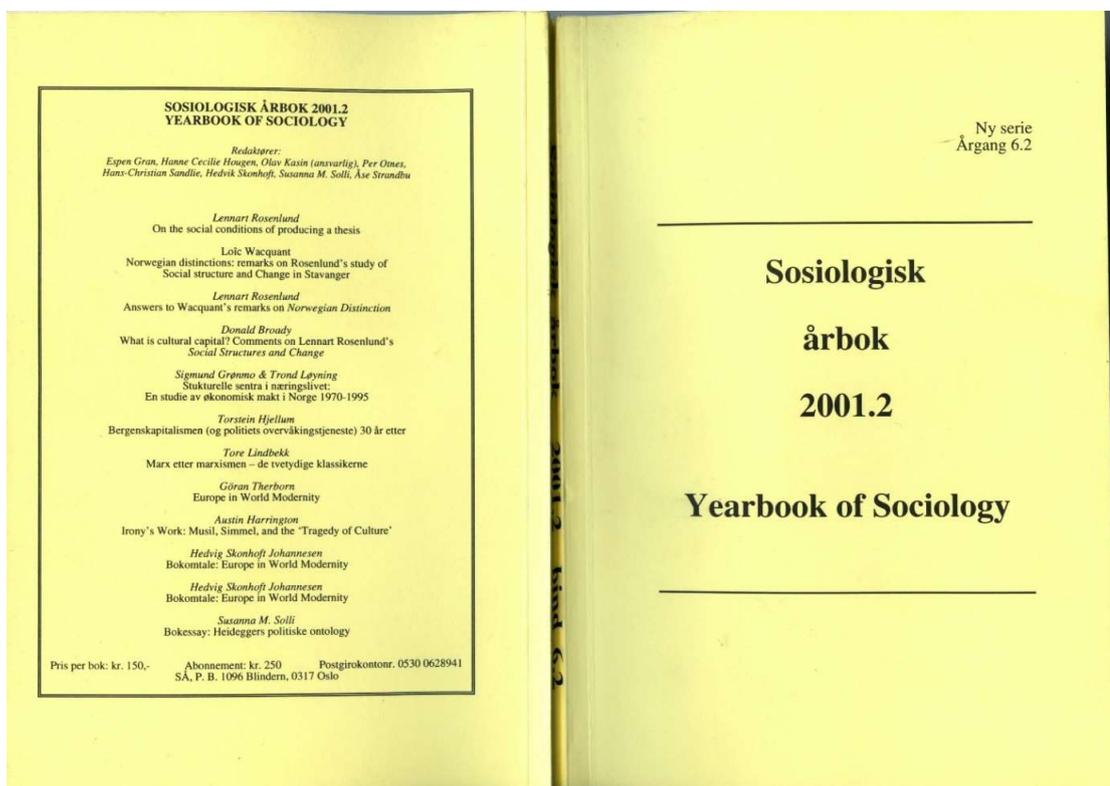


Faksimil, endast t.o.m. p. 67

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Oslo 2002, 193 p.

Denna utgåva av *Sosiologisk årbok*, publicerad i febr. 2002, innehåller flera bidrag som kommenterar den dr. philos-avhandling *Social Structures and Change: Applying Pierre Bourdieu's Approach and Analytic Framework* som Lennart Rosenlund försvarade vid Universitetet i Bergen i maj 2001. Avhandlingsförfattaren själv resonerar om sitt tillvägagångssätt i "On the social conditions of producing a thesis" (pp. 5 – 25), försteopponenten Loïc Wacquant bidrar med "Norwegian distinctions: remarks on Rosenlund's study of Social structure and Change in Stavanger" (pp. 27-32), Lennart Rosenlund svarar med "Answers to Wacquant's remarks on Norwegian Distinction" (pp. 33-44) och andreopponenten Donald Broady summerar sina synpunkter i "What is cultural capital? Comments on Lennart Rosenlund's Social Structures and Change" (pp. 45-59).



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YEARBOOK OF SOCIOLOGY

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*Espen Gran, Hanne Cecilie Hougen, Olav Kasin (ansvarlig), Per Otnes,
Hans-Christian Sandlie, Hedvig Skonhoft, Susanna M. Solli, Åse Strandbu*

Lennart Rosenlund

On the social conditions of producing a thesis

Loïc Wacquant

Norwegian distinctions: remarks on Rosenlund's study of
Social structure and Change in Stavanger

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Answers to Wacquant's remarks on *Norwegian Distinction*

Donald Broady

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Innledning

Innenfor deler av den samfunnsvitenskapelige praksis stilles det store krav til refleksjon over eget ståsted. Ikke bare skal forskeren bedrive en form for refleksiv aktivitet. Han/hun skal også reflektere over sine egne refleksjoner. Forskeren er ikke bare et subjekt som skal belyse og tematisere (forsknings)objekter. Han/hun må også være i stand til å objektivere seg selv, framstille seg selv som objekt.

Aktiviteten kalles av blant andre Anthony Giddens for dobbel refleksivitet eller dobbel hermeneutikk, og er et forsøk på å møte "problemet" med at samfunnsvitenskapens studieobjekter – andre mennesker – selv reflekterer og yter motstand mot å bli plassert og analysert. Men hvorfor er dette kravet så lett å skrive om og tilsvarende vanskelig å praktisere? Ett svar kan være at det ikke finnes noen streng metodologisk resept for hvordan denne aktiviteten skal bedrives. Et annet svar kan være at det av og til innebærer ubehagelig selverkjennelser og innrømmelser som det ikke er så lett å plasseres på et sakskart. Eller aktiviteten leder til noe en fort betrakter som trivielt, noe som ikke har noe med saken å gjøre.

For en samfunnsvitenskap som tar mål av seg å bedrive kritikk, enten av forskningen selv, eller av makt, ulikhet og dumskap i samfunnet, vil en måtte finne seg i å selv bli analysert og kritisert. Uten en viss grad av (selv)refleksjon og (selv)innsikt kan dette bli vanskelig å takle. Men

framfor å betrakte dobbel refleksivitet som et forsvarsvåpen mot kritikk, eller som en metode for alltid å kunne ha det siste ordet, burde det betraktes som en vei til innsikt for samfunnsvitenskapen.

Den første og mest omfattende delen i dette nummer av Sosiologisk årbok kan leses som et forsøk på å vise hvordan en selvtematiserende aktivitet er retningsbestemmende og innsiktsgivende for forskningsprosjekter. Lennart Rosenlunds "On the social conditons of producing a thesis" beskriver starten på og omstendighetene rundt et forskningsprosjekt, hans studium av sosiale strukturer og sosial endring i Stavanger. Ett av grepene til Rosenlund er å betrakte sitt eget prosjekt som et kulturelt uttrykk, i den betydning at det har blitt til i et spesifikt sosialt felt av kulturell produksjon.

Vi har også valgt å vise omstendighetene rundt bedømmelsen av dette forskningsprosjektet ved å trykke bidrag fra Loïc Wacquant og Donald Broady, som begge satt i Rosenlunds doktorgradskomiteé. Alle bidragene relaterer seg til Bourdieus posisjon som en av nestorene hva gjelder å presentere og praktisere en dobbel refleksivitet i forskningen. (Se forøvrig egen innledning for nærmere presentasjon av disse bidragene.)

I neste bolk har vi satt fokus på økonomisk makt og studier av de rike. Grønmo og Løyning presenterer i artikkelen "Strukturelle sentre i næringslivet" et studium av overlappende styremedlemskap i norsk næringsliv mellom 1970 og 1995. Hensikten er å behandle økonomiske relasjoner som sosiale relasjoner, og gjennom det vise hvordan nettverk blant aktører i næringslivet bidrar til å forme maktsentra i økonomien. Et mer avgrenset og tettere studium av de rike ble presentert i tidsskriftet Kontrast nr. 6, 1971 med temaet "Bergenskapitalismen". Forfatteren av nummeret, Torstein Hjellum, presenterer hos oss et kort bidrag hvor han reflekterer over hvordan studiet ble møtt av stør-borgerskapet i Bergen. Noe overraskende var det kanskje at de sterkeste reaksjonene knyttet seg til unøyaktigheter hos Hjellum mht. hvem som eide hvilke bedrifter – og det med en fornærmet mine fra eierne selv. At Hjellum senere har funnet igjen temanummeret i sin

mappe hos overvåkningspolitiet, kan tyde på at studiet tross alt vakte en viss bekymring – utenfor offentlighetens lys.

At etterfølgere av store tenkere har en tendens til å fremstå som bleke kopier, mer dogmatiske og mindre nyanserte enn originalen, er et kjent fenomen. At "marxsister" i ettertid har gjort Marx mer dogmatiske enn han virkelig var, er kanskje det mest kjente eksemplet. Tore Lindbeck tar i artikkelen "Marx før marxismen" opp den hegelianske påvirkningen hos Marx, og forsøker å vise en rikere og mer kulturkritisk og eksistensfilosofiske side ved hans arbeider enn hva f.eks. kapitallogikerne var i stand til eller ville gripe.

Modernitet og europeisk identitet står i sentrum i de to neste bidragene. "Er Europa fortsatt moderne" er det noe overraskende spørsmålet Göran Therborn stiller i artikkelen "Europe in World Modernity". I en tid hvor nasjonalstatens grunnlag endres gjennom overnasjonale organer og samtidig gjenoppstår gjennom voldelige konflikter, f.eks. i det tidligere Jugoslavia, er det vanskelig å se hva som peker framover og bakover i tid i de europeiske kulturene. Therborns svar er at Europa fortsatt må betraktes som moderne – både på bakgrunn av å være nasjonalstatens arnested og som et laboratorium for overskridelse nasjonalstaten og nasjonalismen.

Austin Harrington berører i "Irony's work: Simmel, Musil and the "Tragedy of Culture" et sentralt spørsmål i sosialteorien – spørsmålet om individuell autensitet – eller rettere – individets autensitet: Er det slik at vi møter verden utstyrt med et sett av autentiske/individuelle egenskaper som bestemmer vår gjøren og laden i verden? Harrington tar utgangspunkt i den volumiøse novellen "Mannen uten egenskaper" av Robert Musil, og viser hvordan dette skjønnlitterært verket kan være en inngangsport til å belyse slike sosialteoretiske problemstillinger. Harrington mener Musils novelle tilbyr en mulig vei ut av det Simmel beskriver som "tragedien i kulturen". Der Simmel vektlegger det problematiske ved at individer søker å realisere sine egenskaper gjennom komplekse moderne institusjoner, tilbyr Musil en refleksiv/

ironisk distanse til i det hele tatt å skulle "realisere seg selv". Harringtons artikkel viser hvordan selvrefleksjon både er et metodologisk problem i samfunnsvitenskapen og et eksistensielt anliggende – og derfor vanskelig å skille ut som en streng vitenskapelig metodologi. Sagt med andre ord er selvrefleksjon både en epistemologisk og ontologisk utfordring.

