BSA Bourdieu Study Group's Inaugural Biennial Conference 2016:

The contemporary relevance of the work of Pierre Bourdieu

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Book of Delegates' Abstracts

Bourdieu and Politics/Social justice and Equality/Public Sociology

Room 1E4

Chair: Nell Beecham

Gabriella Paolucci (University of Florence)

Querying Bourdieu with Marx. Cognitive subversion and political struggles

The paper compares Bourdieu's vision of the political and cognitive subversion with the Marxian theory of revolutionary praxis, as a relationship between change of consciousness and the changing of objective conditions of existence.

What are the conditions of possibility of emancipation from domination, if Bourdieu maintains, as he does, the ontological complicity between social structures and cognitive structures? In short, how can one produce what Bourdieu calls «the breaking of the circle of symbolic reproduction» in Espace social et genèse des 'classes' (Bourdieu, 1984), if that complicity is indelibly inscribed in the bodies, in the form of an unaware subjugation?

Bourdieu maintains the asymmetry between political subversion and cognitive subversion since the early Seventies (Bourdieu, 1971). As the representation of the world helps to create it, changing the world means changing its representation. In other words, according to Bourdieu, 'political subversion presupposes cognitive subversion, a conversion of worldview' (Bourdieu, 1981). Thus, there is an ontological priority of the symbolic dimension over the political one.

The argument is taken up later, in some essays on the political field, written in the eighties and published in 2001 (Bourdieu, 2001). Then Bourdieu develops the argument in the last phase of his career, when he uses less and less Marxian categories and engages a controversy with Marx on the notion of ideology (Bourdieu, 1997).

Marcos Gonzalez Hernando (University of Cambridge)

Bourdieu, Gramsci and Intellectual Change

Bourdieu and Gramsci, two giants of our discipline, have plenty in common but very little in the way of communication. Their theories resemble each other in uncanny ways: in their focus on knowledge, intellectuals, and practices; in their elaboration of semiautonomous 'fields' or 'spheres'; in their refusal to yield to economic determinism. Nonetheless, Bourdieu, who admitted reading

Gramsci only late in his life, cited Gramsci only rarely and opportunistically. This might be explained by some of their crucial differences: on the character of social knowledge (field doxa or hegemony), on the sources of domination (implicit or consensual), and on the role of sociologists as intellectuals (specific or organic). Burawoy once wrote that for Bourdieu 'of all the Marxists Gramsci was simply too close for comfort.'

Nowhere is this relative dearth of theoretical dialogue more apparent than when studying the role of intellectuals in politics, and especially on how intellectual change comes about. Using my own work on the sociology of think-tanks – an area that has been informed by both authors – this paper will explore the potentialities of a dialogue between Bourdieu and Gramsci. When tackling the issue of knowledge, I will contrast Bourdieu's field-bound doxa to Gramsci's hegemony. When speaking of intellectual change, I will concentrate on the tension between Bourdieu's 'hysteresis' – the lagging behind of intellectuals in relation to social change – and Gramsci's 'catharsis' – the moment when a previous 'common sense' becomes obsolete and a new one is in flux.

Andrew Morrison (Sheffield Hallam University)

W0013045 Still in the Game: The Continuing Relevance of Bourdieu

In this paper, I draw upon eleven years of thinking and researching with Bourdieu to argue for the continuing relevance of the Bourdieusian theoretical schema to empirical research within post-compulsory education. In particular, the paper will discuss my use of Bourdieu in two research projects: the first is an examination of the educational and occupational decision-making processes of a group of final-year vocational A-level students; the second study sought to analyse the perceptions of a group of final-year undergraduates regarding possible future barriers to obtaining employment within primary teaching in the UK. I shall use these studies to illustrate how the principle concepts within the Bourdieusian schema--habitus, capital and field--have been of value to my understanding of the hidden or taken-for-granted functionings of power relations at micro and macro levels. More specifically, both investigations offered evidence of forms of classed and gendered inequalities which shaped the 'horizons for action' of the student samples. I shall argue that Bourdieu offers a means of making visible such inequalities through a sophisticated 'dual systems' conceptual framework in which both cultural and material processes inhere. Despite the value of this schema, I shall suggest that we should be wary of placing too much explanatory weight upon Bourdieu, and that his conceptual tools may sometimes be employed to best effect in concert with other theoretical resources. In the paper, I shall provide some examples from the two studies where I have taken this approach.

Geraud Lafarge (University of Rennes 1)

Constructing the space of French media schools

This paper is based on a longitudinal two-step survey about French media schools and students. The first questionnaire, which was handed out in media schools in 2005, focused on their students' social characteristics. A second documentary research was then carried out 8 years later on those same students to survey their professional status. These 2 pieces of research, the first of which has already been published, both confirm the theoretical, methodological and empirical relevance of Bourdieu's work. The first part was in fact completed in the same spirit as the State Nobility and the Distinction, in the shape of a multiple correspondence analysis based on the students' social, economic and academic properties. This one shows that the main difference structuring the space of French media schools opposes 'une petite porte' and 'une grande porte' as mode of entry, such as the one Bourdieu described when studying the field of Higher Education. The construction of the field of French media schools based this time on the students' professional status 8 years after graduation, reveals through means of a principal component analysis a relatively similar structure. This very similarity substantiates the relevance of Bourdieu's concept of homology for analysing the field of French educational and professional journalism.

Keywords**:** multiple correspondence analysis, homology , field of Higher Education

Wayne Bailey (University of Huddersfield)

Social Deprivation and Widening Participation: The continuing influence of Pierre Bourdieu

This paper explores the use of a Bourdieuian methodological framework to interrogate the HE participation decisions of a group of young people, living in socially deprived communities in South Yorkshire. Such a methodological approach allowed the interviews that were undertaken to yield data that related to the participants' expectations, motivations and aspirations and their subjective reasoning for non-participation. I was able to begin to ascertain how the participants' opinions, beliefs and 'strategies of action' were influenced by their working-class and socially deprived backgrounds. However, the interviews also emphasised objective structural influences relating to social, cultural and personal factors that may have unknowingly influenced their decisions.

Much like Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), this paper argues against methodological monism which has the ontological priority of structure or agent. In order to reconcile the dualisms of objectivism and subjectivism, this paper explores the use of a three-level methodology inspired by Pierre Bourdieu, who suggests that the two orders, objectivity and subjectivity, are '...tied together through

actual social practices, wherein objective social relations are produced and reproduced within particular situations' (2006, p.194). False oppositions like objectivism and subjectivism have been criticised by Bourdieu because, for him, the reality of people's activities (practices) are a combination of many different influences (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Ultimately, this paper considers how a Bourdieuian methodological framework can be utilised to enhance our understanding of the complex, yet subtle influences on HE participation decision making.

Keywords: Widening Participation, Social Deprivation, Bourdieuian methodological framework

Laura Bentley (University West of England)

Career status, family life and social inequality: Working class women's experiences of the UK graduate un/employment market in a time of austerity

Trends in economic recovery show that growth has primarily been in part-time and temporary work in low-wage and feminised sectors, where levels of female underemployment have almost doubled since the financial crash and the imposition of austerity (The Fawcett Society, 2014). Although women's employment rates have increased, so have the gender pay gap and the rates of women declaring themselves self-employed (ONS, 2013). Such trends are emulated in the graduate employment market. Research has found that although female graduates at the outset face higher rates of employment than their male counterparts, they are more likely to be found in lower middle skilled roles, to work in part-time positions and graduate to a gender pay gap of around three pounds less per hour on average (Purcell et al., 2012; ONS, 2013).

Whilst taking a Bourdieusian approach to the analysis of qualitative semi-structured interviews, my work explores how working class women's trajectories out of Higher Education and into the graduate labour market are economically, socially and culturally different to their male and middle class counterparts. Through an exploration of empirical data, this paper discusses how working class female graduates negotiate the planning, constructing and balancing of paid and unpaid work within neoliberal times. Discussions of the ways in which inequalities are reproduced throughout Higher Education and extend beyond the educational institutions within the UK are also explored.

key words: Graduates, Gender, Austerity.

Bourdieu and Education
Room 2E4
Chair: Constantino Dumangane

Annette Hayton (University of Bath)

Widening Participation (WP) habitus and capitals: Exploring a framework to evaluate WP interventions

This paper explores the development and application of a framework for evaluating and researching university-based widening participation interventions. Drawing on the theoretical work of Bourdieu, it provides a basis for designing interventions to develop social, academic and intellectual capitals and employs Bourdieu's notion of habitus to shape and validate activities fostering a sense of belonging in Higher Education (HE). Actively rejecting a 'deficit' model to explain low participation and attainment, it recognises the responsibility of HE institutions (HEIs) to offer 'enabling' interventions which encourage institutional reflexivity rather than focussing solely on the personal changes required by participants.

Through applying Bourdieu's theoretical approach to the practice of delivering WP interventions the Framework enables a more strategic approach to the planning, delivery and evaluation of WP. It also and provides a basis for clear objectives for interventions at five levels, corresponding with students' academic journey. In addition it provides a rich source of data to inform practice; develop institutional reflexivity; improve monitoring and contribute to theoretical understandings within the field.

This 'praxis' based approach offers a structure of broad aims and learning outcomes accessible to practitioners and non-specialists alike. Initially developed and trialled at the University of Bath it has been utilised and tested in similar settings through the NERUPI Research Consortium. This session will report on some of the early findings and assess the Framework's effectiveness in a range of contexts.

Keywords: Widening Participation, impact, praxis

Stephanie Sanders-Smith

Preventing Parent Partnerships: School Policies Undermining Family Engagement

Family involvement has become increasingly recognized as important to academic success (Barnard, 2004; Henderson et al., 2007). However, the cultural gap between the American teaching force and American students is large and expanding. As the cultural gap increases, so do the challenges associated with relationships between families and schools (Harry, et al., 2005).

We studied eighteen classroom teachers and five principals in a large urban school district. The teachers had taken a course together on family engagement. The work of Bourdieu (1986; 1990) and Bourdieuian scholars (Harry, et al., 2005; Lareau, 2003) formed the foundation of the course, which is designed to help teachers to understand the symbolic and cultural capital diverse families. Focus groups data suggest that teachers recognize the differing habitus of diverse families, but school officials do not. This creates school policies that unwittingly maintain officials' positions of power at the expense of family partnerships.

We investigate the unintended consequences of school policies that fail to recognize the homogeneity of habitus shared by school personnel but not by student families. Participant teachers have had training that could allow them to bridge between the home and school, but they are still limited by school policies. We suggest that the failure to recognize the diversity of families within the field of the school greatly impacts family engagement. Further, this manifests as multiple restrictions on both family engagement and resistance from parents to engage.

Keywords: School Policy, Family Engagement, Cultural Diversity

Annabel Wilson (Cardiff University)

When Family Position Contradicts the Outside World: Exploring Habitus Divides in Mixed- Race Young People's Identity Construction

This paper draws upon the narratives of middle-class mixed-race young people. It considers how 'the family' and experiences of social spaces outside of it, impact upon identity construction. Drawing upon a Bourdieusian framework, this study illustrates the emotional and psychic consequences, which arose as participants' acquired middle-class habitus, became conflicted through their experiences of fields beyond the home. The findings suggest that as, historically, whiteness has been synonymous with middle-classness and 'colour' with working-classness participants were often denied a middle-class, mixed-race identity. These young people were often perceived of as 'black' by the white majority, and not 'black enough' within the black community. I argue that these experiences of othering illustrate the contradictory position these young people occupy within social space. This contradiction arose due to the ideological conflict between their privileged class position and their disadvantaged racial position. One result of this conflict being internalised was the development of a 'habitus divided against itself'. As a means to affirm their identities, participants sought to find ways to confirm, contradict or challenge the stereotypical expectations others drew upon when making sense of participants' presence in both black and white spaces. Whilst some participants were aware of these stereotyped expectations and, in consequence, were able to make adaptations to 'who they were' in different social situations as an attempt to 'fit in', other participants were less able to adapt and, as a result, experienced high levels of internal conflict and social suffering.

Bourdieu and Methodology

Room 2D2

Chair: Ciaran Burke

Susannah Pickering-Saqq (University of East London)

Oxfam GB's UK poverty programme a case for organisational habitus

Debates around the application of Bourdieu's concept of habitus to organisations reveal the tension between those who point to an anthropomorphic error, unintended by Bourdieu (Atkinson 2011), and those who argue for a more pragmatic use of the concept in empirical research (Wacquant 2014). To-date only one study of NGOs in India makes use of the organisational habitus approach within development studies (Ibrahim 2005). This paper contributes to the debate, with evidence that the application of the concept of habitus to NGO case studies provides a dynamic understanding of their programmes.

The paper considers Oxfam GB's (OGB) controversial decision to establish its UK poverty programme in 1995. It explores the factors that drove the decision and what this reveals of the organisational habitus of OGB, the domains in which it works and the doxa beyond which questions are not asked (Bourdieu 1977). The paper uses data collected in 2010-2011 from semi-structured interviews with OGB staff and partners and corporate documentation. The study compares OGB with three other international non-governmental organisations (NGO): Islamic Relief, Save the Children Fund, Denmark and Oxfam America.

The case of Oxfam GB's UK poverty programme offers empirical evidence of the constituent elements of the organisational habitus. In addition, findings indicate that each NGOs' habitus is differently situated in relation to multiple domains or sources of authority. The dynamic relationship between these domains, in which boundaries are constantly negotiated and adjusted, offers rich insights into how Oxfam GB can begin to conceptualise its future organisational habitus.

Keywords: Habitus, NGOs, development

Andres Castro Torres (University of Pennsylvania)

Why and how to use Bourdieu's theory and methods in demographic research. The case of fertility decline in Brazil and Chile

Bourdieu's theory has been used fruitfully in the social sciences. Surprisingly, there has been scant work using Bourdieu's approach to study fertility. By contrast, this field has overwhelmingly been carried out within the framework of the rational action theory (RAT). However, there are limitations. RAT can't fully explain fertility transitions insofar as this perspective assumes a similar behavior for each person (rational actor), by doing so, it neglects that fertility practices evolve according to the social, cultural and historical context. Nor does the RAT take seriously the role of social classes in shaping fertility outcomes. These theoretical shortcomings can be addressed by using a relational and dispositional approach.

Using data from four successive birth cohorts between 1920 and 1950 in Chile and Brazil I demonstrated the need to operationalize the concepts of social space and social class to better explain fertility differentials. I used multiple correspondence analyses to show associations between couple's capital and timing and fertility levels. A subsequent cluster analysis allows me to conclude that fertility is both an outcome of social class (dis)positions and a factor underpinning class differentiation. Consequently, I highlight that differences in fertility levels across these two countries can be explained by the differences in their class composition. Furthermore, I suggest that changes within each country are explicated by class-specific habitus which make fertility transition unfolded

deferentially. In sum, I argue that a relational approach based on Bourdieu's theory and methods helps us to better understand population dynamics over time and across countries.

Rob Warwick (University of Chichester)

Bourdieu's Logic of Practice and Action Learning: interconnections and opportunities

Recent studies of leadership development (Boaden, 2014, Pedler and Attwood, 2011) demonstrate that action learning has sustained a reputation as a learning strategy to tackle 'wicked problems'. Action learning is a process of enquiry through the exploration of changing practices and systems through action and reflection (Revans, 1982). Empirical evidence comprising of nine in-depth interviews with senior UK medical consultants as part of an organizational leadership development programme within a National Health Service hospital trust combined with critical reflections of the three researchers considering their own shifting research practice, both using action learning approaches. The findings demonstrate a bridge between the pragmatism of techniques used in action learning and the theoretical positions offered by Bourdieu in the Logic of Practice (1990). Participants demonstrate expertise in their area, but this strength creates unnoticeable glass walls, invisible to those involved within the relational processes of the game and onlookers. The former relates to Bourdieu's notion of habitus, the latter of field. The area of the study relates to the creative and reflexive unsettlement between the two where personal risk affecting power figurations and contextual knowledge occurs in the unfolding of thought and action. Not only does this topic offer a way of developing our contemporary understanding of Bourdieu's theories, but it is our conjecture that exploration of Bourdieu's work offers learners greater theoretical underpinning to complement empirical evidence of what 'works' in action learning.

