Post-Western Sociology in China and in Europe

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Post-Western Sociologies in France and in China

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1. The invention of the Post-Western Sociology

From the production of an epistemology shared by European and Chinese sociologists, we propose a *Post-Western Sociology* to enable a dialogue – on a level footing – on common concepts and concepts situated in European and Chinese theories, to consider the modes of creation of continuities and discontinuities, the conjonctions and disjunctions between knowledge spaces situated in different social contexts, to work on the *gaps* between them.

1. The invention of the Post-Western Sociology

Post-Western Sociology is elaborated from the connections between field practices and the intersecting exploration of what individuals in different situations do, say and think.

It utilizes not the differences but the *intervals* between the perspectives, practices and concepts of Chinese and European sociologies.

This is the starting point of the construction process of Post-Western Sociology and as such it precedes the conception of theoretical and methodological combinations and assemblages.

This is precisely where the distinction between Post-Western Sociology, international sociology and global sociology lies (Roulleau-Berger, Li Peilin, 2012; Li Peilin, 2015; Roulleau-Berger, 2015; Xie Lizhong, Roulleau-Berger, 2017). It does not equate Post-Western Sociologies with " Sociologies of South countries", "Sociologies of East Asia" or "Sociologies of non-Western countries", even should not equate them with "anti-Western sociologies" (Xie Lizhong, 2015).

1. The invention of the Post-Western Sociology

Post-Western Sociology relies on different knowledge processes (Roulleau-Berger, 2011, 2016):

- "knowledge niches" which appear to be specifically European or Chinese and do not signify a transferability of knowledge;

- intermediary epistemological processes which encourage the partial transfer of sociological knowledge from Europe to China and from China to Europe;

- transnational epistemological spaces in which European knowledge and Chinese knowledge are placed in equivalence.

- Post-Western Sociology is elaborated from the connections between field practices and common fieldwork experience.

2. Epistemic autonomies and Global knowledge

In East Asia, the creation of the East Asian Sociologists Network (EASN) in 1992 by Chinese, Japanese and Korean sociologists to produce connected sociologies represented a major challenge. In their preface to *A Quest for East Asian Sociologies*, published in 2014 by Seoul National University Press, Kim Seung Kuk, Li Peilin and Yasawa Shujiro affirm that the EASN was an initiative to transcend the effects of the variety of conflicts in this region of the world, to construct a new East Asia and a radically reflexive sociology to question the concept of Western modernity.

Today in Asian regional forums, intellectuals from China –Li Peilin, Zhou Xiaohong, Xie Lizhong, Li Youmei, Chen Boqing, Luo Hongguang, Fan Ke, Luo Jarde …- from Korea - Kim Seung Kuk, Han Sang Jin, Shim Young Hee, Chang Kyung Sup…-, from Japan – Kazuhisa Nishihara, ShujiroYasawa …- continually discuss the modes of producing epistemic autonomies in a context of non-Western hegemony. The challenge is to develop a diversity of epistemic autonomies in a critical global sociology.

2. Epistemic autonomies and Global knowledge

In China, the assertion of an epistemic autonomy among sociologists for example means the re-establishment of continuities with epistemic frameworks which had been constructed before 1949 then forgotten.For example Li Peilin and Qu Jingdong (2011) distinguish different moments in the scientific history of Chinese sociology in the first half of the 20th century.

He Yiyin (2017) analysed in the 1930s, how sinicization of sociology has been proposed by native scholars to indigenize Western sociology.

Qu Jingdong is coming back to ancient times to medieval times to provide a perspective for the social transition of modern China. The cosmopolitan dialogue is summoned to realize itself as a *Dao* of cosmopolitan humanity.

Xie Lizhong (2012) purposes Postsociology as another form of epistemic autonomy which considers the "social reality" as a discursive one

Li Peilin, (2015) introduced the concept of "oriental modernization" to consider the question of modernity in a non-Western way;

2. Epistemic autonomies and global knowledge

Materially, forms of epistemic autonomies join up in the context of networks of forums, of colloquiums. In China, Japan, India and Korea, different forms of cosmopolitan imaginations are developing, translating differences and diversities of traditions and cultural influences.

The political, historical, social and economic contexts affect the production of intellectual epistemic autonomies that defend positions, sensibilities, relationships to different worlds in the scientific field, which depend on the margins of action and liberty that vary from one country to another.

3. Heritages and common knowledge

3.1. Marxism and Sociology

French School of Marxist Urban Sociology : critical sociology

<u>Names</u>
Henri Lefevre, 1968
Jean Lojkine, 1972
Christian Topalov, 1974
Manuel Castells and Francis Godard, 1975

<u>Topics :</u>

Capitalist production of the City
State and urban policies
City and social mouvements
Ctizenship and participation

3. Heritages and common knowledge

3.1. Marxism and Sociology

French School of Marxist Urban Sociology : critical sociology

In 1981, *French School of Marxist Urban Sociology* is declining after a rapid and short expansion of urban studies. Paul Henri Chombart de Lauwe created at EHESS the « Centre de Sociologie urbaine ». At the end of seventies a new critical urban sociology is emerging by the disciples of Michel Foucault as Isaac Joseph (1977) and Murard and Zylbermann (1976) with the Journal *Recherches* created by Felix Guattari in 1968 and later with *Annales de la recherche urbaine* in 1978.

In the perspective against the hegemony diverse marxisms of Yves Grafmeyer and Isaac Joseph introduced in 1979 in France (Lyon) the Chicago School in urban sociology.They wanted dot develop fieldwork sociology about daily life, an urban sociology rid of global theories.This major event in the history of French sociology took place in University Lyon 2.

3. Heritages and common knowledge

3.1. Marxism and Urban Sociology in China

In Chinese sociology we could consider a marxist urban sociology still does exist through different topics :

- Social division of space and social stratification

- New middle classes and gentrification :

*** differenciation of urban lifestyles and stratification of new middle classes (Zhou Xiaohong, 2008; Chen Yingfang, 2012; Zhang Dunfu, 2010)*
*** Privatisation of housing and urbanization (Guo Yuhua, Shi Yuntong, 2008)*

"Housing as a private sphere issue not only has political implications due to its identity politics, but has also led to the awakening of citizens' rights awareness and the formation citizen's" (Guo Yuhua, 2017)

- Poverty and new urban underclass in Chinese megalopolises
*** the multiplication of « urban villages » (Li Peilin, 2008; Lian Si, 209)*
*** the emergency of homeless phenomena (Liu Neng, 2015)*

3. Heritages and common knowledge

3.2.Chicago's School Heritage in France

After the translation of Chicago School's texts by Yves Grafmeyer and Isaac Josephduring the nineties we have done important studies in this tradition on :

Urban « milieux » and downtown areas (Grafmeyer, 1991)

Migration and ethnic economies (Péraldi, Tarrius and Missaoui, 2000)

Residential trajectories and urban life (Authier, 2001)

Youth, marginalization and intermediate spaces (Roulleau-Berger, 1991, 1999)

Ethnicity and School (Payet, 2001; Boubeker,2003))

Drugs' economy and Youth (Michel Kokoreff, 2000)

Urban poverty and homeless (Pascale Pichon, 1994)

3. Heritages and common knowledge

3.2.Chicago's School Heritage in China

Chicago's School and Chinese Sociology

It should also be remembered that the representatives of the Chicago School, Robert Park and his son-in law Robert Redfield, came to teach sociology in China in 1931-1932 and in 1948. Fei Xiaotong in the refondation's process of Chinese sociology, was strongly inspired by them. The Chicago School is one of the most important scientific community in the history of sociology, has played a major role in the history of Western sociology but also has a continuous influence in non Western countries, especially in China. Urban sociology and what Zhou Xiaohong (2004) identified as social psychology, the two major fields in Chicago school influenced so much the first generation of Chinese sociologists .

If Chicago School chapters have been translated and published in 1979 in France by Yves Grafmeyer and Isaac Joseph, Chinese sociologists very early know about urban sociology, and so many scientific exchanges Chicago School's reference appears like a theoritical mark, espcially in communauty surveys.

3. Heritages and common knowledge

3.2. Chicago's School Heritage

Chicago's School and Chinese Sociology

The influence of Chicago's School was pregant in the two contexts, French and Chinese sociologists have mobilized Chicago School to understand urban neighborhoods, peer groups, gangs, communauties of migrants, tribe society …Li Youmei (2007) revisited the concept of communauty in producing the concept of communauty governance.

Today Chicago School in Chinese Sociology is taking again a new important status ; Liu Neng (2010) showed how Fei Xiaotong, inspired by Chicago School, has developed a space-based sociology where he has used a territorial unit of analysis in rural China especially in three villages in Yunnan in 1940. He purposes to come back to space-based sociology in relying on the methodological concept of « spatial contextuality » connected with the Andrew Abott's sociological theory focused on the analysis of social life and social actions in a specific time-space context.

4. Theoritical continuities and common knowledge

Using the intersection of viewpoints on some issues we shall shed light upon the continuities between European and Asian –especially Chinese sociology- sociologies while allowing the shared spaces in the elaboration of knowledge to appear

4.1. Structural processes, domination and agency

The issue of domination processes in contemporary societies remains a fundamental issue in sociology around the world. In French sociology, although domination was mainly dealt with by the Bourdieu and his followers, it is today present in various theoretical approaches but with a status which can vary according to trend. It is thought of as singular in structuralist-functionalist paradigms and as plural in constructivist and interactionnist paradigms. Dubet (2009) and Martucelli (2006) advances that polarity spreads in a multiplicity of registers corresponding to courses of action and believes that domination mechanisms dilute, diffract, and reconstruct themselves. We also have considered "reticular" and "multi-situated inequalities" (Roulleau-Berger, 2010).

4. Theoritical continuities and common knowledge

4.1. Structural processes, dominations and agency

In the Chinese context, sociologists are introducing the issue of domination in an approach in which social domination is anchored in social structures and social relations of production. Sociologists place an emphasis on class domination which appears to be violently produced in a context of augmentation that is always greater than social inequalities. Here political power, economic power, and domination merge. Regimes of social domination are also regimes of social control. actions. Thus the complexity between "strong" and "weak", the resistance capacities of workers, unemployed youth, and peasants over and above large collective movements, is seized on (Guo Yuhua, Sun Liping, 2002; Guo Yuhua, 2015).

4. Theoritical continuities and common knowledge

4.2. Individuation and Subjectivation

In European sociology, the place of the self is first situated within a process of individuation before being linked to the We. In Chinese sociology , the self has not appeared dissociated from the we; the narrative self has a superior status to the reflexive self whereas in French sociological theory the reflexive self is superior in status to the narrative self. Amongst French authors, the work of Paul Ricoeur (1990, 2004) on the narrative identity has been and still is a major influence in the definition of what enables a plurality of selves to co-habit. Whereas in Western theories, the me, the I and the others are seen as distinct moments in a discontinuous process of the self, in Chinese thinking, these separate steps are not so clearly delineated as the process itself is much more continuous.

4. Theoritical continuities and common knowledge

4.2. Individuation and Subjectivation

Yang Yiyin (2012) shows how we implies "being one of us" which is characterised by three traits:

-The permeability of the boundaries of we in the sense that those who are not part of "being one of us" can become a part, and inversely "insiders" can become "outsiders".

-The elasticity of the boundaries of we in which routes depend on contexts and circumstances.

-Individual autonomy in the sense that the individual places others within the precise borders of me.

However, the boundaries of the self in Chinese sociology are also conceived in relation to the guanxi. We insist on the importance of the guanxis in the construction of individual and collective identities by recalling that it is inherent in Chinese civilisation both past and present.

5. Theoritical discontinuities and *knowledge niches*

5.1. Power and *Suku* in China

In the political history of China, one sociological way of thinking about the status of subjectivity is directly related to power in the Chinese context, so we will examine the emergence of a knowledge niche : the concept of *Suku*. According to Sun Feiyu (2013), *Suku* is a singular Chinese concept which refers to a political technique used by the CCP and historical movement, or the practice of confessing individual suffering in a political context and in a collective public forum. This constitutes a new theoretical sociological approach, really situated in the Chinese context, to understand subjective meaning through narratives of suffering from the perspective of political identity.

Nobody in European sociology is using the concept of *Suku* inscribed in a knowledge niche which could be very useful to understand the cosmopolitan condition, for example I mean the social suffering, political confession and subjectivity of asylum seekers or refugees.

5.Theoritical discontinuities and knowledge niches

Using the intersection of viewpoints on some issues we shall shed light upon the discontinuities between European and Asian –especially Chinee sociology- sociologies while allowing the specific spaces and in the elaboration of knowledge to appear

5.1.Public space and pluralisation of norms

In the European risk society (Beck, 1990), sociologists conceive public space as the first goods accessed by every citizen. In democracies damaged by unemployment, poverties and racisms, public space is conceived as being the privileged place for the expression of social conflicts, inequalities, uncertainties. Although the public space for European sociologists is defined as being fragmented by poverties and discriminations, it also appears to be a place of social distance and proximity, civility and incivility, negotiation and exchange, it demonstrates how the "excluded of the interior" and the "included" rub shoulders or avoid each other and how they do not inhabit completely separate universes.

5. Theoritical discontinuities and knowledge niches

5.2. Social justice and grammars of recognition

Since the end of the 1990s the issue of recognition and the struggle for it have become fundamental on the German scene (Honneth 2000, 2006) and French sociological scene (Caillé, 2007; Payet & Battegay 2008; Roulleau-Berger, 2008). It has been widely used to expose new forms of relationship to the Other in contemporary societies in which normative orders increase in number, while new social fragmentations appear. Following the debate in America about multiculturalism, we had to rethink the ties between the recognition of individuals and the recognition of groups (Taylor 1998; Walzer 1997; Kymlicka 2001). Axel Honneth's recognition theory was based on the reconfiguration of social struggles in contemporary societies. Following in his footsteps, German and French sociology opened a fundamental debate about the relationship between recognition and injustice.

6. Doing fieldwork and co-production of Post-Western Soicology

What makes society?

Research Program CNRS/CASS 2012-2013 *Disasters and recreation of society in China, Japan and Indonesia,* Laurence Roulleau-Berger, Luo Hongguang, Zhao Yandong, Liu Zhenghai, Lu Xiao, Motohiko Nangata, Loïs Bastide

Fieldwork at the site of the 2008 May 12 Wenchuan earthquake in 2012, 2013

Which common sino-French framework to think the post-disaster reconstruction?

- Disaster, social governance and biopolitics
- Capital, guanxis and social networks,
- Interpersonal trust and institutional trust
- Subjectivity and reflexivity
- Inequalities and environmental injustice

6. Doing fieldwork and co-production of Post-Western Sociology

Research program CMIRA 2012-2015 CNRS/Shanghai University, *Chinese qualified youth, migration and work in Paris and in Shanghai* Laurence Roulleau-Berger, Yan Jun, Su Liang, Marie Bellot, Liu Yong, Liu Ziqin

Which common sino-French framework to think about migration, youth and autonomy?

Li Youmei (2012) has stressed the collision effect between individual autonomy and the autonomy of social groups which were formed after 1978. The notion of autonomy is seen as independence in terms of determination and self-government, and is thought of as individual but also capable of evolving into collective autonomy.

In Western French sociology, autonomy has been defined as a largely shared aspiration and a very binding norm before which individuals are unequal. François Dubet (1994) and Danilo Martucelli (2006) proposed envisaging autonomy via the concept of experience, returning social experiences to society and including analysis of the ordeals that confront individuals and which make them act: here, analysis of ordeals is a way of conceiving the subjectivity of actors towards the objectivity of society.

6. Doing fieldwork and co-production of Post-Western Sociology

Research program CMIRA 2012-2015 CNRS/Shanghai University, *Chinese qualified youth, migration and work in Paris and in Shanghai* Laurence Roulleau-Berger, Yan Jun, Zhen Zhihong, Yan Jun, Su Liang, Marie Bellot, Liu Yong, Liu Ziqin and alii

Moving from autonomy as an aspiration to autonomy as a condition or constraint appears as a characteristic movement of neo-liberal societies, this transformation took place very quickly in Chinese society, where the "cult of excellence "Is at its peak. If autonomy has become a condition as competition –especially for young people- at the same time that the welfare state is entering a crisis in France, it has also become a condition for competition in China in the development of a market economy. The autonomy in the internal or international migratory experience is constructed with mobility competences and escaping strategies of economic subordination (Roulleau-Berger, 20215, Roulleau-Berger, Yan Jun, 2017).

