever known. However, this sensation of speed, which is so disturbing to Paul Virilio (1997), should not be underestimated.<sup>2</sup> With globalization, never have so many social actors, processes and forces been involved in the same 'system', in such different transformational processes and in such a large number of fields.

The great paradox is that as social phenomena are transformed, they can remain 'similar to what they were'. Capitalism, for example, has been maintained over time through change (Braudel, 1979). The same applies to many institutions such as the family, or the university, in which *adaptive perenniality* is ensured over the centuries by the emergence of many varieties of each institution in space and time. Beyond properties and events, *substance* in the Kantian sense of the term 'does not remain in the same state and the succession of states is irreversible over time. No state can be durable ... otherwise nothing would happen' (Freund, 1978: 21). We are living in a 'dynamic social field', the characteristics of which are

based on the fact that 'society should be conceived not as a steady state but as a process; not as a rigid quasi object, but as a continuous, unending stream of events' (Sztompka, 1993: 9).

#### Social Structuration and Destructuration Processes

As elegant as Sztompka's proposition may be, it is essential to recognize the plurality of social fields, and view change not in terms of the singularity but of the multiplicity of often interacting structuration and destructuration processes in time and space. In examining these processes, we need to consider:

- adequate levels of sociological analysis (micro, meso, macro or global (Smelser, 1997)) for such phenomena;
- individual and collective actors and networks who initiated and implemented the processes, frequently in rivalry with others;
- their goals, interests, logic and model for change;
- discourses, debates, conflicts, power struggles, actions and symbolic productions emerging during these processes;
- the formulation of new rules, norms, laws and practices emerging from change;
- the consequences for the other actors and their practices;
- the general patterns and mechanisms of change.

Several of these points are discussed in Chapter 2. We will restrict ourselves for now to considering the patterns and mechanisms of change on the basis of neo-institutionalist formulations, which are adaptable, and can be made operational in many different fields of research.

#### Patterns of change

Without going so far as to consider the concepts of structuration and institutionalization<sup>3</sup> as being completely synonymous, as Barley and Tolbert (1997) maintain in their attempt to reconcile the work by Giddens (1984) with that by neo-institutionalists, we can most certainly maintain that these processes need to be placed in the forefront of social change research. They are complex, contingent processes that involve filtering, adoption or rejection, dissemination and legitimation of the proposed innovations (Sztompka, 1993). Di Maggio defined institutionalization as 'a product of the political efforts of actors to accomplish their ends ... the success of an institutionalization project and the form that the resulting institutions takes depend on the relative power of the actors who support, oppose, or otherwise strive to influence it' (1988: 13). Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) identify three processes of institutional work going from institutional emergence to deinstitutionalization. They therefore differentiate among (1) the creation of institutions, or the initial process of institutionalization; (2) the maintenance of institutions and

reproduction of processes; and (3) the disruption processes that can lead to deinstitutionalization.

The neo-institutionalist schools see institutions as systems of rules, norms, laws and customs in a situation of equilibrium that ensures stability. This equilibrium runs the risk of being disrupted over time, and institutional change occurs when the equilibrium is disrupted. Neo-institutionalists differentiate three processes<sup>4</sup> or patterns of institutional change (Campbell, 2004) to which researchers attribute varying levels of importance depending on whether they favor equilibrium or change situated in the historical process (Thelen, 1999).