Day Two: Tuesday 5ᵗʰ July 2016
9.30-10.45

Bourdieu and Gender
Room 2E2
Chair: Jessie Abrahams

Edward Wright

'I don't wanna hurt nobody! But that's a thing you've gotta conquer': on the transformation of gendered habitus in boxing

This paper is based on my doctoral research: a 6 month ethnography undertaken primarily at 'Shadcote Boxing Club'. Shadcote Boxing Club runs eight week courses in boxing for complete beginners, and there are a minority of female participants on these courses. This paper focuses on their engagement with the sport in relation to a number of notions proposed by Lucia Trimbur in her lauded text on boxing Come Out Swinging. Trimbur notes that female boxers are often fearful of hitting others, whilst not fearing so much being hit. She also infers a static two-fold typology of female boxers – essentially of those who can punch and those who cannot – without providing an explanation of how one might shift from one category to another. This paper seeks to address these notions via Bourdieusian analysis. On entry to Shadcote, female trainees are largely uncomfortable with hitting others, and perceive this discomfort to be a natural result of being female. This disposition is however naturalised as opposed to natural; the embodiment of gender. During these eight weeks this disposition wanes via engagement with the sport, and this paper argues that engagement in the sport constitutes effort towards the reformulation of gendered habitus and field simultaneously. Finally, this paper offers reflection on the status of participants as beginners-to-boxing, arguing that upon entry to different fields the arbitrariness of the naturalised is laid bare.

Keywords: gender, habitus, boxing

Wendy Olsen (University of Manchester)

Labour and Marital Negotiation of Work Patterns in Rural North India and Bangladesh

In rural north central India and Bangladesh, the prevalent rural pattern is that when woman have children, they 'withdraw' from the labour market. We are researching the question: if a woman's role is socially normed to include market work, does a man's activity basket adjust to allow for that? Is there a 'fit'?

Time-use data show the women working considerable amounts on farm plots and with livestock. Thus it was ideological and a masking strategy for elites to describe the women as 'not in the labour force' or as housewives. Interview data shows widespread lip service to a command/submit pattern in marriages, but in reality, many women and men often negotiate about work duties. As Bourdieu advises, we trace the antifeminist command/submit marital discourse through Bengali and Indian history. Discourse contradicts the reality. Still, the doxa of patriarchy affect the current habitus.

Many Bangladesh village widows have lower overall subjective well-being than other rural women. We consider this both at the ideological level and at the deeper level of resources. Some widows had a more reflective, active life than younger wives.

We test whether women's egalitarian attitudes about work are associated with wealth, land ownership, or doing more work. We transcend the neoclassical human capital approach. We test whether egalitarian women work more (or less) minutes per-day in 2014/5. In villages, demographic

features affecting women, like having children, disability, or bad health, are converted into socially normative constraints upon women, yet many people do resist the patriarchal habitus.

Sunija Muppathupar (Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai)

Bodies that Do Not Belong: Caste, Exclusion and Resistance in Kerala

Caste, the stable hierarchical stratification of Indian society, is the habitus that disciplines and socializes bodies of its members. Hence the different stereotypes for bodies of 'upper' and 'lower' caste people, that are to be preserved through the system of endogamy, to retain the existing status-quo and power structure of the caste system. Traditionally, the bodies of the 'lower' castes (aka Dalits) were bound by their 'assigned jobs' which are considered to be their 'duties'. Evidences show that whenever such boundaries were transgressed, they were violated, regardless of gender and class. However, the bodies of Dalit women are sites of intersectional oppressions that of gender and caste and class. When the Dalit woman's body transgresses the marked boundaries and occupies spaces that are otherwise meant for 'upper' castes or men; the space that exemplifies the violence of the structure tries to either expel or invisibilize the transgressed body. Many spaces that appear to be progressive, liberal and inclusive are thus sites of violence and exclusion. Nevertheless the invisibility imposed by the space and/ structure itself becomes resistance- and hence there 'Are' bodies that do not belong. This paper is an attempt to understand how the body itself becomes resistance and how the space and /the structure negotiate with and normalize such resistance through three case studies of 'modern' public spaces, popular culture and media in the context of Kerala.

The Continuing Importance of Bourdieu (Field and Occupations)
Room 2E4
Chair: Ciaran Burke

Netta Avnoon-Kaminsky

A Bourdieu Analysis of Nascent Internet and Data Occupations

Bourdieu's theory of fields has been found insightful in economic sociology (Fligstein & McAdam 2011) and the sociology of work and occupations (Abbott 2005) for the investigation of the occupational structure and changes occurring within it. In this article, I integrate Bourdieu's principles for investigating the genesis of groups (Bourdieu 1985) and the mechanisms of fields

(Bourdieu 1985 [1971], 1993 [1976]) into the study of the emergence of new technical occupations. I apply Bourdieu's terms such as field, doxa and habitus (Bourdieu 1993 [1976]) when studying the formation of nascent internet and data sourcing occupations, the constitution of their 'consciousness of kind' and 'consciousness of difference' (Van Maanen & Barley 1984), their struggle for authority (Abbott 1988), their sources of legitimacy (Abbott 1988, Bourdieu 1985, Freidson 1971), the orthodoxies these new occupational groups challenge (Bourdieu 1993 [1976]), and the inner structure of these groups in their early phase of formulation (Bourdieu 1985 [1971]). An ethnography of two nascent occupational groups, UX/UI designers and data scientists, will be conducted. Methods will involve work-day participant observations and in-depth interviews. An additional social network analysis questionnaire will be administered to informants and their peers in an effort to describe the structure of these nascent occupational communities as perceived by their members.

Keywords: occupational habitus, occupational field, nascent occupations

Thomas Schneidhofer (University Seeburg Castle)

Careers: Serious Social Games

Contemporary careers research shows a bias toward the psychological/cross-sectional/correlational approach, which reveals very little about the internal dynamics of how people travel through their occupational space over time, let alone about issues such as the creation, the maintenance, or transcending career-related boundaries. Correspondingly, the role of power and domination in this process remain largely unexplored. This paper presents an alternative view. It argues that careers are serious social games for and over the acquisition, accumulation and conversion of career-related capital in a career field. Career habitus, understood as a space of possibilities, or horizon for action left within this field, represents both a site of this 'battle' and a 'weapon' therein. Hence career-related boundaries may be found on three different levels of analysis (field/habitus/capital), which requires a relational understanding of careers, acknowledging power and domination. In doing so, the paper contributes to the literature in a threefold way: first, it follows the call for a boundary-focused career scholarship (Inkson, et al. 2012). Second, this perspective helps reducing the psychological bias inherent to careers research (Schein 2007), Third, it develops a Bourdieuian perspective (based on Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Schneidhofer et al., 2015) to the study of careers.

Keywords: careers, boundaries, domination

Daniel Laurison (London School of Economics)

Classes, Capitals, and Closure: How Parents' Occupation affects Children's Class Destination

Most research on social mobility focuses on symmetrical tables -- big-class origins & big-class destinations, or more recently "micro-class" origins and destinations. These approaches have

contributed substantially to understanding rates of overall mobility, but can miss important patterns revealed by asymmetric analyses of social mobility and reproduction. In this paper, I look at the big-class destinations and earnings of adults based on their "micro-class" origins, that is the specific occupations of their main income-earning parent. I find substantial differences in the social positions of people whose parents were in different occupations which are usually grouped together in big-class/EGP analyses; for example, while doctors and brokers are both in the top class of the EGP scheme, 44% of people with a doctor main-earner growing up are also in that top class, compared to only 17% of the children of brokers. Some occupations--notably teachers and book-keepers--assigned to lower tiers of the EGP scheme send more of their children to high-level destinations than the average for all of the highest big class. These findings point to important differences in the reproduction (or mobility) capacities of different occupations said to form a "class" in classic Goldthorpe-inspired mobility research, and indicate the importance of a more complete approach to measuring social position for mobiity research and beyond.

Bourdieu: Place and Space

Room 2D2

Chair: Jenny Thatcher

Mario Trifuoggi (Goldsmiths, University of London)

HABITUS AND PLACE: NOTES FOR A SPATIALISED THEORY OF PRACTICE

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is particularly appraised by urban scholars for its relevance to certain spatial processes, like gentrification, where class-based taste and aesthetics are involved. Yet, in light of the post-Cartesian assumptions which the concept relies on, a phenomenological appreciation of the two-way relationship between habitus and place can reveal deeper theoretical implications. Bourdieu's conviction that the relations of power at play in the social space are eventually transferred onto the physical space is indeed twofold. On the one hand, it challenges the spatial determinism put forward by the sociological legacy of the Chicago School; on the other, it entails that physical space exerts a feedback on social space through the 'effect of naturalisation', that is, the legitimation of the status quo due to the concealment of the social order in the natural world. The latter argument, though pregnant with meaning for the corporeality of the social, is somehow underemphasised in the current literature, with little attention paid to the role of physical space in the structuration of the habitus. Along these lines, the present article aims to further develop the theoretical nexus between habitus and place. The first part deals with the phenomenological roots of the concept of habitus, discussing the epistemological implications entailed by carnal sociology. Setting out from Lefebvre, the second part advocates a post-Cartesian, sociologically nuanced understanding of physical space. Consequently, the third part examines how physical space intersect with the structuration of the habitus via (the spatialisation of) practice.

Keywords: practice theory, production of space, phenomenology

Troels Schultz Larsen (Roskilde University)

Appropriation and dispossession by space

In his analysis of contemporary social suffering Bourdieu explicitly summarizes his comprehension of the relations between social-, symbolic- and physical space. He briefly outlines a model of the relations between these spaces by making a distinction between site, place and position. Briefly he defines site as the location of agents (or places as housing estates) in physical space and their distances to other agents and localities. Place is defines as the volume or bulk which is taken up in physical space and position is defined as the rank in the social order. Based on his relational thinking and the above distinctions between site, place and position this paper outlines an empirical model analyzing 87 neglected housing estates in Denmark using SMCA. The analysis demonstrates how it is possible demonstrate a number of 'structural homologies' between physical space and social space. That enables us to comprehend physical space as a multidimensional space akin to social space with its principal dimension being 'volume of capital' and its secondary dimension being a chiastic opposition between 'volume of space occupied' and 'distances to social and symbolic good'. Based on this analysis it is discussed how we should supplement Bourdieus discussions of the 'appropriation of space' and Wacquants concept of territorial stigmatization with a perspective on how social groups unable to appropriate a space of their own any are being concentrated in spaces which are dispossessed socially and symbolically by which these groups becomes dispossessed by space.

Keywords: appropriation of space, structural homology, physical space

Michaela Benson (Goldsmiths, University of London)

Residential status, performativity and value: making the housing crisis in the image of London's young middle-class subjects

This paper argues that shifts in access to housing – both in relation to rental and ownership – disrupt middle-class reproduction in ways that fundamentally influence class formation. While property ownership has had a long association with middle-class identities, status and distinction, an increasingly competitive rental market alongside inflated property prices has impacted on expectations and anxieties over housing futures. This paper presents a theoretical and conceptual framework that brings performativity and value into conversation with Bourdieusian understandings of class and distinction, through an empirical focus on the housing narratives of young, middle-class renters in London. In this way, it explores how they variously claim value and legitimacy for their actions in relation to housing.

Bourdieu: Culture, Taste and Distinction
Room 3F9
Chair: Julio Hermosilla

Simone Varriale

Reconceptualising cosmopolitan taste: evidence from the early consecration of Anglo-American pop-rock in Italy

This paper investigates the role of cultural intermediaries in legitimising globally-oriented forms of taste. More specifically, it explores how cultural intermediaries struggle over the boundaries of new, 'cosmopolitan' forms of cultural taste, and the political and ethical values underpinning their projects of cultural legitimation.

Drawing on archival research, the paper discusses the early legitimation of Anglo-American pop-rock in 1970s Italy and analyses the articles published by three specialist music magazines. Findings reveal the emergence of a shared pop-rock canon among Italian critics, but also that this 'cosmopolitan capital' was mobilised to implement competing editorial projects. Italian critics promoted different strategies of legitimation vis-à-vis contemporary popular music, but also opposite views of cultural globalisation and its socio-political implications. Theoretically, the paper conceptualises cosmopolitan taste as a symbolic resource which can be realised through competing ideological projects, rather than as a homogeneous cultural disposition. In this respect, it explores how critics sharing similar subcultural knowledge, but possessing different degrees of economic capital and symbolic recognition, promoted competing musical canons and competing ways of being 'culturally modern'.

The paper draws on a three-year doctoral research; it combines discourse and content analysis of magazine articles (n = 976), and historical analysis of various secondary sources (e.g. social and cultural histories of post-war Italy and critics' public biographies). In line with Bourdieu's study of the French literary field (1996), the paper provides a 'field analysis' of the Italian pop-rock field, its historical emergence and structure, and its embeddedness in the social space of 1970s Italy.

Keywords: Cosmopolitan capital, Globalisation, Music

Sam Friedman (London School of Economics)

Staging The Social: The Aesthetic Politics of Typecasting in the British acting industry

Actors play a pivotal aesthetic role in representing and enacting social reality on stage, in film and on television. In this paper we argue that such representations are strongly shaped by the industry practice of typecasting – whereby actors are cast in roles that reflect their real-life demographic characteristics. Drawing on interviews with 47 British actors, we demonstrate that for actors from privileged backgrounds typecasting can be a benign, even advantageous, process. Yet for those from working-class backgrounds, particularly female and/or Black and minority ethnic actors, it is frequently pernicious and politically problematic, forcing them to enact caricatured representations of gender, ethnicity and class that bear little resemblance to their own lived experience. We explore how different actors experience the industry's imposition of a particular 'type' and how they do (or don't) respond or resist to their typecasting. We then attempt to unravel the theoretical significance of typecasting, pondering in particular whether Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence provides an

appropriate frame for understanding a 'system' that represents both an essential and exploitative force in British actors' lives.

Corentin Roquebert (University of Illinois)

The social space of musical dislikes: distinction, omnivorism and schemes of perception

In Bourdieu's works, dislikes have a place central and peripheral : the distaste for the 'crude' is an operator of symbolic domination, but other classes are less characterized from this outlook. Distaste is considered only as the reverse of taste. But does not it play a specific role?

Conversely, with omnivorism thesis, distaste seems different: they were a form of tolerance towards all types of culture, and dislikes would be an attribute of the working classes.

Thus, to which variables distaste is most associated?

We may also distinguish several dislikes, in order to link these forms to schemes of perception.

Our hypothesis is that there are, at least, four of these: dislike for crude, linked to a pattern of perception 'dirty/clean' ; dislike for modern, opposing near and far ; dislike for commercial, opposing authentic and artificial ; dislike for classic, opposing up and down.

We test that, on musical tastes, with a quantitative analysis of French data. We proceed to a MCA, a HAC and a multinomial logistic regression.

Finally, we question the difference between a dislike for a kind of music and for an artist, to identify internal and external dislikes: to not like an artist whether you like or not the kind of music he practices.

We analyse the link between knowledge-ignorance and like-dislike. Build a space of dislikes is a way to continue Bourdieu's work, since distaste is an engine of symbolic domination, linked with differentiated visions of world, meaning produced by specific habitus.

Keywords: distinction, dislikes, schemes of perception

Transformation of Habitus/Habitus Fluidity
Room 1E4
Chair: Annabel Wilson

Sol Gamsu (King's College London)

Maintaining the South-Eastern skew: the contemporary geography of educational power and the structural history of English elite education

In Wacquant's (In Bourdieu, 1996: xiii) foreword to the English translation of The State Nobility, he refers to the 'work of transposition' necessary in using Bourdieu as a basis for examining the field of power in other countries. To understand how the 'structural history' (Bourdieu, 1996: 236) of educational institutions continues to shape contemporary elite formation in England, the transposition requires an approach which is both spatial and historical. In this paper the field of elite education in England is analysed spatially by examining the geography of acceptances at Oxford and Cambridge. This reveals a clear South-eastern bias across all school types. Fundamentally, the field of elite educational institutions in the UK remains dominated by this dominant socio-spatial nexus between private schools, alongside certain 'super-state' schools, and the universities of the South-East. An analysis of private school participation rates since 2007 reveals how the crisis has reinforced the dominant spatial position of the South-East. Moreover, geodemographic data for private school intakes in 2006-07, reveals how the late 19th century North-South dualism (Rubinstein 1987) within the middle classes, both in income and attitudes towards education, has in some ways been maintained with London and the South-East still substantially different. Understanding the structure of the field of elite education in the UK entails recognizing the importance of this spatial division in historical patterns of class formation which have been maintained and strengthened by recent economic shocks.