Bidragene til Therborn og Harrington ble begge presentert ved konferansen "Visions and Divisions – challenges to European Sociology" i Helsinki, 28. aug – 1. sept. 2001.

Til slutt i denne utgaven av Sosiologisk årbok presenterer vi en bilkritisk kommentar og to bokessay. "Det golde samfunn av bilkledde" av Bjørn M. Bliksrud diskuterer forholdet mellom bilen som framkomstmiddel og livsform. Hedvig S. Johannesen har skrevet om boken "The corrosion of Character" av Richard Sennet, nylig oversatt til norsk med tittelen "Det fleksible mennesket". Susanna Solli diskuterer Heideggers politiske ontologi slik denne er presentert i Pierre Bourdieus bok "The Political Ontology of Martin Heidegger".

Redaksjonen

Introduction, Rosenlund

Per Otnes

Lennart Rosenlund defended his thesis for the *DPhil.* degree, *Social Structures and Change: Applying Pierre Bourdieu's Approach and Analytic Framework*, in Bergen, the 25th and 26th of May 2001. The editors of our *Yearbook* thank him and his doctoral committee for giving us the rights to publish extensively from the event. For once in fact an entire disputation is appearing in print, excepting only the first lecture (on local community studies, the commission's assigned topic). This may have an importance in itself, mirroring the usual proceedings under such circumstances for prospective followers. But the main reason we want to publish it at length is of course our firm belief in the great importance of Rosenlund's theme, approach, methods and findings, nearly unique it would seem in Norway and exceptional even in the Nordic context so far.

Leaning heavily on Bourdieu's work, notably *Distinction* as he does, is bound to arouse criticism from some quarters, as we have been informed has an earlier, much shorter version of the same work at an international conference some years ago. Bourdieu is an outspoken social critic, and *Distinction* far from his most recent work. Only fair then to recall that in a survey initiated by the ISA, the *International Sociological Association*, *Distinction* scored 6th among "top socio-

logical works of the 20th century”, surpassed among the first ten by only two books by living authors, and followed by only one other¹. So never mind old criticisms; it is about time for a parallel study in a Norwegian context, a creative adaption, not a mere replication.

Following then in chronological order are his lecture on his own chosen topic, *On the social conditions of producing a thesis*. Next comes Loïc Wacquant's opposition, *Norwegian Distinction*, followed by Rosenlund's summary of his answers. Lastly, we present Donald Broady's opposition. Printed separately is Wacquant's review essay of *Distinction*, entitled *Bourdieu's "Suicide"*.

The very names of the committee members also speak for the importance of the thesis, and by the way, for the good work and high international standing of our sociologist colleagues at Bergen University, notably Olav Korsnes, who administered the committee. Wacquant is an international expert on Bourdieuvian matters and a close collaborator of M. Bourdieu himself, while Donald Broady is in first rank among Nordic experts as well as a sometime *maître de conférences* of Bourdieu's.

Rosenlund's lecture is indeed, I think, unique in applying Bourdieu's much discussed yet rarely if at all practiced advice 'to objectivate the objectivating subject'. 'What's new', some will no doubt say, 'just the old idea of correcting for personal and positional bias'. But it is indeed new, to position the researcher him/herself into his/her field of study. Notable among the results are that 'cultural intermediates' or new middle classes such as we sociologists, have drifted away, indeed down, from the top levels of total capital or social influence – away that is not only from the new rich and business leaders but no less from the 'affluent working class'. All of which is resulting in a new closeness

¹ Top of the list in rank order: Weber, Mills, Merton, Weber, Berger/Luckman, Bourdieu, Elias, Habermas, Parsons, Goffman.

between us 'intermediates', and possibly the 'cultural elites' as well, and the 'cultured working class', alongside parts of the less affluent workers. Take for example the new intellectual soccer fan fad, a symbolic even if so far largely subconscious taking up and partly transforming of a traditional working-class pass-time, the informed soccer fan. Gressgård (SÅR 1996.1), Fürst (SÅR 1997.2), and star coach Egil 'Drillo' Olsen, are - like it or not - birds of a feather, only the one thing they do not share is the downward-sloping trajectory of most new middle classes.

Wacquant offers generous praise while gently teasing his doctorand for his somewhat retiring personal style. Among his critical points are his question of 'the distinction of Bourdieuvian ways', so to say: may be his approach is not so distant from that of some other, notable students of class and mobility after all. Another point of his focuses on the many, notable changes in Bourdieu's approach in his works after *Distinction* of 1979, tending e.g. to transform in part even key concepts such as habitus.

Among other things, Broady directs attention to the prospects of a concept such as cultural capital. Rosenlund's work bears out that in the Stavanger area at least, the differentiation of a specific cultural capital is no older than a couple of decades. Broady refers to his Swedish works, suggesting that the future of cultural capital may perhaps not outlive that. Another downward-sloping trajectory perhaps, but in general, not class or personal terms this time.

But enough now for introduction. Let the texts speak for themselves. And hopefully, the entire text of the thesis will appear in book form soon.

On the social conditions of producing a thesis

Lennart Rosenlund

When reading the thesis¹ that is to be scrutinised tomorrow one will note that its author is very much absent in the text. It is only in the foreword and towards the very end that he appears in a way that reminds of a social person in flesh and blood with relations to the society of which he is a part. In the rest of the thesis he is present in the form of rather impersonal and distanced evaluations, judgements and interpretations. The reader is left alone to speculate over the relations the author has to the social world he is writing about.

This lecture is an opportunity to provide the reader with a kind of reflexive frame of reference, which may be of use in reading the text. I will put forward to you some reflections on the social conditions under which the thesis has been produced. My intention is to try to unveil how these specific social conditions related to certain positions, which the writer is holding in different social contexts, may have affected the work how his views may have been distorted by these circumstances,

¹ Entitled *Social structure and change: applying Pierre Bourdieu's approach and analytic framework*, Working paper 85/2000 from Stavanger University college.

or perhaps, how these conditions may have created certain favourable openings for the research work.

The writer is very much a part of his own object of study, the city community of Stavanger. He has spent a considerable time there, in fact his whole grown-up life. His personal history is closely entangled with the social change process he is writing about. He came to the city as a foreigner and has stayed since then and developed ties to the city and its inhabitants. The fate of the city has had bearings on his course of life, and the work that he presents in the thesis has bestowed him certain insights upon him as to how his personal social trajectory is related to the history of the city.

One **first** problem to pose and shed light upon is: may there be a reverse relationship between life and work? Can the course of his personal life and the social fate he shares with other members of the class fraction to which he belongs, be traced in the work he is presenting? Every position of the social space offers its own specific modes of spontaneous interpretations, figures of thought specific to that position. Such ready-made, spontaneous thought categories might have slipped into the analyses and thereby become possible analytical pitfalls or obstacles.

This approach to the problem of reflexivity might be labelled traditional: There is a whole strand of efforts where scholars, anthropologists and sociologists of various brands have tried to come to terms with methodological problems that arise in the relationship between the researcher and his/her object of study. My contribution to this general *problematique* may elucidate that being part of the object of study also implies being an agent in the symbolic struggles that is going on in the society under scrutiny. The research work may have become implicated in its skirmishes and thereby become distorted. My intention is to try to locate some analytic pitfalls of that nature.

The **second** issue I will address is a response to one of Pierre Bourdieu's contribution to the *problematique* of reflexivity. It is evi-

dently so that the writings presented is intended as a doctoral thesis and is going to be judged and evaluated as such; as a piece of work disclosing the merits and shortcomings of its producer. It is also presented with an ambition, not necessarily the same, to present a view of society, an interpretation of the social world, which hopefully may add to a better understanding of it.

However, the most important thing in connection with this lecture is that the thesis is a *cultural product* and my intention is to try to treat the thesis as such. It has been produced within a specific social field of cultural production. The conditions of its production are to be found at a certain position within the field of Norwegian social sciences. The thesis represents a stance – or a position-taking – in the competitive struggles over symbolic goods that are undulating in this field: it claims to have a message; certain “choices” of theoretical approach and methods have been made among those available etc. I will make an effort to analyse and describe the social conditions of its production as specific effects of this field, and the possible imprints they have made on the thesis.

Bourdieu has a third perspective on the issue of reflexivity, which may be his most important contribution although the most challenging and difficult. This will not be dealt with here. It has to do with the identification and the efforts to come to terms with what he calls “the intellectualist or scholastic fallacy”. This grand task is addressing the division between the practical world and the intellectual world; to try to come to terms with the worlds apart which they represent; living in the social world and thinking about living in this world are two different things and the danger is to mix up the two: to impose on the acting social agent a theoretical logic where a practical logic is at work.

So, these are my intentions. Thus, let me start by examining possible social mechanisms by which the position in the social space may have influenced the research at hand.

L

In the course of work with the thesis I planned to include a chapter on how the citizens of Stavanger interpret the recent history of their city, a chapter abandoned for various reasons. I had in mind to make a reflexive twist to my subject: to contrast my own tedious analyses of the social change process with an analysis of how the same process is interpreted by those who experienced it and were subjected to it. The intentions were to get clues as to how and according to what principles the inhabitants perceive the fate of the city and thereby are constructing their city as a symbolic entity.

The questionnaire used in the survey contained a section consisting of fourteen statements about various aspects of recent history of the city, various characterisations of the change process, which the respondents were asked to consider and evaluate. Both negative and positive statements were presented. The ambition was to create the universe of common views as multi-faceted and as "complete" as possible. Some were picked up from public debates on the "soul of Stavanger" which from time to time have emerged; some were collected from "letters to the editors" of the local papers. Some, though, were invented by myself.

The respondents were asked to evaluate the statements listed below as to their relevance in describing the city's recent history. Further, they were asked to give their opinions on the importance for the city of the listed events related to certain important establishments and developments in the city during the last 25 years.

STATEMENTS ABOUT THE RECENT HISTORY OF STAVANGER

- The class differences have increased.
- The oil companies have got too much to say in the development.
- To those who have the initiative and guts the city has much to offer.
- The oil activities have given the city a central position on the map of Europe.
- The distance between those who govern and those who are governed have increased.
- It is regrettable that the Christian faith has lost its influence.
- Stavanger has become an interesting city of culture.
- The oil activities have made people too much preoccupied with money and material goods.
- The region of Stavanger has got a new bourgeoisie (overklasse) consisting of oil people.
- The inhabitants of Stavanger have all reasons to be proud of what they have accomplished.
- Stavanger has managed to preserve the best from the period before the oil activities.
- Immigration has destroyed the individuality (særpreg) of the city.
- All the restaurants and pubs have enriched the environment.
- The development during the last couple of years has destroyed the appearance of the city.

IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS AND ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE STAVANGER AREA

- Sola Airport
- New freeways
- New residential areas
- Høgskolen i Stavanger, Rogaland Research
- Rogaland Museum of Art
- Stavanger House of Culture
- Conservation of Old Stavanger
- Offshore bases in Dusavik and Risavika
- Offshore Northern Seas (trade exhibition)

I will present to you now, in brief, the main results of a correspondence analysis of the responses I received, based on my construction of the local social space. This is a frame of analysis that is extensively used throughout the dissertation. As you know the social space is Bourdieu's representation of the social structure, a space of objective social positions in which each and all of us have a certain specific position.

FIGURE 1: THE LOCAL SOCIAL SPACE

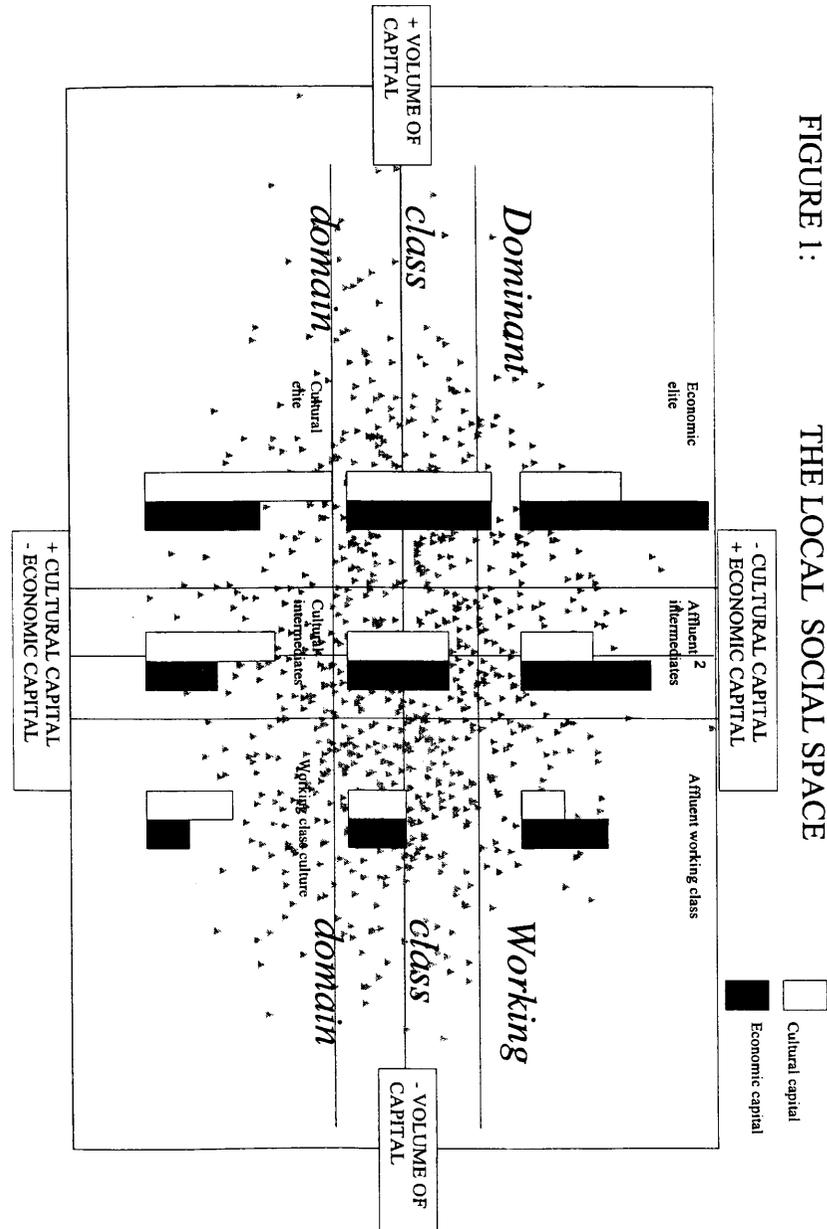
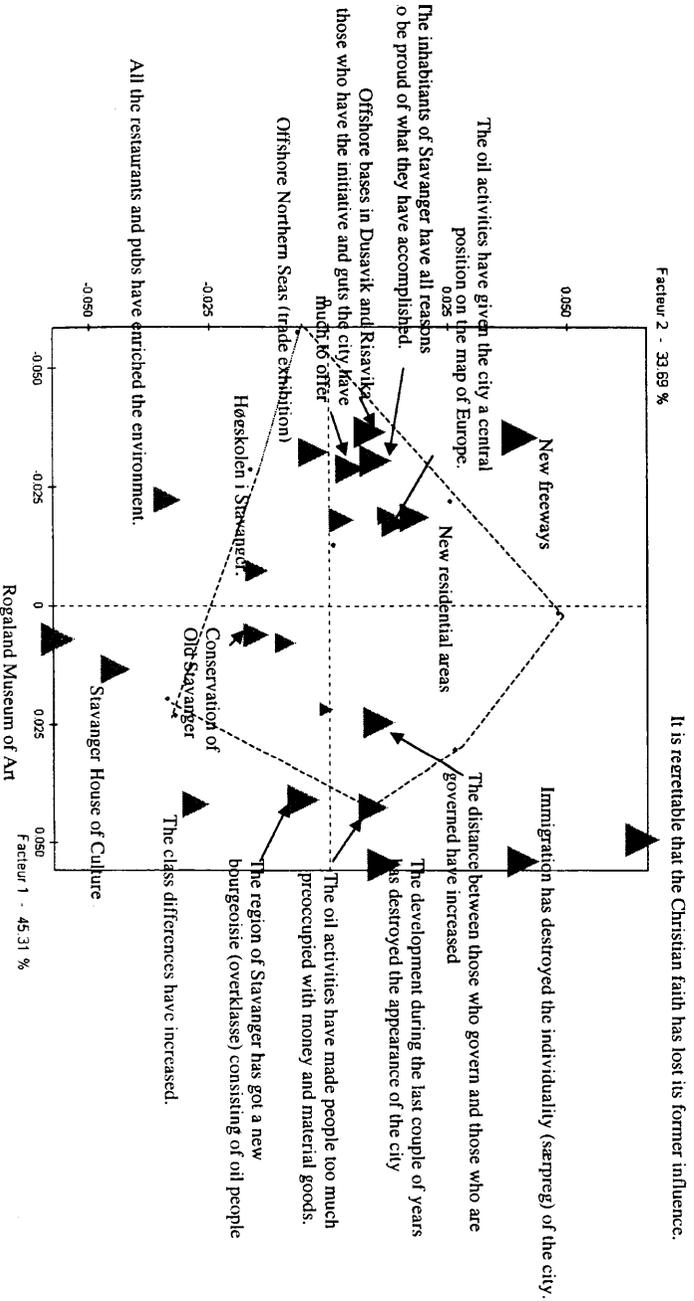


FIGURE 2: THE "MEANINGS" OF STAVANGER



Its two main dimensions may subsume the characteristics of the social space: volume of capital – the horizontal dimension – and composition of capital, the vertical one. These two dimensions are to be interpreted as two independently operating mechanisms of social differentiation. I have used the construction of the local social space to compose three main classes, based on the capital volume of the interviewees, a dominant class, an intermediate class and a working class. Each of these classes have then been separated into three class fractions, according to their relative amount of the two forms of capital, i.e. the composition of capital. In this way I have constructed nine different class fractions, whose balance sheet of capital are indicated by histograms in the figure.

On the basis of these class fractions I have put together a large table summing up the weighted responses made by the members of the nine class fractions to all the statements about the city's history and the evaluations of the importance of the various establishments. This table has then been subjected to a simple correspondence analysis and the main results are presented in Figure 2.

This figure displays the best possible representation of this universe of interpretations of the city's history and judgements of its various establishments, and the main oppositions and divisions that characterises it. It reflects the different ways the inhabitants of Stavanger are constructing the meanings and the symbolic contents of their city, and Figure 3 then provides an image of how these perceptions are socially structured. By contemplating these patterns we may get clues as to understand what construction principles have been used by the inhabitants when these images of the city have been designed. The "map" accounts for 79 percent of the total variance of the data.

In Figure 2, the first dimension counterpoises the negative or critical statements about the city's history on the one side and the appreciative and positive statements on the other. On the right-hand side we find those who agree with the statements such as *class differences have increased*; *The region of Stavanger has got a new bourgeoisie consisting of oil people*; *The oil activities have made people too much preoccupied with money and material goods*. All the critical statements are found on this side.

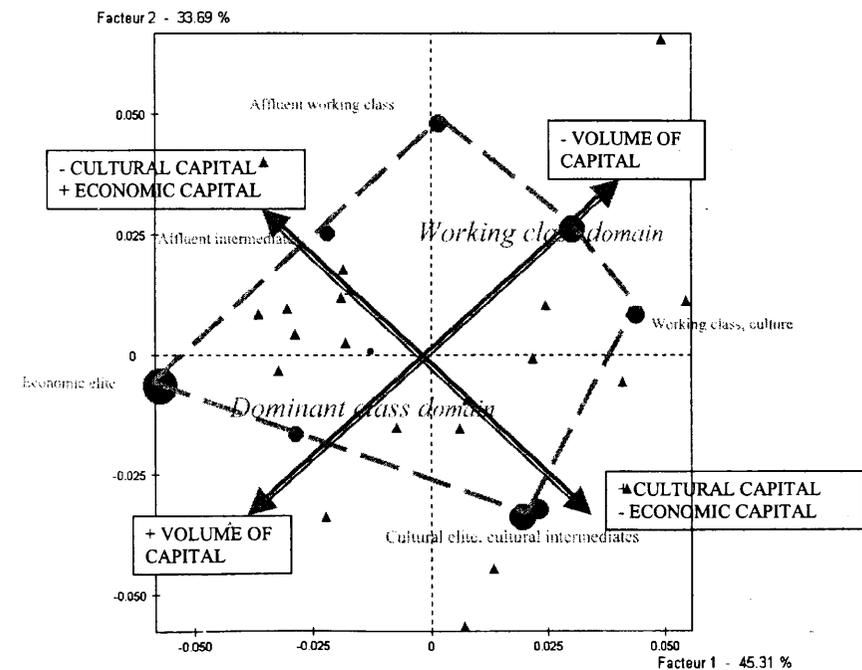
On the other side – on the left – we find the appreciative evaluations: those who claim that: *To those who have the initiative and guts the city has much to offer*; *The inhabitants of Stavanger have all reasons to be proud about what they have accomplished*; and *The oil activities have given the city a central position on the map of Europe*.