- *Evolutionary change*: is mostly incremental, continuous and affects only a few dimensions of the institution. A simple example in the context of universities would be the process of adapting course content, revising programs, or creating new programs under the combined effect of renewing knowledge through research, the hiring of new professors, recognizing the importance of multidisciplinary work, professionalization and internationalization pressures, and the desire to increase the student body to access greater financial resources.
- *Punctuated evolution*: is marked by punctuations, i.e. more radical transformations, which do not prevent adaptive changes from occurring to the institutions in the interim, changes that may well be practically imperceptible but continue to occur gradually leading to more in-depth change. It should be noted that incremental change is not the only process that counts. Radical transformations are often based on latent conflict, resentment, abuse, defections, disputes, strikes, crushed revolts, or economic failure, which also apply to the following pattern of punctuated equilibrium.
- Punctuated equilibrium:<sup>5</sup> is a discontinuous process marked by periods of stability between periods of radical transformation, revolutionary-type breaks affecting many dimensions of an institution, an institutional arrangement, or a regime, while leading to a new precarious equilibrium. An example of such a process would be the destructuration of the institutional equilibrium established around Keynesian arrangements in favor of a new neoliberal institutional order. Keynesian arrangements supported by forms of state regulation were gradually called into question in the 1970s from a theoretical or discursive standpoint. They were unraveled in the 1980s by neoliberal policies of privatization, deregulation and liberalization - central to globalization - with the objective of 'market reconstruction' and industrial restructuring. Within the new institutional framework, the market had its regulatory function 'restored' (see Campbell, 2004; Sales and Beschorner, 2006). The financial crisis of 2008 challenged this model and led to the current elusive search for new forms of public or private regulation. The goal, however, is not to question the neoliberal institutional order, given the considerable resistance from the active and powerful network that structured the order.

From a methodological perspective, Campbell (2004) maintains that an analysis of change must identify: (1) the central elements of the institution

subject to change; (2) the timeframe; and (3) the change mechanisms that point to cause and effect relationships. Finally, consideration must be given to interactions between the various institutional orders within a society, which are a significant source of change (Thelen, 1999).

#### 'Mechanisms' of institutional transformation

Many 'mechanisms' are involved in institutional transformations. Two concepts, *diffusion* and *path dependency*, are frequently used by institutionalists. *Diffusion* refers to the gradual process of adopting formal and informal rules, or practices considered to be efficient or compulsory by actors as regards individual or organizational behaviors that lead to relative isomorphisms of organizational populations (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983; Campbell, 2004). It is, for instance, important for a company following the example of pioneering firms to adopt an 'ethical code of conduct', and, most importantly today, to set up an entity in charge of ensuring compliance with rules and standards of corporate social responsibility throughout the company.

Path dependency deals more with the relative stability of institutions than the process of change. Borrowed from the analyses of technological paths (David, 1985, in relation to the QWERTY keyboard) according to which once the prevalence of a technology has become firmly established, the path, regardless of the quality of competitive technologies, 'becomes "locked in" as all the relevant actors adjust their strategies to accommodate the prevailing pattern' (Thelen, 1999: 385). What this means in terms of social change is that an institution once established will endure regardless of any adjustments and will have a constraining effect on the options available to actors wishing to make changes. Such actors will encounter considerable resistance as soon as they attempt to alter the core of the system, which is considered set and difficult to change, placing their credibility, and in certain critical political and cultural situations, even their lives at stake. Decisions must account for the limits imposed by the complex institutional mechanisms on desired transformations; or people must be prepared to fight. This question will be discussed in Chapter 2, where I will show the extent to which the forms of path dependency are tied in with the action of the vast networks called active reticular struc*tures.* I will now look at the impact of globalization on sociological research and change analysis, an important issue for this collection.

#### Spaces of Change: Societal Effects and Globalization Processes

As a discipline, sociology and several other social sciences have suffered since their inception from what Taylor describes as 'embedded statism' (1996, 2000), which has marginalized alternative spatial conceptualizations