Conclusion

If sociologies appear connected (Bhambra, 2014), at certain moments they can also appear to be disconnected and reconnected to the rythm of local or world events and according to the effects of the circulations of ideas, norms and knowledge which may be diffused more rapidly during certain periods and more slowly during others... The use of the concept of connection-disconnection-reconnection enables us to escape from the vision of a global mosaic of co-present sociologies organised around fixed stable indigenous knowledge without any real points of contact between them.
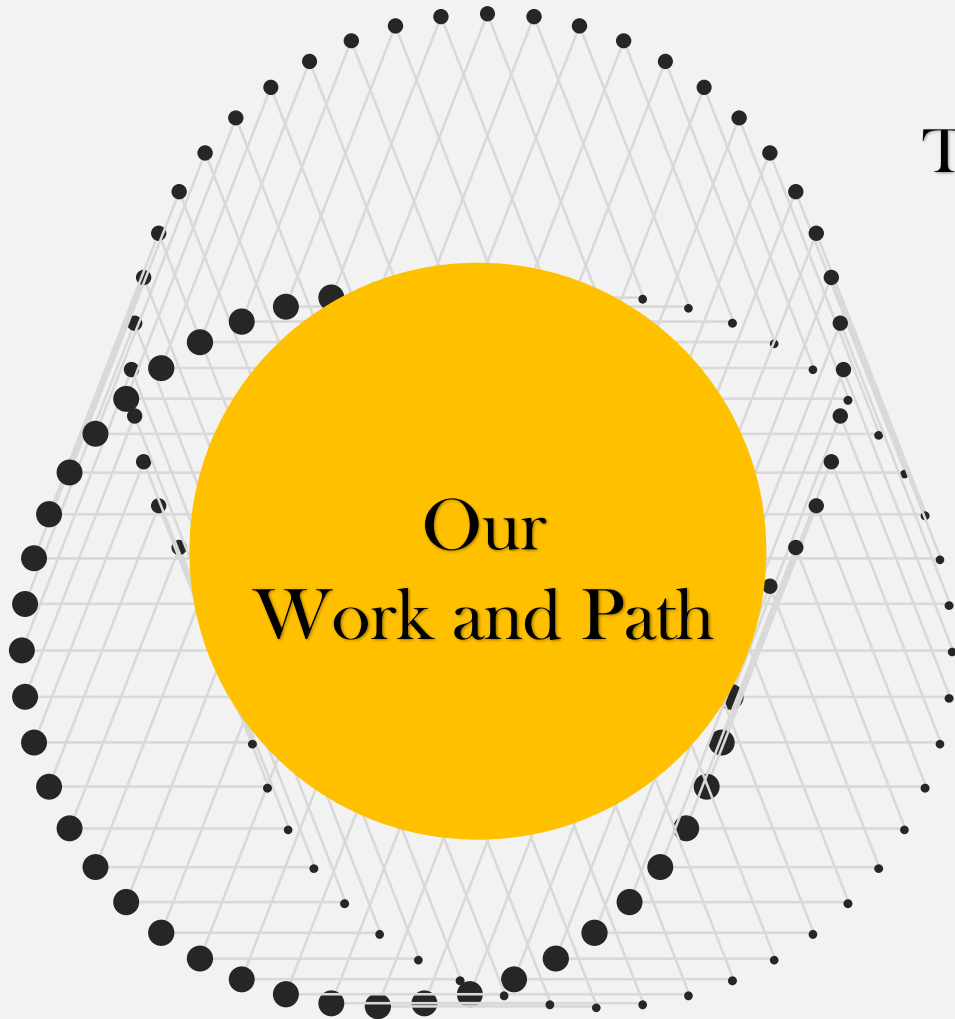
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Chinese Experience
and
Post-Western Sociology

Li Peilin

Professor of Sociology

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Our
Work and Path

Two path to develop Post-Western sociology:

- Theorization of Post-Western Sociology

- Providing Evidence of Empirical Research

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• Four cases of Chinese Experience Studies

1. **Another Invisible Hand Hypothesis**
   • Social structural network as another invisible hand in resource allocation and governance beyond market and government
   • **Three hands theory VS Two hands theory**

2. **"Guanxi"(Tie) Hypothesis**
   • The role of weak tie in the West
   • Strong tie is more important in China
   • **Guanxi as pre-modern factor in western society VS Guanxi as modern social capital in Chinese society**

3. **Historical Decision Hypothesis**
   • Perception of higher inequality among migrant workers in the West
   • Perception of lower inequality among migrant workers in China
   • **Logic of economic decision VS Logic of historical determination**

4. **Chinese Patterns of Urbanization Hypothesis**
   • Urbanization based on scale farmers in the West
   • Urbanization based on facultative farmers in China
   • **Market-driven urbanization in the West VS State-driven urbanization in China**

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Case I: Another invisible hand

Li Peilin. "Another Invisible Hand: Social Structure Transformation".
*Social Sciences In China* 1992(5): 3-15.

Argument:

- Social-structure transformation is another invisible hand that affects economic development and resource allocation.

- During the entire period of social transition, structural transformation, as an intangible force, will define the social development trend and the direction of resource allocation in its own way.

- The force of social-structure transformation can not be categorized into government intervention or market mechanism.

A world-renowned Chinese scientist Qian Xuesen(钱学森）paid attention to another invisible hand theory in a letter to his cousin in 1994.

Qian think that the social structure transformation should include the growth of productivity based on the innovation of science and technology.
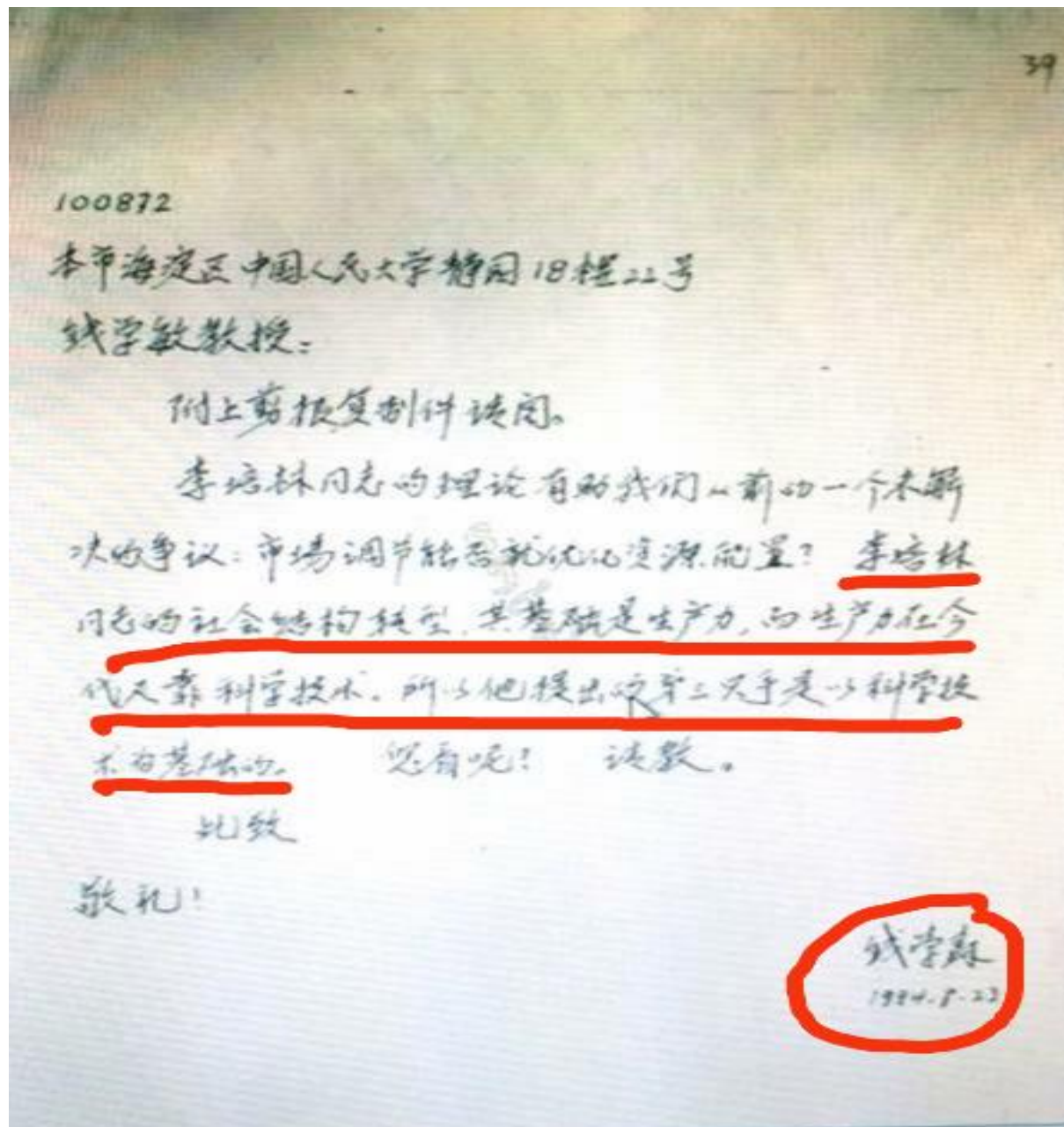
How Another Invisible Hand Challenges Conventional Theory

1. Conventional Theory

Market

Government → Resource Allocation
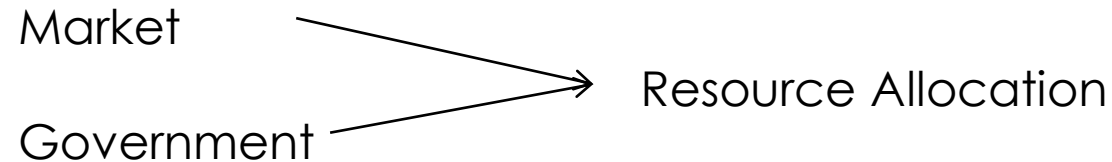
2. Chinese Experience and Contribution:

(1) Problematize conceptualization and simplification of all social behavior as economic.

(2) Challenge two implicit and questionable assumptions about the logic of profit maximization: Clearly defined property rights & No transaction costs.

(3) Highlight the social structure and its important role in social transition, and replace the binary opposition of 'market versus government' and 'modern versus traditional'.

(4) Provides a new framework to analyze the economic behavior embedded on society.

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Experience Studies of Another Invisible Hand (AIH)

- **ZHANG Jijiao** (2000)used AIH framework to analyzed the informal regulation in the local economy in Qionghai.
- **LIANG Dong** (2002) used AIH framework to examine how and why the network organization rose in business world based on new industrial enterprises data.
- **WEI Jianwen** (2003,2006,2009) supported propositions derived from AIH theory by investigating private business owners in China. Government, market, and kinship relationship are the main three ways to mobilize social resources that they need.
- **LI Peilin** (2004)used AIH framework to analyze the unban-villages as companies in Guanzhou.

Case II: Proposal of Strong Tie Theory

1. **Bian, Yanjie.** "Bringing strong ties back in: Indirect ties, network bridges, and job searches in China." *American sociological review* (1997): 366-385.

2. **Background: Granovetter's** (1973, 1974) "strength-of-weak-ties" argument.

- Opportunities of social actors are constrained by their connections with other actors.
- Weak-tie bridges provide people with access to information and resources beyond those available in their own social circles.

3. **Argument:**

- In the Chinese context, strong ties are more effective than weak ties for better jobs.
- Three characteristics of Guanxi are familiarity, trustworthiness, reciprocal obligation.
- Strong ties prove to be necessary to bridge the Chinese guanxi networks used to obtain influence, because mutual third parties offer trust and obligation that ultimately connect job-seekers to job-control agents.

The Increasing Significance of Guanxi

2. **Bian Yanjie**. "The Increasing Significance of Guanxi in China's Transitional Economy" (Unpublished)

Argument:

- Social networking is increasingly active when labor market competition increases.
- Personal connections become extremely important when entrepreneurs start up their business or when they try to minimize negative consequences of economic crisis.
- Relational dependence decreases when business organizations gain a stable market position.

A Typological Model on Guanxi Dynamics

	Market Competition	
Institutional Uncertainty	**Low**	**High**
High	2: Expanding space of guanxi Early reforms Post-1978	3: Great space of guanxi Later reforms Post-1992
low	1: Limited space of guanxi State redistribution Pre-1978	4: Conditional space of guanxi Globalized economy Post-WTO(2001)

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Case III: Migrant workers' positive attitudes to societal inequality

1. **Li Peilin & Li, W. (2007)**. Economic status and social attitudes of migrant workers in China. *China & World Economy*, 15(4), 1-16.

2. **Background:**
- According to the theory of social satisfaction, one's economic condition and economic status decide his or her social attitude (Wright, 1997). Migrant workers had a lower economic status, longer work time, worse work condition, and incomplete citizenship than their urban/domestic counterparts.
- Studies on immigrant labor always found correlation between their low economic status and low life satisfaction in the world (Kogan et al., 2017). Therefore, some scholars predict migrant workers as a factor threatening social stability.

Arguments of Case III:

Survey and analysis showed that the migrant workers, who apparently had a lower economic status, have a better sense of safety, satisfaction than city workers and hold higher perception of overall social justice.

This is because the interest curve of migrant workers is increasing and, at the same time, they tend to compare their working and living conditions with those of the farmers who are still working and living in the countryside. In other words, they feel lower level of relative deprivation.

Case IV: Diverse patterns of urbanization

Li Qiang. "On the Development Mode of Chinese Urbanization" *Social Sciences In China* 2012 (7): 82-100.

Background: market-oriented model and land rent theory

- Urbanization in West is typically driven by the market. Urbanization always went through the process of decentralization after the concentration of population and industry to the city.

- Conventional models of urbanization (CBD and multi-center model) stand upon the land rent theory. Market economy and the land price drive both the direction and speed of urbanization.

What has Chinese model of urbanization brought?

- The development of urbanization in China is driven by strong government force. National strategies play a decisive role in the urbanization of cities and regions.
- Since the reform, the market-oriented urbanization based on land rent theory has created some super-cities, e.g. Shenzhen, Suzhou, Hangzhou, etc.
- But the results of urbanization based on land rent theory are: (1)severe urban disease, (2)big gaps of development level between countryside and cities, (3)uncontrollable high house prices in the big cities.
- The scarcity of land determines that China can not take the road of market-oriented urbanization.

Diversified urbanization and " township model"

- Urbanization promotion does not necessarily adopt a centralized approach. In China, urbanization in rural areas is a decentralized form, called local urbanization（就地城镇化）. Local urbanization is largely the result of rural industrialization and a spontaneous bottom-up process driven by rural development and driven now by new governmental strategy of **the "Rural Revitalization".**

- **Local urbanization in China summarized by sociologists as:**

(1). South Jiangsu Model（苏南模式）: Grassroots industry promoted urbanization

(2). Wenzhou Model（温州模式）: Family-oriented and market-driven urbanization

(3). Pearl River Delta Model(珠三角模式）: Export-oriented urbanization

(4). Jiaodong Model（胶东模式）: Village merging and reorganization

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Conclusion

- We need more cases and experience studies to lay a solid foundation for the theory of post-western sociology.

- These cases and experience studies, especially from non western countries and regions, could develop the existing rules and laws of sociology.

- In this way, post western sociology will become a theory that can absorb the diversified results of studies and explain wider experience.

THANK YOU!

费孝通研究范式的再认识
--兼论其理论概念的包容性

Reflexion upon Fei Hsiao-tung's Research
And implications of his theory and concepts

李友梅

2018年6月28日

目录

引言

- 今天的研讨会以"后西方社会学"为主题，目的在于化解西方与非西方社会学的二元对立，以共同建构一种超越二元对立的社会学知识体系。

- 现实中，随着中国在国际社会中影响力不断上升，我们很多学者已经在思考：中国的社会科学能够对国际学术界贡献什么？

- 可以说，提供最终答案的是中国学术界的学术实践，但学术实践中存在着倾向于不同答案的现实路径。

- 费孝通教授(1910-2005)在其《乡土中国》中，就开辟出一种超越西方和非西方二元对立的研究路径。

一、《乡土中国》的理论概念对中国社会的超越

根据北京大学刘世定教授的分析概括：

- 费教授学术实践的特点是：通过对中国本土社会生活的洞察和国际比较提炼概念和理论，而这些概念和理论具有超出"乡土中国"的更广泛的适用性。

- 在《乡土中国》一书中，费教授通过把中国乡土社会的特征与其他社会体系，特别是"西洋社会"的特征加以比较后，提出了一系列刻画中国乡土社会的概念。

表1 《乡土中国》中的重要概念

刻画中国乡土社会的概念	刻画其他社会体系或社会关系的对比概念	界定概念的主要页码
礼俗社会	法理社会	第5页
面对面－文盲的社会	借助文字的社会	第12、14、15、20页
差序格局	团体格局	第21－28页、
维系私人的道德	团体道德	第28－35页
小家族	家庭	第38－40页
男女有别	两性恋爱	第46页
礼治秩序	法治秩序，乃至道德秩序	第52页
无讼	司法诉讼体系	第56页
无为政治	运用横暴权力和同意权力实施统治的有为政治	第64页
教化权力	同意的权力、横暴权力	第65－67页
长老统治	民主、专制	第70页
血缘社会	地缘社会	第71、76、77页
名实分离	名实一致	第82页

- 《乡土中国》中的许多重要概念都从中国乡土社会的重要现象入手开始考察，同时使用的对比方法和对比概念又提炼于所谓"西洋社会"。

- 这本书只有五六万字的规模，却容纳了一系列富有启发性的概念，是一部值得反复研读的著作。若不认真阅读思考，很容易形成这样的印象：从中国乡土社会中提炼出来的这些概念，仅仅适合于中国特色的乡土社会，而不能用于西洋社会的描述和分析。

- 然而，这一印象既不符合费教授的思路，也与社会科学发展的一些重要进展不相吻合。

- 费教授在提炼刻画中国乡土社会的概念时充满想象力，但对于这些概念的适用范围却态度谨慎。他至少指出过，其中的某些概念所刻画的现象并非为中国乡土社会所特有，它们在西洋现代社会中并不是不存在，差异只在于其重要性的程度不同。