The second dimension – the vertical one – basically counterpoises appreciation of two cultural institution (*Rogaland Museum of Art* and *Stavanger House of Culture*), and of agreeing with the statement that *All the restaurants and pubs have enriched the environment of the city* at the bottom of the graph, on the one hand. On the other – at the top of the graph – appreciation of the *new freeways* and two statements representing some kind of nostalgic criticisms: *It is regrettable that the Christian faith has lost its former influence* and *Immigration has destroyed the individuality (Norw. særpreg) of the city*. This second

dimension differentiates the critical statements into a kind of discursive hierarchy. The two mentioned nostalgic statements are located at the top, and at the bottom of the graph we find: *The region of Stavanger has got a new bourgeoisie consisting of oil people* and *The class differences have increased*. These two characterisations of the city's history appear as the most intellectualistic criticisms among the listed ones.

This discursive hierarchy turns out to be structured by a social hierarchy, which is revealed in Figure 3. When reading the statements from the top towards the bottom we note that we are moving from the bottom to the top in a social hierarchy.

FIGURE 3: THE POSITIONS OF CLASS FRACTIONS



This graph contains the projections of the class fractions in their optimal space, together with the responses to the statements, which have no labels here. The graph reveals the social divisions and oppositions with regard to how members of the nine class fractions interpret and evaluate the city's history. Being positioned close to each other in this space implies having reacted similarly to the statements and evaluated similarly the various developments in the city. We note for instance that the *cultural elite* and the *cultural intermediates* have expressed themselves very similarly; they are located closely to each other. Being positioned oppositely implies having interpreted the city's history differently; the more distant they are the more opposed are their views.

The first dimension counterpoises the fraction which is best bestowed with economic capital – *the economic elite*, to the left – with the one least bestowed with this form of capital, *the "cultured" working class fraction*. These two fractions hold the most extreme views. The *economic elite* is the one that is the most appreciative in their perception of the city's change history, while *the cultured working class fraction* is the most critical among our nine class fractions. However, we also note that in the fraction of the dominant class with balanced capital composition and *the affluent intermediates* are indeed also inclined to agree with positively worded statements. In sum:

The "cultured" fraction of the working class shares their critical interpretation of the city's history with the cultural intermediates and the cultural elite, although in a different way which was mentioned earlier.

Further contemplation of this graph reveals that the class fractions are related to one another in a pattern that has revealed itself many times in the course of the research work. As I mentioned, they were constructed on the basis of their balance sheet of the two forms of capital, and their relationship can be subsumed according to the two principles of social differentiation (see Figure 1). They differ from each other with regard to volume and composition of capital.

Figure 3 reveals that they are related to one another according to the very same principles when it comes to how one interprets the history of the city and how one evaluates its various features. Volume and composition of capital are in fact also structuring the principles of construction applied by the inhabitants, by which they shape the city as a symbolic entity. Double-ended arrows in the figure indicate these two basic dimensions. We note that they are "tilted" some 40 degrees compared to the axes-system of the graph. However, the message is clear: The ways the city recent history is interpreted and how various establishments and developments are evaluated are influenced in this systematic way by one's position in the social space, they follow the main principles of social differentiation: volume and composition of capital.

These findings come in a long series of others of the same sort, which I treat as indications of an ongoing struggle over different symbolic assets. This particular analysis displays the opposing positions related to the struggle over the legitimate meanings and contents of the community to which one belongs. It is a battle where the stake is – "the soul of Stavanger" – its legitimate history.

A lot of symbolic work is devoted to the construction of identities in the local media, be it centred on the fate of the local football team (*Viking*), the successful tour of the symphony orchestra, the allocation of national financial resources to the local IT-industry or the erection of the fifth Norwegian university. However, this analysis indicates that the choice of raw material – symbolic objects – for that purpose is by no means chosen at random. It reflects one's investments. The cultural institutions are valued by the cultural fractions, the establishments of the oil industry are chosen by the fractions whose capital balance is predominantly economic.

The writer is implicated in this symbolic struggle, even if he has been very low-profiled in it. His sympathies lay with the cultural fractions. He shares the left-wing dispositions which is common among members

of the cultural elite; he denounces the social value of money and power; he is preoccupied with the social fate of immigrants and other disabled groups; as his fellows he rejects the emerging economic policy of neo-liberalism and he is on his guard against the sneaking onset on the welfare state etc. etc.

The contestants oppositely positioned in the social space are usually right wing oriented; individualistic, they admire the powerful and rich, are indifferent or even hostile towards immigrants, they are to a large extent neo-liberalists and think that the welfare state is too generous, and they are claiming the community as theirs. They think that *the citizens have a lot to be proud of; that it offers those who have the guts and initiative plenty of opportunities*, and they think that *the city has achieved a central position on the European map!* The glory of the city is the glory of the successful power-holders.

Adding together these objectively existing oppositions and contradictions one gets very easily a view of these symbolic struggles as an ongoing spectacle in a David and Goliath scenario. There is a good and noble side, David, with the weak form of capital, cultural capital, bestowed on it – and a bad and vulgar side, Goliath, with the strong form, economic capital, bestowed upon it.

To perceive the rivalry between the cultural and the economic fractions in this spectacle-like fashion is seductive; it offers the writer a “heroic” self-image. And the very act of producing a thesis with a critical undertone may provide its producer with a sense of being an important participator in the struggle; someone who has mapped out the important positions on the battlefield and disclosed the forces that are at play.

This closeness to the object of study, of seeing the signs of the skirmishes of the ongoing symbolic struggle almost on a daily basis in the local public debates, in the papers, on the radio is a constant treat to falsely identify the constructed classes and class fractions – classes on paper – with real, organised and acting social groups. Further, it underscores and may even obliterate that cultural capital is a form of

capital; that it is a source of power – the second best right enough – and that those who hold more of it are themselves immensely engaged in the work of domination.

By bringing this symbolic struggle into a historical-sociological perspective one gets the eyes on the sources of social energy that is invested in it, which may have an evaporating effect on the hero's halo of the of the cultural fractions. They may even acquire the apparition of a Don Quixote. The cultural fractions, particularly the cultural elite and the cultural intermediates are losers in the ongoing social struggle. They have been on course of a downwardly pointing social trajectory from the time they were possible to identify, during the last twenty years or so. A large part of them are children of the “educated bourgeoisie” of the previous generation. Almost 90 percent of them were brought up in a non-workers social and cultural environment. As their parents they have to a large extent chosen to invest in higher education. The “old” social structure was offering them social positions that largely failed to materialise. They chose paths of higher education whose value has been inflated, and occupations – particularly in the public sector – which have lost in social prestige and not least in money terms: their relative wages were substantially reduced during the last quarter of the century.

Their opposite number in the social space – the economic elite, and the affluent intermediates – have made substantial gains and have been able to improve their social positions compared to the parent generation. Half of the economic elite and 85 % of the affluent intermediates are the descendants of workers or farmers. The economic domain of the space has provided paths for social climbing.

In this perspective it is probably correct to note a scent of disillusionment among members of the cultural fractions. They bear the marks of having become disenchanted in very much the same way as the French cultural intermediates that Bourdieu describes in *Distinction*; they were cheated in the social change process. Simultaneously, they cannot avoid noting the apparent social success of their counterpart in the economic

domain, whose growing presence in the social domains "belonging" to the cultural fractions has more and more become a nuisance. Further, the forces and powers of the economic fractions have recently become quite tangible in political decisions on issues related to the environmental and esthetical development of the city.

In the eyes of the cultural fractions these forces, positioned in the economic domain of the space, are lacking environmental sensitivity and knowledge, in addition to being materialistic, badly behaved, superficial, *in toto*: They are unworthy of the positions of powers they have achieved. And the analyst is indeed tempted to agree and thereby tending to forget that the actors of the play are his own constructions "on paper". It is indeed difficult to hold on to a relational perspective on society when the contestants have names and faces!

II.

Now to my second theme of this lecture: The thesis is a cultural product produced within a specific social field, i.e. the Norwegian field of social sciences.

As you all know the social field is one of the key concepts in Pierre Bourdieu's thinking, playing a strategic role in more or less all of his empirical research work. It refers to a sub-entity within the social totality, which has achieved certain autonomy. It functions according to its own specific logic and it is able to withstand and defend itself from influences and assaults from other fields. Further, the field is inhabited by social agents who are engaged in a competition over assets that are of value to all – the specific forms of capital.

A function of the competitive nature of the field is that it is structured. There are dominant positions and there are dominated ones. The former enables their beholder to speak with authority, to give the legitimate discourse, i.e. impose meanings. However, there are also heterodox

discourses, which challengers tend to adopt in order to subvert and overthrow the prevailing order of the field.

The Norwegian field of social sciences is to a large extent an unknown entity. Its exploration and analysis would be an important task for research. Most of us here today are occupants, participators and competitors in this field. I am sure that I am, and I am sure that the position that the writer occupies within in it has had bearings on his work. I am now going to try to make an educated guess about the structure of this field and the writer's position within in it and how this position may be present in the thesis.

The birthplace of the thesis is situated at some distance from the dominant domain of the field and the fierce competition one may expect to find there. The writer is affiliated with *Høgskolen i Stavanger*. This is an institution belonging to the so-called regional system of higher education, in fact one of its largest entities. This part of the system of higher education was erected during the last quarter of the last century. Nowadays this system is responsible for much of the vocational training e.g. for teachers, nurses, accountants and economists, in addition to offering shorter courses in academic disciplines. Ph.D. courses are rare but exist.

These institutions are offering their staff working conditions, privileges and obligations that are similar to those at the universities. They are, however, worse funded with regard to research and they do not offer platforms for becoming and holding on to a recognised position within the academic field.

Research undertaken by Rogg in the beginning of the 1990ies and by Høstaker in the late 1990ies show that the recruitment patterns of students to the various faculties and colleges of the Norwegian system of higher education is structured by educational investments of the parents. There are prestigious and dominant institutions and faculties and there are dominated and peripheral ones. The regional system clearly belongs to the latter.

The writer is no doubt occupying a position in the dominated segment of the Norwegian field of the social sciences. According to the theory, which I think is correct, the inhabitants in this area of the field – students as well as staff – tend to have least of the pertinent forms of capital, economic, cultural, scientific, family background, educational certificates etc bestowed on them.

Further, the theory suggests that mental structures – i.e. habitus – tend to be adjusted to the objective conditions under which they exist. There arises a homology. This chain of thought would suggest that the writer is equipped with a dominated habitus.

Many, many times he has answered the question why he came from Sweden to Norway, and to Stavanger of all places. It took him some years to realise that this was not the pertinent question to answer. The key question was instead the reasons why he stayed. And these were very simple. He was well adapted to the position he held: he felt well and comfortable. The dominant area of the field could be visited and the play and the competition which is unfolding there could be joined on a part-time basis. Thereby it was possible to keep a distance to its competitive skirmishes and its powers. It was always nice to get home after an excursion in the dominant domain of the field. He felt poorly constructed to be a permanent participator and competitor there..

What are the possible effects of dispositions related to a dominated habitus on intellectual work? The question imposes one to try to think about how one thinks.