Keywords: Elites, Education, London and the South-East

Garth Stahl (University of South Australia)

Neoliberal Governance, Charter Schools and Constituting a 'Scholarly Habitus' for Disadvantaged Populations

Within the US educational reform efforts, charter schools are often celebrated by politicians as a simple antidote for complex problems. Prior to the existence of charter schools, there existed no consistent evidence that students from low socio-economic backgrounds could excel academically and become socially mobile through attending Ivy League institutions. However, in recent years, there has been growing debate over the practices of high-functioning charter schools, often referred to as Charter School Management Organizations (CMOs). Many of these criticisms have highlighted charter schools as a significant part of neoliberalism's continual assault on the education space; CMOs often draw upon corporate America practices, a 'Goldman Sachs model' of zero-tolerance, firing the bottom 10% of underperforming staff each year.

Broadly, this scholarship, utilizing ethnography and Bourdieu's tools of habitus and institutional habitus, seeks to explore the controversial schooling practices prevalent in CMOs and how these practices influence student aspirations and students' understandings of success.

The focus of this presentation is on how CMOs actively socialize students toward what Watkins & Noble (2013) call a 'scholarly habitus,' a set of dispositions that underlie the capacity for educational success where the habitus is embodied and formed of self-regulating dispositions. Such dispositions make it possible for agents to function appropriately within a particular milieu; in this case, a culture of high neoliberal performativity. When students in CMOs self-regulate according to a competitive, individualistic mentality, this becomes productive in terms of raising test scores and generating both financial capital and further growth.

Çetin Çelik

Institutional habitus and educational achievement in a comparative perspective

While socioeconomic resources of families such as parental education, income and occupation strongly effect students' educational achievement, there are studies showing that the type, organization, practices, operation and ideology of schools form the students' educational performance at least as much as the family's socioeconomic background. I comparatively investigated how different institutional habitus of General High School (GHS) and Industrial Vocational High School (IVHS) in the same disadvantaged neighbourhood of Istanbul, Turkey, shape learner identity, motivation, and educational performance of the students over time. I conducted longitudinal interviews over three years in the years 2013 to 2015 with the same students, teachers, and school directors, and I did participant observation in the both school types.

My presentation will consist of three parts. I will briefly outline the theoretical debates about effects of schools on educational performance of students, supported by slides- employing the main theoretical term institutional habitus. I will then give some brief information about the history, function, student profile and teacher qualifications of GHS and IVHS in Turkey. After that, again using slides, I will outline my major findings comparatively; how different tracking regimes in the two school types forge networks of students differently, and, thus, their social capital; how dissimilar disciplinary practices in the two school types contribute to the emergence of specific sub-cultures; how school policies and regulations deepen certain gender roles; and, how learner identity, motivation, and future perspective of students crystallize as they approach graduation.

Day Two: Tuesday 5th July 2016

12.30-13.30

Bourdieu and Methodology

Room 2E2

Chair: Ciaran Burke

Mart Willekens (University of Gent)

Cultural logics and modes of consumption

In this paper, we study the way individuals structure musical preferences (i.e. cultural logics) and how this relates to motives for visiting different types of musical concerts. Based on data of a large scale audience survey at 73 concerts in 17 Flemish concert venues (N=1594), we analyze likes and dislikes for 22 musical genres. Based on Correlational Class Analysis (CCA), which is an extension of Relational Class Analysis (Goldberg, 2011), we search for patterns of organizing musical preferences. This CCA-method allows us to move beyond the clustering of individuals with similar preferences, and to focus on the underlying cultural logics that structure these preferences. This way, we distinguish four different cultural logics: (1) Omnivore vs. Univore, (2) Highbrow vs. Lowbrow, (3) Highbrow vs. Subculture and (4) Rockers vs. Non-rockers. This means that beside the well-known highbrow/lowbrow logic and the omnivore/univore logic, there are two other cultural logics viable in Flemish society. In a next step, using multilevel analysis with cross level interactions, we study these logics in relation to the modes of consuming different types of concerts. We distinguish 4 different modes of consumption: musical interest, curiousness, relaxation and identification with the crowd. In the audience of particular concerts, there are people with different cultural logics and this will influence their motives for visiting these concerts. Thus, there is a clear relation between the way individuals organize the cultural field, and the way they consume cultural products. This has pervasive implications for theorizing consumption practices in contemporary society.

Keywords: Correlational Class Analysis (CCA), Musical Preferences, Music Audiences

Stephane Dorin

Constructing the social space of contemporary music concert goers. Non-linear PCA and cluster analysis to overcome a horseshoe effect due to highly correlated cultural practices

In our original dataset on contemporary music audiences, the frequencies of classical and popular music concert attendances are ordinal variables. Although they may vary along with cultural taste, these variables are relatively correlated.

Firstly, a MCA is performed with attendances variables, but it led to a hierarchical scale, known as horseshoe effect. It prevents from sorting out different cultural profiles and their social determinants.

To overcome this effect, François Nakhlé (1980) used a split analysis of a highly correlated grades' array of candidates to the Ecole Polytechnique. Our hypothesis is that concert attendances, as socially rare and exclusive cultural practices, are also highly correlated and could benefit from a split analysis.

Attendance frequencies, as for grades, are indeed bipolar quantities. To each score, we associate its complementary, obtained by subtracting the score to its theoretical maximum. This produces a pair of complementary variables for each concert attendance frequency – pop, world, classical, contemporary. In the analysis, high and low values for each type of concert attendance play symmetrical roles.

A nonlinear PCA is then performed on these new variables. The projection of the cloud of individuals on the first two factorial axes ensures that the one-dimensional data structure is only to be found along axis 1, which orders the concert attendance frequencies. Axis 2 provides another opposition between popular and art music.

Cluster analysis allows constructing the social space of contemporary classical music concertgoers and helps to provide a Bourdieusian sociological explanation of the taste for contemporary classical music concerts.

Keywords: music, GDA, taste

Kevin Diter (University of Paris Saclay, Paris Sud)

Can we really use linear models to grasp a social fact in a relational perspective?

Since the 1970's, linear models (LM) became the most commonly used method for social scientists. Even studies highlighting the key role of the social structure in cultural behaviors relied on the assumption of 'all things being equal', which appeared contradictory to the concept of structure itself. Indeed, LM cannot grasp the relevance of social structuration insofar as they neglect it by construction. They measure the specific association between each variable and a social fact, regardless of the others, as if they were independent to one another. Even when LM are 'hierarchical', they continue to assume the same explanatory power to all variables, regardless of their nature, as if social class, gender or any other behavior were equivalent to understand a social fact. Instead, Bourdieu proposed using correspondence analysis (CA) since it captures the correlation among covariates, their interactions and their structure. Nevertheless, CA is often judged as subjective and descriptive as it neither offers predictions nor estimates the strength of associations. Consequently, using CA remains scarce in Sociology, leaving the paradox unresolved.

To overcome these limitations and associate the strengths of each approach (relational and predictive), we propose a way to integrate them. After comparing the (different) results from these two statistical tools by using a French survey on children, we found that the stratified regressions based on multiple CA results allow to reconcile these perspectives. Indeed, they help grasping the specific and potentially different effect of each variable within and between each social group gathering people with similar characteristics.

Keywords: Linear regression, multiple correspondence analysis, methodological comparison

> **The Continuing Importance of Bourdieu**
>
> **(Inequality, Social Mobility and Cultural Practices/ Social Class)**
>
> **Room 2E4**
>
> **Chair: Kirsty Morrin**

Katie Blood (Nottingham Trent University)

The Bourdieu legacy: Exploring the metamorphoses of class distinctions and the mirage of ''social flying'' in twenty-first century precarious Britain

For Bourdieu (1986:241) the concept of capitals, steeped with meaning, involves: ''the capacity to reproduce itself, produce profits, expand and contains the tendency to persist.'' In an age of neo-liberalism defined by its dominant values of individualism, competition and risk (precariousness), one is required to 'play the game' without a level playing field stymieing social mobility and contravening principles of social justice. Contemporary social theorists including Savage et al. (2015) concur that to this end, ''the past devours the future.'' (Piketty 2014:571).

In this paper I draw on my research conducted in newly established Academies, located in the Midlands, investigating the decision-making process regarding the potential 'next steps' of students (aged 14-16). The findings from the study illuminate what Bourdieu (1984) describes as an existing fluid nature of relationship between structure and agency. For student respondents who regarded as themselves ''lucky'' for inheriting wealth (from deceased relatives) higher education was a viable 'next step', while for other students their lack of economic capital necessitating the amassing of debt was a prohibiting issue leading them to question, ''what's the point of (going to university) getting into all that only to end up in the same job as everyone else?'' In an age paradoxically defined by austerity and enduring tropes including 'aspiration', I open to question the extent to which, when from a lower socio-economic background, one's habitus is permeable given the contemporary political machinations regarding social class and its resulting limiting and constraining structural parameters.

Keywords: Class, Neo-liberalism, Meritocracy

Dieter Vandebroeck (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Under The Skin. Habitus, Class Bodies & The Everyday Justification

This paper aims to explore an often overlooked aspect of Bourdieu's analytic of taste and lifestyle, namely its potential for the sociology of the body. It will aim to show that differences in class-habitus do not just translate in different aesthetic or cultural preferences, but effectively become materialized in the physical contours of the body, most notably in its size and shape. Drawing on recent survey-data (2013) in which a large-scale sample (N= 1575) undertook a classificatory exercise in which they were asked to judge various body-types, this paper aims to establish several things: a) that there is a fairly large consensus, across social space, as to what constitutes the 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' physique, b) that the probability of effectively 'embodying' these body-types is itself unequally distributed across social space; c) that people more readily attribute the most stigmatized (i.e. corpulent) body-types to dominated social categories (i.e. the 'unemployed' and 'workers', while disproportionately assigning the most valorized body-types (i.e. slim, toned) to dominant categories (i.e. business[wo]men and artists) and, finally, d) that physical differences are not only imbued with

an aesthetic, but also a moral significance and deemed indicative of traits like ambition, intelligence and self-control. By examining these homologies between class-position, body-size and moral traits, this paper will aim to show that bodies play a central role in the naturalization of class-differences and do so by transforming the unequal distribution of capital in which the latter are rooted into question of personal morality and individual psychological traits.

Keywords: habitus, obesity, embodiment

Diane Barlee (University of Cambridge)

A Fine Frenzy: A Bourdieusian Examination of the Field of Contemporary British Poetry

While a vast amount of research has been devoted to the topic of poetry, to date, very little sociological research has pertained to the field of poetry, and none to the field of contemporary British poetry. In order to rectify this oversight, my mixed method study systematically addresses the complex social systems, career trajectories, and publishing practices of 212 mid- to major-level British poets. While my study relates directly to the 'Sociology of Literature', my investigation also falls under the rubric of 'Elite Studies'.

In this paper I draw upon Bourdieu's chief concepts of habitus, capital and field to illuminate which factors contribute to British poets' entry into the field of poetry and how established poets maintain their positions in the field. My paper discusses: What is the objective structure of the field of British poetry (i.e. what forms of capital define the field and what is its hierarchal structure)? Is, as Bourdieu maintains, the field of poetry an autonomous, fractious space? To what extent can poets' cultural, social and symbolic capital be converted into economic capital? What are poets' practices and strategies? What exactly are the 'rules of the game'? I pay particular attention to established poets whose associated primary occupation (i.e. editors, publishers and professors of literature) challenges

Bourdieu's findings that the field of poetry is characterized by autonomy and an inverted hierarchy. This paper also briefly discusses the necessity to use a mixed method design in order to fully explore fields of cultural production.

Keywords: Sociology of Literature, Pierre Bourdieu, Elite Studies

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Bourdieu and Education

Room 2D2

Chair: Jessie Abrahams

Iro Konstantinou

The construction of a new middle class: private schools and privilege in a postmodern era

The relevance of Bourdieu's theory is seen in his transcending the position that structural inequalities stem from economic differences. The realisation that economic capital is no longer enough to provide advantage is reshaping what resources the middle classes need to mobilise in order to sustain their position of privilege. This paper draws from data collected from an ongoing ethnographic project at a public school in inner London. It aims to argue that middle class parents are shifting their understanding of what capital their children need to have in order to succeed academically and professionally. They increasingly see the school as an institution which will instil in their children social skills which will enable them to use their social and cultural capital to their benefit in order to be able to have the awareness to project themselves across class, gender and ethnic boundaries and become neoliberal subjects. The fact that public schools promote this construction of identity decrease in value the moral perplexities that middle class parents might have in relation to private schooling. In a society where class identity is important but more and more people define themselves through social resilience and a postmodern fluidity, they cannot afford not to use economic and social resources in order to ensure that they will provide the best for their children. Through this understanding this paper will discuss the views of parents, pupils and the school staff in relation to privilege and schooling.

Keywords: middle classness, cultural/social capital, private schooling

Eric Larsson (Stockholm university)

Prestigious locations: schooling, strategies and educational marketization in prosperous inner city core of Stockholm

In recent decades Sweden has undergone a continuous educational restructuring, adapting to far-reaching market principles. These changes have been most detectible in the metropolitan area of Stockholm and moreover within the space of upper-secondary schooling, especially in the gentrified and prosperous inner city. A political ambition to remove earlier zooning restrictions with school choice based exclusively on merit credentials (i.e. grades) and a fast growing number of free-schools – publicly financed private schools – has been the major driving force behind this change. The aspirations are to provide more equal opportunities and reducing the effects of residential segregation on education by boosting competition. However, as we will show using a combination of ethnographic fieldwork, official statistics, interviews with students, teachers, principals and state officials and moreover marketing from 59 upper-secondary schools, this development has provided distinctively clearer symbolic boundaries. Shown in the strategies deployed by students and schools the inner city has become a consecrating and ensuring social boundary for preferable education. This could foremost be seen in the expansion of inner city free-schools, at an upper-secondary level, increasing from 7 to 46 (tot. 21 to 59) between 1997-2014 and the students attending them escalating from 967 to 12248 (tot. 11375 to 20757). But it could also be seen in the analysis of interviews, ethnographic field notes and marketing – in which the different actors use geographical notions and the place of location as distinctive markers, separating and hierarchizing them from schools in other parts of the metropolitan region.

Aina Tarabini (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Social class and students' engagement: interplay between individual and institutional habitus

Educational engagement is a multidimensional concept, encompassing behavioural, emotional and cognitive elements (Fredericks, 2004). Although it's multifaceted nature, most part of the research on students' engagement has privileged its behavioural component, neglecting its other two dimensions (Appleton et al., 2008; Demanet and Van Houtte, 2014). The objective of the paper is to proceed with a systematic study of the concept, focusing on the factors inhibiting or facilitating students' engagement in its three interrelated dimensions. Specifically, the paper entails to analyse the impact of both the individual (Bourdieu, 1993) and the institutional habitus (Reay, et al., 2001) in generating different types of students' engagement. The analysis is based on a qualitative methodology, conducting in depth case studies in five secondary schools in Barcelona. In each school interviews with teachers, principals and academic coordinators have been developed as well as teachers' focus groups, class observations and participation in teachers' meetings. At the same time, in depth interviews and focus groups with students at the end of their compulsory secondary schooling have been conducted. The results highlight three main elements: the need the identify different class fractions within the working class in order to properly understand their kind of engagement with the school; the special importance of the expressive order of the schools in understanding the impact of the institutional habitus on students' engagement, above all in its emotional dimension; the persistent impact of the individual habitus in explaining the opportunities to engage with the school, above all in its cognitive dimension

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Bourdieu, "Race", Ethnicity and Migration

Room 3F9

Chair: Constantino Dumangane

Derron Wallace

Race, Racism & Readings of Bourdieu: Examining Black Cultural Capital among Black Caribbean Youth in South London

This paper extends Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital in relation to 'race' and ethnicity by exploring the significance of Black cultural capital among middle class Black Caribbean young people in a large state school in South London. Black cultural capital is here defined as the appropriation of middle class values by Black ethnics. Based on a 14-month long ethnography, with a specific focus on 16 in depth interviews with middle class Black Caribbean young people, this piece outlines the

benefits of and backlash to Black cultural capital that students encounter from white middle class teachers for deploying Black middle class tastes and styles in the classroom. The findings suggest that while Black middle class pupils draw on Black cultural capital to access advantages in formal school settings, they are also invested in challenging the terms of class privilege that marginalise the Black working classes.