- 以"差序格局"为例。费教授曾指出，在西洋现代社会中"差序格局"同样是存在的，只不过不像在中国传统社会中那样重要罢了。而在西洋社会中非常重要的"团体格局"也并非在中国乡土社会中不存在，譬如钱会，显然是属于团体格局的。

- 费教授认为，差序格局和团体格局"本是社会结构的基本形式，在概念上可以分得清，在事实上常常可以并存，可以看得到的不过各有偏胜罢了。"

- 他在《乡土中国》中提出的某些概念中的一些内容，在另外的学术传统下以另外的面目，作为对当代社会具有重要意义的研究，受到学术界的重视。

表2　《乡土中国》中的重要概念和当代社会科学中的某些理论

当代社会科学中的某些重要理论，它们可以对应于《乡土中国》中提出的刻画中国乡土社会的概念以及刻画其他社会体系的概念。

刻画中国乡土社会的概念	刻画其他社会体系或社会关系的对比概念	当代社会科学的某些重要理论
礼俗社会	法理社会	自然演化的社会秩序
面对面－文盲的社会	借助文字的社会	沉默的知识
差序格局	团体格局	网络社会学理论
维系私人的道德	团体道德	交易成本理论中的私人秩序
礼治秩序	法治秩序，乃至道德秩序	自然演化的规则和秩序
无讼	司法诉讼体系	关系合约理论
无为政治	运用横暴权力和同意权力实施统治的有为政治	有效率国家规模理论
教化权力	同意的权力、横暴权力	意识形态和国家理论
长老统治	民主、专制	公共选择理论
名实分离	名实一致	制度变迁中的意识形态理论

二、费孝通的比较研究与接近社会现实的方法

- 《乡土中国》中采用了比较方法，并以之讨论了中国乡土社会乃至西洋社会的特质。

- 刘世定教授认为，从"用什么与什么作比较"的角度看，可分为模型与模型比较、模型与现实比较、现实与现实比较三大类。

- 这三类比较方法各有不同的特点和功效，不能混淆。

（1）模型与模型比较

- 比如，费教授对"差序格局"和"团体格局"的比较就属于模型与模型的比较。

- 模型是研究者把他所关注的事物的某些特性提炼出来，再加以构造的。模型与模型的比较，可以使人更清楚地看到，被分别提炼在不同模型中的那些特性的差异和相同点。不过，模型与模型比较得出的结论，不能被简单地视为现实与现实比较的结论。

- "差序格局"和"团体格局"的差异，不能简单地作为中国乡土社会和西洋现代社会的差异被接受。只有在差序格局基本上体现了中国乡土社会的特点，而团体格局基本上体现了西洋现代社会的特点时，两个模型比较的结论才能作为现实与现实比较的结果。

（2）模型与现实比较

- 模型与现实比较，是发现原有模型的解释边界和发现新的社会现象并加以理论概括的重要步骤。

- 比如，费教授在将"差序格局"和中国社会现实比较后承认，像钱会那样的组织并不能归到差序格局中去，从而认为在中国社会中也存在"团体格局"；

- 又比如，费教授在将"同意的权力－民主以及横暴的权力－专制"和中国社会现实比较后发现，在中国社会中存在不能归于前两者的另外一类体制——长老统治。

- 这些都是对模型和现实加以比较后的结果。

（3）现实与现实比较

- 比如，费教授在做出"差序格局"和"团体格局"在中国社会和西洋社会中都存在，只不过比重不同的结论之前进行的比较，就是两个社会现实之间的比较。

- 区分这三类比较，并了解它们各自的特点，我们才能不至于把最初提取自某一个社会的概念不加斟酌地认为只属于这个社会，把最初提取自某一个时代的概念天经地义地认为仅是这个时代的特性；也才能更好地理解一个概念的适用范围与局限。

- 从上面的讨论得到的启示：源自中国的学术概念的世国际化，需要将源自中国的学术概念、理论与他国学者的研究对话。而这种对话不是囫囵吞枣式地判定哪些是中国特色的，哪些是他国的，重要的是深入地分析理论模型存在的前提条件及其适用的解释边界。

三、通过"从实求知"，不断推进理论化过程

- 费教授的乡土中国研究，有别于许多社会学家先入为主的将中国乡村想象为"停滞、封闭、孤立"的状态，而他展现的是一个活生生的世界。由此，我们可以看到，中国在与世界的联系中，各地 、 各民族 、 各文化在有着自己的体系的基础上,形成了相互交流、相互印证的关系 。

- 费教授的研究是中国社会学者参与世界知识生产的代表，而他的研究范式的真谛是"从实求知"。

(1) "实"与"知"

- 所谓"实"，首先是着眼于人的社会生活实际，这包括对社会发展趋势和社会生活实际条件的把握。

- "实"内含着实际生活的客观现状，还包含着对为什么会形成这种实际生活现状的一系列追问与认识。

- "实"又是具体的，指的是研究者的实践反思。研究者通过"现实与现实比较、模型与现实比较、模型与模型比较"来认清实践的内在逻辑，去验证基于特定现实与经验基础上所产生的分析概念、理论方法工具对更广泛范围内同类问题进行解释的适用性与合理性。

(2) "实"与"从实"的认识论基础

- 在我们看来，"实"是具有丰富含义的，知识体系本身是涉及多层次、多维度的内容，是来自对不同的"实"的深刻理解和认识。怎么"从实"和怎么深入"实"的问题，"从实求知"是以其自身的认识论为基础。

- 在对"实"的认识上，需超越既有的"西方与非西方""中心与边缘""文明与文化"二元对立式认识的局限性，走出文化中心主义世界观的窠臼。

- 在对"实"的比较和把握上，需摆脱将非西方社会文化视为"无历史""无他者""无自主性"的预设，既立足于当地社会文化特征的内在复杂性，又注重于当地知识与外在关系的深刻历史性。理论话语"共通"存在的前提条件是对"你中有我，我中有你"的"历史实情"的确切把握。

（3）"从实求知"不断推动理论化过程

- "从实求知"的实质意义，在于不断地"从实"中建设即能够贴切认识中国之"实"，又在"实践"中持续推进对"实"的理解和对"从实"的验证，进而超越中国本土之"实"并在跨越"文野之别"（西方与非西方二元对立）中延伸分析概念与理论模型适用的解释边界，推动社会学知识体系的进展。

- 通过"从实求知"，不断推进"当地知识"趋于世界化，当我们谈当地的事项时，就如同在谈具有全球性的事项。

- 推动世界范围内解读相似地方化现实的分析概念、理论模型、知识类型之间的相互印证，理论对话具备可以相互"意会"和达成共识的现实基础，进而推动社会学理论知识体系的不断发展。

谢谢大家！

From Weber to Weber. Rationalizations of the World through the prism of western sociology

Michel Lallement (Cnam, Lise-CNRS)

Introduction

- Methodological nationalisms

- Tremendous ignorance of many extra-Western sociological traditions

- Max Weber as an exception?

Summary

- Max Weber, Confucianism and Capitalism

- Max Weber and China: a century later

- Two neo-Weberian approaches to rationalisation at the time of the world society

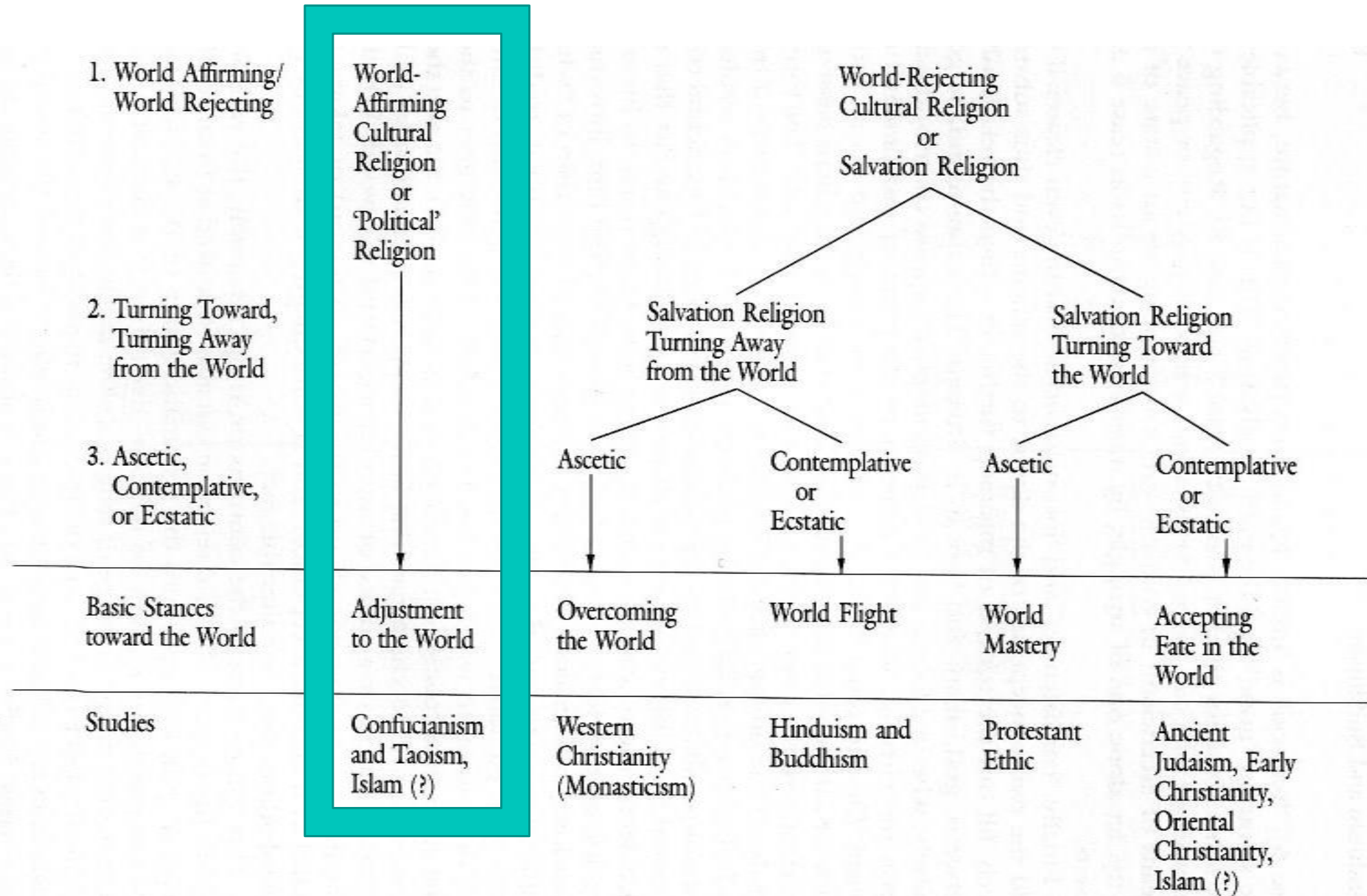- Rationalisation and its duality: the case for a return to Max Weber

Summary

- **Max Weber, Confucianism and Capitalism**

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- Rationalisation and its duality: the case for a return to Max Weber
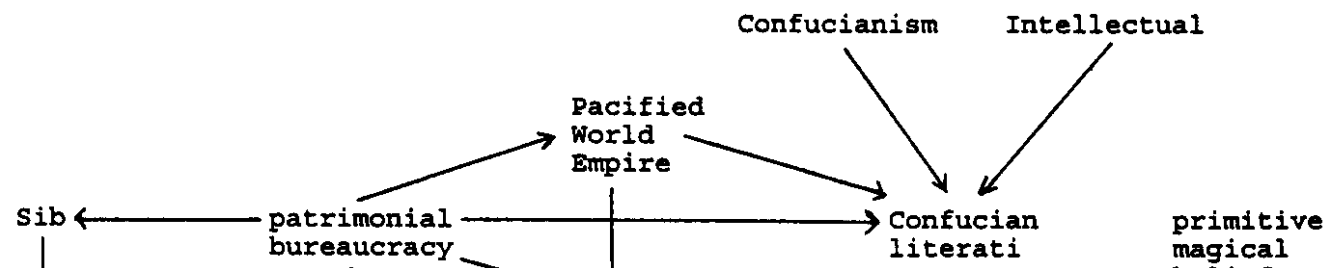
Max Weber, Confucianism and Capitalism

- Religious confessions and inclination to the economic rationalism : from ethics to ethos

- A classification of the religions studied by Max Weber (Schluchter)

- Two main criterias to evaluate the level of rationalization

Classification of Cultural Religions

	World-Affirming Cultural Religion or 'Political' Religion	World-Rejecting Cultural Religion or Salvation Religion			
		Salvation Religion Turning Away from the World		Salvation Religion Turning Toward the World	
1. World Affirming/ World Rejecting					
2. Turning Toward, Turning Away from the World					
3. Ascetic, Contemplative, or Ecstatic		Ascetic	Contemplative or Ecstatic	Ascetic	Contemplative or Ecstatic
Basic Stances toward the World	Adjustment to the World	Overcoming the World	World Flight	World Mastery	Accepting Fate in the World
Studies	Confucianism and Taoism, Islam (?)	Western Christianity (Monasticism)	Hinduism and Buddhism	Protestant Ethic	Ancient Judaism, Early Christianity, Oriental Christianity, Islam (?)

Max Weber, Confucianism and Capitalism

Factors and consequences	Protestantism	Confucianism & Taoism
Religion and magic	Ultimate stage of rationalism, magic has been entirely rooted out	Popular religiosity gives a positive meaning to magic
Tensions with the world	The puritan adapts the world, he wants to be saved	Confucian adapts the world, he expects a long life, health, wealth and, post-mortem, presevation of his reputation
Communities	Communities founded on belief and an ethical way of living => creation of bonds of trust conducive to business relations and, more generally, to economic rationalisation.	Community activities remained surrounded by and conditioned by personal and family relations primarily
Cities	Autonomous power capable of standing up to the pressures of the central political authorities	Pression of the rules of an Empire that is both unified and pacified and not much open to innovation.
Spirit of economy	Puritan's confidence in his partners. Profit is only a secondary consequence in daily life... => encourage saving and reinvestment of gains in the form of capital in rational capitalist enterprises	Distrust and thirst for profit (characteristic of small Chinese shopkeepers) => creating a culture of scholars and of living according to one's rank
"Social stratification layers" (*Trägerschichten*)	Puritan entrepreneurs	Learned group civil servants and candidates for official office
Consequences	Development of a rational bourgeois capitalism	No development of a rational bourgeois capitalism
Factors who could have worked in favour of the development of a rational bourgeois capitalism		Absence of a feudal past, high demographic density, interest in money, free circulation of goods and people, etc.

consequently, he is willing to find a way to reconcile his religious and political argume
In *The Religion of China* his attempted compromise is that "to be sure the b
characteristics of the 'mentality,' in this case the practical attitude toward the wo
were deeply co-determined by political and economic destinies" (249). Weber's bot
line is that "rational entrepreneurial capitalism, which in the Occident found its spe
locus in industry, has been handicapped not only by the lack of a formally guaran
law, a rational administration and judiciary, and by the ramifications of a systen
prebends, but also, basically, by the lack of a particular mentality" (104). This is ha
an effective defense of his religious arguments in the face of his Chinese polity anal

Yet his insistence on the religious argument is maintained not only in *The Reli*
of China, but also later in *General Economic History*. "In the last resort the factor w
produced capitalism [in the West] is the rational permanent enterprise, rational acc
ting, rational technology and rational law, but again not these alone. Necessary c
plementary factors were the rational spirit, the rationalization of the conduct of
in general, and rationalistic economic ethic."[37] In other words, the tension betv
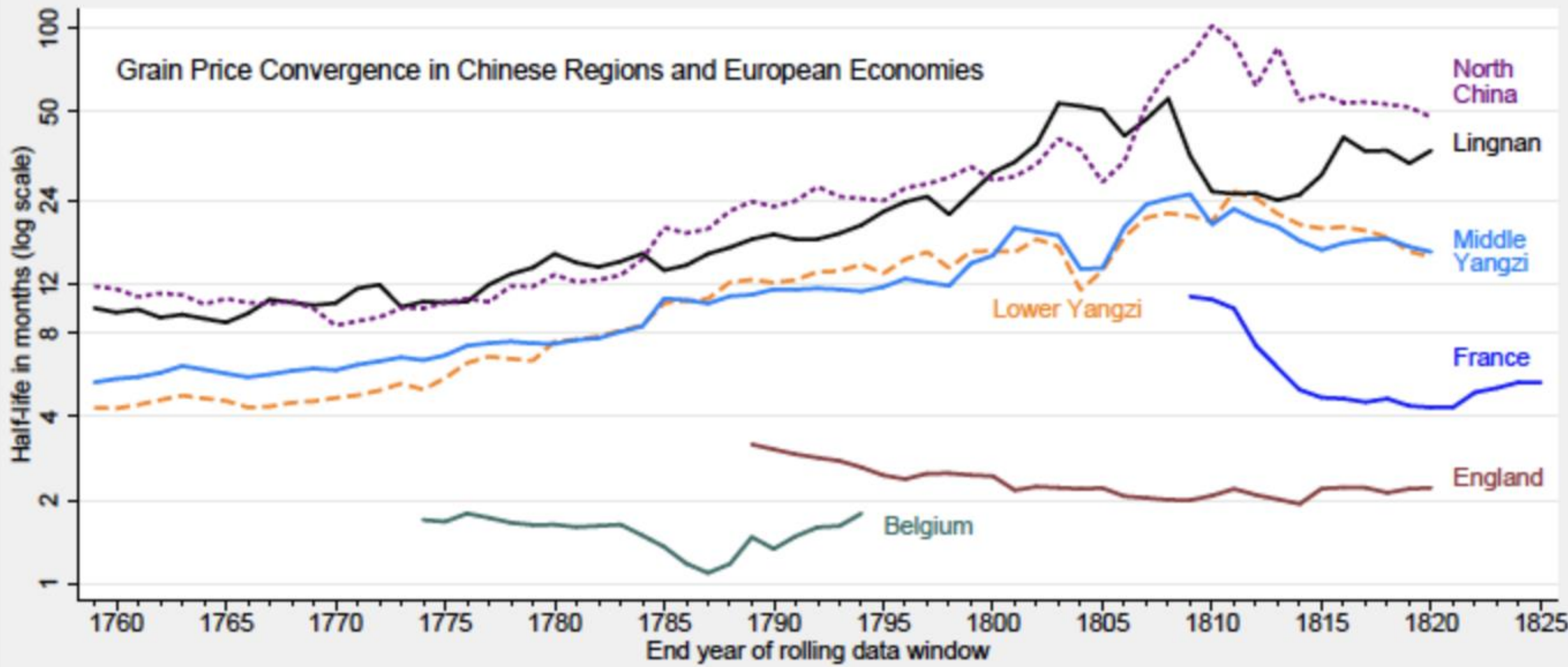Weber's institutional and religious analyses continued through his later years.

