

The Sociological and Anthropological Ideas of Pierre Bourdieu

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الخلاصة

انصب الاهتمام في هذا المقال على بعض الأفكار السوسولوجية والانتروبولوجية للفيلسوف وعالم الاجتماع الفرنسي بيار بورديو. وقد تم التركيز أساسا حول العلاقة الموجودة بين النظام التربوي والطبقات الاجتماعية. لقد أوليت عناية خاصة لنظرية بورديو حول العنف المعنوي وكذلك تعرضت إلى بعض المفاهيم مثل الرأسمال الثقافي ونظرية السلوك المعتاد والممارسة.

Introduction:

This essay is mainly concerned with exposing briefly some of the sociological and anthropological ideas of Pierre Bourdieu. I have focused principally on the relation which exists between the educational system and social classes. I have paid attention to Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence and also the concept of cultural capital and the theory of habitus and practices .

Inequality of educational opportunity within the French educational system:

Bourdieu (1979), like most social scientists in France and Britain, has deplored the existence of inequality of educational opportunity. He has attempted some research to prove the continuance of inequality in the French educational system. In some of his research, he found that the chances of entering university according to father's occupation is less than one per cent for children of farm workers and almost seventy per cent for children of industrialists and more than ighty per cent for children of professionals (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979 p 02) (1)

Bourdieu (1979) explains this situation of inequality as the result of selection and elimination of children which is taking place throughout the educational system and specially accentuated for the less privileged social classes (p 02)(2). The system of selection is based on a criterion which consists of selecting children with specific

characteristics. According to Bourdieu, they are well expressed in Kelsall (1963). He said that: "in a democracy, institutions supported out of public funds ought not directly and openly to select on the basis of some of them. Amongst the characteristics it would not normally be legitimate to pay attention to in the selection process are: sex, sibling order, age above the minimum (or length of time spent at school), physical appearance, accent or intonation, socio-economic status of parents, and prestige of last school attended." (Kelsall 1963, quoted in Bourdieu 1966 p 385)(3)

From this quotation, Bourdieu (1966) argues that the educational system is paying a lot of attention in the selection process to some of these characteristics and therefore eliminating indirectly and discreetly those who could be – in other circumstances – eliminated openly without being in contradiction with the principle of formal equality between individuals (p 386) .(4)

There are some other hidden inequalities in education such as the concentration of working class or lower middle class students in certain disciplines or the fact that they fall behind and cannot progress normally through the educational system. Inequality of educational opportunity is affecting both male and female students but there is a slightly greater disadvantage for women in the lower classes (Bourdieu 1979 p 2-6) .(5)

According to Bourdieu (1966) the school has always been taken as a tool for social mobility in society referring to the ideology of the "L'ecole Liberatrice". but in fact, it is one of the most efficacious factors of social conservation because the school offers an appearance of legitimacy for social inequalities and allows its sanctions on the basis of cultural heritage, social "gifts" and considers them as if they were natural "gifts" (p 387) .(6)

In an article, The School as a Conservative Force, Bourdieu (1974) highlights the fact of inequality in education which is due to the process of elimination, operating throughout the whole period spent in education, and social conservation. He said that: "the son of a manager is eighty times as likely to get to university as the son of an agriculture worker, forty times as likely as the son of a factory worker and twice as likely as even the son of a man employed in a lower salaried staff grades" (Bourdieu 1974, p 32) .(7)

The causes of inequality of educational opportunity:

In order to explain the perpetuating causes of inequality in education, Bourdieu (1979) rejected firstly the usual theory of economic obstacles which is not sufficiently justifying the differences of achievement of children from different social classes (p 8)(8). He excluded also the usual sociological explanation which accounts for the unequal achievement as caused by unequal ability among children (Bourdieu 1974 p32) .(9)

Bourdieu (1979) explains inequality of educational opportunity in terms of cultural obstacles which the children have to overcome (p 8). (10) In the article, The School as a Conservative Force, he argues that: "Each family transmits to its children indirectly rather than directly, a certain cultural capital and a certain ethos. The latter is a system of implicit and deeply interiorized values which, among other things, helps to define attitudes towards the cultural capital and educational institutions"(Bourdieu 1974 p 32) .(11)