There are probably a variety of different intellectual postures connected to such a habitus. A dominated habitus may be inclined to a certain scholastic anxiety, which may lead him cling to the work of a master, or rather certain secure interpretations of him. He may be inclined to put his own work so close to that of the master that a critique of his work becomes critique of the master.

However, he is probably at risk of getting into some kind of dogmatism: not being open to see something beyond the horizon that the master has designed. He may be hesitant to explore in full the deviations of his own findings from those of the master. He needed in fact hints from his opponents on this occasion to realise that he actually had entered a new field inquiry: community studies. Finally, he may be a lukewarm participant in the constructive and corrective debates that true scientific progress presupposes.

Being positioned in the dominated segment of the field may, however, entail certain advantages, offered to those who are willing and able to catch them. This domain of the field may offer a kind of freedom or leeway, which comes from the distance from the dominating institutions. The forces that are at play in the field are simply less intense here. Thereby is it possible to pursue the most idiosyncratic and peculiar research interest – seen from the perspective of the dominant segment of the field – with little interference, for instance: such as developing interest and knowledge of correspondence analysis.

Whatever the eventual merits and shortcomings of the thesis are, it is still rather unusual in that sense that it combines two characteristics which do not so often come together. It has demanded long-term investments in two kinds of specific forms of capital. On the one hand it has demanded investments in the reading of Pierre Bourdieu's work, which nowadays is commonplace. On the other hand, it is based on investments in the knowledge and experiences in working with correspondence analysis. This type of investment requires first of all a general intimacy with working with large-scale databases, survey methods and statistical analytic tools. The second prerequisite, however, may be the real obstacle: working with correspondence analysis requires the analyst to take on its inductive and relational analytic logic, which collides with the logic that the bulk part of the current arsenal of statistical methods is built upon.

Intellectual investments functions like economic investments: one sticks to them and one tries to preserve their value. Having invested in one type of analytic tools built on certain principles and procedures makes one less inclined to make investments in other types of tools, particularly if these are built on conflicting analytic principles. Then the new investment may threaten to devalue the former. My guess is that this tendency becomes more pronounced when competition becomes stronger.

Many times I have wondered at the disproportion between the immense interest taken in Bourdieu's work on the one hand and the meagre responses his work have had on research where large-scale quantitative research approaches have been used. My guess is that the reception of Pierre Bourdieu's work in the field the social sciences has followed a particular pattern, which has created a kind of structural obstacle which may explain this disproportion.

My guess – based on some research carried out at Institute of Educational Research at the University of Oslo – is that long-standing divisions related to methodology still sway the dominant pole of the Norwegian field of social science. On the one pole the occupants have a predilection for qualitatively oriented research. Judging from preferred theorists this domain also seems to be the theorist pole. It seems as if it is here that the writings of Bourdieu are particularly highly valued. In this region of the field, however, the time of circulation of theories, ideas and perspectives is short. They change in a pace that reminds one of the world of *haute couture*. Probably some of the reception of Bourdieu's work may be affected by this logic; fast being popular and faddish whereafter it may become obsolete and outdated, in the endless ongoing exchange of new ideas.

On the other pole there is a corresponding inclination towards quantitatively oriented research. Here Bourdieu's work is to a large extent considered of less importance.

I think that the great interest that eventually has been granted the work of Pierre Bourdieu in the Norwegian field of social sciences is located in domains where interest and knowledge in working quantitatively is little developed and little respected. The dominant domain of the field is simply not very well suited for a venture of the present type.

So, the attribute of the thesis, that it combines Bourdieu with statistical analysis of large data bases and correspondence analysis, is much a function of its birthplace, being distant, as it is, from the dominant area of the field.

Another attribute of the thesis, which may be seen as a function of being launched from the fringes of the field is the following: It claims to contain challenges towards dominating views within its field of inquiry. It wants to confront both post-modern theorisations and the empirical oriented research on values, which appear to the writer as having forged a kind of unholy alliance occupying a dominant position in the sociology of culture.

The thesis is explicit in its heterodox discursive style. It wants to confront and it wants to play a role in the competition over images of how the society is structured and functions. It is convinced of its merits compared to those with which it competes. And this conviction has increased in force since the thesis was completed. Its author knows now positively that the image he has painted of the community of Stavanger is applicable to the Norwegian society as a whole. The thesis wants to change the structure of power relations in the field by pointing to the accomplishments of Pierre Bourdieu's approach and analytic framework and the solid and robust social regularities they have been able to unearth.

Had it been possible to describe the author as young and promising, then the picture of a challenger, a heterodox aspirant in a field of cultural productions, would have been complete.

**Norwegian distinctions:
remarks on Rosenlund's study of Social structure
and Change in Stavanger¹**

Loïc Wacquant

Lennart Rosenlund's *Social Structures and Change: Applying Bourdieu's Approach and Analytic Framework* is an excellent thesis: topically broad, conceptually rigorous and empirically original, solid in both organization and implementation. Its purpose is to explicate, deploy and extend Bourdieu's theory of social space and strategies (as summed up in *Distinction; A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, 1979) to the case of Stavanger, Norway's third major city, whose evolution over the past three decades mirrors or heralds that of the national society in the wake of the oil boom. This thesis correctly specifies the purpose, contents and form of Bourdieu's approach, articulating social position, disposition, and practice. It rightly insists on the non-linear or relational character of his approach and on the organic link between theory and methods in Bourdieu's work. It uses

¹ This is the text of remarks made as primary opponent at the defense of Lennart Rosenlund's thesis, *Social Structures and Change: Applying Bourdieu's Approach and Analytic Framework*, Bergen, Bergen University, 26 May 2001. In keeping with the spirit of the event, I have retained their limited scope and oral cast

Multiple Correspondence Analysis with vigor to uncover the shape and evolution of the social structure of Stavanger, as well as to analyze the space of practices and lifestyles in that city. Lastly, it shows how transformations in the system of social positions and position-takings in consumption, politics, and ethics have been projected, as it were, onto the physical space of the city, affecting the morphology, "built aesthetics," cultural offering and climate of Stavanger. Let me elaborate briefly on each of these contributions as well as raise further queries about them.

The first merit of Rosenlund's thesis is to provide a *clarification of Bourdieu's core concepts* and a lucid illustration of how they can be *operationalized for empirical research outside of their native setting*. Pierre Bourdieu has often been censured for proposing theories that reflect the "peculiarities of the French" - such as the centralization of the state, the prominence of cultural institutions and values, and the pivotal place of intellectuals in national life. Rosenlund brilliantly dismisses such facile reproach by showing that Bourdieu's conceptual and methodological tools are perfectly applicable in another country from a different cultural area and at the scale of the metropolis rather than an entire society. In this he is joining a large and growing cadre of international researchers who have tested and extended Bourdieu's models all across the globe, from Brazil to Korea and from Mexico to Russia, replicating and qualifying his most important findings about France. Here, my question to Lennart Rosenlund would be to deepen his reflexive return on the intellectual genesis of his thesis: what led you to choose this particular approach, that is, to go and "dig" into the Bourdieuan toolbox, rather than one or another of the competing theories available to you at the time you conceived your project? And what are in your experience, at the end of the research journey, the properties that set this intellectual arsenal apart from rival approaches to social structure and strategy?

A second merit of Rosenlund's thesis, on a methodological level this time, is that it offers one of the most sustained and well-executed *uses*

of correspondence analysis that can serve as guide, in the Scandinavian world and beyond, for further development of this technique in social research (as well as marketing research, for that matter). Again, Rosenlund shows that, contrary to early critiques from across the Atlantic, "geometric data analysis" is neither an entirely inductive method, suffering from blind empiricism, nor solely an instrument of verification of a thesis that must preexist its deployment. It is particularly instructive, in this respect, to have included in the thesis not only the final results (in the form of diagrams) but the various practical operations and procedures leading to the construction of the spaces of social positions, perceptions and practices in Stavanger and their transformation (e.g., pp. 111-114), so that the reader can clearly see for herself how the author proceeds. Here my query is how would you contrast and compare that methodology to standard techniques of linear and logistic modeling that dominate US-style social research? What difference does it make, concretely, in the practical collection, preparation and analysis of data, to relax the traditional assumptions, about independence and linearity for instance, that regression-based techniques make? Conversely, what are the not-always-obvious premises that Multiple Correspondence Analysis makes about the nature of variables and their modalities that you found problematic or difficult to uphold in the actual research? This thesis offers a fruitful opportunity to answer these questions and to clarify the relative advantages and liabilities of each family of methods.

Third, Lennart Rosenlund puts forth new *empirical results*. Substantively, the most remarkable one is the analytic autonomy of the Norwegian spaces of social positions and lifestyles: the fact that they can be constructed independently of one another increases the robustness of the findings about each and the significance of the tight homology that links them. A second major finding is the growing importance of capital composition as a determinant of life chances and lifestyle, in which Norway resembles other advanced societies. A third is distinctive of Norwegian society (or perhaps Scandinavian countries deeply shaped by the Social Democratic state): the sharp differentiation

between the public and private sectors and the attendant morphological and sociocultural changes in its class structure – although, here too, there are many similarities with France, where the public-private sector cleavage is pronounced and highly consequential. Taken together, these results challenge faddish pronouncements about the end of class (and the correlative ideological thesis of the “end of ideology”), the advent of the “risk society” (and its political offshoot, the so-called “Third Way”), or the dominance of individualization in “late modernity.” Here an elaboration is in order as to what are the points of divergence between Rosenlund’s findings and the “postmaterialist” thesis in empirical studies of values. Relatedly, one could specify role played by the internationalization of the economy – of standards of production, labor, and capital accumulation – played in the transformation of Stavanger’s social space

Fourth, one of the most intriguing aspects of Rosenlund thesis is the last part, in which he shows that the evolution of the structure of social space in Stavanger, and in particular the growing weight of cultural capital as determinant of life chances and strategies, governs the objective and subjective transformation of the physical space of the city as a set of places, material structures and cultural services - how residents classify and judge neighborhoods, what museums or exhibits they visit, what restaurants they patronize, the forms of entertainment they seek, and how all this has remade the visage of Stavanger. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first systematic application of Bourdieu’s theory of social space and of the twofold nature of capital (economic, cultural) to the built environment of the metropolis in a diachronic perspective. It offers a new interpretation of the emergence of the city as centre of cultural production and consumption that complements as well as challenges the work of leading urban sociologists (I think in particular of John Hannigan’s *Fantasy City : Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis*, 1998, and Sharon Zukin’s *The Cultures of Cities*, 1995). It would be very worthwhile to excerpt from this section of the thesis an article outlining how social space gets projected onto physical space in Norway for a specialist

journal such as the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* or *Space & Society* to entice scholars in urban studies, including geographers and urban planners, to pay closer attention to the dynamic relations that tie social structure and strategy to changes in the makeup, layout and “feel” of the metropolis.