Summary

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Max Weber and China: a century later

- J. Goody : *The East in the West* (1996) :

  - Logic in the the older Mohist texts (*Kung-sun Lung Tzu* written between 300 and 600 AD and the *Mo-King*)

  - The calculation : use of the abacus (*suan-pan*) ; the accounting : the "four feet book keeping system" (*Sijiao Zhang*) as a Chinese invention

  - Cities : Hangzhou provided ideal conditions for the development of free economic activity at an early date

  - Labor market : the case of the labourers under the Tang (618-907) and the Song (960-1279)

Max Weber and China: a century later

- Debates on the « Great Divergence »

- K. Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence. China, Europe, and the making of the modern World Economy*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2000.

- D. Bernhofen, M. Eberhardt, J. Li, M. Stephen (« Assessing Market (Dis)Integration in Early Modern China and Europe », *Working Paper*, American University, Washington D.C., School of International Service Research), 2016.

Grain Price Convergence in Chinese Regions and European Economies

Y-axis: Half-life in months (log scale)

X-axis: End year of rolling data window

Series labels: North China, Lingnan, Middle Yangzi, Lower Yangzi, France, England, Belgium
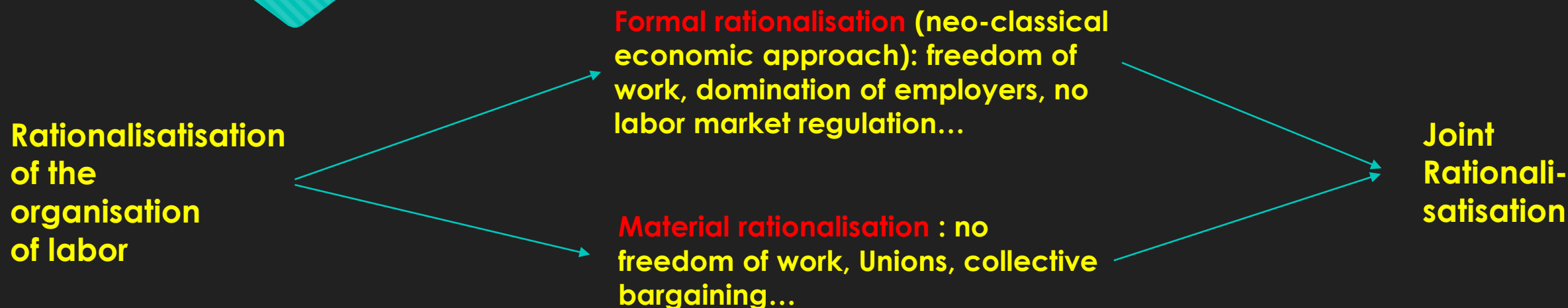
Summary

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Two neo-Weberian approaches to rationalisation at the time of the world society

The neo-institutionalist way

J. Meyer, J. Boli, G. Thomas, F. Ramirez, « World Society and the Nation-State », *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 103, n° 1, July, 1997.

o Nation States shaped by international models.

o Science as new vector of rationalization

o Culture of schooling

o Modern globalisation strengthens the uniqueness of each individual by detaching them from the spaces where they belong.

Two neo-Weberian approaches to rationalisation at the time of the world society

The "multiple modernities"' way

S. Eisenstadt, *Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities*, Leiden, Brill, 2 vol., 2000.

○ Ability of individuals to undertake a number of social roles whose rules are not fixed strictly in advance.

○ Since the end of the 1980s and the start of the 1990s :

  ➢ Appearance of networks and diasporas

  ➢ End of the notion of progress

  ➢ Recomposition of religious institutions

Summary

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Rationalisation and its duality:
the case for a return to Max Weber

- "we can indeed 'rationalise' in reference to ultimate points of view, which are extremely different and take very different directions. 'Rationalism' is a historic concept which incorporates a whole world of oppositions…" (Weber, *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of Capitalism,* 1920 edition).

- Two kinds of rationalization : formal rationalisation and material rationalisation.

- Rationalisation and economic practices

Rationalisation and its duality:
the case for a return to Max Weber

Rationalisatisation of the organisation of labor

Formal rationalisation (neo-classical economic approach): freedom of work, domination of employers, no labor market regulation…

Material rationalisation : no freedom of work, Unions, collective bargaining…

Joint Rationali-satisation

"The formal right of a worker to enter into any contract whatever with any employer does not in practice represent for the worker even the slightest freedom to determine his own conditions of labour and guarantees no influence over his contract. At the very least, the result is that the person who is most powerful in the market, usually the employer, is able to fix the conditions freely as he chooses. Contractual freedom therefore has first and foremost the following result: it offers an opportunity, through intelligent use of goods in a free market, to acquire power over others, etc." (Weber, *Sociology of Law*, 1986 [1960], p. 113).

Conclusion

O From macro-micro approach to multiscale analyses

O Could be useful to revitalise Confucian ethics? (Schluchter)

- Promotion of education and skills;
- A good way to limit the negative effects of individualism;
- Trust
- Order and harmony.

Post-Western Sociologies : What And Why?

Xie Lizhong

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I. WHAT ARE "POST-WESTERN SOCIOLOGIES"?

- Just as the name implies, "post-western sociologies" are some sociologies formed and developed in the "post" era of the so called "western sociologies". This means that, in order to understand the true meaning of "post-western sociologies", we need to understand the things that would be "posted" by us, which are "western sociologies".

WHAT ARE "WESTERN SOCIOLOGIES"?

- "Western sociologies" can be generally defined as such: they refer to those "sociological" systems which have been formed and developed by "western" sociologists since 19th century. Those systems were formed and developed on the basis of western discourse systems, and expressed in western language at first.

WHAT ARE "POST WESTERN SOCIOLOGIES"?

- "Post western sociologies" refer to some new kind of sociologies, formed and developed after these "western sociologies" defined above, on the basis of interaction between western and non-western sociologists.

THE BASIC FACTORS OF "POST-WESTERN SOCIOLOGIES" COULD BE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

- Firstly, "post-western sociologies" are constructed not only by sociologists working and living in western countries, but by both western and non-western sociologists. Compared with the "western sociologies", they have more sources of life experience and historical memory.

- Secondly, "post-western sociologies" are constructed not under the guidance and within the restriction of traditional western discourse systems, but constructed under the guidance and within the restriction of both western and non-western discourse systems. Therefore, compared with the "western sociologies", they have more discourse sources.

- Thirdly, "post-western sociologies" are not only initially expressed in western language, but in various languages including both western and non-western languages. Therefore, compared with the "western sociologies", they have more language carriers and more types of audiences.

II. WHICH SOCIOLOGIES BELONG TO "POST-WESTERN SOCIOLOGIES" IN NON-WESTERN COUNTRIES?

There are five types of sociological theories in non-western countries, but only three could be categorized into "post-western sociologies". The five types of sociological theories are following:

1. Some western sociological theories which be transmitted to non-western countries. They are simply translated in the level of expressive language (translated from some western language into some non-western language, such as from English into Chinese) and hence there is no substantial change, those theories should still be categorized into "western sociologies", rather than the so called "post-western sociologies".

2. "Object-transformed indigenizational sociologies" : the research objects have been transformed from western societies into non-western societies. Meanwhile in other aspects (such as basic concepts, theoretical propositions, research methods, and so on), the indigenization has not yet happened. this type of sociologies should be also categorized into "western sociologies" rather than "non-western sociologies".

3. "Supplemented-modified-renewed indigenizational sociologies" : not only the research objects have been transformed into non-western societies, but the indigenization has also happened in other aspects (such as basic concepts, theoretical propositions, research methods, and so on) to some extent. This type sociologies could be categorized into "post-western sociologies".

4, "Theoretical substitution indigenizational sociologies":not only the indigenization of research objects, but also the radical indigenization of theories (concepts and propositions), which means that the western concepts or propositions are fully abandoned and a set of indigenized concepts and propositions originating from the native people's social life are adopted instead, but the research methods still follow those from western sociologies (such as positive scientific method, Hermeneutics, dialectical method and so on, especially positive scientific method) . This type of sociologies could be also categorized into "post-western sociologies".

5. "Theoretical-methodical substitution indigenizational sociologies" : It attempts to make radical indigenization not only of research objects and theories (concepts and propositions), but also of thinking patterns and research methods, which means the thinking patterns and research methods from western social science have been substituted by non-western and traditional ones. This type of sociologies could be also categorized into "post-western sociologies".

- Therefore, on the basis of definitions here, only the last three could and should be categorized into "post-western sociologies" among the five types of sociological theories in non-western countries.

III.WHICH SOCIOLOGIES BELONG TO "POST-WESTERN SOCIOLOGIES" IN WESTERN COUNTRIES?

There are also only three types of sociologies

could be categorized into "postwestern sociologies"

in western countries:

- Supplemented-modified-renewed research by western scholars in non-western countries.

- Theoretical substitution research by western scholars in non-western countries.

- Theoretical-methodical substitution research by western scholars in non-western countries.

IV. WHY USE THE CONCEPT OF "POST-WESTERN SOCIOLOGIES"?

- Different from the concept of "de-westernization," the notion of "post-westernization" is more inclusive and realistic: according to the proposition of "de-westernization," in non-western countries, except the "non-western sociologies", other types of sociologies we categorized as "post-western sociologies" should be rejected as "westernized." Whereas, the "post-westernization" we proposed would embrace all these types of sociologies, including the "non-western" ones.

- Compared to the concept of "indigenization," "post-westernization" has two distinctive features: First, it indicates a different attitude toward the "west." The concept of "indigenization" express a tendency to seek for and to maintain the differences from the "west" and would easily lead people to a kind of extreme "western/non-western" dichotomy. Whereas, "post-westernization" tries hard to avoid that duality and conveys a tendency to keep the continuity, consistency and commonality while pursuing and maintaining those differences.

- Second, it expresses an ambition about the "indigenous" sociologies, which differs from that of the concept "indigenization": since "indigenization" implies a tendency to seek for the distinction between the "west" and "non-west," it leads people confines the validity of "indigenous" sociologies within the "indigenous" domain and thus denies the universal potential of the "indigenous" sociologies. In fact, even those extremely "indigenized" "non-western sociologies" derived from "indigenous" experiences would exceed the limit of their place of origin and are universally applicable to a certain degree, just like those pure "western sociologies."

- Therefore, we propose the concept of "post-western sociologies" not only because "western sociologies" might not be applicable to non-western societies, but also because this concept provides us a broader horizon, a more inclusive attitude, and a longer-sighted ambition in the aspect of the theoretical construction of our sociology, multiplies and varies our sociological discourses, and thus paves us more paths through which we achieve a better understanding of the social world, and finally contributes to our construction of a new social world transcending the western/non-western dichotomy.

THANKS!

1. The explanatory power of the post-Western sociological perspective

- What is the post-western sociological perspective? I think this is merely a hypothetical perspective.,which has not been conclusive and has not been universally recognized. The discussion here may be of some practical value for constructing and enriching this perspective.
- A set of sociological concepts, propositions and theoretical systems are constructed by Western sociologists and non-Western sociologists. Post-Western sociology originates from the joint research and abstraction of non-western social phenomenon by these two types of scholars. Then, Post-western sociology in turn explain non-Western social phenomena.
- "Post-western sociology" is still under construction. At present, it has not been conclusive. Here I try to explore the value of post-western sociological perspectives from the practice of rural construction and development in China.

2.Rural Destiny in the Background of Modernization

(1)Is the decline of the countryside irreversible?
• The modernization theory suggests that modernization is a homogenous and irreversible global process(Huntington). There are many revisionary modernization theories(Eisenstadt), but in modernization theory, the rural areas that represent tradition are inevitably declining.

(2)Are rural construction and rural vitalization common phenomena in the modernization process?
Since the 1970s, the movement of Rural Revitalization has sprang up in European and American countries，East Asia（Japan and South Korea.)In the 21st century, after the reform and opening up, China once again proposed the construction of a new countryside, which is now renamed as the strategy for rejuvenating the countryside.

(3)Can rural construction and rural vitalization correct the modernization process?

• The essence of rural construction and rural vitalization is an interventional social change. Through planned and targeted strong interventions, it aims to prevent, slow down or even reverse the decline of rural areas in the process of modernization.

• However, there are obvious differences in the driving force, practices, and effects of various countries and regions in rural construction and rural vitalization.

• As a latecomer country, China has experienced some setbacks in the development of rural areas during the past 40 years of modernization. These twists and turns are some of the common problems and phenomena in the modernization process, and they have their own uniqueness. How to explain the similar and different problems and phenomena that have occurred in the rural construction and development of countries in the process of modernization? Does the existing western sociology theory have universal explanatory power?

3.The practical process of rural construction and revitalization in China

   (1)The construction of the new socialist countryside in the era of planned economy .
   • Since the 1950s, China had adopted the strategy of giving priority to the development of urban heavy industries and proposed the construction of a new socialist countryside. Rural construction was subordinate to the priority development strategy of urban industry. The priority development strategy of urban industry was bound to attract rural population to the city, but it was difficult for the city to provide corresponding employment opportunities. As a result, the key content of the construction of the new socialist countryside at that time was to make the rural population stay in the rural areas by collective way, and not to pour into the city. At the same time, the collective power was used to support the development of the urban industry without compensation. As a result, the dual economic, social and political system in urban and rural areas had been constructed.

(2)Rural development in the early period of reform and opening up

• In the late 1970s and 1980s, China's rural reforms were to reduce the country's excessive intervention in rural development and allowed farmers to have more freedoms for production, employment and mobility. As a result, there had been a period of prosperity for township enterprises and the revival of small towns.

(3) Reform and the predicament of rural development in the late 1990s

• The national financial system had changed from the" Fiscal Responsibility System (FRS)" to the "Tax Sharing System (TSS)" , and local taxes decreased, so more taxes were collected from rural areas.

• Urban and state-owned enterprise reforms had an impact on rural-township enterprises, small towns, and floating population from rural to urban. In addition, the "three rural issues"had become more serious.

• The shortage of public services in rural areas and the "commercialization" reforms such as education and medical care had placed rural residents under tremendous pressure and burdens.

(4)Since 2003, China has entered the era of new rural construction

- Tax reduction or exemption
- Agricultural subsidies
- The construction of New Rural Medical Insurance and Pension Insurance system in Rural Areas
- Popularizing compulsory education to reduce the burden of rural education
- Withdrawing Villages and Merging Villages to Reduce Government Burden
- Including rural floating population in urban employees' pension and medical insurance
- Rural infrastructure investment

(5)Targeted poverty alleviation and rural vitalization started in 2013

• The new rural construction began in 2005, but it did not effectively make rural areas more attractive than before. On the contrary, young people still tend to leave the countryside. There are problems of "three stays" (left-behind children, left-behind women, and left-behind elderly people) in rural areas. At the same time, cities are faced with adjustment and upgrading of industrial restructuring, improvement of quality of life, and population pressure. Under this circumstances, the construction of new countryside is not enough to deal with these problems, thus targeted poverty alleviation and rural vitalization were proposed.

The goal of targeted poverty alleviation is to solve the problem of poverty for all poor people below the current standard by 2020. The goal of the revitalization of the countryside is " thriving businesses, pleasant living environment, social etiquette and civility, prosperity and effective governance" ,and "out of poverty" is the precondition. The rural revitalization has juststarted

4.The unique background of China's modernization and its influence on rural construction and development

(1)Uniqueness background
 • Temporal and spatial characteristics: China is a post modern country.
 • Scale characteristics: Population size,Land size.
 • Institutional characteristics: from the planning system to the market system.
 • Social structure characteristics: the structural differentiation in stratum,dual urban-rural structure, etc.
 • Historical characteristics: long history;
 • Ideology characteristics: Socialism, especially ownership characteristics.