Therefore, the inequality of children in school is essentially caused by the cultural heritage which is helping the upper classes and disadvantaging the working classes. The cultural capital is not only helping the spread of educational inequality but it has even an influence on the choice of options for students. The attitudes of parents and children towards school are largely an expression of the system of values which they hold as a result of their belonging to a given social class. There is the fact that different social classes send a different proportion of their children to the lycee even if they have equal attainment, but it is often explained as "parental choices". The surveys have shown that there is a correlation between parental choices and options taken which means that parental choice is in most cases bound to follow real possibilities of study. Bourdieu (1974) believes that working class parental choices and attitudes towards their children's education are primarily the interiorization of the fate of being the members of a depressed social class. He argues also that: "If members of the lower middle and working classes take reality as being equivalent to their wishes, it is because, in this area as elsewhere, aspirations and demands are defined in both form and content by objective conditions which exclude the possibility of hoping for the unobtainable" (Bourdieu 1974 p 33) .(12)

The success at school for children is directly linked to cultural capital transmitted by the family milieu and consequently, the family

take attitudes towards the kind of study the student has to undertake which is usually defined by the objective hopes of success at school. (Bourdieu 1974 p 35)(13)

In Bourdieu's conception, the notion of cultural capital is an indispensable hypothesis for explaining the unequal performances of children in school from different social classes. The cultural capital is the principal factor which helps the children from different social classes to get benefit from what is being taught in schools. (Bourdieu 1979 p 3)(14)

Bourdieu (1979) stated that the idea of cultural capital made a break with the normal vision in sociology which sees the success or failure of children in school as affected by "aptitudes" and also the theory of human capital (Becker 1964) which emphasises the profit of investment in education without considering the reproduction of social structure. (p 3)(15)

Cultural capital could exist in three forms:

1) **Incorporated state:** which means to exist under a durable disposition of the organism. Most of the properties of cultural capital could be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is related to a body and presupposes such an embodiment. The accumulation of cultural capital requires an incorporation and an assimilation which cost a lot in terms of time that must be invested personally by individuals. (Bourdieu 1979 p 3) (16)

2) **Objectivated state:** It is manifested in the form of cultural goods, painting, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines which are a realisation of theories or critics of these theories. The objectivated cultural capital in its material support such as written documents, paintings, monuments, etc., is materially transmitted and transmitted as well by its legal properties which constitute its cultural notions. (Bourdieu 1979 p5)(17)

3) **Instituted state:** It is a kind of objectivation of the cultural capital in the form of titles. This institutionalization is done by the collectivity. In Bourdieu's opinion, this form of objectivation of the cultural capital is one of the ways of neutralizing certain of its properties because, due to its incorporated state, cultural capital has the same biological limits of its support. (Bourdieu 1979 p5)(18)

I want to draw attention to a concept called "social capital" which is quite related to the concept of "cultural capital". Bourdieu (1980) defines "social capital" as the total of actual and potential resources

which are related to the possession of a system of durable relations of acquaintance, or in other terms, the belonging to a certain group as an ensemble of agents characterized not only by common properties but also united by a permanent and useful liaison. The volume of social capital that a particular agent possesses depends essentially on the system of liaison which he could effectively mobilize and on the volume of the economical and cultural or symbolic capital which are in the possession of those who have relation with him. Social capital supposes the existence of the effect of multipliers of economic and cultural capital because the members of a group are always willing to give support and provide services in terms of material help and social assistance and this phenomenon gives the impression that each member of the group has extended his economical and cultural capital, let us say by ten or twenty times, because he is able to benefit from what other colleagues in the group possess. This is why a lot of selective clubs and prestigious groups try to concentrate social capital in order to get full benefit from the effect of the multiplier implied in the fact of concentration and assure for them the maximum profits of belonging to a group.(Bourdieu 1980 p 02)(19)

Having exposed the idea that there is a persistent inequality in education caused principally by the unequal inheritance of cultural capital in different social classes, we come now to highlight the role of the school in producing and preserving social inequalities in society.

Bourdieu (1974) questions firstly the responsibility of the school in perpetuating social inequalities. Under the Jacobin ideology – as he said – the school has nothing to do with social inequalities and this question has never been raised. But, in fact, if we take the socially conditioned inequalities with regard to school and education, we conclude that formal equity which is the moral basis of the whole educational system, is in reality unjust and that the so-called democratic systems protect the privileges themselves rather than their open social mobility.(p 37)(20)

Bourdieu (1974) believes that the school does not take into account the cultural inequalities between children from different social classes when making academic judgements. In its teaching methods and techniques there is always a certain bias towards favouring the most privileged and penalizing the underprivileged. In other words, by treating all children in the school in the same manner and as if they were equal in rights and duties, despite the fact that they are unequal

in reality, the educational system is giving its sanctions to initial cultural inequalities and not to something else. (p 38)(21)