Keywords: cultural capital, Black identities, middle class

Pere Ayling

'Exclusivity and Whiteness: Investigating the social reproduction strategies of Nigerian elites'

Existing studies on the role of schooling in the formation and (re)production of elite identity have focused almost entirely on the reproduction strategies of Western elites. Consequently, the distinction strategies employed by non-western elite parents to maintain and/or advance their class positioning –via their children- have remained largely unexamined. Using rare qualitative data from a broader study of the educational preferences of elite Nigerian families, this article critically examines the key processes involved in Nigerian elites' attempts to protect and/or enhance their children's future elite status. Combining the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu and Fanon, the paper argues that a significant proportion of elite Nigerian parents opt for UK-based private boarding schools because they believe that these schools will bestow their children with 'attributes of excellence' through a highly selective exposure to elite White British lifestyles and practices. These parents believe that placing their children in White (elitist) spaces would allow them to acquire the right dispositions and deportment such as 'respectability' and a 'refined accent', essential for the (re)production and/or formation of 'genuine' elite identity in modern-day Nigerian.

Keywords: Bourdieu, Distinction strategies, Britishness

Lindsey Garratt

Authenticity as Symbolic Violence: Migrant children in Dublin city

In contemporary society to be 'authentic' is a key aspect of modern morality and social recognition. Yet access to the experience and evaluation of oneself and of others as authentic is not equally distributed. Drawing on a large qualitative data set of young children in Dublin, Republic of Ireland, this paper will argue that being recognised as 'authentic' in this site was bound within habitual conceptions of whom can be said to legitimately embody nationally and locally authorised dispositions and identity markers. The paper will discuss different accounts of authenticity in the literature (dispositional, performative and discursive) and consider if an ethic of authenticity can be understood as a form of symbolic violence. By drawing on the data I will show conceptions that one must be one's 'real' self, acted to prevented migrant boys from benefiting from the culture they embodied, by misrecognising their dispositions and tastes as inauthentic for them to possess. To

conclude this paper will argue the exclusion of racialised groups on the ground of authenticity moralised their marginalisation and disguised racism within micro encounters.

Keywords: Symbolic Violence, Racism, Authenticity

Transformation of Habitus/Habitus Fluidity

Room 1E4

Chair: Alexis Bedolla

Sandrine Soubes

Conceptualisation of researcher development: exploring the habitus of postdoctoral researchers and principal investigators in the Sciences

In the context of the neoliberal university, postdoctoral researchers' employment relies on temporary research contracts, making research careers temporary and unstable modes of employment. The instigations of policy initiatives aimed at supporting the career and professional development of researchers are associated with diverse strands of issues (e.g. maintaining the flow of researchers embarking on research careers within an hyper-competitive research environment, highly skilled knowledge workers contributing to the innovation system). Among these initiatives, the 'SET for Success' Roberts report (2002) and associated funding, and the Concordat to support the career development of researchers (2008), have led to the establishment of substantial professional development programmes in HEIs.

Using a mixed qualitative methodology approach, this research explores the conceptions of researcher development held by postdoctoral researchers and principal investigators, with a focus on researchers and academics in scientific disciplines. This paper will focus on the use of the Bourdieusian's concept of habitus to frame our analysis of the conceptions and enactment of researcher development in the context of institutional implementation of researcher development initiatives within a research- intensive institution. This research makes a contribution towards documenting what it is like to be and develop as a researcher in the contemporary research system. The study also describes instances of symbolic violence that pertain to the lack of capital afforded to postdoctoral researchers and their temporary location in the fabric of the institution.

Keywords: postdoctoral researchers, policy implementation, ethnographic

Deborah Giustin (The University of Manchester)

Language interpreting as a social practice. The fluid, creative habitus of interpreters in real-life profession

The conceptualization of the 'sociological turn in Interpreting Studies' through Bourdieu's theory (Inghilleri 2003, 2005; Snell-Hornby 2006; Wolf 2007, 2010; Angelelli 2012) led to a view of the language interpreting profession as a social practice. This presentation examines the transformative habitus of professional interpreters, as performing in the two traditional fields of conference and community interpreting, to fill a significant gap in knowledge regarding the process of practice acquisition during interpreters' training, and the creative force of the habitus as emerging in real-life assignments. The habitus fluidity is especially called upon to explore the relationship between choice and creativity (agency) and habit (habitus), to reveal (i) how interpreters learn to master their skills, role and professional identity, and (ii) how interpreters move behind or beyond their habitus to be successful and visible in the profession—in contrast with the traditional view holding that professional interpreters should be invisible and detached both from their performance and their clients, performing under the cloak of invisibility provided by their habitus.

Employing the qualitative empirical research methodologies of interviews with interpreters and participant observation of selected interpreting sessions in Japan's interpreting market, the presentation will first throw into relief the fluid aspects of interpreters' habitus. Therefore, it will reveal interpreters' capacity to act in accordance or against their habitus during everyday practices, which is key to a successful interpreting performance and to a stable professional role in the interpreting market.

Keywords: interpreting as a social practice, interpreter's habitus; habitus fluidity, visibility; agency; relation between habit and creativity

Pamela Burnard (University of Cambridge)

Activating human capital career creativities and habitus fluidity for employment in the creative industries: Bourdieu's tools critically applied in practice

Using habitus, arguably the central concept in Bourdieu's overall theory of practice, I will critically explore some of the strategic positioning and fluidity that constitute and enable employability (or work readiness), career success, and sustainability for creative workers. A diversity of professional dispositions are evidenced within specific fields and field practices in the creative industries. How these creative workers maximise their potential, draw on habitus fluidity, and employ a potent mix of human capitals, will be discussed. The transformation of habitus, and importance of human capital career creativities to creative workers, will be mapped. Suggestions will be shared for how higher education providers and career support programs might use Bourdieu's tools in practice to: (i) visibly position human capital career creativities, (ii) incentivise student participation in programmes infused with industry-based habitus fluidity and (iii) offer post-graduation support as graduates seek to establish successful careers which operationalize career creativities as dimensions of practice.

Keywords: habitus, practice, human capital career creativities

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Day Two: Tuesday 5th July 2016

14.30-15.45

Kobe De Keere

Political distinction and the space of social classes: comparing Norway and Flanders

Since Bourdieu's seminal work Distinction the relationship between cultural preferences and class position has been a much scrutinized subject. Time and time again the strong connection between taste and structural class conditions has been empirically established. Yet, although Bourdieu himself did devote a chapter to political distinction, research on this subject has been largely outsourced to political scientists. Consequently, Bourdieu's multidimensional understanding of class – contrasting cultural and economic fractions within society – has rarely been applied to the structure of political position taking. This paper draws on Bourdieu's rethinking of the class structure to examine the structural similarity or homology between the space of social classes in general and the political field in particular. This is done by comparing the political field in Norway and Flanders and investigating how they both duplicate the multidimensionality of their corresponding class structures. Interesting here is that both regions are characterized by a coalition based multiparty system and therefore also exhibit a clear multidimensional political structure. On the basis of multiple correspondence analysis of the ESS 2008 data we eventually demonstrate how, in both regions, the old economic alignment (left versus right on economic redistribution) corresponds to the capital composition dimension, whereas the new cultural alignment (liberal versus authoritarian views) matches the overall capital volume. With this we demonstrate that – as it is the case for the field of cultural consumption – the logic of the political field is also defined by basic principles of social distinction.

Keywords: politics, social space, comparative

Julia Hofman (University of Linz)

Another Europe is possible? Cross-border strategies of mobilization of trade unions

In my PhD work I deal with the question, if and how trade unions can contribute to a more social europe. For this purpose I take into account the political writings of Pierre Bourdieu, in which he argues that unions need to be more offensive and include their members in their political actions to become more powerful in the, at present neoliberal and power-asymmetric, European context. Moreover I focus theoretically on Bourdieus analytic work, especially on his field theory and argue that the highly heterogenous European unions must first establish a genuinely European field of trade unions before they can successfully engage in the fight for a social Europe. I show that the European trade union movement is still highly fragmented (especially along national lines), but that

the European unions are at the same time highly connected, refer to each other in their actions and have build up clearly visible boundaries. All these facts can be interpreted as first signs for the emergence of a (European) social field.

Enpirically my work deals with the history of the European Action Days (cross-border trade union mobilizations against neoliberalism and/or austerity). The material of the research was gathered via online content-analysis, a quantitative questionnare for all European trade unions and in-depth qualitative interviews with trade union activists from four different European countries (Bulgaria, Finland, Spain, Austria).

Keywords: trade unions, emergence of (European) fields, social Europe

Ana Hey

Building the Brazilian scientific fields: the case of Brazilian Academy of Sciences

The paper seeks to demonstrate the initial analysis around scientists gathered around the Brazilian Academy of Sciences (BAS). The central focus lies in studying the Brazilian scientific field in its current structure, basing it on the scrutiny of academic and professional education indicators of those who make up the scientific elite of the country. It seeks to scrutinize the extent to which scientists that comprise the BAS can serve as an analytical resource for the construction of the scientific field in the country. It demonstrates the contemporary disputes around the hierarchy and establishment of different scientific disciplines and the struggles of science in relation to other social spaces. At the same time, it seeks to provide elements for the construct of scientific elites, contributing in this perspective to analyses of power, prestige and distinction correlated to the social space of science. This association, created in 1916 in Rio de Janeiro, is characterized as an instance of consecration of scientists from different fields of knowledge, corresponding to the logic of peer recognition in the grouping of scientific profiles and in the reproduction of its (lifelong) titular members. It aims also to analytically explore the scientific and symbolic capital of approximately 700 of its current academics. They represent the following areas: mathematics, physics, chemistry, earth sciences, biology, biomedicine, health sciences, agriculture, engineering and social sciences.

Keywords: scientific field, scientific elites and state, scientific fields and scientific elites in Brazil

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The Continuing Importance of Bourdieu (Technology)

Room 2E4

Chair: Piotr Marzec

Richenda Herzig

Bourdieu and the Digital Age: Why Internet studies need Bourdieu

Although Bourdieu's work has enjoyed considerable influence within traditional media studies, his theory remains largely neglected within Internet research. This paper argues that the formative presuppositions underpinning this area give rise to the selection of theoretical traditions that emphasise the centrality of communication and inter-subjective ties in accounting for social practice and structure. Examples include Habermas's Public Sphere (1984), Castells' Network Society (2009) and Social Network Theory (Wellman, 2001). These traditions are compatible with the discipline's preoccupation with the 'newness' of the Internet, and its reconfiguration of social structure. While these traditions have each been highly fruitful, it is suggested that there are a number of important beneficial insights to be gained in drawing upon Bourdieuan principles, such as an emphasis on relations rather than ties, and the recognition of tacit and embodied influences on practice, in addition to conscious communicative action. Bourdieu's perspective also emphasizes distinct modes of power, rather than the 'flattening' that results in conceptualizing power through the prism of social capital (Postill, 2011). The paper draws on illustrative practical examples to indicate new avenues that may arise from the application of these principles. It also identifies some of the challenges and limitations that need to be addressed in order to operationalize Bourdieuan principles in the context of the Internet.

Keywords: Digital Practice, Network Society, Digital Inequality

Daniel Allington (University of the West of England)

The field of software development

Software is now widely recognised as a 'cultural' product, with its interfaces and algorithms effectively analysed as forms of text. However, the working cultures of software development remain under-researched, even from the point of view of management studies. Bourdieu's theory of fields provides a framework for research in this area, but the spheres of activity studied by Bourdieu and his followers for the most part involve social relations that are substantially different from those that can be observed to have become established in software development (for example, a high degree of autonomy has been achieved, although not through opposition to the market). In this paper, I will present an outline of the history of the field and the oppositions that structure it, before moving to a discussion of the ideologies and ethical principles whose expression characterises the field and the intangible resources that are valued within it (in particular, a distinctive form of cultural capital and a species of capital entirely specific to the field, which I have elsewhere termed 'development capital'). I will argue that these serve both to preserve the autonomy and coherence of the field and to protect the interests of those groups that are currently dominant within it. Finally, I will lay out a series of questions for empirical investigation.

Keywords: Science and technology studies, Inequalities, Capitals

Cornelia Reyes Acosta

Bourdieu revisited - Conceptualising social capital in light of digitally mediated social interaction

Bourdieu's concept of social capital has been widely applied in research centred on online social networking practices, aiming to understand how digitally mediated social interaction impacts access to social capital. Albeit the relevance of social capital in the context of online social networking practices is undisputed, I argue that the way, in which social capital has hitherto been conceptualised, particularly by Bourdieu, has to be rethought. Bourdieu conceptualised social capital as contingent on 'institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (1984). This implies that access to resources associated with social capital requires established social relationships that are strong enough in order to sustain trust and good will. Digitally mediated social relationships created via Facebook and Twitter for example contrast the notion of the long lasting social bond, given the fact that social interaction is often described as fleeting and transient. Consequently, we may assume that access to social capital via digitally mediated social interaction is limited and yet, online social networking platforms are commended for their capacity to support social capital formation. I argue that the key to disentangling this seeming paradox lies in the precise characterisation of how digitally mediated social relationships afford building trust. In fact, my data shows that digitally mediated social ties do provide access to social capital, however access is heavily mediated by the level of trust that given circumstances require. Thus, I argue that Bourdieu's notion of social capital is insufficient in effectively capturing this phenomenon calling for a more nuanced conceptual approach.

Keywords: Social Capital, Social Relatedness, Digitally mediated social interaction

Bourdieu and Education
Room 2D2
Chair: Kate Blood

Vicky Duckworth (Edge Hill University)

Exploring the Nexus of Literacy, Language and Identity: Extending Bourdieu's conceptual framework for literacy as a social practice

This paper draws on recent theoretical work in the study of literacy education, where literacy is conceptualized as a social practice, before setting forth how a Bourdieusian framework may be applied to questions surrounding language, literacy, and social identity. We first discuss the policy context around key literacy debates showing how policy has shaped literacy before positioning recent theorizations of literacy which draw attention to its fundamental social nature. Our interest here is how literacy and identity are inextricably linked where literacy has the capacity to reinforce wider social processes of social exclusion. Second we set forth two brief theoretical bases which serve as a foundation for our discussion of Bourdieu and literacy: a) key conceptual lenses for the investigation of literacy and social identity as mutually constituting and b) Bourdieu's theory of

education, linguistic capital, and social reproduction. Third, we put forth our argument concerning the extent to which Bourdieu's sensitizing tools of investigation are applicable when theorizing literacy acquisition, considering how a) literacy can be conceptualized as cultural capital and b) how literacy is integral to the constitution of 'value' when considering working-class experience with education. Finally, we consider the limits to the framework's application in understanding how literacy is constituted as a form of capital.

Keywords: literacy; social practice; Bourdieu; social identities; value; working-class

Chelsea Swift

Habitus, Field, and Critical Literacy: Researching Young People's Negotiation of Reading Identity

In this paper, I demonstrate the continued applicability of Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit, as both a theoretical and methodological framework for conducting social research. I discuss how I have drawn on the concepts of habitus and field, combined with work from critical literacy studies, in order to realise the aims of research concerned with young people's development of reading identity.

It is often specific texts, their literary value and whether or not they represent certain groups, which are central to debates surrounding young people's reading. My research, informed by a view of reading as a social and cultural practice, shifts this lens onto the contexts in which texts are used and produced, and the meaning that reading choices hold for the individual. I explore how young people negotiate the various ways of reading and being a reader they are exposed to as they move between and fields, in order to develop a sense of what 'counts' as reading and what it means to be a reader. I consider the impact that this has not only on whether they identify as a reader, but on their ways of being a reader, their 'reading habitus'. This makes visible the processes by which literacies are differentially produced and positioned in relation to each other. I argue that applying such a framework has the potential to provide alternative understandings of young people's reading lives. It opens up the possibility of a model of difference, removing blame from the individual for failing to appreciate particular texts.

Keywords: Habitus , Identity, Literacy

Neil Kaye

Can Bourdieu talk to developmental psychology?: An interdisciplinary examination of theories of social reproduction, child development and risk and resilience

This paper seeks to bring together Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction with the literature on risk and resilience theory, most prominently associated with the developmental psychology canon.

Whilst these two very different approaches have distinct foundations, they both speak to the persistence of inherent inequalities transmitted from one generation to another along class lines.