(2)The Risk of China's Modernization Changes

- The problems of independence and opening up to the outside world.
- The problem of system transition: the transition from the planned system to the market system.
- Differentiation and integration issues.
- Traditional and modern issues
- The problem of urban-rural relations
- Regional relations issues

(3)Rural Function in China's Modernization Construction

• Rural areas provide resources for modernization: land resources, human resources, agricultural resources.

• The countryside is the last bastion of China to defuse the risk of modernization. All risks, such as environmental and ecological risks, urbanization risks, economic risks, and stability risks, will eventually be resolved through the countryside.

In the past 40 years of modernization, the role of the countryside has often been underestimated. At the same time, the construction of the village has not received sufficient attention, even though it has placed great importance on government documents.

5.The Practical Logic of Rural Construction in China

(1)Rural Development Mechanism
• The problems forcing: Stability and order issues
• Value guidance:socialist values
(2)The Subject of Rural Construction
• The government becomes the initiator of rural construction, policy designer and direct interventionist. The government will lead and intervene in social change.
(3)Rural construction measures
• Policy and institutional measures
• Funds
• Administrative measures: The input of human resources in rural areas.
• Political instruments: Responsibility assessment, publicity mobilization,
• Publicity

6.A Post-Western Sociological Reflection on Rural Construction and Development in China

(1)Judging from the modernization theory, Chinese villages have gradually declined over the past 40 years , and then have to slow down the recession through rural construction and vitalization, which seems to be the same or similar as the developed countries (especially the developed countries in the West).

(2)However, China has its own unique historical and structural backgrounds, such as urban-rural dualism, very large-scale population structure, etc. From this point of view, on the one hand, institutional factors have always existed in the changes in the relationship between urban and rural areas in China. On the other hand, the city has always been under pressure from the population. In other words, urban reforms are subject to population pressures, and as a result, a large number of rural Chinese people enter the city but cannot become residents of cities. These are the structural constraints that exist in rural floating population for a long time.

(3)Unlike the western countries, rural areas are dispensable, and the existence of a large number of rural migrants makes it an important safeguard. Those rural migrants can retreat to the countryside when they do not have a guarantee of survival in city.

(4)Counter-urbanization, spanning urban and rural areas, and non-agricultural part-time job are reshaping the relationship between urban and rural areas in China. With the living cost, the increase of the employment demand, the increase of the administrative intervention of the city government and the development of the outflow economy, the living and development space of the rural floating population is narrowing and the outflow force increases, they begin to turn to the small towns and rural areas and seek non-agricultureal part-time job, which shows a certain trend of counter urbanization. Some urban middle class who pursue ecological value, rural traditional culture, relaxed life rhythm and safe ecological food also begin to migrate to the beautiful ecological countryside.

(4)Counter-urbanization, spanning urban and rural areas, and non-agricultural part-time job are reshaping the relationship between urban and rural areas in China. With the living cost, the increase of the employment demand, the increase of the administrative intervention of the city government and the development of the outflow economy, the living and development space of the rural floating population is narrowing and the outflow force increases, they begin to turn to the small towns and rural areas and seek non-agricultureal part-time job, which shows a certain trend of counter urbanization. Some urban middle class who pursue ecological value, rural traditional culture, relaxed life rhythm and safe ecological food also begin to migrate to the beautiful ecological countryside.

(5)The government has strongly dominated and shaped the complex relationship with the country's own development needs, which are changing the possible direction of rural development

(6)The unique property rights system plays an important role in Chinese villages. China's urban land implements a state-owned system, while rural land implements collective ownership.

(7)The dispute between the small-scale farmers and the modernization of agriculture affects rural development and development. Some scholars believe that there is no contradiction between small-scale farmers and agricultural modernization. Others believe that one of the basic requirements for agricultural modernization is the scale, land must be mobilized and concentrated in the hands of large households or large capitals.The relationship between the state's smallholder farmers and agricultural modernization has not been clearly defined. Therefore, in actual operations, local governments and large capitals have compiled land concentration and large-scale agricultural operations, which to a certain extent have excluded the rural population from living and developing in rural areas.

(8)The complex relationship between tradition and modernity, to a certain extent, affects the development of rural China. Chinese villages have a long history. For a long time in the past, China was a rural society and the suburban dominated. This determined that the local culture still has a very strong vitality in China today. There are emotional relationships between all classes and villages in China, which, to some extent, makes the development of rural areas a requirement of China's society as a whole.

(9)Modern governance and traditional governance have formed complex and diversified relationships. There are both cooperative and evident tensions. This is the relationship between "rule of virtue, rule of law, and autonomy" currently discussed in China. At present, China's rural areas are still in the process of establishing a new governance mechanism in the conflict between the three governances.

All in all, although the process of modernization in rural China, there is indeed a problem that modernization theory believes,which are similar to the developed countries. However, China has its own specific structure, system, and culture. In particular, the Chinese government has a strong system, resources, and administrative capabilities. This plays an absolute advantage in rural construction and development. The existing western sociological theories are basically based on industrialization, urbanization, marketization, and the modern property rights system. They overlooked the government's ability to construct, and did not even see the ability of developing country governments to shape themselves. At the same time, western sociological theories did not give full attention to the role of culture, and even more, traditional culture and modern culture were regarded as conflicting, and the latter was bound to replace the former. However, as a

matter of fact, in the process of modernization, local culture has both conflicts with modern culture and also has the tendency to absorb and fuse. This is because there are both open and rational factors in the local culture. Whether or not "post-western sociology" can give a strong interpretation of these late-developing countries or non-Western countries still requires in-depth investigation, exploration, and refinement.

Thanks for your listening

Revisiting precarious neighborhoods and global informality in a Post-Western perspective

LIA Six Year Anniversary Conference
CNRS-ENS Lyon/CASS

POST-WESTERN SOCIOLOGY

IN EUROPE AND IN CHINA

Agnès Deboulet - University Paris 8- Lavue, UMR 7218

ENS Lyon, TRiangle
28.06.2018

Introduction

- Why are the cities challenging the post-western sociological turn ?
- Entering the black box of the city making through the most disavantaged sections : "slums" and precarious neighborhoods
- Looking through three entry points
  - self-production of the city
  - the official international discourse. We will specifically comment on the *New urban agenda adopted by Un-Habitat* (NUA) in Quito , 2016
  - public policies and international aid

Wouln't it be possible to escape from traditional visions of informality (in the housing realm) by adopting a post-western perspective ? We will follow Prof. L. Roulleau-Berger (2011) invitation to de-westernise urban sociology by trying to see the non-linear pathes take by researchers and state/non state actors

A. DEBOULET, Paris 8 LAVUE

①An overwhelming presence of non-recognized housing in most of emerging large and middle-size cities.

② The second echoes the fact that the urban age does also mirror the failure of planning, as a western and somehow post-colonial pattern of government

③Combining land insecurity and residential vulnerability : towards a processual and comprehensive understanding of precarious neighborhoods

1. Planetary urbanization and "global informality"

○ In 2030, ¾ of the world will be urban (vs ½ at the turn of the century and less than 10% one century ago).

○ It is a new "revolution", sometimes called the urban revolution. Thought of as enclosed spaces, the city becomes is subsumed under the metropolization process. And the « urban » becomes a relative space (Merrifield, 2013) that brings us to change our view on the city

○ According to Un-Habitat, ¼ of the world population is leaving in « slums » (2012) and it might be as high as 40% in 2030

1- New actors and western designations

. 1965 : start of massive urban expansion and first international assemblies on "inadequate housing"

. A very active process of categorization since the end of the 90's with the Habitat II conference in Istanbul (1996)

• The UN Millenium goals *ODM 7 Cible D*

« Achieve, by 2020, a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers »

Slums and informality : a typical western(ized) categorization

- Slums : comes from the Victorian name of dubious and marginalized, dangerous and anhealthy « faubourgs » of London during the victorian era

- Has been recast and hybridized by the indian census professionals that have extended the definition to all self-made settlements

- Today it does suggest the ideas of insalubrity and of housing built in a makeshift style

The reality is that most of « non-planned » areas are not slums but regular neighborhoods sometimes built in lasting materials

- . Informality : this term is an analogon of anarchic, random (this is the term in the arab world, 'ashwaiy)
- Suggest that only the planned has a decent and recognized spatial form
- Problem : spatial informality is suggesting social anomy and lots of defaults rather than a neighborhood made of belonging and ties

2. A post-western critic of planning

- The urban age does also mirror the failure of planning, as a western and somehow post-colonial pattern of government
- The critics of government practices in producing informality has come from Asia with
  - A. Hasan showing that « informal settlements have been developed in government land, illegally occupied by developers with the support of government servants, and protected through bribes given to the police » (2004)
  - A. Roy (2004) has shown how « extra-legality » was the reverse side of state action. And that in reality informality is largely produced by the state. Example : the Kolkata absence of cadastre (land register) is an instrument of power and of bargaining

Looking for …counter-narratives

- Rather than slums, adressing « self-made settlements » (Alvarez de Andres & alii, 2015) as not only an issue but a solution (Turner, 1968, 1972).
- Influence of anthropology since the 60's (Peattie, 1968) but with some exceptions a great divide between urban studies and planning orientations and socio-anthropological knowledge, leading to non-sustainable solutions : writers quote and use local, vernacular terms « barrios, favelas, ranchos, Gecekondus, manateq chaab'ia »
- Yiftachel & Yacobi (2004), pave the way for informality as a radical critic of statist supremacy (in Israël) but could be extended to many other places in the world since post-western thought might leave the space for the voice of the « other »
- Interestingly many of these researches are been used now by european researchers tu analyse the reality of the new vague of bidonvilles and the struggles anti-eviction

Voice of the others and otherness

These other voices do not come only from the south

- Including the « citizenship dilemas » (Bakhit, 2016) of the southern soudanese in Khartoum and of the inner and foreign migrants

- Recognizing the resources and qualities

- There researchers were caught in a liberal trap suggested by H. de Soto, a peruvian economist praising the capacity of informal city dwellers and producers to enrich themselves by valorizing their social and local capital

3. « A view from the barrio » revisited

- A huge diversity of view points during the conference and its various preparatory events

  - Public policies often quoted as exemplary because they just think and act efficiently at « deleting » the slums from the city (Morocco at the prep. Conference of Pretoria ; Corean agency KRIHS at Habitat III or some aspects of the national south african policy)

  - Exemple : Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme PSUP ONU-Habitat d'amélioration participative des bidonvilles
  - Campaign Know Your City : Slum Dwellers International has challenged the common view of planning by

  - Repolitizing the concept of « slum » would be possible since many south countries and nO are influential in the process of redesigning the international agenadas

  - Proposing a new collective agency for collaborative planning that forces local authorities to recognize the participatory power of the « community »

Does internationalization foster a post-western thought ?

There has been a real increase in the number of researchers but most of them remain stuck to the official definitions

Internationalisation also comes from a large opening since Habitat II to non-state actors, both public and private. More than 30.000 participants in HIII and even more at World Urban Forum in Kuala Lumpur 2017.

- Cities and local governments with
- World assembly of cities and local authorities (HII-HIII)
- the growing importance of networks and cities associations (ICLEI, UCLG, Metropolis, C40)
  - *Metropolis:* world association of large metropolis founded after HII

Social movements : a new voice

- Strong link with some researchers
- Reflexion on human rights
- First to claim for right to the city

. Wiego, a world network dedicated to the informal sectors workers

- Slum/Shack Dwellers International –international network of slum dwellers federations : 488 cities & 33 countries, 14 millions members
- ACHR (Asian Coalition for Housing Rights), 1988 : platform for exchange between precarious neighborhoods
- HIC, Habitat international coalition

Major social movements, plateforms, NGO's... at Habitat III

- The right to the city is a interesting example of a concept that has become a flagship reframed from the south (Morange, Spire, 2017 ; Brown, 2013)

- Born in France in 68 (Lefebvre, 1966), it as inspired the social movements in latin america and many municipal and even constitutional reforms that have retained that even squatter settlements have the right to claim for a shared decision of the city fabric process

Using Big Data to Measure "The Differential Modes of Association"

LUO, JAR-DER

TSINGHUA U. SOCIOLOGY DEPT.

I、Question: What is Dunbar Circle in China

Dunbar Number: (Dunbar 1992,1993,1998,2003,2005,2010,2012)

◦ A number about **How many** people we could keep in touch at most.(Cognition Limitation)

◦ There are **different types** of relationship so different types of Dunbar number(Discrete Hierarchical organization)

Dunbar Circle:

Tribe:300

Group:30-50

Emotion:3-5

Frequently:12-20

Directly: 150

I-1 The Differential Modes of Associations

Strangers

Similarity and middleman

Acquaintance ties

Favor Exchange

Familiar Ties

New role identities

Familial ties (Lun)
Ego

Rules of Favor Exchange
(familiar ties)Trust created through *Bao and Yi* —
favored, reciprocal exchange and long-term
commitment

Rule of Equity
(acquaintance ties)
Social exchange and Bao
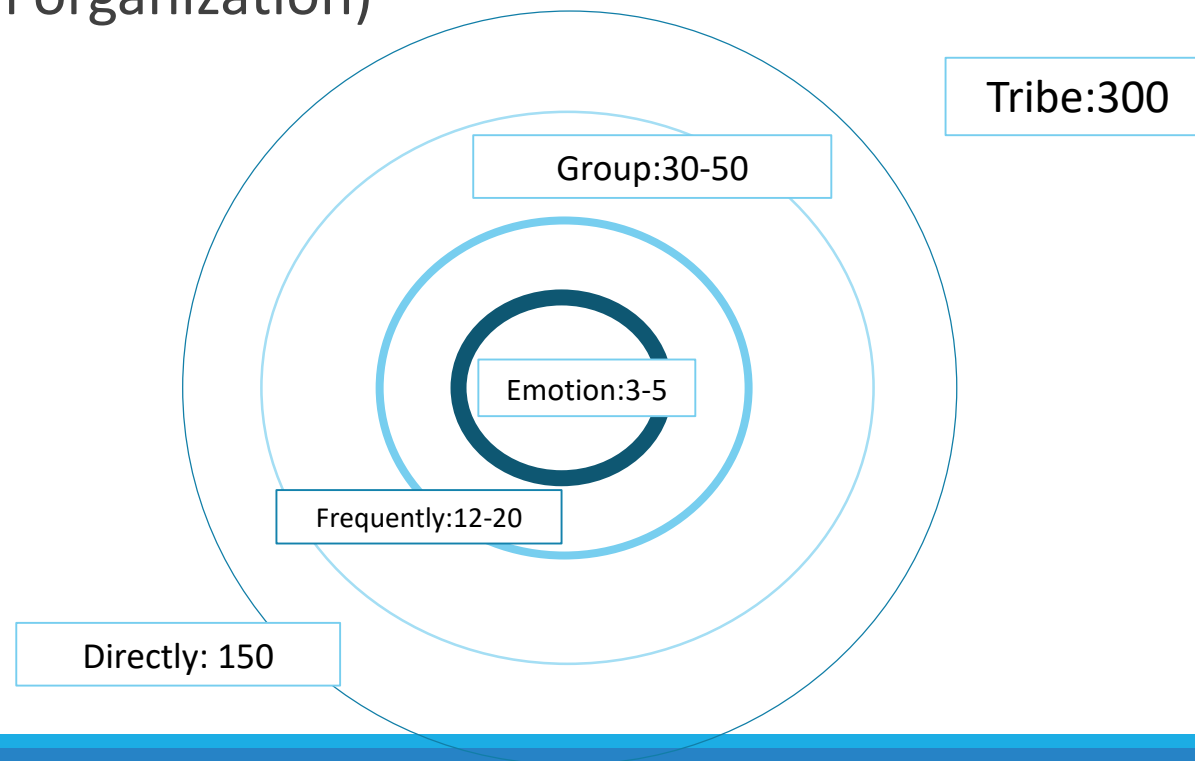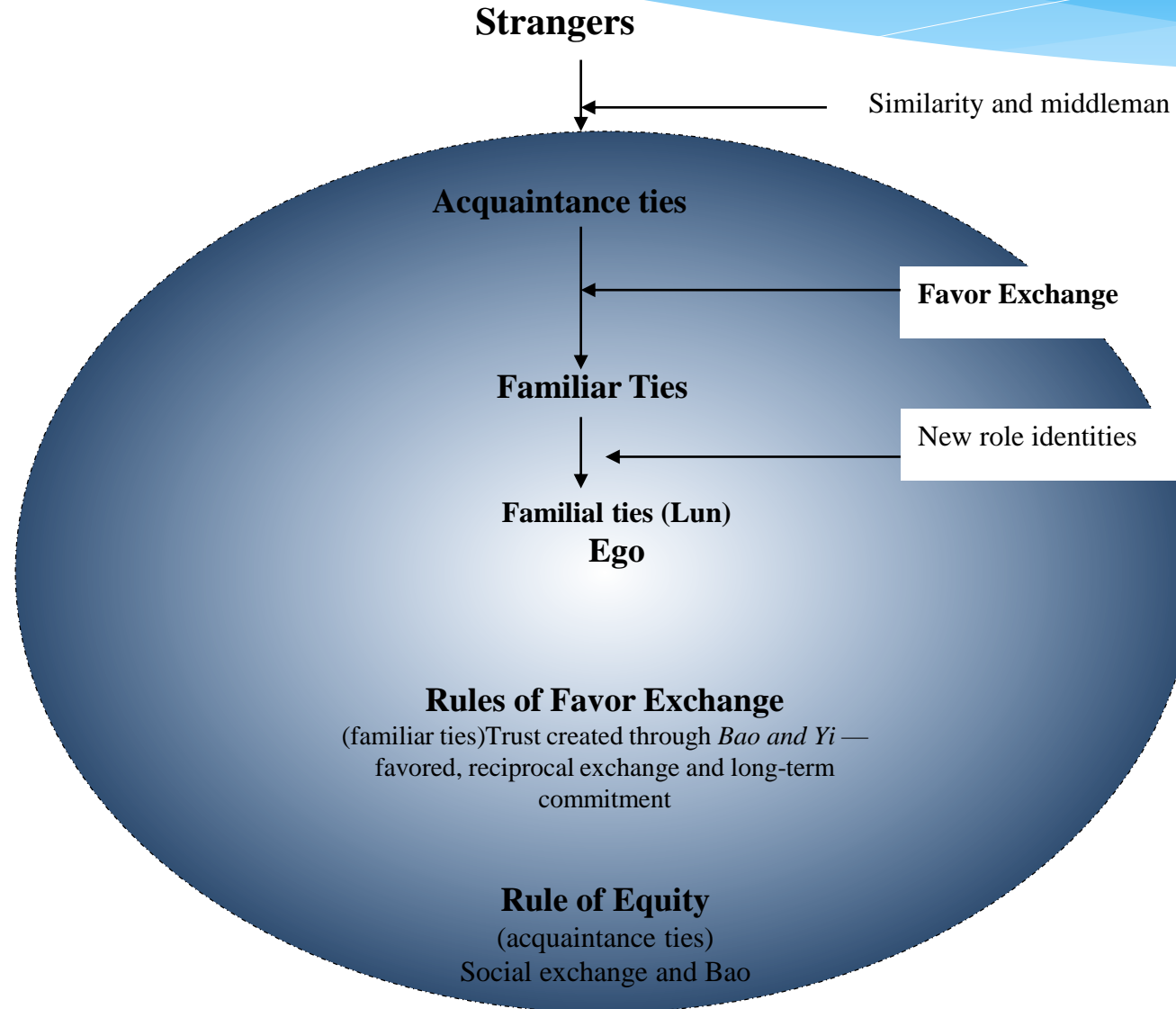
* The innermost circle generally consists of family members, extended kin and blood brothers (sisters).
* Familiar ties, including friends and persons to whom one feels particularly close, fit in the next ring under the "rules of favor exchange", by which particularistic trust can be built up from frequent exchange of favors.
* Weak ties that fit in the outer-most ring under the "rules of equity" and may come to be personally trusted based on general ethical principles of equity and the conservative process of repeated exchange.