The authorities running the educational system are very keen on choosing who is going to transmit aristocratic culture. The individuals holding the post of teacher are usually the product of a system adopting the value of the dominant culture. They are in favour of the aristocratic culture to which they owe their own academic and social success. Therefore, they are unconsciously going to bring into play the values of the milieu from which they come or to which they now belong, when teaching and assessing their pupils. Bourdieu (1974) said that: "The judgements that teachers make regard to students, particularly in examination, take into account not only knowledge and know-how, but also the intangible nuances of manners and style."(p 339)(22)

We know that children are coming from different backgrounds which presuppose them to acquire different intellectual tools, cultural habits, income and different aptitudes in terms of language. Language is one of important elements of the cultural capital which is causing inequality of opportunity in education.

Bourdieu (1974) argues that language is an important part of cultural heritage which provides the students with a "system of transposable mental postures"(p 40). It is known that there is a gap between university language and that spoken, in fact, by the different social classes. The working class children are faced in this situation, with unfair competition in scholastic achievement because the upper class language is more close to the language used in teaching. Therefore, we deduce that each individual inherits from his milieu a certain type of language and its uses which prepare him for the scholastic games. The French tradition of literary studies are – in Bourdieu's terms – "games with words". Bourdieu (1974 p 40)(23)

Bourdieu has done some empirical research which proves that there is a certain connection between language competence and scholastic performance. In The Inheritors, he argues that the educational achievement is, to a greater extent, dependent on the capacity of manipulating the abstract language of ideas, therefore, the most successful student in this case are those who had a chance to study Greek and Latin.(Bourdieu 1979 p 14)(24)

Bourdieu has gone deeply studying the language used in teaching and its relation to the pedagogic situations. In the Rapport

pedagogique et communication, Bourdieu (1965) and his colleagues have found that there is some sort of misunderstanding of language in the universities and high schools in France. For instance, the students have a lot of difficulties to cope with the particular technics of teaching like the definition words and concepts used during their studies or heard from teachers in the conferences.(p 14) Secondary education and university studies are based on the acquisition of a language of elaborated ideas encountered in the university teaching tradition. This language is complex, artificial and full of allusions for the working class students. But for the upper classes, it is natural. Elite students are considered by their teachers as intelligent and talented just because they can understand and handle complicated words.(p 18)(25)

Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence :

The foundations of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence are some propositions, each one of which deals with an aspect of the educational system. The concept "symbolic violence" means the imposition of meanings which could be exerted by the healer, the sorcerer, the priest, the humourist, the propagandist, the teacher and the psychiatrist or psychoanalist.(Bourdieu 1977 p 6)(26)

The first proposition said that: "all pedagogic action, is objectively symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (p 5). Bourdieu (1977) means by pedagogic action a kind of socialization done by some agent such as schools, the family and other informal education. This action is known as symbolic violence because it is an inculcation of meanings which are culturally arbitrary imposed by an arbitrary power incorporated in a group. (p 5-7) (27)

Bourdieu (1977) considers, in a related proposition (1.2) that something is arbitrary when it "cannot be deduced from any universal principle, whether physical, biological or spiritual, not being linked by any sort of internal relation to "the nature of things" or any "human nature".(p 8)(28)

In a related subproposition (1.1.3), Bourdieu (1977) argues that in any given social formation, the pedagogic action is the basis for power relation between the groups or classes which make up that social formation. The meanings that are selected as important for reproduction represents the culture of the dominant group.(p 7)(29)

The pedagogic agencies are defined by their weight in the structure depending on their symbolic strength. The agency which holds the highest position is the one which represents the "objective interests" of the dominant classes.'(p 7) The effect of these agencies dominated by the knowledge and style of the dominant pedagogic action is "always tend to reproduce the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these groups or classes, thereby, contributing to the reproduction of the social structure" (Bourdieu 1977 p 11)(30)

The second proposition deals with the nature of pedagogic authority. The theory of pedagogical action produces the concept of pedagogical authority. Pedagogical agents have authority from the fact of misperception, of not seeing things "objectively". In Bourdieu's view, authority always serves to hide power arrangements and deceive believers. Therefore, pedagogical agents "objectively recognized as legitimate authority"(p 13)