There is a focus within both frameworks on the role of educational settings in the transmission of culture and the extent to which these institutions can help an individual successfully to negotiate their pathway through formal education despite the persistence of 'adverse' circumstances.

In particular, this paper highlights the role of student-teacher relations and the school environment using findings from on-going empirical work as part of 'Reducing Early School Leaving in Europe' (EU-FP7).

Whilst Bourdieu's theories frame social inequalities in terms of access to economic, social and cultural 'capital', developmental psychology talks of 'risk' factors. Similarly, the dialectical relationship of habitus and field that mediates an individual's path through the social space may be understood in terms of the personal traits and contextual factors discussed in the literature on psychological 'resilience'.

Although there appears to be a degree of compatibility between these concepts, the way in which they can be effectively reconciled is not clear-cut. There is scope for these theoretical approaches to speak to each other across academic disciplines. However, important challenges remain in trying to fuse the complexities and specificities of the psychological literature on child development with the sociological works espousing Bourdieu's theories.

Keywords: Developmental psychology, Educational institutions, Resilience

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Bourdieu: Place and Space

(Habitus, field and symbolic violence)

Room 3F9

Chair: Chao Yuan

Rosie Alexander

Re-imagining the Rural: Habitus in Contemporary Understanding of Rural Spaces

In 'The Peasant and His Body' Bourdieu describes the 'cultural clash between country and city' at the scene of a local ball, identifying how young men from the country internalize the 'devalued image' that others have of 'peasant' life (Bourdieu, 2004). In contemporary scholarship, analyses that take account of geographical spaces and places (and particularly rural contexts) from a Bourdieusian perspective are, however, limited (Bridge, 2004). This is perhaps because in the twenty-first century designations of 'rural' and 'urban' have been widely problematized – societies are viewed as less static, and individuals are viewed as more 'mobile' with greater exposure to global experiences (Giddens, 1991; Urry, 2000). In addition the repopulation of rural areas by people from urban communities is changing the nature of these communities, so that rural life can no longer simply be equated with 'peasant' life (Stockdale et al, 2000). However, by focusing on two particular rural

communities – the UK islands of Orkney and Shetland – this paper will apply Bourdieu's notions of field and habitus to show how these concepts remain relevant to understanding the experience of people living in rural and particularly island contexts. In particular the paper will focus on research with young people from these communities who have moved away to pursue higher education, proposing that their experiences can be usefully analysed in terms of a clash between their rural, island habitus and the largely urban habitus of higher education.

Keywords: Habitus, Place, Rural

Stephen Parkin (University of Oxford)

Symbolic violence and street-based injecting drug use: the control and contestation of public spaces in UK settings

This paper focuses upon Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence (and associated concepts of 'tacit control' and 'misrecognition') in the context of street-based injecting drug use. More accurately, this paper provides an empirical demonstration of 'the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power' (Bourdieu 1977, 19) in which subjective and randomised decisions by structural forces seek to control and constrain vulnerable people in spaces temporarily appropriated for injecting illicit substances. For example, symbolic violence is interpreted in the displacement of street-based injecting sites; the installation of blue lights in public toilets and within the views of people who manage public spaces affected by injecting drug use. In addition, these assorted responses are widely accepted by people who inject drugs (PWID) and become complicit in the tacit control of public space. However, symbolic violence also influences the emergence of 'geographies of resistance' in which PWID construct alternative injecting spaces in more marginal street-based locations.

This paper is based upon findings obtained from extensive ethnographic work conducted in 4 cities during 2006-2011. The theoretical model is demonstrated with visual data obtained from visits to street-based injecting sites. The contemporary relevance and applied value of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence is presented from a perspective that prioritises 'harm reduction' intervention and the way in which such tacit control perpetuates drug-related harm and drug-related death. Accordingly, the paper concludes with the view that symbolic violence precedes 'micro-spatial structural violence'.

Keywords: Symbolic violence, Street-based injecting drug use, Ethnography

Gabriel Peters (Federal University of Bahia)

Bourdieu as a theorist of change, resistance and reflexivity: overlooked lessons from his early writings on Algeria

The paper defends the theoretical, methodological and substantive relevance of Bourdieu's early writings on the historical disruptions he witnessed in Algeria during the 1950s. Rather than focusing on his well-known praxeological portrayals of traditional Kabylia, the paper examines his account of the radical transformation of Algerian society under the double influence of a war of national liberation and an abrupt transition to urban capitalism. This account displays themes and perspectives that depart from the most common images of Bourdieu's work. The practical assent to domination characteristic of 'symbolic violence' gives way to open resistance, the 'ontological complicity' between subjective dispositions and objective circumstances gives way to their historical mismatch, and the principled suspicion towards lay agents' representations gives way to a high analytical reliance on long personal testimonies. Connecting these aspects of Bourdieu's sociological investigations to his methodological use of photography, the paper also surveys the multiple functions that the practice of taking pictures performed in his ethnographic forays into Algerian communities. Finally, it presents Bourdieu's connection between motifs of 'modernization theory' and theories of (neo)colonialism as one of the first syntheses in his intellectual career. Whether the problems are reproduction and change, domination and resistance, habitus and reflexivity, colonialism and post-colonialism, development and underdevelopment or the role of photography in social research, Bourdieu's writings on Algeria's social transformations remain tremendously relevant today.

Keywords: Pierre Bourdieu, Algeria, Social Change

Transformation of Habitus/Habitus Fluidity
Room 1E4
Chair: Ben Grove-White

Antonia Kupfer (Technical University Dresden)

Educational Upward Mobility

Bourdieu has been accused of employing a deterministic view on agency in his concept of habitus. However, a closer look to his texts reveals that he himself mentioned four catalysts for transformations of habitus consisting in a change of objective structures, a lack of actualization of habitus, consciousness and pedagogical effort leading to changing habitus. In my empirical study on educational upward mobility of working-class people in Austria and Britain, I encountered all four forms of transformations of habitus. Bourdieu did not elaborate on these transformations of habitus. My paper fills this gap by systematically demonstrating - based on biographical narrative interviews - how changes in policy, economy, and culture impacted working class people's lives and lead to practices that produced a transformation in their habitus. The paper also reveals the interrelation of social contexts in which a lack of actualization of habitus, consciousness and pedagogic effort emerge and of people's practices inducing social changes. In extension to Bourdieu's perspective, my paper offers the mental as another dimension embedded in the social and representing a force to be included in the analysis of transformation of habitus. The paper shows how mental processes due to certain social contexts contribute to the transformation of

habitus by reconstructing cases of educationally upward mobile people from working classes in Austria and Britain.

Chris Sweeney (University of Brighton)

Social class, habitus and reflexivity: an analysis of trainee teachers' understandings

This paper discusses the habituses of seven trainee teachers as they enter their training placements. Specifically, it examines their dispositional understandings of social class in their role as a teacher and how this affects their perceptions of the students from 'othered' social class backgrounds. Research methods used include semi-structured interviews to elicit details of how trainees' habituses have been shaped and subsequently to see how these habituses have developed during two training placements. Concept mapping is also used as an aid to memory recall during the interview process in order to develop trainees' understanding of their habitus. National policy documents and legislation are explored to see whether initial teacher training can be used as tool for creating a more equal society. Training institution policy documents are then examined for guidance on teaching related to social class during university-based lectures. The data shows that trainee teachers joining the profession from working class families make changes to their dispositions to align with placement expectations, whereas those from middle-class backgrounds do not see the need to moderate their dispositions. Similarly, the middle-class trainees do not see any need to adapt their teaching to accommodate those working-class students in their lessons, whereas the working-class students do make an effort to be more inclusive in their teaching. The ability, by trainee teachers, to reflect on the ways in which social class may, or may not, be significant within teaching in mainstream schools in England is explored as an outcome of this research.

Christopher Bunn and **Victoria Palmer**

Using Bourdieu's toolkit to critique and improve social science engagement with physical activity

Social scientists interested in physical activity have begun to engage with Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to understand how social space, social reproduction and agency can structure physical activity dispositions, practices and 'cultures'. Studies have tentatively engaged with concepts such as habitus, capital and field to highlight the social determinants of physical activity. However, scholars in the physical activity community have undertaken no systematic engagement with Bourdieu's work. Those that do work with Bourdieu's concepts tend to focus on the explanatory power they can offer, and stop short of addressing how such explanations can be used to shape new practices and inform policy.

Since contemporary literature recognises physical activity as an important weapon in the fight against a range of health issues, an opportunity (and a need) has arisen for sociologists to contribute to this fight. In this paper we set out an interpretive application of Bourdieu's concepts to the field of physical activity. We highlight how this toolkit can be useful for understanding both the origins and potential futures of specific cultures and sub-cultures of physical activity. To do this, we use primary data from studies of weight management in professional football clubs and physical activity and family life, as well secondary data from the published literature. In doing this, our aim is to show how Bourdieu-inspired approaches can contribute to the design and implementation of interventions and policies that work with social determinants of physical activity and not against them.

Keywords: Physical Activity, Social determinants, Culture

Day Three Wednesday 6th July 2016
9.15-10.30

Bourdieu and Politics/Social justice and Equality/Public Sociology
Room 2E2
Chair: Kirsty Morrin

Brendan O'Donovan

Applying Bourdieusian analysis to the integration of government 'people-centred' services: examining implications for government policy

There is an extensive literature on joining up public services (Institute for Government 2015), but few studies define what this means in practice, often using 'joining up', 'collaboration', 'partnership working' and 'service integration' interchangeably. The rewards on offer promise to be substantial: the ability to genuinely do more with less. Crossley (2015) offers a historical and theoretical critique of successive waves of UK government cross-departmental collaborative programmes, especially the government's latest initiative, the 'Troubled Families Programme'. Crossley employs Bourdieu's concept of the 'left and right hands of the state' (Bourdieu 1998) to highlight tensions between the control exerted by centralised policymakers (the 'right hand') via diktat and regulation, and what can broadly be categorised as social workers (the 'left hand'), using their professional discretion to ensure effective delivery of services. This paper will examine evidence of the performance of multi-agency (local government, health, third sector organisations) social care systems from the care recipient's perspective, where the imposition of 'right hand' policy objectives prevents 'left hand' actors from administering effective care. The paper will then present emerging data from these services after their redesign following Seddon's 'Vanguard Method' (Seddon 2003). It will go on to

examine the implications of designing services which are more clearly focussed on providing what matters to care recipients, and explore what this could mean for both the right and left hands of the state.

Stephen Crossley

The Troubled Families Programme: entering a bureaucratic field at the street-level

In the aftermath of the 2011 riots, the UK government established the Troubled Families Programme to 'turn around' the lives of the 120,000 most 'troubled families'. The creation and bringing to life of of a group of 'troubled families', an official social problem, produced and guaranteed by the state, represents an act of symbolic power. It is also the latest construction of the 'underclass' thesis. Government rhetoric proposes that the lives of marginalised and 'troubled' families can be 'turned around' as a result of intensive 'family intervention' work, which requires 'persistent, assertive and challenging' keyworkers to 'look at the family from the inside out', and develop strong and trusting relationships with families. This doxic focus on tangible encounters between 'street-level bureaucrats' - frontline workers who are ultimately responsible for implementing public policy – and disadvantaged families enables the role of more powerful agents in different social spaces to remain largely undiscussed in the official 'troubled families' narrative.

Bourdieu warned against sociologists 'ratifying' the 'pre-constructed' problems created for them by the state and argued instead for research that 'twists the stick the other way'. Following this lead, and drawing on empirical research conducted with workers who, in Bourdieu's words, comprise the socially minded 'left hand of the state', this paper uses 'street-level' research to examine the forces exerted by the fiscally minded 'right hand of the state' in different spaces of the 'troubled families' field.

Pauline McGovern

Small voluntary organisations and the state funding game: is Bourdieu relevant?

Bourdieu's later work on state power is not often used in sociological research. He is accused of being a polemicist who argues disparagingly and superficially that Western democracies have a neoliberal nomos in which people are defined as consumers, we over-invest in work and competition is rife, not only in employment but in other spheres of life. In this presentation, I argue to the contrary that nomos is the underpinning structural element within all fields within a society and that there is added explanatory value in using nomos in combination with habitus and capitals to describe and explain social life.

I will describe case studies of two small UK voluntary/community organisations that entered into cross-sector partnerships to gain funding and discuss the neoliberal funding games that structured the social hierarchy within each organisation and the cross-sector partnerships in which they engaged. Rather than being subsumed within the targets and goals of their larger, more powerful partners, I conclude that small voluntary/community organisations have opportunities as well as challenges within such funding games because of their moral weight within government rhetoric, weight that makes them sought after cross-sector partners for government agents.

I suggest that using Bourdieu's relational grand theory has utility for empirical research. Many researchers use habitus and capitals atomistically, but it is their combination as 'active capital' within fields structured by nomos that proves to have most value within my own research.

The Continuing Importance of Bourdieu (Debates about Contemproary Social Class)

Room 2E4

Chair: Annabel Wilson

Edward Haddon (University of British Columbia)

Bourdieu, doxa, and the death of class debate

Individual perceptions of social class in modern society represent an important part of the contemporary debates within sociology. Some scholars feel that individuals have been disembedded from class categories and re-embedded into new modes where the ability to create life paths is achieved through individual reflexivity; while others argue that class remains a significant feature in terms of structuring life trajectories and identities. These debates between whether or not class persists in structuring individual perceptions highlights the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism that Bourdieu argued has been central to sociology. In this paper I draw on the work of Bourdieu to counter the assumption that class is subjectively dwindling under neoliberalism and to argue that classed-identities are not determined by uncovering whether individuals locate themselves within or envision themselves members of specific classes, but by how they characterize themselves in relation to others. By employing an underutilized concept of Bourdieu's (doxa), I argue that individuals continue to experience the implications of class subjectively. As an alternative to those claiming the 'death of class', I argue that Bourdieu's concept of doxa may be better suited for understanding the apparent subjective weakening of class. Bourdieu's work enables researchers to demonstrate that class is not 'dead' as a number of theorists would have it; rather it remains influential in structuring subjectivities.

Alan France (The University of Auckland)

Bringing Bourdieu to the study of youth and class

Youth sociology is often a field of investigation where class is hotly contested and debated although sometimes advances in theorising is belated and limited. Our central contention in this paper is that recent theorisations on the production and experience of inequality in a period of rapid social change among the youth population serve to (often inadvertently) marginalise the significance of social class. Theories, concepts and metaphors that are gaining traction and growing numbers of citation within the field of youth sociology such as 'social generations', 'belonging', and 'epistemological fallacy' will all be given critical scrutiny. We will then also trace the ways in which the potential dilution of social class emerging in such accounts (to a greater or lesser extent) has implications for a wider diminishing and nigh on abandonment of the language of social class in political discourses. The paper then argues that the salience of Bourdieusian readings of social class as essential to the contemporary study of youth. We contend that adopting Bourdieu's theoretical resources more fully allows us to reconfigure, sometimes reject and often plug some of the conceptual gaps that proponents of newer theories put forth. Our aim, is to argue by drawing on the work of Bourdieu that youth sociology does and can do much more than outline the ways class remains as integral for predicting origins and destinations, and instead reveal the ways that class is a dynamic of history, and something which is in continual production.

Keywords: Youth, Class, Bourdieu

Magne Flemmen (University of Oslo and London School of Economics)

Cultural Class Divisions: Forms of Capital and Contemporary Lifestyle Differentiation

Are social classes today marked by distinct lifestyles? We investigate this crucial question in contemporary social stratification research by modelling a two-dimensional class structure with Multiple Correspondence Analysis, operationalizing Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social space. This involves not only a hierarchical divide by the total volume of capital, but also the crucial cross-cutting division between economic and cultural capital. We employ a relational and exploratory approach, avoiding the substantialist fallacy of identifying upper and lower class culture with predefined notions of 'high-brow' and 'low-brow' tastes. Exploiting an unusually rich survey, we analyze how 168 different tastes and practices are distributed in social space. Through this, we find that lifestyles are differentiated by both the amount and the form of capital. The higher classes appear distinct in their taste for resource-demanding lifestyles. For the fractions richer in economic capital, this is manifested in a body-oriented, pecuniary expensive and excitement-seeking lifestyle. For the cultural capital-rich fractions, it is manifested in a mind-oriented, intellectual, and ascetic lifestyle. Where most studies describe lower classes as disengaged, we find clear evidence of a distinctly popular or lower-class taste. Our study thus supports the thesis, central to Bourdieu's analysis, that social classes take the form of status groups with shared culture and lifestyle.