The Findings in big data

Only interaction frequency matters

Clustering 5 Groups
（Dunbar R I M, Arnaboldi V, Conti M, et al. The structure of online social networks mirrors those in the offline world[J]. Social Networks, 2015, 43: 39-47.）

How about Chinese ego-centered network?
Particularism vs. Universalism
Mixed tie (Expressive + Instrumental) vs. Intimacy

Step 1: Ground Truthing

1. Questionnaire design: five types of ties

A. Please list 3 names who are your family members or pseudo-family members.

B. Please list 5 names who have especially intimate friendship relations with you, such as blood brothers.

C. Please list 5 names who have good friendship relations with you, and you keep long-term contacts with him/her.

D. Please list 5 names who are not very close to you, but you wish to keep this friends for a certain long period.

E. Please list 3 names who are only acquaintance for you, and you may or may not contact him/her in the future.

A. Please List this person's name; one letter is O.K.。	B. Please provide this person's last 4 digits of mobilephone. For example, 12345678910，can be written as 8910	C. How often you use Wechat to chat with this person. 6 Many/one day 5 At least 1/one day 4 At least 1/one week 3At least 1/one month 2 At least 1/one year 1 We don't use Wechat	D Howe often you meet together face-to face 6 Many/one day 5 At least 1/one day 4 At least 1/one week 3At least 1/one month 2 At least 1/one year 1 We don't have chance to see each other	E. The other ways to communicate （such as email, letter, greeting cards, QQ, etc.）:
1		6　5　4　3　2　1	6　5　4　3　2　1	
2		6　5　4　3　2　1	6　5　4　3　2　1	
3		6　5　4　3　2　1	6　5　4　3　2　1	
4		6　5　4　3　2　1	6　5　4　3　2　1	
5		6　5　4　3　2　1	6　5　4　3　2　1	

Step 2. Collecting Wechat Data

◆ For protecting privacy, Wechat data is collected by Tacent employees, but they can't get the survey data.

◆ 4 types of data are collected

◆ 1. Data of directed connection, such as interaction frequency, time, interval, frequency variance, etc..

◆ 2. Data of activities in friendship circle.

◆ 3. Data of common Wechat groups.

◆ 4. Data of activities in common Wechat groups.

	RC1	RC2	RC3	RC4	RC5	RC6	RC7	RC8	RC9	RC10	RC11	RC12	RC13
Friendship Duration	0.07	0.04	0.11	-0.14	0.95	-0.22	0.09	-0.07	0.03	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Common Neighbors	0.22	**0.59**	0.21	**0.55**	0.23	0.28	-0.05	0.35	-0.08	0.00	-0.01	0.00	0.00
Total Interaction Time	0.11	**0.59**	-0.76	-0.05	0.01	-0.09	0.03	0.02	0.02	-0.01	-0.22	0.00	0.00
STD of Time	0.10	**0.56**	-0.78	-0.07	0.02	-0.10	0.03	0.05	-0.01	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00
(Send Message) Frequency	**0.98**	-0.16	-0.04	0.04	-0.01	-0.04	-0.03	0.00	0.02	0.10	0.00	0.08	-0.01
(Receive Message) Frequency	**0.98**	-0.17	-0.03	0.03	-0.01	-0.04	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.09	0.01
Frequency in Working Time(S)	**0.96**	-0.15	-0.04	0.04	0.00	-0.04	-0.05	0.00	0.02	0.22	0.00	0.07	-0.02
Frequency in Working Time(R)	**0.97**	-0.16	-0.03	0.03	0.00	-0.04	-0.01	0.01	0.00	0.11	0.00	-0.12	0.02
Frequency not in Working Time(S)	**0.96**	-0.17	-0.03	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	0.01	0.00	-0.18	0.01	0.11	0.03
Frequency not in Working Time(R)	**0.94**	-0.19	-0.04	0.02	-0.02	-0.04	0.03	0.00	-0.03	-0.25	0.00	-0.04	-0.04
Frequency in Friendship Circle(S)	0.40	0.30	0.14	**-0.46**	-0.01	0.51	0.51	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
Frequency in Friendship Circle(R)	0.32	**0.43**	0.13	**-0.52**	0.08	0.30	-0.57	-0.05	-0.08	-0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
No. Common Group	0.28	**0.67**	0.11	0.50	0.00	0.20	0.01	-0.40	0.08	-0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00
Frequency in Common Group(S)	0.21	**0.68**	0.43	-0.15	-0.17	-0.35	-0.05	0.12	0.34	-0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.00
Frequency in Common Group(R)	0.21	**0.67**	0.40	-0.13	-0.16	-0.41	0.17	-0.05	-0.33	0.02	-0.01	0.01	0.00

Step 3. Finding Computing Methods

Following Dunbar's Method to Analyze Interaction Frequency
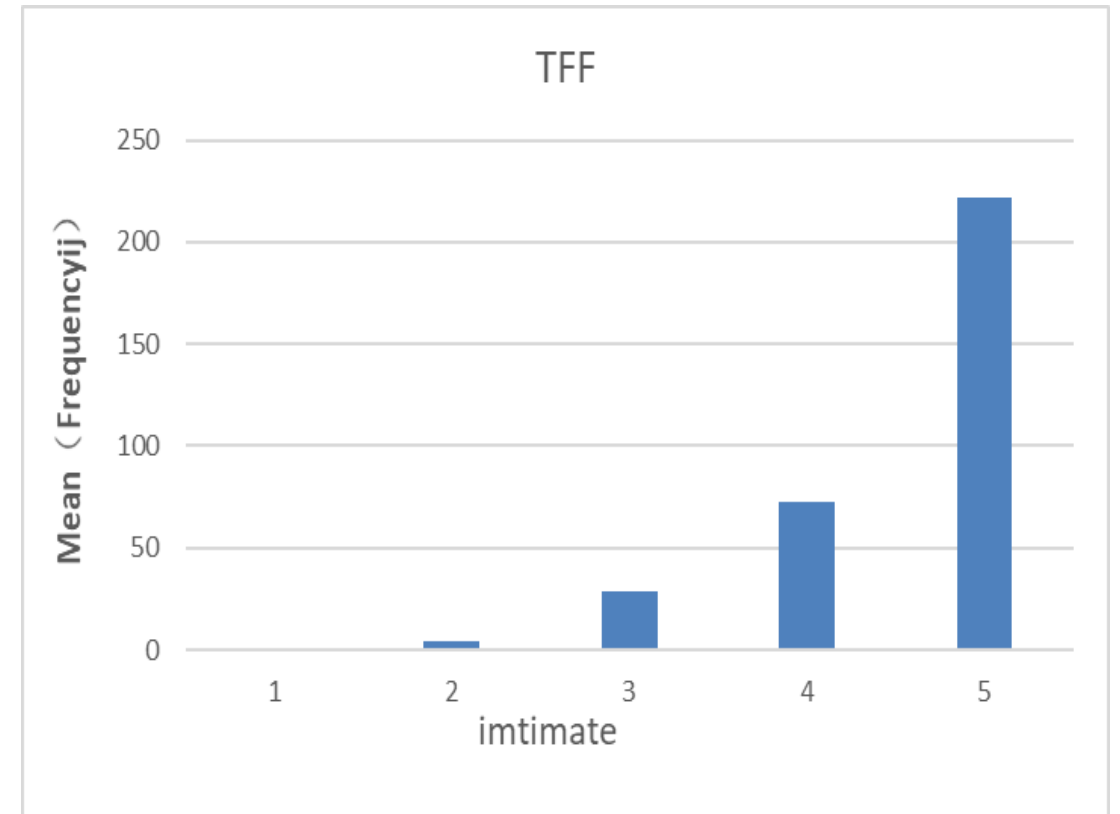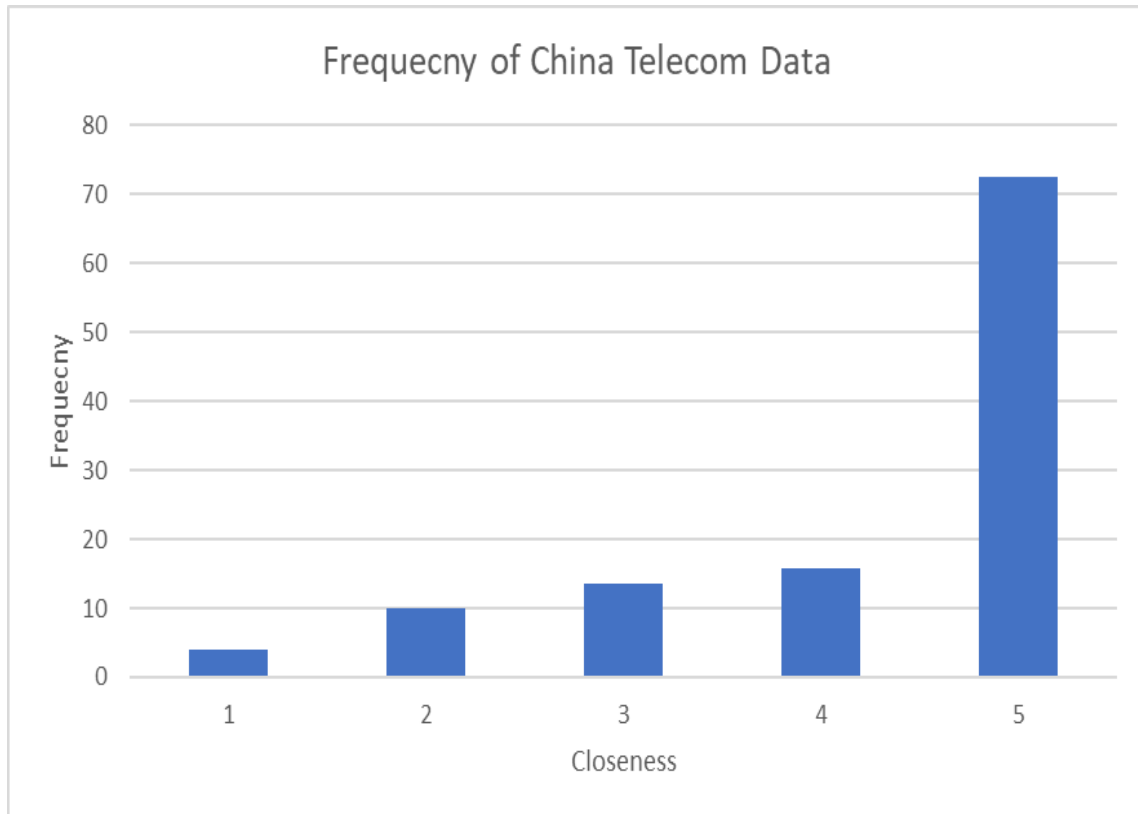
Using only Frequency

	k=5	k=4	k=3_1	k=3_2	k=3_3
TFF: **(Send Message) Frequency**					
tff	30.3%	35.8%	53.0%	48.6%	74.6%
TTF: (Receive Message) Frequency					
ttf	30.1%	34.2%	52.7%	49.5%	74.2%
RFF: (Send Message %) Frequency					
rff	30.2%	35.9%	53.9%	52.2%	75.3%
RFT: (Receive Message %) Frequency					
rtf	32.9%	36.6%	54.3%	55.1%	75.9%
QFF: **Frequency in Friendship Circle(S)**					
qbf	27.9%	35.6%	52.1%	49.8%	73.6%
QFT: **Frequency in Friendship Circle(R)**					
qbt	27.1%	33.9%	52.1%	49.9%	73.6%
QFF: **Frequency in Common Group(S)**					
rbf	28.5%	36.1%	52.1%	53.6%	73.6%
RFT: **Frequency in Common Group(R)**					
rbt	29.4%	37.3%	52.9%	54.8%	74.2%

Testing Accuracy

1. Adding the second dimension: Friendship Duration, Number of Common Neighbors, and Number of Common Wechat Groups.

2. Dividing the data randomly into two sets: one for training model and one for testing model.

3. Trying many other ways, such as SVM, ID_3.

4. Using the testing data set to test the accuracy of the model.

The Results of Decision Tree (ID_3)

test_size	model_name	class	train_accuracy	test_accuracy	precision_class
0.1	ID3	5	0.811	0.365	0.286_0.286_0.308_0.385_0.583
0.2	ID3	5	0.812	0.337	0.267_0.318_0.302_0.340_0.571
0.3	ID3	5	0.818	0.316	0.267_0.313_0.270_0.288_0.533
0.4	ID3	5	0.827	0.32	0.216_0.274_0.319_0.315_0.567

test_size	model_name	class	train_accuracy	test_accuracy	precision_class
0.1	ID3	3_3	0.922	0.765	0.333_0.000_0.000_0.814_0.667
0.2	ID3	3_3	0.932	0.657	0.278_0.000_0.000_0.774_0.370
0.3	ID3	3_3	0.94	0.696	0.238_0.000_0.000_0.775_0.578
0.4	ID3	3_3	0.931	0.677	0.194_0.000_0.000_0.742_0.615

IV. Rethinking Methodology

Data mining of
online data

Interpretation of
qualitative studies'
dialogue with the
existing theories

Building theoretical
model predicting
new facts
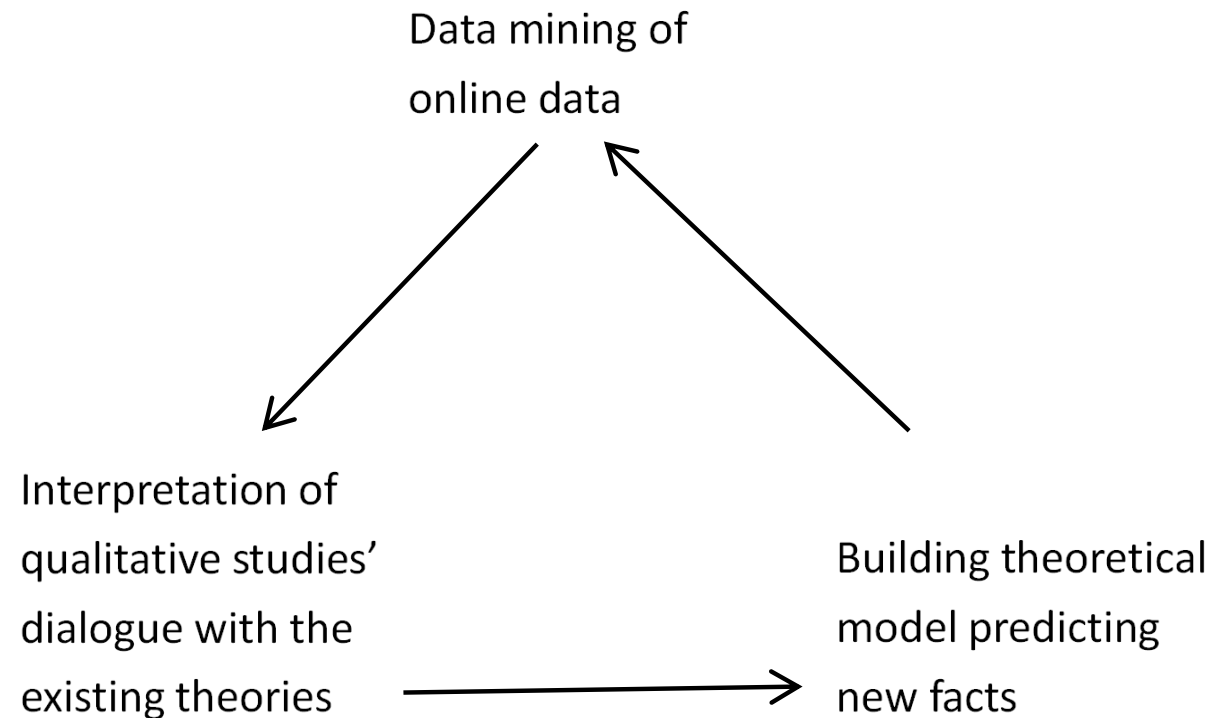
Figure 1. A cycle of the dialogue between data mining and theory development.