Pedagogical authority is receiving its legitimacy through some groups or classes, so it is bound to be consistent with them. The agency is more likely to legitimate itself when it inculcates the culture of the group delegating its authority. Another source of legitimacy for the pedagogical agents lies in its sanctions when they are accepted and imposed by the economy and social market. (p 27)

The third proposition states that pedagogic is an arbitrary imposition of a cultural arbitrary which presupposes a pedagogic authority incorporated in a pedagogic agency. The role of the pedagogic agency is to reproduce the principles of the cultural arbitrary which a group or class imposes as worthy of reproduction. Coming to a deeper level of analysis, Bourdieu (1977) argues that: "Pedagogic action entails pedagogic work, a process of inculcation which must last long enough to produce a durable training, i.e. a habitus, the product of internalization of the principles of a cultural arbitrary capable of perpetuating itself after pedagogical action has ceased and thereby of perpetuating in practice the principles of the internalization arbitrary."(p31)(31)

Pedagogic action entails pedagogic work which has to last for a certain time in order to produce a lasting habitus. The term habitus refers roughly to the tacit understandings or perceptual frames through which meaning is constructed. The function of the habitus in social reproduction is like the genes in biological reproduction. It is the

stable element which could be passed from one generation to another.(p 32)

Pedagogical work produces a durable habitus which generates practices and allows groups to maintain its status without referring to repression of physical violence. Through its inculcation, "It contributes towards producing the intellectual and moral integration of group or class"(p 35). The integration of the group does not come from conscious beliefs or values but rather from a shared tacit understanding which helps to generate beliefs. Pedagogic work, in addition to its role of increasing the integration of the group, helps also to maintain the broader social system which is composed of groups in different power relations. It does this by producing the legitimacy of certain cultural products such as college graduates, worthwhile art, and at the same time creating legitimate "consumers", those who are ready to recognize, appreciate and use the product such as employers (p 56).The different groups or classes are inculcated with a similar habitus. But despite this fact, pedagogic work succeeds to establish the legitimacy of the dominant culture and leading dominant groups to consider that their culture is less legitimate than the dominant one. The power structure, in Bourdieu's conception is maintained through the use of internalized controls which are a process of legitimating the dominant culture done by the pedagogical roles of legitimate agents through the indirect inculcation of tacit conventions (p 41).

The fourth and final proposition focuses principally on the structure and the functions of the educational system as an institution. It states that the specific characteristics of the educational system's structure and functions and by the means proper to this institution, it has to produce and reproduce the cultural inculcation which contributes to the reproduction of the class relations (Social Reproduction). (p 54)

The schools are institutionally conditioned for the homogeneity and the orthodoxy of work of schooling. The educational system tends to equip the agents responsible for the inculcation with a standard training and standardized instruments (p 58). The educational system necessarily monopolizes the production of the agents (teachers designated to reproduce it. The agents, equipped with the durable training (habitus) which enables them to perform the work of schooling, tend to reproduce the same training in new reproducers. In

this situation. the educational system is characterized by a tendency towards perfect self-reproduction realized within the scope of its relative autonomy. In other words, there are pressures for the institutionalization and routinization of the work of schooling which make the educational system to be seen very self-reproductive (p 60).

Having exposed so far a brief account of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence, we are ready now to tackle the question of structures, habitus and practices.

Bourdieu's conception of structures, habitus and practices:

The concepts of "structures" and "habitus" constitute the basic elements for the reproduction of the social order or in Bourdieu's terms. "the theory of the modes of generation of practices". This theory is predetermined by what Bourdieu expresses as the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality. This typically opaque sentence could mean, on the one hand, the incorporation of all sorts of meanings, schemes and cultures by the individual and on the other hand, the objectification and reflection of what has been assimilated before in social life. (Bourdieu 1977 p 1-72)(32)

The habitus is the product of structures which are themselves constituted from a particular type of environment such as the material conditions of the class system. The habitus is defined as "a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures." (Bourdieu 1977 p 72)(33)

This definition implies that the habitus is working as a set of principles generating, in a structural way, the practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" or "regular" without obeying rules and adapting to their goals, without any presupposition of consciousness. It is, after all, only a version of the dilemma "is man created by social structures or does man make the social structure"? All the practices are collectively orchestrated without being orchestrated by one particular conductor. The practices of the habitus are only apparently determined by the future because they appear explicitly as the realisation of purposes project or plan. The practices seem to be determined by anticipation of their own consequences. In fact, they are determined by the past conditions which have produced the principle of their production (Bourdieu 1977 p72)(34)

Bourdieu (1977) argues that the habitus is a kind of universalizing mediation which causes the practices of an individual agent, without having an explicit reason or a signifying intent. There is a part of the practices that remains obscure and invisible in the eyes of their own producers which is the aspect through which they are objectively adjusted and adapted to other practices and to the structures (p 79).