Bourdieu and Education

Room 2D2

Chair: Jessie Abrahams

Megan Watkins (Western Sydney University)

Little Room for Capacitation: Rethinking Bourdieu on Pedagogic Action as Symbolic Violence

In Bourdieu's early work on education, he declares that 'All pedagogic action (PA) is objectively symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power'. This paper rethinks Bourdieu's proposition. It questions whether all PA is symbolic violence and the very notion of a cultural arbitrary upon which this view is based. For Bourdieu, culture is framed narrowly in terms of class, and pedagogy a mechanism by which it is reproduced. As such, it functions as a form of violence having much in common with Foucault's notion of discipline. Unlike Foucault, however, who also acknowledges the enabling potential of power as a technology of the self, Bourdieu has no such equivalent. His concept of PA leaves little room for capacitation wherein, rather than a cultural arbitrary, certain skills have an inherent use value equipping individuals with capacities that are a means for social transformation.This reconceptualization of pedagogy as enabling allows for a reconfiguration of field as a domain of social action not just a domain of reproduction and distinction.

To address these issues it is also important to map Bourdieu's discussion of pedagogic action onto contemporary characterisations of pedagogy within the wider field of education. This conceptualisation of pedagogy, the paper argues, replicates key binaries within educational discourse between notions of teacher- and student-directed learning neglecting the inherent relationality of pedagogy, the pivot upon which agency is generated but which Bourdieu tends to neglect.

Victor Brar (Surrey School District)

Where the Rubber Meets the Road:|A Practitioner's Use of Bourdieu's Theory to Understand Academic Underachievement Among Students at his Inner-city School

This paper describes my journey, as a teacher at a Canadian elementary school, toward understanding conceptually and empirically why many children at my inner-city school repeatedly underachieve. This journey has transformed my ability to understand and respond to the specific academic needs of the inner-city

children in my classroom and has produced considerable potential benefits for other practitioners who teach in a similar settings. In pursuit of theses goals, I have utilized Bourdieu's theory of practice as a heuristic to examine the complexities of how social reproduction operates differently for school children from different social classes and leads to differences in academic achievement. The first component of this paper establishes a crucial theoretical base for practitioners by approaching theory of practice, by way of its concepts of cultural capital, habitus, field, and symbolic violence, to determine how social reproduction functions in education, highlighting the roles of institutions and professionals and the transformative and generative potentials of Bourdieu's theory. The second component provides important methodological information regarding how practitioner inquirers might conduct successful empirical studies while avoiding the problems that are prevalent in the empirical literature. Methodologies of practitioner inquiry, if they are conceptually well informed, will provide transformative insights for inner-city practitioners who function at the nexus where the 'rubber meets the road.'

Keywords: Inner-city schools, social reproduction, practitioner inquiry

Richard Waller (UWE, Bristol) and **Nicola Ingram** (University of Lancaster)

Cashing in on capitals: The impact of social class on the quest for elite graduate finance careers

This paper considers the educational trajectories and employment strategies of a cohort of working-class and middle-class male graduates attempting to make their way into and through the City of London's elite financial sector. It traces their pathways through their three years of undergraduate study, and their early experiences of transition into finance career in the two years following graduation. We consider in particular how three of the young men who had expressed an ambition to work in this highly competitive sector accumulated and mobilised different forms of capital in an attempt to secure their desired career.

The degree of success they enjoyed in their search for the elite role was largely informed by their access to economic, social, cultural capitals, and the extent to which they were willing and able to exploit them. We also highlight the role of ambition, charisma and personality in determining their chances of success, and speculate how these too might be seen as another resource or capital upon which they can draw. In so doing we critique the development of personality capital, and the manner this promotes neoliberal rhetoric around exploiting personality traits as resources.

This work draws on a small subset of participants within the _Paired Peers_ project, an ongoing longitudinal qualitative study (2010-2017) tracking 80 young people from different class backgrounds through and beyond two very different universities in the English city of Bristol.

Bourdieu: Culture, Taste and Distinction

Room 1E4

Chair: Nicola Ingram

Aoibeann Walsh

Cultural echoes affecting food choices behaviour in Northern Ireland

Decision making and food choice are consumer behaviours that dominate individual lives, group interactions, and national debate. The concept of food culture is the combination of the two behaviours. A nation's food culture offers a snapshot into their consumption and eating practices through the actions taken by its people in relation to food. It represents the enduring influence of culture on consumption behaviour, which also evolves based on situational and environmental influences. In comparison to other countries and regions, Northern Ireland is not traditionally considered to have such an easily identifiable food culture. The study aimed to determine the nature of food, culture and decision making in a Northern Ireland context, thereby enabling the salient features of the region's food culture to be identified and the implications ascertained for the food supply chain. Four phases of research were conducted to correspond to four stages of the lifecycle – childhood (n=186), adolescence (n=349), adulthood (n=104), and elderly (n=31). Data collection methods included the draw and write technique, surveys, and narrative interviews.

The concept of food culture has been reimagined as food kulture and characterises the shared heritage that exists in relation to food choice behaviour in Northern Ireland. Food kulture in this context describes a less distinct connection between people and food, whereby unconscious markers may be observed to identify behaviour. Results emphasise the balance between decisions made which demonstrate individual choice and those reflecting cultural echoes of learned behaviour.

Keywords: Food culture, Northern Ireland, Age

Beth Benker (University of the West of England)

Food Feuds in Social Space: utilising Bourdieu to understand contemporary influences of the food industry

This work elucidates the effects of food industries through practical application of Bourdieu's theory as outlined in Distinction (1984) to map the contemporary food field and informing habitus.

Utilising critical ethnography (combining interviews and visual methods) with actors situated around two classed food-retail 'dense' areas in Bristol, the analysis seeks to establish how classed habitus, embodied self-perception and food industries intersect in food interactions.

Emphasis on fresh, whole, organic vegetables, fish and meats and brown starches that dominate the food field in toto are features of the intermediate food field (Bourdieu, 1984; Paddock, 2014; Baumann and Johnston, 2014). These bodies are fragile and porous, requiring high-quality nutrition and avoid foods perceived to be too processed. This self-evident ethic of subversion feeds into pseudo anti-capitalistic discourse, simultaneously revealing the other in this relational dynamic: the dominated groups that more often make use of heavily processed foods (Inglis, et al, 2005).

My contribution focuses on synthesising the oft-overlooked role of food industries (Tansey and Worsley, 1995) with contemporary Bourdeusian analysis to make clear the impact of the current food hegemonies - both cultural and of economic food systems - on lived daily experience. I re-

emphasise the importance of utilising both structure and agency simultaneously. Combining access-based understandings (Cooper and Dumpleton, 2013) and cultural perspectives (Warde, et al, 2007) through Bourdieu (1977,1984) with a renewed emphasis on structural influences of food industries has both theoretical implications (e.g. for sociologies of health/sickness) and potential policy relevance in the growing food crisis in the U.K.

Keywords: Food industries, classed cultures, structure/agency

John McKenzie

Can a Bourdieuian approach help us to better understand contemporary food choices?

Bourdieu's main contribution to the sociology of food is in Distinction (1984). Notably, his insight that 'peasants and especially industrial workers maintain an ethic of convivial indulgence…which sweeps away restraints' (p.179) seems to foreshadow the current obesity 'epidemic'. Although its existence and social construction remain matters for debate, rising levels of obesity are related to reductions in average life expectancy (Preston and Stokes 2011). Given the relationship between body mass and food consumption, it is therefore not surprising that public health campaigns have tried to focus on persuading people to eat a healthier diet (e.g. the UKs '5 a day' campaign). However, such campaigns tend to be ineffective (Wansink 2015). This failure has been accompanied by a realisation that: 'intuitive thinking is rule rather than exception and that [food consumption] behaviour is seldom guided by rational considerations' (Köster 2009, 76).

Such findings suggest that a Bourdieuian approach may yield important insights into contemporary food choices, which could then inform social policies aimed at promoting public health. In keeping with Bourdieu's conceptual and methodological reflexivity (Bourdieu et al. 1991), this paper interprets, using adjusted concepts of field, habitus and doxa , the 'stated' (though interviews) and 'revealed' (through diaries) food consumption practices of 31 consumers living in Scotland. In doing so, it reflects on the potential of a Bourdieuian approach to provide an understanding of contemporary food choices that can overcome some of the limitations of rational choice and phenomenological accounts of food consumption.

Keywords: Food choice, Habitus, Doxa

Bourdieu: "Race", Ethnicity and Migration

Room 3F9

Chair: Constantino Dumangane

Denisse Sepulveda

Experiences of social mobility of indigenous people in Chile

My research is centred on how social mobility transitions impact on the racial and class cultures of indigenous people in Chile with higher education, and how these affect their identities. My methodological goal is to examine the role of social mobility discourses of the Mapuche (the biggest group of indigenous people in Chile), producing narratives of inequalities legitimisation and ethnic discrimination. In general terms, the goal of this research is focused on a small group of the Mapuche population, who live in Santiago and Temuco cities and have educational mobility.

Mapuche population is characterized as a disadvantaged group, because since the period of the Spanish conquest, indigenous groups in Chile have faced economic, social, territorial, cultural inequalities, positioning unequal to the rest of the population. Moreover, the proportion of indigenous people who complete their higher education is less than a third of the proportion of non-indigenous people in the same situation (INE, 2002). However, an emergent group of Mapuche population have experienced social mobility, thanks to integration policies for indigenous population from the 1990s until now. Nevertheless, preliminary data suggest that they deal with class tensions, ethnic boundaries and racism.

Keywords: Indigenous people, Race, Social mobility

Daniel Witte (University of Bonn)

Transversal Fields of Discourse: The Hybrid Construction of the Refugee

Bourdieu's concept of field is fruitfully applied in a large variety of research areas. In this context, the importance has repeatedly been stressed of relating individual fields and its analyses in a wider framework. By doing so, crucial questions for the transmission of capitals, the transformation of habitus and the translation of strategies over different social fields could be examined systematically, in return granting potential benefits for the analysis of individual fields.

The paper suggests that discourses establish one important mechanism by which fields are connected, arguing for a closer linking of field theory and critical discourse analysis. Societal discourses combine a multitude of strands, drawing on a plurality of field specific doxae and symbolic orders. This will be demonstrated using the example of the current discourse on refugees. The paper shows how 'the refugee' is constructed as a hybrid epistemic figure and mobilized in symbolic battles in the most diverse fields: As a threat to cultural 'identity', as a dreaded competitor in educational fields and job markets, as a 'carrier' of deviating legal cultures, as an economic prospect or burden, as a political threat, as an argument in media debates, and so forth – even if some of these ascriptions are openly contradictory. The paper shows how these facets of 'the refugee' are invoked, how they interact and thereby establish a connection between relatively autonomous fields. It finally argues that discourses can in turn be conceptualized as 'transversal fields' and, therefore, be examined by means of field theory.

Keywords: transversal fields, critical discourse analysis, migration, refugees

Greg Noble (Western Sydney University)

The Collective Enterprise of Inculcation: Bourdieu's Pedagogical Imperative

Central to Bourdieu's conceptual framework has been an insistence on the improvisational nature of social action. While this has not prevented commentators from criticising the 'structuralist' tendencies of Bourdieu's approach, it does allow us a way in to thinking productively about the dynamic and cumulative formation of the capacities needed for such action. Yet despite recurring references to processes of accumulation, inculcation, transmission, and so on, Bourdieu doesn't give much attention to the processes by which embodied capacities are acquired over time, preferring instead to focus on the reproduction of relations of power through forms of 'inheritance'. This paper will unpacking Bourdieu's theoretical toolbox to explore the pedagogic quality of subject formation through the habitus. This paper will reflect on this by drawing on diverse examples of everyday life - experiences of racist abuse in public spaces, the reorientation of the migrant's body through processes of resettlement, and the ways young children learn civic belonging. It will argue that certain gaps in the Bourdieusian approach can be addressed by returning to this problem of acquisition and by linking the calibration of bodily capacity to practices of habituation, affective investment and the pedagogic ensemble of social sites and actors, in which human conduct is shaped.

Keywords: Learning, Habitus, Pedagogy

Day Three Wednesday 6th July 2016

10-45-12.00

Stream Bourdieu and Politics/Social justice and Equality/Public Sociology Session 3

Room 2E2

Chair: Piotr Marzec

Hélène Vannier (The Open University) **and Anna Gupta** (Royal Holloway University of London)

Revisiting Bourdieu's sociology with Sen's and Fraser's concerns for social justice: A new framework to assess social work practice

By considering people's capabilities, Sen introduced an ethical shift from previous (institutionalist and material) social justice theories. In parallel, Fraser uncovered the multi-dimensional (social, economic, political) spheres of (mis)recognition, structuring people's opportunities. Both authors have built strong cases for improving the sociopolitical landscape constraining one's choices and

opportunities. Yet, they lack from a more comprehensive understanding of the relational dynamics in play.

First, this paper demonstrates how Bourdieu's sociology represents the prospect to strengthen Fraser's and Sen's approaches. He powerfully described the relational practices and symbolic endowments that structure one's experience, and underlined the role of legitimates institutions in the reproduction of people's disadvantages.

Second, it is argued that the notoriety of both Sen and Fraser represents a chance for Bourdieu's sociology to gain a new legitimacy. It supports Bourdieu's late agenda to politically denounce power-relations between socio-economic actors which the state arbitrates, and to act over symbolic practices structuring inequalities.

Finally, the paper draws upon work with families who have received child protection social work services to explore the unequal authority families have to voice what they value doing and being and the biased support and impediments they experience to function as such. Complex power dynamics in play, such as practices of misrecognition, blame and shame, are illustrated. The work of Bourdieu, Sen and Fraser, it is argued, offers possibilities to renew a critical assessment of social work practice, as a key actor in the reproduction of social inequalities, which should be raised as matters of social justice.

Keywords: Amartya Sen, Nancy Fraser, Social work practice

Rebecca Hewer

Symbolic Violence and the Sale of Sex: A Reconceptualisation of Harm in Prostitution

Radical feminist activists have long lamented prostitution: rejecting contractarian interpretations of transactional sex (which award primacy to consent) and focusing instead on the causal/constitutive role of macro-level gender inequality. Consequently, such activists have advocated for prostitution's inclusion in government Violence against Women (VAW) Policies. My research shows, however, that radical feminists struggle to articulate a cohesive, consensually agreed upon explanation for this position. Furthermore, my research evidences that numerous other activists are critical of such a position, claiming that inclusion of absolute inclusion of prostitution within VAW policies silences the voices of women who chose prostitution and undermines their subjective experiences of violence. Particularly contentious was the belief that inclusion conflates rape with ostensibly consensual interactions, and that such a conflation destabilises a woman's hard-won right to identify sexual violation in general.

I propose that Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence provides recourse to radical feminist theorists. In focusing on the role of gendered domination in the formation of habitus - on how systems of oppression succeed through the constitution of will - symbolic violence displaces the primacy of consent and allows for the problematization of a range of activities. Additionally, in rejecting Wacquant's assessment that symbolic violence demands we forsake the distinction between coercion and complicity altogether, I overcome the more poignant critiques outlined above. Wacquant's assessment, I argue, ignores how perceived violence and misrecognised violence differ

with regard to lived experienced: claiming that whilst perceived violence is an affront to habitus, misrecognised violence is endemic to it.