How can we integrate data mining, theoretical modeling and theory building?

A methodological cycle: data mining → Interpretation → dialogue with theories → theory building → hypotheses testing (in causal models)→ finding ground truth

1) → feeding back to the model for data mining

2) Or → building system model → revealing the black box of behavioral process → testing model by real data → finding ground truth

   → next run of the cycle

Ethnicity and tensions between history and memory

Purpose of the conference:

To share some of my preoccupations concerning the French postcolonial situation and study of ethnicity in western studies

Ahmed BOUBEKER
Saint-Etienne University

Oral presentation in three parts

- How can we understand the question of meaning about the french reception of postcolonial studies ?

- Ethnicity becoming like failure of the French model of integration

- The public affirmation of ethnicity and tensions between history and memory was also founded by the struggles of postcolonial migrants.

INTRODUCTION

What connections of meaning and historical continuity can be established between new forms of nationalism, racism, and some public incapacities to treat the troubled pasts as the colonial past of the great European nations ?

PART 1

How can we understand the question of meaning about the french reception of postcolonial studies **?**

I- French Republic against postcolonial situation

- The postcolonial situation is a polemical question that provokes public controversy in France

- The post colonial studies, coming from the English-speaking universities is often rejected like an impeachment of the past, dangerous for the national cohesion.

- There is a specific situation of postcolonial immigration that is sometimes based on representations and social practices built in a colonial situation, but this legacy, it is put into the test of the history of the inheritors and their capacities to act and to build new meanings

- The concept of inheritors of immigration makes it possible to study continuities and breaks between the immigration situation and the colonial situation rather than reproducing the same relations of domination.

II The french melting pot is colorblind to differences

- ➡ The Republic maintains the myth of a French exception which is addressed to everyone without recognition to origin or race.

- ➡ Long a country of immigrants that did not recognize itself as such, France is now a shameful multi-ethnic society.

- ➡ The question of ethnicity seems more important than the question of multiculturalism to understand the postcolonial situation of the inheritors of immigration and tensions between history and memory.

PART 2

Ethnicity becoming like failure of the French model of integration

I- The sociological theory about ethnicity comes from English spoken countries

➡ In contemporary western societies, ethnicity has become a focus of political and social questions through interrogations on immigration and national identity.

➡ In English-speaking countries a large field of studies investigates the impact of historical processes of nation-state building on contemporary ethnicity

➡ The French model has a basic flaw that is becoming evident and it's not only the problem of economic and social differences

➡ The first failure of the French model founded on the invisibility of differences is that minorities are increasingly visible. And the first problem of visibility is a big confusion between real immigrants and the youth of the suburbs.

II Public suspicion and postcolonial divide

➡ The official suspicion towards immigrant families makes them responsible for their own condition.

➡ By the mid 1990s, the focus shifted away from the concern with forms of social divide toward the ways in which Islam in the suburbs shows the now increasingly invoked postcolonial divide as a "clash of civilizations".

➡ According to this view, ethnicity and religion are the causes of social and economic marginality.

➡ The children of the postcolonial immigration would hang their cultural and religious traditions and it is because of cultural difference they would not want to assimilate into French society.

PART 3

The public affirmation of ethnicity was also founded by the struggles of post-colonial immigration

I - Migration inheritors are not only victims or prisoners of urban ghettos. Many of them participate in a new urban dynamic.

➡ Some neighborhoods of "ethnic business" constitute cross-roads of mobility of a "globalization from below".

➡ Between the world, the Europeans countries, the French boundaries, the city, and the suburbs new territories of mobility tie together the roads of exile in networks across which circulate men, material goods and information.

➡ Some sociologists have suggested abandoning the model of immigration and assimilation altogether adopting instead the notion of trans-nationalism and Diaspora culture to understand the new experience of immigrant

II -Young people of suburbs resist in the memory of the struggles of their parents.

➡ Only a handful of researchers in France have explored the political history of postcolonial immigration. The various immigrants' struggles which cross the twentieth century reveal the diversity of political and social engagement.

➡ The migrants' inheritors struggle to conciliate a high sense of citizenship with reinvented cultural heritages

Post-Western Theory: New Dynamics between the Public and Private Spheres in Post-Reform Urban China

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Yingchun Ji
Shanghai University
June 28th, 2018

LIA 6 years Birthday Conference
CNRS-ENS Lyon/CASS
POST-WESTERN SOCIOLOGY IN EUROPE AND IN CHINA

Background

- **Socialist-to-Market Transition**
  - ✓ Over the past 60 years, China has witnessed unprecedented economic development and sweeping social changes, having transitioned from a poor, centralized, collectivist socialist state to the world's second largest economy by promoting individual incentives, marketization, and globalization.
  - ✓ Scholars debate whether and how social inequality has improved or worsened since China's opening-up and economic reform launched in 1978.
- **"Market Transition" framework from the mainstream stratification literature as an analytical framework to understand changing gender inequality in China**
  - ✓ How market mechanisms have replaced the socialist planned and centralized economy,
  - ✓ How market emphases on profits, productivity, and efficiency
  - ✓ Components such as wage structure, human capital, and gender discrimination.
- **What's missing from the market transition framework**
  - ✓ What the framework lacks, however, is a broader social and historical perspective that considers how the institutional and cultural context shaped gender equality in the socialist era and how this socialist heritage is constitutive of the current context and continues to shape gender dynamics in the marketization era.
  - ✓ Also missing from this market transition framework is attention to the equally profound changes that have transformed gender relations in the private sphere, resulting from the state's reallocation of social reproduction and care responsibilities to individual families through privatization. (The discussion of the private sphere is confined to the private family and the public sphere to the labor market in the present research.)
  - ✓ Nor have market-transition scholars considered how changes in gender inequality between the two spheres interact with and reinforce each other or how gender ideology has changed corresponding to changes in the two spheres.

What do We Do in this Research

- To fill these gaps, we draw from Chinese feminist insights to contextualize our understanding of present gender dynamics as connected to the socialist heritage of gender equality.

- Recognizing both social continuities and changes, we propose a more comprehensive framework regarding the separation between the public and private spheres in the marketization period.

- More specifically, we examine how the present separation of spheres has been propelled by the retreat of socialist state welfare and weakening of state ideology promoting women's liberation in the socialist era, how the interaction between the two spheres exacerbates Chinese women's disadvantages in both spaces.

- And how an underlying ideological transformation—the waning of Marxist egalitarian ideology and a rejuvenation of Confucianism in conjunction with newly adopted neoliberalism—has both enabled and justified increasing gender inequality.

Integrated Two Spheres in the Socialist Era

- **"Private Embedded in the Public Model" by Shaopeng Song**
    - ✓ Song suggests that the family as the private sphere was embedded in the public sphere under socialism, with the goal of social production given the highest priority. The gendered labor division (including paid and unpaid work) was thoroughly woven into the social production system during this period. The danwei system took over some of women workers' reproduction responsibilities by socializing housework, but it left the rest as women's particular difficulties [te shu kun nan] to be overcome individually within the confines of private families. Housewives' unpaid household labor was treated as secondary to that of their husbands.
    - ✓ Furthermore, during this period, the private family was transformed into a utilitarian tool to realize the public goal of   socialist construction, but patriarchy and traditional gender-role division in the private family was intentionally retained by the state. The boundary between public and private spheres was thin, with the former easily intruding into the latter, especially during the Cultural Revolution (Song 2011b, 2012).
- **"Simultaneous Construction of both Family and State Model" by Jiping Zuo and Yongping Jiang**
    - ✓ The state mandated that families share the state's goal of socialist construction on the one hand, and it promised to provide welfare for the family on the other hand. The danwei took over family's basic economic functions, became the organizing social framework for economic and social life, and as a result, carried on patriarchal familial control over women.
    - ✓ Men and women shared equal obligations as "State Persons" serving the socialist state in the danwei, but in the family they were "Gendered Persons" following the tenet of "Men in charge of the outside world and women in charge of the internal affairs." The socialist state neither challenged traditional gender ideals about family roles nor required men to share household labor; working women still suffered from a double burden of paid and

Integrated Two Spheres in the Socialist Era

- **Dual-state Apparatus of the Danwei System and Effective State Ideology Promoting Gender Egalitarianism**
  - ✓ What gender equality there was, then, during the socialist era was buttressed by the dual-state apparatus of the danwei system and effective state ideology promoting gender egalitarianism. The state built the danwei system (work-unit of the State-owned enterprise and collective-owned enterprise in the socialist era) in part to socialize social reproduction, building facilities such as dining halls, laundries, and childcare and healthcare centers. State ideology emphasized women's obligation and sacrifice to both family and the state, but leaned more towards the latter, in keeping with the subordination of the private family to the state, albeit in the form of relatively integrated public and private spheres.
  - ✓ With market reform, the retreat of the dual state apparatus—the decline in Marxist gender egalitarian ideology and the collapse of the danwei system—fundamentally contributed to the two-sphere separation and the deterioration of gender equality in the later reform period, such as growing gender discrimination, increasing gender earnings gaps, decreasing female employment rates, and escalating work-family conflicts. In this sense, we argue that increasingly separate public and private spheres and the subsequent worsening of gender inequality in post-reform urban China is deeply rooted in the country's socialist heritage, rather than a sudden departure from the past.

Separation of Public and Private Spheres in Post-Reform Urban China

- **Separation of the Two Spheres**
  - ✓ Indeed, the dismantling of the danwei system and the weakening of state ideology promoting gender equality facilitated the separation of the once integrated public and private spheres during market reform. In the restructuring of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) as part of a campaign to develop the market and improve productivity and efficiency, the state strategically removed social welfare from SOEs' burden of responsibility. Once privatized, these responsibilities were taken up by individual families and, more specifically, by women's unpaid work at home.

Separation of Public and Private Spheres in Post-Reform Urban China

- **Complex Gender Ideology**
  - ✓ Empirical research has also revealed this resurgence of patriarchal tradition and its further alliance with neoliberalism. Women's constrained options in relation to family-work conflict in the separation between the public and private spheres are interpreted as individual choices and personal (in)competence. In short, in the post-reform period, the state, tradition, and market have all come together to endorse the new gender order in the rapidly separating private and public spheres.

Separation of Public and Private Spheres in Post-Reform Urban China

- **Two-Sphere Separation and Changing Gender Ideology**
  - ✓ In summary, we argue that the collapse of this dual apparatus of danwei and state-egalitarian ideology fueled the rapid separation of the private and public spheres and the deterioration of gender equality in reform-era urban China. Moreover, the retreat of Marxist gender-egalitarian ideology and the resurgence of patriarchal tradition in alliance with neoliberalism further justified women's dual burden and disadvantages both in the labor market and the private family as "personal" issues.

Separation of Public and Private Spheres in Post-Reform Urban China

Figure 1. An Orchestration between the State, Market and Family:
A State-Driven Separation of the Spheres and a Resurging Confucian Tradition
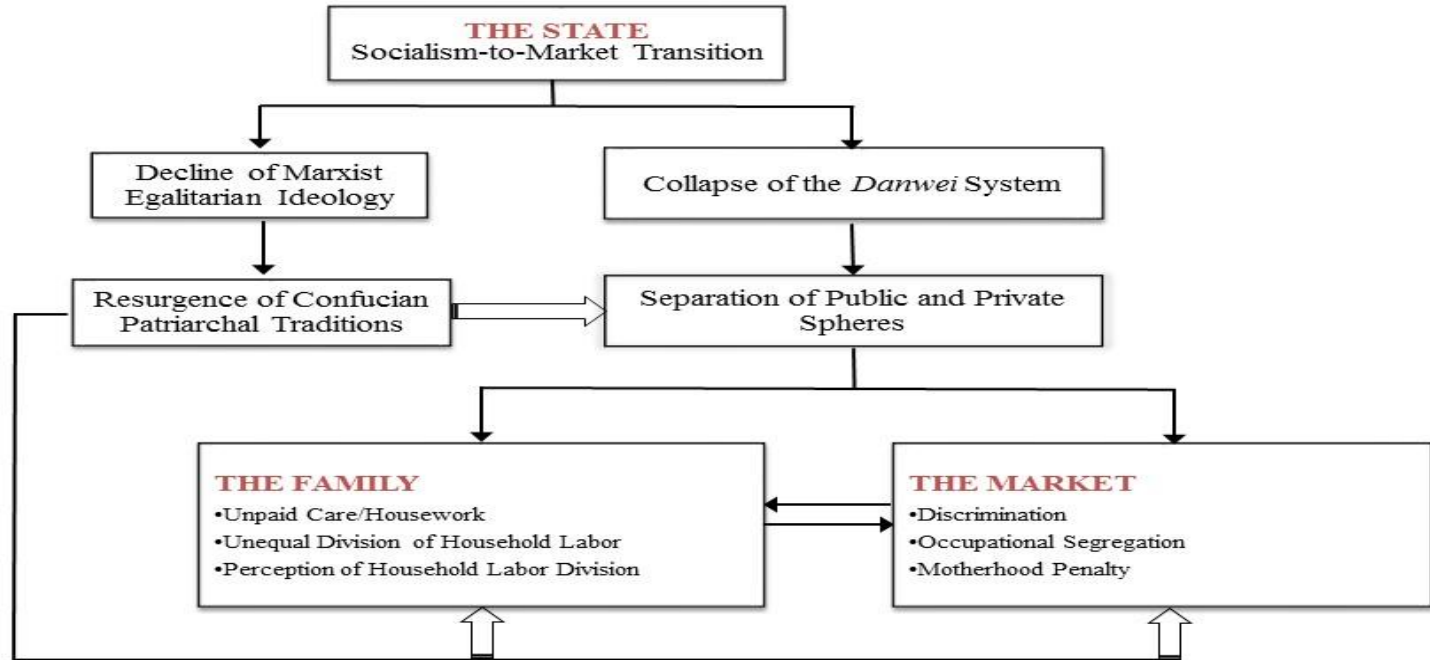
Note: → suggests a causal direction; ⇨ represents the function of gender ideology.

Two Additional Questions

- **Two Sphere Separation and Changing Gender Inequality**
  - ✓ A theoretical concern deserves mentioning here regarding whether the separation between the private and public spheres will necessarily lead to deteriorating gender inequality. We argue that the impact of the two-sphere separation on gender inequality is contingent on the institutional context—specifically, whether society can develop new supporting institutions to address the needs of social reproduction and care.

- **How to understand the separation of two spheres in different context? Is this separation in the Chinese context an identical reoccurring of what happened in the Western context more than a century ago?**
  - ✓ This analysis brings us to the role that the state played in the two-sphere separation process in post-reform urban China. We argue that the pathways toward two-sphere separation are context-specific, depending on a society's specific historical heritage and institutional configuration. Among industrialized countries, states assume different roles in promoting social welfare and economic redistribution. Interestingly, the Chinese government actively promoted gender equality and built the danwei system to alleviate women's second shift under socialism, but in the post reform era, the Chinese state now retreats from providing social services and its egalitarian gender ideology has become decidedly muted, if not silent. This shift, we argue, has facilitated the separation of spheres in the Chinese context.

Where is Post-Western Sociology?

- To respond to Prof. Laurence Roulleau-Berger's Post-Western Sociology Theory and Prof. Li Peilin's Proposal of "the Eastern Asian reflexive sociology to question the concept of Western modernity", what does this framework of two-sphere separation in post-reform China bring to us?

  - ✓ First, the occurring of two-sphere separation is plural in various historical-cultural contexts, and what's going on in today's China is not necessary an identical repetition of what happened in the historical Western context.

  - ✓ Ironically, in socialist era, the Chinese society designed a dual state apparatus of danwei system and Marxist gender egalitarian ideology to deal with the potential of two-sphere separation and built a relatively integrated two spheres to maintain a high level of gender equality.

Where is Post-Western Sociology?

✓ Yet, with rapid marketization and sweeping globalization, the two spheres are increasingly separating. The dynamics are both similar and different from what occurred in Western history, where the Chinese context and temporality are vastly different and the state retreat plays a significant role.