To sum up, the contribution of Lennart Rosenlund’s thesis resides in the rigorous analysis of a mass of data that is well constructed and well displayed; in explicating step by step the analytic procedure followed as well as in specifying the implications of his findings as regards the generalizability of Bourdieu’s model, the rising importance of the second dimension of social space (composition of capital), the inscription of new lifestyles in the physical makeup of the city, and the specificities of the Norwegian case.

I come now to some of the limitations of the thesis, which in many ways are as instructive as its achievements, since they indicate well the scope and ambition of Rosenlund’s project, commensurate with the span of Bourdieu’s own framework. The first is the curious temporal hiatus that exists between the theoretical discussion of Bourdieu at the beginning of the thesis and the exposition of its implications at the end. The early conceptual review is somewhat dated or truncated as it stops in the late 80s. Many issues concerning habitus, for instance, have been clarified by Bourdieu in works of the 1990s (such as *Pascalian Meditations*, 1998, where Bourdieu stresses that the degree of coherence of any system of practical schemata is a function of the compatibility of the sequence of social conditions that generate it and is thus highly variable) which are not cited and used in the thesis. Bourdieu has also written on the application of his theory of social space to the United States, Japan, and Germany (most obviously in the chapter of *Practical Reasons* [1994] entitled “A Japanese Reading of ‘Distinction’”). But Rosenlund does not refer to these works. The core of the theoretical discussion is up to date as of early 90s, perhaps because it was drafted around that time, and it could be profitably updated.

A second limitation of the thesis – for one concerned to give its full impact outside of the Nordic and European context-- is that it does not contrast systematically Bourdieu's and the author's approach to theoretical and methodological rivals on the question of social stratification and inequality. I have in mind here canonical theories of class, Marxist, Weberian and Durkheimian (in the wake of Maurice Halbwachs) as well as recent efforts at synthesis by Erik Olin Wright (*Class Counts*, 1997) or John Goldthorpe and his associates (e.g., R. Erickson and J. Goldthorpe, *The Constant Flux: A Study of Mobility in Industrial Societies*, 1992). There is a brief, selective, discussion of works on class circa page 225 but it does not include a step-by-step conceptual confrontation between, say, Wright's map of class structure and Bourdieu's theory of social space. Relatedly, the thesis also could have spoken to the affinities and discontinuities between Multiple Correspondence Analysis and US-grown *alternatives* to the dominant linear regression-based statistical techniques such as Boolean Algebra and other techniques that try to combine case- and variable-oriented methods (as in the work of Charles Ragin and Andrew Abbott). But these are minor qualms that do not detract from the overall quality of the work, which is already quite long and dense as it.

A final minor criticism, aside from intermittent infelicities of language: the thesis title and several chapter titles as well as section titles are too vague and fail to indicate what is distinctive about the author's approach and results. The title offers no clue as to the theoretical focus and geographic locus of the "application" of Bourdieu's framework while "approach" and "analytic framework" are redundant. I would suggest instead something along the lines of *Norwegian Distinctions: Applying Bourdieu's Theory to Social Structure and Change in Stavanger*, or *Social Position and Cultural Practice in a Norwegian City: An Application of Bourdieu's Theory* to better capture the thrust of the work and to do full justice to the impressive labors of its author. For, by wedding serious theorizing, rigorous methodology, and systematic empirical analysis, Lennart Rosenlund has provided a model of social inquiry for Scandinavian and other researchers to learn from and emulate.

Answers to Wacquant's remarks on *Norwegian Distinction*

Lennart Rosenlund

Your **first** question about the reasons for choosing to dig in the Bourdieuvian "toolbox" is at first sight very straightforward and one that could have been given an easy kind of answer. For instance, I could try to sketch the ideas of the most well known among Bourdieu's competitors in this field of inquiry, such as those of Erik Olin Wright or those of Erickson & Goldthorpe. Then such an answer could have indulged in a discussion of the relative merits of Bourdieu's approach compared to those of the former and then advocated that my choice of Bourdieu's approach was based on such a rational basis; that I simply have chosen the better (which I think I have). An alternative way of answering – which also is true in a sense – would be to argue that the rationale behind the choice of approach was based on the fact the both Wright's and Erickson & Goldthorpe's analytic schemes have been subjected to massive empirical investigations and "testing", while that of Bourdieu indeed has been neglected to a large extent. According to such line of argument Bourdieu's approach would deserve proper attention. Perhaps would it even be capable of resolving or of going beyond the stalemate-situation the two mentioned approaches seem to have formed in contemporary research.

However, answering according to any of the mentioned formulas would not have treated your question seriously, neither would it have been honest. The question you pose to me is indeed a very difficult one. Why have I ended up where I am in this moment? Obviously, there are turning points in my – and anyone's – intellectual history where certain directions of work have been chosen and others excluded; certain ideas have become important, while others have been overlooked. However, when trying to recapitulate I think that rational calculation and evaluations are not the main *modus operandi* here. I even think that the word choice is misleading in this connection, as it is in other venues of life when one is trying to analyse what is going on when people are doing what they are doing.

In order to treat the problem you are posing in a proper way we have to put to work all the necessary analytic tools. Researchers inhabit a particular social field in which they are competing for positions. Researchers, as anyone else, are equipped with a *habitus*, which invoke certain intellectual dispositions and we – as players in other social fields – are making certain investments; we absorb certain ideas, which are at stake and neglect others. These themes should have been addressed in order to answer your question properly, which of course would have gone too far for this occasion. Let me try to make it simple: We are dealing with intellectual dispositions and “investments”. These have developed over time and they have their history and logic of their own, making certain developments probable and excluding other routes. One way of answering your question honestly – not glossing over actual courses of events with retrospective rationalistic justifications – is probably to give you a short account over one particular moment in my intellectual history. Hopefully this may highlight some of the mechanisms that have been at work when “choosing” analytic framework.

I have in mind my encounter with Bourdieu's *Distinction*, which was of a decisive nature. I read the book for the first time in 1986 and that experience made a substantial impact for several reasons. First: It described a social reality in all its nuances and variations that I

recognised fully, almost breathtakingly. For a number of years I had read Bourdieu in smaller articles, sometimes rather badly translated, by which I had been sensitised to his conceptual framework, although in a somewhat fragmented way. When reading *Distinction* I got it all in a synthetic form together with an abundant “empirical firework”; heaps of empirical evidences in a variety of different forms, which stunned me. I started exercises that Bourdieu explicitly warns against. I translated his analyses directly into our Norwegian context, playing with friends, myself and other known figures and putting them into the analytic scheme developed in the book and it made sense! Of course, this was a childish and immature activity, still it was an adequate reaction to the tacit invitation, which bear the book: Make your own research – here are the necessary tools!

Another more important reason is that the book contained answers to some intellectual predicaments that I strove with at the time. I had lived a kind of schizophrenic intellectual life. On the one hand I was brought up intellectually with the stringent school of Althusserian Marxism during the beginning of the 1970's in Lund, Sweden. From that I adopted an understanding about what scientific work is all about; about the scientific break with ideological preconditions; about the necessity of constructing a scientific object and above all about the nature of social structures. These are all thoughts that are present in *Distinction*. Although Bourdieu has spent a lot of efforts in distancing himself from Althusser there are still certain epistemological affinities between them. Both were students of the historic epistemologists. To both writers, for instance, Gaston Bachelard was an important intellectual figure.

On the other hand I had lived my life as an empirically oriented researcher carrying out surveys of different kinds, all of them reflecting what people meant, did and thought. This research practice was undertaken in complete isolation from my basic, but, at the time fading theoretical orientation. Theoretical reflection and my empirical research were activities that were impossible to unify. My interpretation of this

form of Marxism had no room for acting and thinking subjects, a "substance" my research practice completely consisted of.

Bourdieu helped me to realise that the social reality must be treated as something with a double nature. On the one hand there is a "hidden" social structure into which the social agents as members of society are positioned. On the other there is a "lived" social life, subjective or symbolic, where people are giving shape, form, content and meaning to their lives and to the social world in which they live. And both aspects of the social reality have to be accounted for, since they are related and depending on each other. Further, this distinction must be addressed and kept in mind constantly in any social study. The theoretical construction of the sociological object of study, which is the methodological "tug" to break away from commonsensical and therefore confusing conceptions, presupposes that both aspects of social reality are constructed as separate analytical entities with a certain analytic independence.

In a way *Distinction* helped me in my intellectual predicament. I could retain the (sound) idea of the existence of social structures and their importance. Simultaneously, I got help in "saving" a scientific status to the flesh and blood of my sociological research practice that had been under way for more than ten years at the time.

A third aspect of my crucial Bourdieuvian encounter reading *Distinction* touches on your second question about methodology, which I will return to more fully in a moment. The first part of the book contains a thorough critique of thought-figures and procedures of mainstream quantitative methods in sociology. Bourdieu made explicit here many of my own inarticulate feelings of uneasiness, which came from their shortcomings. I had practised and utilised several of the then popular methods of data reduction (factor analysis) and causal analysis (multiple regression) and had felt discontent in doing so. Applying them to the social world is imposing, something which did not fit it. For instance, I was convinced of the existence of class-cultures, but the methods

offered to unearth them completely failed in research undertakings carried out in the middle of the 1970-ties.

Bourdieu made many of my hunches of the shortcomings explicit and when he then suggested an alternative, which he does, by the way, almost en passant – correspondence analysis – then my intellectual course was set for some years to come. I was to figure out how it worked. So I did a couple of years later and then, when discussing a possible joint project (with my colleague Hilmar Rommetveit) about cultural change processes, my goal was set. I was offered the opportunity to test the applicability of Bourdieu's whole analytic approach; the theoretical models as well as his methods.

The **second** part of your question, about the post-project experiences, or about the properties "that sets the chosen approach apart from rival approaches" refers to what I address through large parts of the thesis. Briefly summed up: First, by the help of the Bourdieuvian approach it is possible to demonstrate that the phenomenon of social differentiation in our type of society is multidimensional of nature. Two independent principles are operating: volume of capital, which is the "total amount" of each of the two forms of capital (economic and cultural) and capital composition, referring to the possession of relative amounts of the two forms of capital. Classes and class fractions are socially constituted according to both principles (in the social space). Rivaling theories are implicitly or explicitly approaching the problem as if it were of a one-dimensional nature.

Further, the world of lifestyles are also structured according to these two principles of differentiation. The way social agents are "choosing" the way they present themselves by way of clothing, housing, where in the city they live and want to live; their preferences and dislikes with regard to reading, music etc. etc. are meaningfully comprehended by the same set of principles: volume and composition of capital. The same principles apply to the deep-seated traits of personality that they develop, such as stances on ethical and moral issues; what perceptions

and classifications of the society they tend to acquire, in short the figures of thought by which they as social beings are coping symbolically with the social world (the space of lifestyles).