Carlene Firmin (University of Bedfordshire)

Contextualising an individualised phenomenon: a three-stage application of Bourdieu to develop sufficient responses to peer-on-peer abuse in England

This paper shares the implications of applying Bourdieu's social theory to identify an appropriate response to sexual and physical abuse between adolescents in England. Firstly, the paper will outline a methodological framework that was developed to investigate the interplay between homes, peer groups, schools and neighbourhoods of young people associated to the phenomenon in question. This 'contextual framework', used Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and symbolic violence to expressly explore young people's abusive and protective behaviours with reference to interplays between environments in which they spent their time. The paper will then document the central implications of applying the aforementioned framework to cases of abuse between young people, thereby providing a contextual account of the phenomenon. Finally, the paper will outline attempts by 11 local authorities in England to develop responses to abuse between young people as a result of the abovementioned contextual account. Referred to as 'contextual safeguarding', the approach being piloted requires multi-agency safeguarding partnerships to identify, assess and intervene with the interplay between public and private spaces associated abuse between young people, adapting child protection structures that have traditionally focused on abuse within the home. Taken together, this three-stage application of Bourdieu's social theory has advanced local responses to peer-on-peer abuse, and raised fundamental questions about the sufficiency of child protection legislation, policy and practice for safeguarding adolescents in England

Stream The Continuing Importance of Bourdieu
Room 2E4
Chair: Julio Hermasilla

Denise de Waal

Using habitus to seek insight in the experience of caring for a person with dementia at home

Many people with Dementia are cared for at home. The principal carer is likely to be their spouse. The shift in role this necessitates presents a major challenge for the person living with dementia and their carer. Habitus can serve as a theoretical framework to gain a deeper insight in the experience

of dementia for the person living with dementia and their caring spouse. Examining habitus allows an inroad into reflections on the caring role, the caring burden and the change in selfhood of the person living with dementia and their carer in the domestic sphere. As the person with dementia loses the ability to remember new experiences it is hypothesised that the habitus will return to an earlier state. In addition, a gradual decline of bodily function will affect the dialectical relationship between the habitus, common sense, body and environment. The relationship between spouses, caring role and caring burden will be influenced as the habitus of the person living with dementia loses its ability to adapt and synchronize. We consider approaches to illuminate this changing relationship including using life history interviews, open interviews, participant observation and photo diaries undertaken with people living with dementia and their carers. Could this ethnographic data illuminate the value of utilising Bourdieu's insights in the context of domestic care to highlight the shifting relationship between cared for and carer? We also report on how we might utilise these insights to develop the practice changes that are indicated by considering dementia care in this way.

Keywords: Habitus, Dementia , Caring Role

Andre Cisneros Armando

Bourdieu and the construction of a deep linguistic

Review of the way in which Pierre Bourdieu analyzed the linguistic forms, particularly the connection between two components: by one side, the social and political characteristics of the speakers and, by the other side, the language and corporal position showed. The specific elements to examine are the temporal and spatial determinations of the language (as historical factor); the social dynamic of the censure and auto-censure (as strategies of the social groups) and the corporal mechanics and its relationships with the culture (as part of a kinetics socially learned). These elements were examined by Bourdieu with a whole of theoretical constructions in a form that we can call a deep ontology of the language, where the social structures are tied to the practices of the interaction. From these elements, used here in relation with a series of concepts, like habitus, camps and cultural capital, we can see the complex and persuasive methodology developed by Bourdieu, capable to associate sociology, philosophy and linguistic.

Keywords**:** Linguistic, Social interaction, Social structures

Felix Bühlmann

Field theory applied to a dominated profession. The example of the « nursing space » in French-speaking Switzerland

Based on a quantitative survey among nurses practicing in French-speaking Switzerland (n=4000), this communication demonstrate how this profession forms a relatively autonomous system of competing positions. A multiple correspondence analysis shows that two types of capital are used in

the « nursing space » : medical capital and nursing capital. The various positions occupied within that space tend to define the stances that are taken by the nurses. While nurses endowed with a high amount of medical capital tend to take relatively conservative stances, nurses with a high amount of nursing capital tend to take more subversive stances.

Field theory is usually confined to the analysis of dominant and masculinized social spaces. Applying this conceptual tool to a heavily feminized profession casts an original light on the Bourdieusian use of the concept and is a fertile way to discuss several ways Bourdieu identifies social microcosms (« marché franc », « field », « social space »).

Keywords: Field, Nursing space, Multiple correspondence analysis

Anna Uboldi (Università degli studi milano Bicocca)

The taste in secondary education. An empirical analysis of the art schools and their students

This research explores the question of development of creative and artistic dispositions by means of a qualitative perspective with in-depth interviews and focus groups with young pupils. The research takes place in, private and public, secondary art schools in Milan. I want to define art in the space of educational choices, in a Bourdieusian perspective. Young pupils' choice to study the plastic art represents the primary interest in this research. The artistic pathway is problematized as atypical, an 'against the grain' choice. I study the meanings of this choice, the representations and attitudes, both art and school, of the students and their parents, as well as the aspirations and ambitions on the future. I will investigate the school choice and the creative aspiration as classed concepts by means of cultural capital tool. I want to consider how the educational and professional aspirations are linked to class identity and to neoliberal order. I want to explore the class differences in the way in which students, and their parents, oriented themselves towards creative educational routes and professional futures. In sum, I will explore the role of secondary art school to reproduce the social differences in terms of educational and professional aspirations.

Keywords: creative field, School choice, cultural capital

Angela Canny (Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick)

Cultural Capital and Middle Class Girls' Educational Experience

This paper is based on an ethnographic study exploring the experiences of adolescent Irish schoolgirls in a middle class school. Extensive observational and interview data suggests that

Bourdieu's theories on social class, in particular his ideas about the forms of capital remain significant today, especially within an education system that is highly orientated towards academic success; success which is solely measured in the number of points gained to enter education. This research, conducted in 2013, indicates that access to and the accumulation and distribution of social and 'valuable' cultural capital is socially reproduced in ways which educationally advantages the middle classes. This paper argues that social class continues to impact educational experience in significant ways, spanning personal, social and academic experiences. It explores the effects of the personal, group and institutional 'habitus' which intersect to mediate the girls' everyday interactions. It describes how the girls, parents and school collude together in producing a particular habitus that aids success. It highlights how Bourdieu's ideas on social and cultural capital and 'habitus' contribute to a dichotomous school experience, mediated by social class. The working class girls resist the dominant middle class discourses and become alienated from their peers and elements of their education. These girls' stories unveil how agency is both enabled and constrained by the institution, peer-group and their personal 'habitus'. This paper provides evidence for the continuing importance of Bourdieu's ideas in a contemporary, gendered setting, which is contextually contrasting to the time and space from wherein these concepts emerged.

Julia Hope (University of Kent)

Why am I at university? Who am I? Re-conceptualising the concept of agency

This paper offers a new approach to methodological framework for researching habitus and theorising agency through the adaption of the theories of Margaret Archer, Pierre Bourdieu and Karl Weick. The first generation students in this inquiry reflected their earlier educational experiences, and actively sought out opportunities to engage in learning, and transform their student identities. Their reflexive decisions are related to the social factors that influence them in their lives. It is argued, that their agency is the outcome of a continuous interaction between dispositions and reflexivity.

Within a Bourdieusian framework, this would suggest that the habitus is in a process of on-going change throughout our lives, and that individuals can change the trajectory that early life experience and socialisation set them on. Archer and Bourdieu both advanced theories of human agency. Archer places emphasis on conscious reflexive deliberation and the consequent choices of identity and projects that individuals make. Bourdieu's concept of habitus places equal emphasis on the role of social conditioning in governing behaviour, and downplays the contribution of conscious deliberation. This paper argues that these approaches, with some modification using the work of Weick (the role of discourse in constructing the normative self), can be reconciled to create a theory that considers how during their first semester (a transitional period) they navigated, negotiated and began to adapt to two different cultures, their home and the dominant discourse of academia.

David Gellner (University of Oxford)

Taking Bourdieu to Nepal: adapting "Distinction" to a South Asian Context

Bourdieu's Distinction has been hailed by some as the greatest sociological work of the second half of the twentieth century. Yet few have attempted to apply his methods in non-Western contexts. As South Asian societies increasingly adopt the market, including a mass market in Western-style education, and increasingly become class societies, the more salient Bourdieu's questions about the relationship between class, mobility, and culture become. For the comparative sociologist South Asian societies offer one advantage over Western societies: there is a universally understood (even if contested and controversial) status scale, namely caste.

We have tried to adapt and operationalize the concept of cultural capital in ways that are culturally appropriate to Nepal, yet also capable of producing data comparable with work on cultural capital in Euro-American societies. We seek to apply it in explaining why Dalits (former untouchables) score very poorly on all Human Development indicators. Our research has focused on a cluster of six villages, and their nearby urban migrants, and records in-depth demographic, education, livelihood, and wealth data for 650 households. Taking a stratified 50% sample, we have interviewed every individual over 13 about their skills, tastes, and consumption patterns. In addition we have carried out long-term participant observation and ethnographic work in the concerned villages.

Putting these various forms of data together, we hope to be able to answer key questions about the links between caste, class, migration, education, and cultural consumption.

Keywords: consumption, Nepal, caste

Naoki Iso

Remaking the legitimate culture in the postwar Japan: Taro Okamoto

In Distinction (Bourdieu 1979), the legitimate culture is a given preposition, which is not questioned. Although the existence of the legitimate culture seems evident in France when Bourdieu conducted research in 1960s, it is not always common outside France.   In this presentation, I question the concept of the legitimate culture theoretically with a Japanese case.   Focusing on Taro Okamoto's works and his marginal positions in the field of art around 1970, I show how the legitimate culture was transformed. It is also to question the existence of the legitimate culture in contemporary Japan.   Taro Okamoto (1911-1996) was a Japanese artist and an intellectuel. After his death, he has been considered as one of the most important artists in modern Japan. However, Around 1970 when the Japan World Exposition 1970 was held as the first Expo to be held in Asia, his position was

marginal in the field of art. By contrast, he had close relationships with dominant actors in the political field and the media field. His positions in different fileds make apparent the trasformation of the legitimate culture in postwar Japan. Through such Japanese case, I reconstruct the concept of the legitimate culture.

Keywords: legitimate culture, art, Japan

Wei Zhang

The logic of practice in luxury fashion consumption by Chinese middle class consumers

Bourdieu proposed a model that explains how taste, aligned with social class positions, can be used as marker for social division and class domination and its significant effect that dominant social class could project in social power beyond socio-economic boundaries. Many consumption pattern studies try to establish the lifestyle differences that entail social class prestige by social elites, but results show that cultural capital in context cannot fully reflect the complexity of elite status, social distinction, and cultural legitimacy. This is because cultural judgement has been taken in a narrow sense theoretically and empirically they have ignored how the ever changing field influence the accumulation of taste and competitions for domination.

Chinese middle class consumers have gained substantial power in the luxury sector, which has been perceived as a pecuniary display resulting from exuberance with their newly gained economic capital and inexperience with commercial commodities. However, the disagreements in social identification and classification have hindered a full understanding of their consumption behaviour. The research question is: 'Is the newly emergent Chinese middle class a homogenous group using similar conspicuous fashion consumption practices as an indication of social distinction?' By giving voice to the middle class consumers, this study explores ten carefully selected informants' local definitions of distinction and the logics underpinning their practices. The data analysis is based on Bourdieu's six relational concepts in order to reveal the mechanism that gives rise to conspicuous fashion consumption, the dynamics of domination and struggle in the field, and the stakes in it.

Keywords: Social Distinction, Luxury Consumption, Chinese Middle Class

Steam Transformation of Habitus/Habitus Fluidity
Room 3F9
Chair: Maria Teresa Pinto

Tim Markham (Birkbeck, University of London)

Liveable-with mediated suffering: habitus and the experience of ambivalence

While Bourdieu was careful to emphasise the temporal contingency of habitus, his work has been criticised for cleaving to a deterministic conception of structured anticipation that is invariably geared towards the reproduction of social worlds. Nowhere has this been more evident than in media audience research, where the mechanistic dissection of taste seen in Distinction has given way to more nuanced analyses of omnivorous and inconsistent consumption. This shift is about more than acknowledging variation, however, and this paper seeks to locate it within a broader critique of Bourdieusian functionalism - the idea that, ultimately, social reproduction is what habitus is for. It fleshes this out through a consideration of audience engagement with mediated suffering. Specifically, it challenges the Bourdieusian conception of such encounters as being oriented so as to enforce a structured misrecognition of identity, status and power. There may be limited scope to resist and rethink orientations internalised as second nature, but the experience of mediated encounters includes not only the valorising and delegitimising, but the sceptical, distracted and banal. While for Bourdieu these would be evidence of the unknowability of 'history forgotten as history', such ambivalence demonstrates that habitus is neither clinched in discrete moments nor embedded ineluctably over time: sometimes there is no habitus effect concealed by the experience of the taken for granted to be revealed by sociological investigation. The paper ends by setting out the implications of a habitus that is not only fluid but discontinuous for empirical research on subjectivity and cultural identity.

Keywords**:** Ambivalence, Subjectivity, Media audiences

Andreas Schmitz (Bonn University)

Habitus and Angst: the example of the Norwegian social space

Today, 'fear' in its diverse facets is a topic growing in relevance in the media discourse. However, it has been largely neglected in (empirical) social sciences apart from analyses of individual psychic pathologies or general macro-sociological diagnoses. Although Pierre Bourdieu did neither systematically elaborate on fear as an emanation of habitus, the concept of habitus conceptually implies more than positive interests such as lifestyle-preferences as analyzed in La Distinction. This is especially clear in the late works of Bourdieu, above all in La misère du monde, where the dispositions of agents are described by their fears and worries associated with their positions in the social space and societal transformation processes. In this contribution, the systematic role of angst, fear, worries and anxiety for the habitus concept will be elaborated. We argue that angst is a constitutive, but largely underestimated characteristic of the habitus. Consequently, if fear, worries and anxiety are constitutive for an agent's habitus, it is crucial to investigate the structure of the manifestations of angst in relation to the general class and stratification structure. Following Bourdieu's conception, we construct a model of the Norwegian social space, by applying Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) of socio-demographic and lifestyle indicators. We then inspect how a battery of questions about fears and concerns are related to the cultural and economic structure of the social space. We conclude with a discussion of the empirical findings and a reflection of their implications for a sociology of culture and domination.

Keywords: Social Class, Habitus, Angst

Kathryn Telling

Mary Daly, intellectual production and the theological field: a case study of the disjuncture between objective and subjective structures

American theologian Mary Daly (1928-2010) is best known as a radical feminist who courted controversy through her gender-separatist beliefs. Less well known is her educational background: the first person from her Catholic family to attend university, she attained three doctorates, including the world's first PhD in sacred theology awarded by a Catholic institution to a woman.

This paper will use Daly's understanding of her experiences, as expressed in her autobiography and elsewhere, as a case study to think through Bourdieu's concepts of the oblate (working-class educational success story) and of disjuncture between subjective and objective structures. As a highly successful first-generation student, Daly depicts her early sense of the nature of academia in a positive light. The negative reaction Daly received from the theological establishment to her first book revealed a disjuncture between this positive relation to academia and the objective reality of a highly complex disciplinary field.

Entering the theological field as a producer is what creates a disjuncture for Daly. As Bernard Lahire argues, 'field' is useful as a way of understanding particular social arenas, which are characterised by a struggle for position and often by relations of production and consumption. If we understand all social life as a series of nesting fields, the concept loses meaning. Through their specific character as sites of struggle between producers of intellectual works, academic disciplines can be considered fields. This more circumscribed understanding allows us to see the potential for adaptation of habitus produced by entry into new fields.

Keywords: Mary Daly, disjuncture, oblate

Day Three Wednesday 6ᵗʰ July 2016

14.30-15.45

Bourdieu and Education (Higher Education)

Room 2D2

Chair: Annabel Wilson

Tim Winzler (University of Glasgow)

But you know I am not your representative Economics students! – a field report on the break with an academic common sense

It is known that the triad Break-Construction-Validation is at the center of Bourdieu's methodology of applied rationalism. One must first achieve a rupture with the spontaneous Sociologies of researchers and researched before constructing a coherent theory amenable to validation.

With this paper I would like to show, giving insights into the experiences of my research with Economics students in Germany, how I tried to achieve the break with the common sense notions of that field. Giving concrete examples of how selected groups of Economics students relate to their own studies and social trajectories, I show that an individualistic theory of knowledge, assuming and imposing the metaphor of the student endowed with different 'natural talents' and taking the perspective of the ab ovo free, impartial outsider, is inappropriate to grasp the decisions and attitudes of these scientists in training. Nevertheless, it is perhaps the most important foundation of the doxa of this field, documented in the scientific literature on the topic. Other pre-notions include the notion of the 'selfish Economics student', the assumed clarity of 'representativity', and the alleged 'pragmatism' in the choice of subject. They form the common sense of what and how Economics students (should) think of themselves. I will expose these notions to a logical critique, and will use statistical data on German students' class backgrounds to re-open the possibility of a more structural explanation and understanding of student's subject choice and relation to their studies.

Thus, this procedure can contribute to the understanding of neoliberal thought reproduction.