of the social world, and have neglected to give serious attention to 'transstate phenomena' (Gulbenkian Commission, 1996: 80-84 and 83.). Beyond the varieties of meanings it has been assigned by theorists, society, generally circumscribed to a nation state, has long been implicitly not only the social context of research but also its predominant macrosociological unit of observation (Touraine, 1981, 1992; Wallerstein, 1986, 1991; Taylor, 1996, 2000; Urry, 2000, 2010). Two primary processes have, however, disrupted the traditional work of sociologists and compelled them to question the idea of society: (1) 'contemporary hypermodernization which appears to destroy all unifying myths that try to bring together individualistic culture, constantly changing economic activities' (Touraine, 1992: 58) and a state whose sovereignty and national coherence have been eroded; and (2) the current phase of globalization, marked by the massive convergence of varying phenomena. These processes have helped open the way to a 'sociology without society' (Touraine, 1981, 1992); a 'post-societal sociology' (Urry, 2000) which calls into question 'artificial' conceptualizations of societies<sup>6</sup> and instead focuses on extending the social beyond its traditional boundaries to include agents of change, cross-border networks and movements, flows, mobilities (Urry, 2000, 2010), the interweaving of sociocultural phenomena across borders (Hannerz, 1990; Sassen, 1996, 1999; Badie and Smouts, 1999; Tomlinson, 1999; Urry, 2000) and the need to establish a level of analysis that is no longer only macrosociological, hence societal, but also global (Smelser, 1997). However, as citizens, we still live within nation states, even if many of them have surrendered part of their sovereignty to larger regional groupings, or are themselves undergoing profound changes that alter the 'closed' model of privileged advanced societies. Moreover, if we theoretically speak of a globalizing human society, it is one that is still largely 'under construction'. These changes create considerable tension between the ever-present societal processes, which contribute to national identities, and the trans-state and transnational networks, encounters and processes which intertwine as part of the globalization process, and change our vision of social life. These changes clearly have an impact on the study of social transformations.

#### A brief return to societal analysis

Comparative analysis acknowledges societal differences; however, it's aim is largely the 'conceptual homogenization of a heterogeneous field' (Riggs, 1994: 72). Researchers study a phenomenon by observing it in different countries and testing hypotheses to 'verify or falsify whether generalizations hold across the cases to which they apply' (Sartori, 1994: 15). The idea is that, on the one hand, and probably above all, the comparative method permits generalizations, bringing to light what is similar across societies. On the other hand, it identifies what is different, such as unique national characteristics or even instances of anomaly, the deviant, the exceptional cases (Dogan and Kazangacil, 1994) – American Exceptionalism, Japanese Uniqueness – to borrow Lipset's terms (1993). Some research has even sought to identify what reinforces differences between nation states.

The move, then, is towards *societal analysis* that seeks to identify patterns related to *societal effects*, and, paradoxically, tries 'to compare the incomparable' (Maurice and Sorge, 2000: 14). The societal approach searches for structural and relational interdependence subsets in which actors, and spheres of activity called 'spaces', are seen in their relationships to the wider society, which confers on them *national coherence*. Jean-Michel Berthelot summarized this approach well:

It postulates that from the infinite diversity of concrete social connections that characterizes historical societies, a particular form of generality emerges (for that society), that is like any other, the product of a historical process of construction that has the ability, at any given moment, to pass by diffusion into a network of relationships and forms that are subordinate to it and constructed in dialectical interdependence with it. This form, the contours of which are both variable and identifiable on each occasion, would be what is called a *society*. The societal approach is characterized by this view of society as a sort of structure that is both shaped and shaping, giving meaning and coherence to the phenomena that lie within its context of action. (2000: 97)

Take, for example, the work by socioeconomists who highlight as part of international comparisons national specificity of interdependencies among the education system, hierarchies and relationships of authority, labor relations systems and their impact on firms and forms of national capitalism in general. In contrast with neoclassical economic theory and its universalism and atomized, undersocialized conception of human action, these studies stress that there is no single institutional arrangement that is best suited to organizing modern societies (Maurice et al., 1986; Hollingsworth and Boyer, 1997; Morgan et al., 2010). They point to a filiation with Polanyi, as well as Weber from the notion of historical and structural embeddedness in the social context, a notion revived by Granovetter (1985). The conceptualization of institutions under 'path-dependent development' places the formation of institutions in a different historical and geographic space. In this sense, the path-dependency mechanisms specific to national spaces engender societal effects.7 Institutional arrangements conceived as modes of societal organization are strongly connected with the ebb and flow of the public and private, as witnessed throughout the twentieth century, and they are primarily based on political choices.

One may well ask whether the intensification of globalization and hypermodernization are in the process of reducing the specificity of