Rivalling approaches are blind for oppositions and divisions related to the capital composition principle in this respect since they neither have theories nor methodological approaches that can address them. Consequently, they are blind for the strong statistical relationships that exit between the two constructs (the two spaces). Major quarters of empirically oriented social scientists hold the opinion that the influence of indicators relating to social structures on human conduct is fading. Based on the presented findings I argue that the social positions of social agents are equally valuable today as they were in previous times when it comes to "understanding of what the Norwegians mean and do". However, social positions have to be conceived on the basis of positions in the social space to be workable. This applies, not least, which I hope to have demonstrated, to the formation of values, which the "researchers of values" ascribe to the individual choice.

My conclusion about the homological relationship between the minds of the citizens, their lifestyles and their objective social positions in the social space would be meaningless in rivalling frameworks. Further, the same would go for another of my conclusions; that these principles of social differentiation also apply to physical and spatial structures. The social relationships expressed in the two space constructs translated themselves into the physical and geographical universe of the studied community. The public space, which is the locally designed and created set-up of restaurants, pubs, cultural institutions and other public places, is also structured according to volume and composition of capital. The citizens "know" where in the city they belong and where they do not. They have developed a "practical knowledge" of the city's various residential areas based on past and present characteristics, which guides them when moving around socially. They recognise the residential areas where their equals are numerous – both in terms of positions in the space and in terms of dominating lifestyles - as a pleasant areas, and

those where their equals are few as places where they do not want to live.

Finally, my image of the social change process is in complete opposition to the ideas advocated by the dominating quarters of analysts of the current social and cultural change process. I present evidences underpinning a major process of transformation related to the social space. A fundamental change of the whole system of social relations has occurred, a change which has ramifications in many different areas, the occupational structure, reproduction strategies and social mobility, the division between the sexes etc., Firstly, it entails a change of the hierarchical class structure. It has changed shape. The working classes have decreased in relative size and the intermediate and the dominant classes have grown correspondingly. Simultaneously, the impact of social differentiation related to volume of capital seems to have lost some of its former strength. This aspect of the process of social change has been identified in many quarters of the social science community.

They have not, however, observed the second major aspect of the change process: the emergence and growing force of the capital composition principle of social differentiation. This is the aspect of the change process that makes it so profound. Individuals, class fractions, institutions, occupations, residential areas are increasingly differentiated according the capital composition principle. This principle of social differentiation has emerged and grown in force during the last quarter of the century, a process that makes the studied community more and more similar to the French society studied by Bourdieu. This is not a process that can be interpreted as one of "setting free" individuals of bonds and loyalties formed by institutions and structures of the "modern" industrial era. The individuals are not "wanderers" between diverse areas of functions, or "realms" (Bell) adapting to and learning to cope with the various codes of conduct, and thereby "living their own lives" (Beck). Instead they are social agents equipped with a specific habitus and a specific balance sheet of the two forms of capital, which give them specific identifiable positions in the social space. Here

they tend to develop certain forms of perceiving and classifying their social surroundings; they develop certain types of lifestyles that are similar to those of their neighbours in the social space. They very well know the codes of conduct of the places where they wander. This knowledge is a part of their bodies (their habitus). They even aggregate and come together in certain geographical areas and public places where they meet their equals both in terms of their social backgrounds, in terms of interest, opinions and attitudes and in terms of general lifestyle features. Further, they avoid those areas where their "adversaries", in terms of social positions and lifestyles, are dominating the scene.

Let me finally make a comment on the result of this analysis of the social change process and how it could be related to the "post-materialist thesis", which you asked me to comment upon. As you all know this thesis summarises Ronald Inglehart's conception of the socio-cultural change process. It is addressing the very same object as my analysis does, but the approach is entirely different. It is to the minds of men that the change process is located; the approach is socio-psychological and not structural. His main argument is that the current social and cultural change process implies a basic change in the value system of the citizens. Values he describes as post-materialist are gaining, while materialistic values are fading away. His account of the change process is underpinned by empirical findings collected from many surveys, undertaken at different points in time and in many countries. His work has had great influence, particularly among political scientists, and has given birth to a whole vein of empirical research (research on values), in this country too.

His arguments follow roughly the following line: The extraordinary growth of prosperity which the Western societies have experienced during the post-war period - and the absence of war - have created a formidable gap between the younger and the older generation with regard to living conditions during formative years. The older generation had its value sets moulded by scarcity of economic security. This

directed their needs towards materialistic values. The younger generation has grown up under much more affluent and materially secure conditions, which in turn direct their attention towards non materialistic (post materialistic) values, towards emphasising quality of life, sense of community, freedom of expression etc. In his publications he is able to demonstrate the consistent difference in value orientations between the younger generations and the older ones in favour of his thesis and hence the apparent growth of post materialist values.

Inglehart understands the "machinery" of the cultural change process as one of succession of generations. The old generation, which are inclined to hold materialist attitudes are literally dying out and are replaced by younger ones who are more prone to hold postmaterialist views. Thereby the latter is growing in relative size - by the sheer number of persons holding them - while the generation holding materialistic attitudes is diminishing.

However, not few of his colleagues among political scientists are questioning the validity of his thesis on the basis of empirical evidences. But assuming his empirical observation is correct; that in a long-term perspective the postmaterialist attitudes are gaining then my Bourdieuvian inspired analysis of the change offers a completely different interpretation of the mechanisms of change of values. Inglehart's index of postmaterialist/materialist values is strongly related to the capital composition dimension in my analysis. It is the cultural fractions that are prone towards postmaterialist values and the fractions whose capital assets are dominated by economic capital, particularly the working class, who are holding materialist values.

The structural change process that I have described implicates a growth in relative size of cultural inclined class fractions as a consequence of the growing force of the capital composition principle (as are the fractions whose capital balance is dominated by economic capital). These are the fractions that are dispositioned to hold postmaterialist values by virtue of their positions in the space. The net outcome of the

change process is a growth of the population segments that are prone toward postmaterialist values.

In this perspective Inglehart's thesis on the growth of postmaterialist values becomes a consequence of "social mechanism" of a different sort than the one Inglehart himself postulates. Instead of being an indication of a uni-linear direction of a cultural developmental trend, it may be regarded as a symptom of a society undergoing a process of change like the one I have described. Further, his distinction between postmaterialist and materialist values becomes a line of conflict together with others which have emerged and which will emerge as stakes in the symbolic struggles that are simmering under the sway of the capital composition principle of social differentiation.

Now, let me turn to your question about *methodology*, about the use of correspondence analysis. First a remark on terminology: Lately, Henry Rouanet has suggested the name *Geometric data analysis* (GDA) for this form of data analysis in order to relate the name to its scientific origin. The method is based on geometrical reasoning and deliberations. Its "founding fathers" have got tired of the conventional characterisation of correspondence analysis as a French invention, and thereby discrediting it as a somewhat sloppy, descriptive method. For instance, when Ganzeboom (a major student of social mobility) reviewed *Distinction* in 1987 he criticised Bourdieu because of the prominent role he gave GDA, This is considered as

remaining an explorative technique (...) that has not (yet) won wide acclaim in the Anglo-Saxon oriented sociology.

Today there are clear indications of an increasing interest, but still the method is regarded as somewhat obscure among the dominant quarters of the social science methodologists.

However, technically GDA is a most versatile tool to be employed in a variety of situations in different phases of the social science research process. It can be used for explorative and descriptive purposes and it

can be used for explanative purposes; and it can be used to "test" hypothesis as well as to formulate such. Further, there is a whole strand of possibilities of development where GDA can be used in conjunction with other methods, e.g. log-linear models. The method can be applied to (almost) any type of data, metrical, ordinal and categorical (all data are transformed into categorical). Further, GDA is very "practical". It helps the researcher to get acquainted with his data, to create the broad overview as well as to get the eyes on the important details.

According to my "realist" inclination its most important property, though, is that it can function as a kind of epistemological defence against certain images of society that other methods tend to impose on its object of study. When applying, for instance, multiple regression analysis on a certain social phenomenon one is on the same time accepting certain assumptions about the nature of that particular phenomenon and about the society of which this is a part. Historically, multiple regression originated at a particular phase of the development of statistics when it had left the social world as a focus of interest. Instead, it was data produced in experimental situation, which was its basis when its causal analytical framework was developed. When applying this method the metaphor of the experiment comes along. Certain attributes of individuals become "independent" forces that are "causing" other "dependent" attributes of the same individuals. Variables become forces of which we have more or less. They vary according to degree and not in other respects. When this is accepted then it is also possible to isolate and measure the influence of one variable compared to the other. And such situations are rare in the social world. Bourdieu states bluntly somewhere that it is equally wrong to separate the sour taste of the lemon from its yellow colour.

GDA on the other hand "thinks relationally". Its end products are geometrical constructs, spaces and fields, which may work as starting points for developing representations of social contexts in which the social phenomenon can be situated to be analysed and comprehended.

There is indeed a very close affinity between the analytic logic of GDA and Bourdieu's theoretical and epistemological thinking. GDA provides Bourdieu with the two necessary entities to formulate his alternative methodology about "structural causality of a network of factors"; about the relationship that exists between the properties of the social space – the entity that helps him to shed light on the system of objective social positions – and the properties of the space of lifestyles – the construct that discloses the principles that underlay the formation and differentiation of lifestyles. The social space is no more and no less than the first and second principal axes of the low-dimensional optimal space of a GDA, on the basis of a carefully chosen selection of indicators of the two forms of capital, addressing the "objectivity of the first moment" of social reality. Then this space is exploited as an analytic frame where indicators of lifestyle components are inserted in the form of "supplementary points", which describe their typical positions. Adding together large numbers of such lifestyle components Bourdieu arrives at the space of lifestyles, the social reality of the "objectivity of the second moment".

Alternatively, the analysis can be undertaken in reversed order, i.e. starting by analysing the lifestyle components themselves by the help of a GDA to give them their optimal representation. Then one can "go behind" the pattern that has emerged to analyse the locations of the various class fractions (either by the use of supplementary points or by analysing the projections of the individuals). Amazingly, in both cases the results are similar; both spaces are structured by the two principles of social differentiation, volume and composition of capital.

What Is Cultural Capital?¹ Comments on Lennart Rosenlund's Social Structures and Change

Donald Broady

Lennart Rosenlund's DPhil thesis, *Social Structures and Change: Applying Pierre Bourdieu's Approach and Analytic Framework*, is a major achievement. A pioneering work in many respects, and by far the most rigorous, thorough and comprehensive attempt in Scandinavia to apply the methods developed by Pierre Bourdieu for the study of the social space and the space of lifestyles. It is a significant contribution to the examination and development of sociological methods. The detailed presentation of the correspondence analysis techniques and the demonstration of potential uses of those techniques will no doubt have an impact on sociological research in Scandinavian countries, where French statistical traditions are still rather marginal. Furthermore, in addition to the eminent treatment of French research traditions, the thesis constitutes a vital empirical work in its own right. There have

¹ The text presents some parts of my intervention as second opponent at the University of Bergen, May 26th, 2001, when Lennart Rosenlund defended his ~~dr.philo.~~ thesis *Social Structures and Change: Applying Pierre Bourdieu's Approach and Analytic Framework* (Høgskolen i Stavanger, 2000).