✓ Therefore, the Chinese course to modernity is not necessarily a linear, developmental progress converging to the Western modernity. There are plenty of forward moves and setbacks, and leaps and stagnations. It has to be understood in the Chinese historical-cultural context, yet not isolated from Westernization and globalization, with frequent interactions, communications, crashes and adaptions at the same time.

Vision of this Research

- To promote conversations between gender scholars and feminists from different social and cultural contexts
- To promote conversations between theoretical research and empirical work, and between quantitative and qualitative studies
- To begin rather than ending conversations

THANKS

Hope I have saved you some time for now! ☺

热烈祝贺李培林教授获得荣誉博士学位！！！

Big big CONGRATULATIONS to Professor Li Peilin for the Doctor Honoris causa of!!!

Big big CONGRATULATIONS to Professor Laurence Roulleau-Berger for the Maurice Courant Prize!!!

Thank you all!

Class structure and Consumption Provocation in Contemporary China

from post-western sociological perspective

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Post-western sociological ideal

- in the process of modernization in contemporary China, working class and middle class expand almost at the same time, but their consumption improves in different steps.

- In this very transition point, middle class and capital class like to have more birth than working class and farmer class. It is different with the finding of west sociology (rich people tend to have less children)

- If couple have more children, they manage to make more money and consume more consumption(less birth will shrink consumption market in the near future).

Chart 1 Class Structure of E.O.Wright

	Owner	Employee			
Amount Of Employee **Many**	bourgeois (10 and above)	Expert Manager	Skill Manager	Manual Manager	can manage
Few	Small Employers (2-9)	Expert Supervisor	Skill Supervisor	Manual Supervisor	can supervise
No	Petty bourgeois (no)	Expert	Semi-skill worker	Worker	no power
		Expert	Skill	Manual	
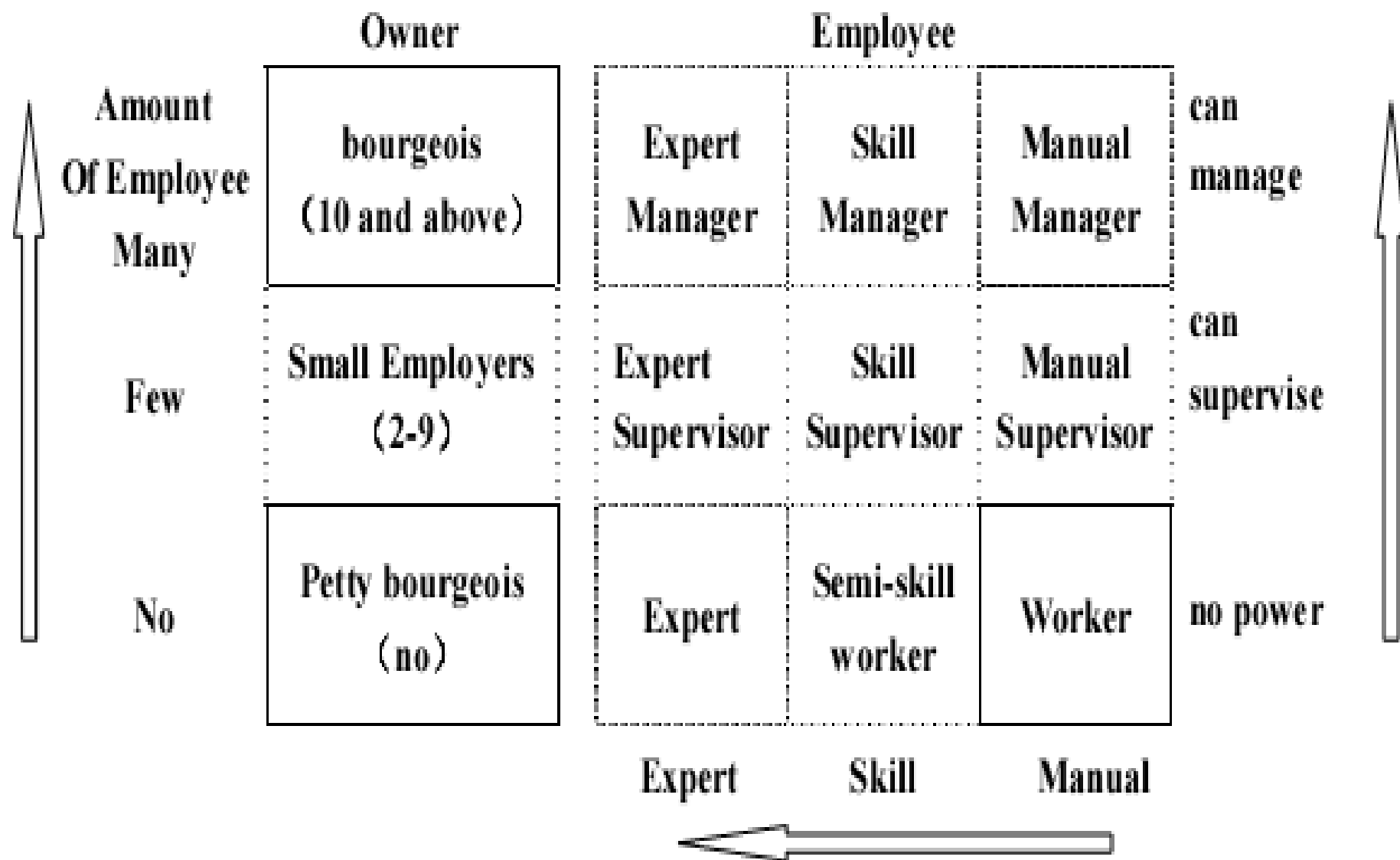
1.Class structure change in past decades

year	Owner class	Old middle class	New middle class	Working class	Farmer class
2001	2.78	10.61	6.79	28.21	51.61
2006	3.15	11.51	7.77	30.61	46.96
2011	3.66	11.03	12.68	36.21	36.52
2013	4.62	13.85	15.74	35.46	30.32
2015	5.06	14.92	18.91	32.79	28.32

2.Class and consumption improvement

	Survival-oriented Consumption				
	Farmer class	Working Class	Old Middle Class	New Middle Class	capital class
Constant	3144.867***	3092.476***	4892.054***	3233.185***	7155.003*
Household income percapita	0.249***	0.241***	0.302***	0.168***	0.002
Household'sresidence（town=1）	215.516	1280.117***	-459.356	1638.880	2221.005
Household's savings and credits/depositsetc.per capita	-0.016	0.041***	-0.030	0.020***	0.078***
Household'syears of educationper capita	246.553	995.813***	64.349	357.643**	230.585
Present valueof household'sdurable consumer goods per capita	0.039**	0.056***	0.017	0.000	0.061***
Present value of household's production and operation per capita	0.001	0.018***	0.000	-0.005	-0.002
N	1830	1562	688	584	195
Adj R^2	0.130	0.292	0.248	0.273	0.552

	Development-oriented Consumption				
	Farmer class	Working class	Old middle class	New middle class	Capital class
Constant	370.617	-955.624	-765.375	-4255.860	-7965.284
Household income per capita	0.096***	0.146***	0.204***	0.257***	0.002
Household'sresidence（town=1）	97.827	430.309	-609.307	4847.203	2891.371
Household's savings and credits/depositsetc. per capita	-0.033	-0.012	0.017	-0.029	0.073***
Household's years of education per capita	364.917*	873.236**	822.760	1564.047	4921.152
Present valueof household's durable consumer goods per capita	0.168***	0.236***	0.144***	0.054**	0.278***
Present value of household's production and operation per capita	0.043***	0.047***	0.000	0.005	-0.003
N	1872	1612	710	598	200
Adj R^2	0.092	0.236	0.225	0.098	0.231

3.Class and birth desire

if don't care about family policy, how many children do you want to have

	B	S.E,	Sig.	Exp (B)
Class（comparison group: working class）				
Capital class	.406	.195	.037	1.501
Old middleclass	-.079	.153	.606	.924
New middle clss	.323	.136	.018	1.382
Farmer class	-.390	.153	.011	.677
education（comparison group: middle school and below）				
High school	.604	.135	.000	1.829
2years college	.911	.165	.000	2.486
4years uni（regular college）	1.538	.181	.000	4.656
Hukou ID（rural HuKou=1）	.407	.128	.001	1.503
Sex（male=1）	.302	.111	.001	1.108

Up classes have more desire to give birth

		If don't care about family planning policy, do you like to have baby?					
	NA	Don't know	maybe	Definitely want	Maybe not	Have not thought	Total
Capital class	24.42		7.27	10.47	6.10	48.84	2.91	100.00
Old M	32.35		5.41	4.08	5.22	50.00	2.94	100.00
New M	34.47	0.14	9.10	8.62	5.47	36.53	5.68	100.00
Farmer	51.31		1.50	2.79	4.00	37.93	2.46	100.00
working	36.52		5.54	5.43	5.08	43.64	3.79	100.00
	39.95	0.03	4.96	5.23	4.86	41.40	3.56	100.00

Birth need and Consumption payment

	B	t	Sig.
Education of Head of household			
High school	.032	3.258	.000
2years college	.054	4.704	.000
4years uni(regular college)	.119	10.708	.000
Dependent children number	.221	18.361	.000
Hope to give more birth	.092	3.015	.000
Class of head of household Comparison group: working class			
Capital class	.177	15.254	.000
Farmer class	.007	.638	.523
Old middle class	.032	2.927	.003
New middle class	.151	12.403	.000
SEX(male=1)	-.039	-3.689	.000
Hukou id（urban=1）	.151	12.403	.000
Household income per capita	.013	2.82	.005

conclusion

- 1. Class structure has changed much after reforming and opening up. Working class began shrink when they had not become first biggest class.

- 2.The Class structure improve consumption structure.

- 3. up class like to consume in the field of development consumption, but farmer class and working class still like to improve survival –oriented consumption.

- 4. children numbers of parents will increase consumption payment.
- 5.up classes like to give more birth in contemporary China.
- 6. if the government wants to stimulate consumption:
- A. should make middle class big and big
- B. should improve living condition of down class, and let them venture to pregnancy.

- Thank you very much!

New Acts of Protest, New Forms of Knowledge :

Towards a Globalization of Rebellions ?

Michel KOKOREFF

Université Paris 8 Vincennes-Saint-Denis

ENS Lyon, 28 juin 2018

« We do not defend nature, we are the nature that defends itself » (ZAD)

« We will never be winners, asshole! »

Let's not save capitalism, let's save it ! »
(Zapatista insurgents)

Introduction

For the past years, we have witnessed two parallel political reconfigurations in France.

On the one hand, the emergence of new scenes and actors of rebellion. These have appeared at the margins of traditional political parties and social movements ; and though some of them still occupy minority positions, and have inherent contradictions, they still take part in a *renewal of the grammar of protest*.

- On the other hand, there is a reconfiguration of critical thinking attached to different disciplines, including philosophy, political sciences, sociology and anthropology which are, in turn, attached to prominent intellectual figures (Deleuze, Foucault, Rancière Agamben…), but but also the production of shared knowledge, co-products, which contribute to develop new discursive.

- If we accept theses hypothesis - which would require a long demonstration beyond the scope of this communication, particularly as regards its second side -, it is necessary to discuss its characteristics and scales.

- Indeed, this process is far from being specifically French : it has a much more global dimension.

Summary

1. Contestation in global world

2. Characteristics

3. Interpretation

1. The contestation to the global world

While the 1980s were the culmination of a process that wanted irreversible global depoliticization liberal, many political interventions have sabotaged the neoliberal consensus since the 1990s

Puerta del Sol, Madrid, 2011

Tottenham, GB, 2011

Place Tahrir, Le Caire, 2011

Fergusson, EU, 2014

ZAD Notre-Dame-Des-Landes, 2012

« The zadists save the land and the biodiversity »
Notre-Dame-Des-Landes, 2018

Fergusson, EU, 2014

Hambourg, 2017

Expulsion of a migrants neighborhood, Pekin, 2017

Manifestation of Railymen in Paris, 2018

Paris, 2018

Stop ! Liberty, flexibility, rentability

Paris, 2018

Black Bloc, Paris, 1 mai 2018

University Paris 8, 2018

1. The contestation to the global era

- Wave of anti-globalization from the Seattle counter-summit in 1999, opposed by the security reaction to the attacks of 9/11

- Wave of riots in French deprivated neighborhood (2005), Villiers-le-Bel (2007), Amiens (2012), but also in Athens (2008), Tottenham and Liverpool (2011), Stockholm (2013), or Fergusson (2014)

- Demonstrations and clashes with police in all provinces of China, due to forced displacement of population and level of insecurity jobs, for example in the prefecture of Dongguan and many cities following the closing of large factories in 2008 (Roulleau-Berger, 2010), in Xinjiang (2009) or in Wukan (2011 et 2016) (Li Peiling, 2009)

- Movements of occupation of squares, from Tarhir Square in Egypt to the Indignados of Puerta del Sol in Madrid and Occupy Wall Street (2011), Istambul et Sao Paulo (2013), while passing by the Paris protesters of Nuit debout Republic Square (2016)

- Multiplication of radical ecological struggles against major projects, from North Dakota to the TGV Lyon-Turin line (No TAV) via the ZAD (area to defend) NDDL, birth of an international network against unnecessary major projects (Charter of Hendaye in 2011 and NDDL forum in 2012)

- And in response, police violence, criminalization and depoliticization of activists, logics of media coverage and government by the fear of silent majorities or shutting down the Internet.

- With this paradox : the sequence inaugurated by the *subprime* crisis (August 2007) and other banking institutions (September 2008) has rightly been described as "*the first global crisis in the globalized world* " (Baschet, 2015, 20)

- Thus, the imbalances on which the earlier boom in the world economy was based came to light, and thereby, stake and object of multiple struggles.

2. Characteristics

- What is striking is the emergence of a multiplicity of conflicts and places in the four corners of the world apparently untransposable, as well as unrealised repertoires of action :

- the local anchoring of general struggles starting from a punctual cause,

- offensive practices,

- tactics of occupation and blockage,

- the collective development of life forms,

- networking and sharing experiences, analyzes and emotions.

2.1 Logics of occupation

- While social conflicts tended to be "off-ground" in the 1960s-1970s, they had a strong territorial dimension.

- This translates into the importance of cities and places.

- This is what connects riots in difficult neighborhoods or urban ghettos in defense of a concrete territory, a group, a form of effective independent living, the occupation of public spaces to that of universities or high schools.

2. 2 *The use of violence against the State*

- These mobilizations and new practices provoked a strong repression deploying excessive means, but also the return of the speech on the savagery of the pleb via the disqualification of the "breakers" supposed to depoliticize them and dissuade any "popular tide".

- But they also favored the emergence of a *counter-discourse* on the use of targeted violence (banks, insurance, street furniture, advertising), splitting of the distinction between violent and non-violent actions.

2.3 Composition of an uncertain « we »

- What sociology can be done of the different actors of this sequence in terms of generations (more than age), social class, gender and race, but also localization? In what ideological constellation, in which movements do they fit?

- What has pushed so many of all ages and various social categories, back up along the processions or out of the ranks supervised by the trade unions to join what quickly became autobi "Head procession" or black blocks, to represent nearly 15,000 people, as at the May 1 demonstration in Paris ?

- It remains to do the sociology of this "we" that resists the ready-made categories, in some cases poses the anonymity - old principle - as an ontological principle and solidarity protection with respect to the police of the struggles. Let us just note that the surveys remain to be done but the documentation and the production of narratives and analysis is abundant.

3. Interpretation

- This very underestimated power of contestation, thwarting all prognoses, escaping the usual categories of designation, its main target the new neoliberal order and its political, social and climatic results.

- In this regard, there are no local or regional struggles but the setting in motion of hundreds of thousands of people to oppose projects that destroy territories and lifestyles that developed there, peasants and townspeople fighting from India to Ecuador and from Cambodia to China against land grabbing or their neighborhoods.

- It seems imprudent to speak of a "global extension of the social movement" (Cusset, 2018) or a kind of "world awakening". We are rather dealing with something very different from a "social movement", with a beginning and an end (failure or victory), through attempts to establish a *continuum* of actions and practices, in short, resistance (tenacity, convergences).

- "Whatever the limits of these movements, the 2000s were marked by a revival of critical creativity and a new radicalization, confirms Jérôme Baschet. One, among other things, minor but revealing, is the resurgence of the term "capitalism," which the triumph of single thought had managed to convey as an unbecoming, if not frankly obsessive, archaism. » (Baschet, 2014, 9)

Alain Badiou expresses on the French situation a more nuanced point of view :

"In France are we talking about "convergences of struggles"? But what do they converge on/with? The hostility to the Macron government's no-frills reforms is an adversary, but not a common affirmative conviction. (...) The common point is that all are affected by the projects, in progress or future, of *general privatization* of the whole domain that belongs to the public space."(Badiou, 2018)

- I will gladly repeat the expression "globalization of revolts", suggested by Laurence Roulleau-Berger (2010, 2016), revolts both anticapitalist, feminist and anticolonial, marked by the return of the riot. Articulate these revolts to a criticism of capitalism and the steamroller neo-liberal is to consider how the same causess produce the same effects.

- Who could deny that there is a banner that gathers across borders ?

We see the limits of a classical sociology of social movements (or riots) and the need to participate in the critical analysis of new forms of contestation and of production of knoweldge, both situated and transnational (*postwestern*?).

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