Keywords: Break, Methodology, Economics Students

Heidrun Schneider

Drop-out in computer science and habitus

High drop-out rates in computer science courses at universities in Germany are well documented since the year 2000 (Heublein et al. 2014). In this paper I will demonstrate that there is a relation between habitus of social background and attitude in the academic field. Two biographical interviews (Bremer 2004) of undergraduate students enrolled in a university computer science course are used for answering the following research questions:

What are the reasons for the decision to terminate their studies in computer science? How is the included decision process shaped?

The theoretical background of this research is the habitus-field-concept of Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. 1982, Bourdieu/Wacquant 1996), which until now has been hardly used for the research of drop-out (Exceptions: Berger 2000, Longden 2004). According to Bourdieu the academic field can be viewed as a field of battle, in which students position themselves and distance oneself from each other. Furthermore they have different capital endowments and master the field specific rules not equally good. This leads to different challenges for different students. A habitus- and milieuspecific perspective (Vester et al. 2001) shows, that a drop-out often can't be traced back to a lack of skills, disinterest or laziness, but rather to an unfamiliarity of the academic field.

The interviews were analyzed with the habitushermeneutics (Bremer/Teiwes-Kügler 2013), a reconstructive method, which is connect to the habitus-field-concept of Bourdieu and conceptually aligned to the research on milieus of Germany (Vester et al. 2001).

Keywords: drop-out, habitus-field-concept, habitushermeneutics

Constantino Dumangane (Cardiff University)

Capitals and 'worldviews' identified by British African Caribbean men as significant to their higher educational success.

There is extensive research that identifies how social structures such as class, gender, 'race' /ethnicity and 'capitals' affect the high rates of underachievement and exclusion in British African Caribbean boys in secondary education. Despite these challenges, British African Caribbean men are still found to be prevalent in UK Higher Education (HE). However, within elite UK higher educational institutions British African Caribbean men represent less than six percent of all students entering Russell Group universities. This presentation explores the narratives of some British Black men who despite obstacles successfully attended elite UK universities. It discusses aspects of these Black men's narratives in relation to their 'worldviews' and 'capitals' that they have identified as significant in assisting them on their successful journeys to and through these exclusive institutions.

Key words: Bourdieu, Capital, Worldviews, Aspiration

The Continuing Importance of Bourdieu
Room 2E4
Chair: Kirsty Morrin

Alistair Fraser (University of Glasgow)

Bourdieu on the Block: New criminologies of the street

In recent years, Bourdieu's 'thinking tools' of habitus, field and capital have been put to work in the study of youth crime and street cultures across a range of geographical and cultural contexts. Through applications such as 'street capital' (Sandberg and Pederson 2011), 'street social capital' (Ilan 2013), 'street habitus' (Fraser 2013) and 'street field' (Shammas and Sandberg 2015), the street-worlds of young people in Oslo, Dublin and Glasgow have been illuminated in a way that unites structure, culture and agency whilst remaining grounded in lived experience. While there are striking similarities in the dispositions and traits exhibited by young people in each of these cities – and

beyond – there remain equally critical points of difference, rooted in the divergent cultural, social and political trajectories of each city. Drawing on fieldwork in Glasgow, Chicago and Hong Kong, this paper seeks to to assess these various contributions in a comparative context, developing the concept of 'homologies of habitus' as means of capturing both similarity and difference.

Keywords: habitus, street culture, criminology

Sylvain Thine

The space of moral positions and the making of social groups

Inspired by the theoretical framework of La Distinction, this communication aims to build the contemporary French social space using a custom designed national survey (n=900). Rather than cultural practices, our questionnaire tries to capture moralities in acts investigating what appears as 'unfortunate' or 'highly desirable' to agents in certain situations of their daily life.

Through the confrontation of moral positions, the social characteristics and trajectories of the respondents, we analyze the state of contemporary relationships among social groups, seeking to identify the tensions that run through and between them, whether they are rooted in class, gender or race. Our working hypothesis are the following: (1) it is possible to observe variations of moral positioning depending on the social contexts in which individuals are evolving and in which morality expresses itself; (2) these contextual variations do not question the existence of regularities and of an homology between the space of moral positions and the social space as a whole.

This communication will allow us to present the main results of our survey using Geometrical Data Analysis and qualitative methodology.

Keywords: taste, moral, social group

Nell Beecham (London School of Economics)

"She just never talks about how she is feeling": Emotional Capital in Lesbian Cross Class Relationships

Undertaking Williams's (1977) call to bridge the gap between social structures and tendencies in scholarship to analyse feelings only in individual and psychological terms (Harding and Pribram, 2004), this paper offers an exploration of the ways in which emotional norms and practices are regulated within the site of the intimate relationship. Drawing upon data collected for a larger project on same-gender relationships, this paper utilises interviews with nine women in lesbian relationships, where partners came from different social classes, to explore the pervasiveness of social and cultural background in shaping the of the self and emotional expression.

The paper addresses the challenges experienced when understandings of emotionality do not match. Examining the intersections of class, gender identity and sexuality in the valuing of emotional expression, the paper utilises comparisons between participants from different class back-

grounds. Focusing on how individuals frame self-perceived ability to 'express feelings' and how they understand emotional performances in others, the paper provides an account of how emo-tions should be perceived resources that are accumulated and exchanged. Linking this idea to broader power relations the author takes the standpoint that possession of emotional capital in-forms techniques for the discipline of habitus in communication and forms of emotional articulation between partners.

Following the theoretical framework and logic of Pierre Bourdieu the paper explores how the concepts of Emotional Capital (Nowotny,1981) and Critical Reflexivity (McNay, 1999) are useful heuristic tools for understanding emotional practice in cross class relationships. Arguing that such concepts help explain how the emotional self is constructed, performed and regulated, and how difference is navigated in the intimate sphere.

Bourdieu: Class and Power
Room 2E2
Chair: Jakob Hartl

Carina Altreiter (University of Vienna)

Between the necessary and the impossible: young workers' experiences in working life

After the working class has been a prominent topic of public debates and scholarly research for many years, a declining attention can be observed in several European countries, such as France, Germany or Austria, although workers still account for a large part of the working force. Not only have workers as social group drifted out of focus, but also social class as analytical concept. Especially the German-speaking part of sociology is conspicuous by the absence of class background both in theoretical and empirical work.

The proposed presentation draws on first results from a qualitative PhD research project on young industrial workers in Austria and aims to display how social class comes into play in the life of the young working class. Using case studies it examines the influence of social position and dispositions (habitus) on the choices young workers make in their working life and how it affects their perception of work and the meaning they attach to it, whilst also paying attention to influences of the working environment and experiences in other spheres of life. Bearing in mind that specific configurations of social class need to be analysed in regard to a particular empirical and societal reality, the study is aiming to contribute to a further understanding of the habitus of necessity, as Bourdieu set it out for the working class in the French society of the 1960s.

Keywords: Working class, Habitus, Taste for necessity

Maren Toft (University of Oslo)

Temporal dimensions in the field of power

This paper explores a relational and temporal component to the structuring of life-chances within, and on the fringes, of the Norwegian field of power. Making use of complete registry data, I construct a sub-population of the birth cohorts of 1955–1975 who obtained access into the upper classes at least once in a ten-year time period in adulthood (2003–2012). The upper classes are operationalized using a class scheme that distinguishes occupations not only in a vertical manner, but also horizontally. Among the upper classes, this horizontal division distinguishes for instance (1) professors, publishers, or artists (cultural) from (2) doctors, lawyers, military officials (symmetric), from (3) rentiers, highly paid executives, managers and financial brokers (economic).

The aim of the analysis is twofold. First, the structure of the field of power is explored by way of multiple correspondence analysis along indicators of inherited and familial capital. Here, multiple forms of capitals such as economic (parental wealth, parental earnings, parental capital income), and cultural (mother's and father's field of study and length of education) as well as social capital (parental occupational class, number of siblings in the upper classes and partner's class position) are explored. Next, clusters indicating class trajectories in years 2003–2012, obtained via sequence analyses, are utilized as supplementary variables in the MCA. The ways by which divergent pathways to power are embedded in capitals accumulated at an earlier stage is as such holistically explored.

Keywords: Field of power, trajectories, accumulation

Christian Schmidt-Wellenburg

Economy in crisis - crisis of economics?

Findings from a project on the struggles within German economics over the current economic crisis and the future of the profession are presented. The main hypothesis argues, that the production of different forms of economic expertise is consequential of economists' positions in their disciplinary field as well as in the political and economic field. In moments of crisis economists use the resources that result from their positions in these fields enabling them to intervene in the discursive struggles that generate social change. The field-theoretical approach suggests, that economists positioning on the professional crisis of economics is systematically linked to their positioning towards the financial crisis of the economy. With regard to methods, I scrutinize this hypothesis on the basis of quantitative life course data of economists and their position-takings in the debates using geometric data analysis.

The stances of economist on resolving the European financial crisis are traced using two open letters published in 2012: one in favour of, the other opposing the European Banking Union. The 480 signees' positions on the professional crisis are traced by the use of three open letters and one conference (2009 and 2012) addressing the state of the discipline. Properties of agents were collected from CVs published online and from biographical directories. They are used to reconstruct the structural logics that shape the agents' relations to each other. Hereby disciplinary and academic position of signees as well as the wider professional background including their engagement in political, bureaucratic and economic contexts can be sketched.

Bourdieu: Culture, Taste and Distinction

Room 1E4

Chair: Jessie Abrahams

Bella Clare Dicks (Cardiff University)

The habitus of heritage: a discussion of Bourdieu's ideas as applied to the museum visitor

We are surrounded by many public cultural representations of the past, but often it is represented as a 'foreign country'. Heritage, by contrast, explicitly offers a sense of personal inheritance: here is a particular past to which we can lay claim, as expression of our 'identity' (Lowenthal, 1998). Bourdieu's analysis of valuing practices suggests how this sense of inheritance operates to reproduce class and other social classifications. In art museums, studied by Bourdieu, aesthetic value is displayed. In history museums and heritage centres, instead, it is particular social identities and memories that are accorded value. This insight implies examining the active positions visitors take up towards these. Instead of evaluating their immediate responses, as in conventional museum visitor research, the visit becomes a moment in a person's life, where a relationship is constructed between individual biographies, a social field that assigns differential value to identities, and the 'memory symbols' on display. Drawing on data from visitor research conducted, the paper demonstrates how these are appropriated by individual actors as symbolic tokens, in accordance with their practical relation to their everyday worlds. Past experience, memory and class inform the subjective stances visitors adopt in appropriating these tokens. Important affective and non-ideational dimensions are involved in this position-taking activity, suggesting we might usefully extend Bourdieu's conception of habitus in more psychosocial directions. This would explore how heritage offers a 'space of possibilities' for personal investment, pulling the habitus into public fields of memory wherein social distinctions are affirmed and reproduced.

Keywords: habitus, museum visiting, heritage

Maria Barrett

The field of theatregoing: Bourdieu and working class 'taste'

Bourdieu's Distinction examines the relationship between taste and class, and identifies culture as a field of struggle. Thus theatre venues, their rituals, and paraphernalia, are sites which valorise forms of cultural capital and reinforce audience members' relative positions in the field.

This research uses empirical, ethnographic methods such as thick description, focus groups, depth interviews, and organic digital data analysis to examine theatre as a site for struggle, using Liverpool's Royal Court Theatre as a locus.

It finds that the Royal Court, Liverpool, has cultivated a working class audience by promoting a particular form of theatre repertoire, including content permeated by tropes around nostalgia for a shared class experience. Moreover, the redesign of the theatre's auditorium and its distinctive business model have created a ludic physical space which exploits liminality and encourages participation, capitalising on a class preference for theatre as a social event, and the desire for what John McGrath called 'a good night out'. The result is a physical and notional space that signals ownership by, rather than exclusion of, working class people.

The paper has implications for policy makers, theatres and cultural institutions engaged in widening access and participation. It also further explores the relevance of Bourdieu's 'conceptual triad', and extends the understanding of how class is lived and performed in contemporary theatregoing.

Keywords: Theatregoing, Class, Taste

Noa Lavie

'Quality Television' in the Making: The Cases of Flanders and Israel

This paper addresses the question of the properties of 'quality television' as constructed within television production. It does so by analyzing the discourse of creators and critics in the fields of television production in Israel and Flanders, taking a theoretical approach based in part on Bourdieusian theory. Most academic work about 'quality television' concentrates on Anglo-American television drama. In this paper we offer a different perspective by focusing on two small but prosperous television markets outside of the Anglo-American world. Our findings suggest that the discourse in both fields contains autonomous-artistic alongside heteronomous-capitalist ideological elements, apparently under the influence of the Anglo-American discourse of quality. Our findings also suggest that both ideological elements contribute to the cultural legitimation of the television drama series among both critics and creators, though the capitalist discourse plays a stronger role among creators than among critics. Finally, we also discuss the differences between the Flemish and the Israeli discourses of 'quality television.'

Keywords**:** Television Drama, Quality, Bourdieu

Transformation of Habitus/Habitus Fluidity
Room 3F9
Chair: Alexis Bedolla

Linda Cooper

Transition from the Military into civilian life: an exploration of cultural competence

In this paper, we employ Bourdieusian theoretical concepts to examine the notion of 'transition' from the military to civilian life. There is much current political and social interest in the notion of transition, and much has been written about the influence of military socialisation and hegemonic masculinities but has not examined military-to-civilian transitions through a Bourdieusian lens. By observing the competing structures and the tensions between military and civilian life, we can examine the relationship between opposing forms of culturally acceptable behaviour in both fields. Military personnel that move between the family home and place of work in the Armed Forces have to embody different social norms in two parallel fields, the family unit and military barracks. We explore how being embedded in each of these fields influences the transformation of habitus, with a particular focus on gendered notions of masculinity. We also employ Bourdieu's concept of the 'hysteresis effect' to explore how the cultivation of capital in different fields shapes the transition to civilian life. There may be both positive and negative 'transition outcomes' for military personnel when moving into civilian life, with the adaptation of habitus arguably playing a key role in this process. We argue that the competing practices of the Armed Forces and civilian life requires different levels of cultural competence to enable successful social functioning in both fields, and during the process of transition. We close by discussing the implications of a Bourdieusian framework for current understandings of 'transition'.

Andre Armbruster (Helmut-Schmidt-University)

Organisation and the Transformation of Habitus. Strategies and Mechanisms of Becoming a Member of Hezbollah

This paper highlights the significance of organisations in the process of transforming the habitus, which is a neglected topic within the studies about fluidity and transformation of habitus. Bourdieu himself distinguishes between a primary and a specific habitus. The primary habitus depends on the family, the possession of the different kinds of capital and the position within the class structure. The specific habitus is by contrast related to a field; for example, the habitus of an experienced priest allows him to find the right prayer within every situation. My hypothesis is that organisations are the primary factor in the making and especially in the transformation of the specific habitus. In this paper I examine the process of becoming a full member of the Lebanese religious and militant organisation Hezbollah. Therefore, I conceptualise the Hezbollah as an 'organisation-as-field' (Emirbayer/Johnson 2008) and in addition as a 'greedy institution' (Coser 1974). The recruitment process of Hezbollah itself is a lengthy procedure of religious and political education that usually lasts for years. Hence, I draw special attention on the mechanisms and strategies that Hezbollah utilizes so that the recruit will finally adopt the classificatory schemes of Hezbollah – or more precisely: the special habitus of Hezbollah. These strategies affect all domains of the social life of the

recruit: personal habits will be changed (e.g., how to speak or to behave), the lifestyle is determined (e.g., clothing, food consumption, etc.) and the personal and family relationships are regulated.

Katie Bristow (University of Liverpool)

Making sense of the game - The intersubjective nature of diagnosis and management of depression on the borderlands of the NHS

Over the last few decades there has been a shift in the location of the management of common mental health issues towards primary care. In this paper we use Bourdieu's social theories, habitus, field and symbolic violence to reflect on the role of the general medical practitioners (GPs) to provide appropriate care for populations underserved by current provision. We aim to demonstrate that GPs' hold in tension that they are from the English NHS Space with a habitus largely derived from their biomedical training; yet as generalists they work on the peripheries, on the borderlands in close proximity to, and overlapping with, the other spaces associated with their patients' conceptual understanding and experiences. We then apply King's and Bottero's critiques of Bourdieu's notion of the logic of practice (making sense of the game) to emphasise the intersubjectivity activity inherent in the GP/patient encounter to provide an explanation for differences in care received.