The orchestration of the habitus is due to the production of a common sense world possessing naturally the objectivity which is secured by consensus on the meaning of practices and the world. In other words, there is a certain harmonization of agents' experiences and a continuous reinforcement that each of them receives from the expressions either imposed or programmed, individual or collective, of similar or identical experiences (Bourdieu 1977 p 80)(35)

The homogeneity of the habitus is causing practices and works to be immediately intelligible and foreseeable, and therefore taken for granted. This practical comprehension anticipates the "interaction" and "intentional transfer into the other" which means that the ordinary occasion of life does not require explicit inquiry every time by saying "what do you mean". There is some sort of automatic and impersonal understanding of ordinary practices. (Bourdieu 1977 p80)(36)

This aspect of Bourdieu's work is similar to that of Alfred Schutz. He conceived the life-world in a similar way to Bourdieu's homogeneity of the habitus. He said: "It is self-evident to me in the natural attitude not only that I can act upon my fellow-men but also that they can act upon me" (quoted in Bauman 1978 p 176)(37)

Bourdieu (1977) goes further to argue that the objective homogenizing of groups or class habitus is resulting from the homogeneity of the conditions of their existence. The homogeneity of groups or class habitus helps the practices to be objectively harmonized without any intentional calculation or conscious reference to a norm and mutually adjusted even in the absence of any direct interaction or explicit co-ordination (p 80). The habitus for Bourdieu (1977) is an immanent law which is laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing. It is the precondition not only for the co-ordination of practices but also for practices of co-ordination. The corrections and adjustments the agents carry out consciously presuppose them to master a common code. It is because the agents are the product of disposition, that is they have been subject to the internalization of the same objective structures, they are objectively

pre-arranged jointly in terms of the practices of members of the same class or group. In the case of a differentiated society, the same class members are endowed with a unitary and systemic objective meaning surpassing subjective intentions and conscious projects whether individual or collective (Bourdieu 1977 p 81)(38)

Analysing the process of objectification and orchestrations of the habitus in terms of interaction, Bourdieu (1977) argues that we tend to forget that the interaction itself owes its form to the objective structures which have produced the dispositions of the interacting agents and which allot them their relative positions in the interaction and elsewhere. Every confrontation between agents brings together systems of dispositions such as linguistic competence and cultural competence, and through this habitus, the structures are active only when embodied in a competence acquired in the course of a particular history. Therefore, when we mention a class habitus we insist that "interpersonal" relations are never, except in appearance, individual to individual relationships and that the truth of the interaction is never entirely contained in the interaction. In fact, it is their past and present positions in the social structure that individuals carry with them, all times and in all places, in the form of dispositions (Bourdieu 1977 p81-82)(39)

By asserting that the truth of the interaction is never entirely contained in the interaction, Bourdieu is reflecting Durkheim's idea of the "social fact". In short, the habitus, as a product of history, is entailed to produce individual and collective practices and by doing so it produces history. The system of dispositions is known as a past which survives in the present and tends to perpetuate itself into the future by making itself present in practices structured according to its principles. (Bourdieu 1977 p 82)(40)

Finally, Bourdieu (1977) summarizes in a few sentences the role of the habitus. He said that the structure which has produced the habitus and through it governs practice not by the mechanical determinism process but through the mediation of the orientations and limits it assigns to the habitus's operations of invention. The habitus, considered as an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constructed, engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions and no others. In Bourdieu's view, this paradoxical product is difficult to conceive so long as one remains

focused on the dilemma of determinism and freedom, conditioning and creativity. The habitus is an endless capacity to engender products, thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its productions. (Bourdieu 1977 p95)(41)

Conclusion: Bourdieu has produced important ideas such as “Cultural Capital”, its accumulation and transmission through the system of school, the power relations which are reproduced from generation to generation by transmitting the legitimate culture, and the maintaining of existing set of power relations by concealing their arbitrary nature. The habitus and practices which are producing a common sense world and secured by consensus on the meaning and the world. Some of Bourdieu’s ideas are quite plausible and could be accepted as a useful explanation of the working of the educational system in France. But some others are lacking the necessary empirical statistics, concrete and objective proofs.

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