H dr. philos

been many attempts in different countries to explore the social space on a national level within the Bourdieu tradition. Studies on local social spaces have been more rare. Rosenlund's study of the development of a local social space – that of the city of Stavanger from the 1970s to the 1990s – is a seminal work, that will pave the way for further research in similar veins.

The thesis begins with a presentation of the principal research tools used by Pierre Bourdieu in *La distinction* (1979). Followed by an accurate introduction to the multiple correspondence analysis, a statistical technique developed by French mathematician Jean-Paul Benzécri, which has formed part of Bourdieu's and his collaborators' toolbox since the 1970s.

In the third part of the thesis, these tools are utilized in an extensive study of the local social space in Stavanger and its relation to the space of lifestyles. The main empirical basis is a survey undertaken in 1994 among a representative sample (n=905) of Stavanger inhabitants who answered questions on their habits and preferences regarding radio and television programmes, magazines and literature, music, art, film, theatre, home decoration, sports, food, restaurants, politics, etc, in other words, indicators of opinions, lifestyles and tastes similar to those utilized by Bourdieu in *La distinction*. Unlike the data used in *La distinction*, the Stavanger survey included questions on rather specific local conditions, as well as a more extensive set of questions on ethic values. Although, not an exact replication of the investigation in *La distinction*, the aim is the same: on the one hand to construct a social space (a system of relations between the positions of different social groups) and on the other hand a space of lifestyles or tastes. An important methodological aspect is that the social space and the space of lifestyles are constructed independently of each other, after which homologies between them are explored. Rosenlund systematically demonstrates how this task is accomplished in the Stavanger case. The reader is invited to follow the actual course of action in the sociological

research workshop, which is rather unusual when it comes to presentations of research à la Bourdieu.

The fourth part of Rosenlund's thesis is devoted to the social transformations and the lifestyle changes in the Stavanger area from the 1970s to the 1990s – parallel to the city's rise to the position as the "oil capital" of Norway. Besides the above-mentioned 1994 survey, Rosenlund draws on various available sources such as the 1970, 1980 and 1990 national census, and a survey from 1974 on cultural and leisure activities. In the fifth and last part, he summarises his findings. His conclusions contradict the popular views of today's post-modern condition. We have not, Rosenlund argues, achieved a classless society where individuals escape the social determinations in their search for identities and values of their own choice. As ever, individuals are still equipped with certain socially determined assets and dispositions that guide their choices. They form part of social groups and develop lifestyles that are similar to those of their neighbours in the social space.

This social space has, however, undergone significant changes during the last decades.

The Growing Force of the Capital Composition Principle

In the 1970s, the social differentiation in Stavanger still followed the well known vertical scale: the working class together with small farmers and fishermen at the bottom, the intermediate class in between and the dominant class at the top. In the data from the 1980s, in addition to this traditional social hierarchy, Rosenlund discerns some traces of an emerging horizontal polarity between on the one hand groups whose main assets are cultural capital (education etc) and on the other hand groups whose social standing are more dependant on economic capital. In the 1990s, this horizontal polarity – that is the axes cultural capital/economic capital – very efficiently structures the social space,

the lifestyles and even the spatial traits of Stavanger. Groups who possess more cultural than economic capital, such as teachers or librarians, appreciate the residential area *Storhaug* and prefer to dine at *Sjenkestuen* or *Café Sting*. While the economic elite favours *Madla*, and frequents *Jans mat og vinhus*. This structural change, labelled by Rosenlund "the growing force of the capital composition principle," is the main finding in his study.

It is an astonishing finding. By itself, it is not unexpected that the social space and the space of lifestyles are structured by two polarities, one vertical representing the total capital volume and one horizontal polarity stretching from a cultural capital pole to an economic capital pole. The same structure has been revealed by many Bourdieu-inspired studies in different countries, although Rosenlund digs deeper into the local peculiarities than most. Thus, the horizontal polarity is not in itself remarkable, but that its emergence is such a recent phenomenon in the Stavanger case. Despite serious and laborious efforts, Rosenlund has been unable to find any traces of it in the existing sets of data from the 1970s, and only weak tendencies in the data sets from the 1980s. According to Rosenlund, full-fledged and efficient polarity – cultural capital/economic capital – is lacking until the 1990s. This is indeed surprising. In France, this polarity was clearly evident in the data stemming mainly from the late 1960s, which Bourdieu utilized in *La distinction*.

Rosenlund's own explanation is that the social development of Stavanger has been extraordinarily rapid. Within a few decades, the area has grown from a traditional community inhabited by a large number of workers, farmers and a small and fairly homogenous local elite, into an advanced and highly differentiated social world. The rapid growth in economic and cultural resources – the influx of money from the oil industry, the general raise in educational level, the expansion of cultural institutions and the increase in the supply of consumer goods and restaurants, etc – has transformed the traditional one-dimensional social hierarchy into a two-dimensional social space, where one

dimension is the old social division between the rich and the poor and the other is a new divide between a cultural domain and an economic domain. Thus, since the 1970s, Stavanger has described a trajectory that might have taken other cities half a century or more.

Rosenlund's results and arguments will no doubt give rise to vivid discussions among sociologists in search of methods for the exploration of different social spaces. I am sure that he has found something important. It is, however, not quite obvious what he has found. I am not totally convinced that Rosenlund's interpretations of the results are the only available or the best possible. Following his arguments one could conclude that it would be worthwhile to ask when the cultural/economic polarity emerges in different regional settings, and to suppose that this genesis in many cases is more recent than might be expected. Personally, I find it more fruitful to treat cultural capital as an umbrella concept that covers diverse species of assets, and I believe that it should be possible to trace the "capital composition principle" further back in time.

In the following I will argue for this position, however with no intent to diminish the value of Rosenlund's thesis. It is a Herculean feat, the outcome of twenty years of work. Among the many themes elaborated by Rosenlund I have chosen only one, his argument of the growing importance of the capital composition principle, which I regard as his main finding and which is questionable in a literate sense. It raises vital questions.

What is Cultural Capital?

Let us start with a very simple operational definition. In advanced societies, cultural capital is the counterpart of economic capital.

Economic capital is not only shares and bonds and material goods. It is also know-how on how to handle monetary assets and how to behave

in the world of corporations and finance. There are obviously groups – civil servants, university professors, medical doctors, renowned writers and artists and others – whose possessions of such economic capital is comparably limited and who none the less occupy positions in the higher echelon of the social hierarchy. The assets on which their positions are founded may be labelled as cultural capital. Such an operational definition is an easy way out since you do not have to procure a substantial definition of cultural capital. Instead, you can manage with a relational definition. If you find a “horizontal” dimension in the social space, the pole that opposes the economic pole might be regarded as the pole of cultural capital.

A more historical way to grasp the notion cultural capital is the following, outlined by Bourdieu in several contexts: Cultural capital is the dominating form of symbolic capital in societies where a centralised school system and the art of writing are developed. In such societies, symbolic capital acquires a persistent character and is objectified in for example books, and institutionalised in titles, such as DPhil. From this perspective, cultural capital has, at least in urban areas, been efficient for a couple of hundreds of years, whether the dominant groups be clerks, representatives of the state apparatus, or intellectuals. Its means of reproduction (prestigious schools etc) are controlled by the social elites, though widely acknowledged and respected by everyone, even by those who are excluded.

Whether you prefer the simple operational definition or the historical perspective, it appears puzzling that Rosenlund did not find any horizontal polarity in his data from Stavanger in the 1970s. Is it true that cultural capital had no significant part in structuring the Stavanger social space thirty years ago? Of course, it more depends on what you mean precisely by cultural capital.

It is both a strength and a weakness that Rosenlund is so headstrong in keeping to a specific conception of the social space, defined as two-dimensional and made up of one vertical axes (the sum of all species of

capital) and one crossing horizontal axes (the capital composition, namely the proportions between cultural and economic capital). Strength because this focused question forces him to return to the problems concerning the significance of the polarity economic/cultural capital over and over again and after various excursions. The efficiency of which can be traced into the distributions of occupations, the gender divisions, the spatial order of Stavanger, and even the mental habits.

However, this same stubbornness is also a weakness, since Rosenlund disregards other possibilities to explore the social space and the space of lifestyles. He states: “The *social space* is neither more nor less than the resulting map of the first and second principal axis of an MCA [Multiple Correspondence Analysis] of a carefully chosen selection of background variables (indices of economic and cultural capital)” (p. 90). I find this operational definition too limited, for several reasons.

It is arbitrary to regard the social space as two-dimensional. I totally agree with Rosenlund in that the common one-dimensional interpretation of the social space is unsatisfactory, to say the least. Still heavily utilised, with disastrous results, socio-professional classifications such as social group one, two and three, place the professor in Classical Greek and the owner of a used car company into the same category. It is obviously not a good idea to collapse the social space into a single-dimensional hierarchy. However, a two-dimensional representation, the plane, is almost as arbitrary as the one-dimensional representation, the line. That the correspondence analysis software packages produce two-dimensional maps (there are many of those in Rosenlund’s thesis) is due to the limitation of the output devices, i.e. the representations on the computer screen or on paper. If it were possible to integrate better three-dimensional output devices into the packages, you would receive three-dimensional outputs including the third axes. But even then, you would only get partial views on a multi-dimensional space.

More importantly – besides this technical aspect – a limited focus on the one-dimensional polarity cultural/economic capital might hide the

heterogeneity of the cultural pole. For my part, I find it fruitful to treat cultural capital as an umbrella concept. As a composite notion, it appears from a bird's-eye view as the counter-part of economic capital, but on closer examination, it covers a variety of different species of capital. In Bourdieu's French studies, educational capital is by far the most important ingredient in the cultural capital. In Sweden, on the other hand, studies reveal that educational capital, although very important, does not reign supreme to the same extent as in France. Therefore, within a Scandinavian context it would seem worthwhile to explore the significance of other subspecies of cultural capital.

In France, the trajectory through renowned schools is almost compulsory for the acquisition of a top position among the social elites. There are more alternatives in Scandinavia. Take for example what might be labelled "organizational capital," that is symbolic assets accumulated within different associations, the blue- or white-collar unions, the student unions, the temperance movements, etc. Among many interesting observations in Rosenlund's thesis is that there is a high portion of Stavanger natives among the shopkeepers, politicians and administrators. Rosenlund himself (e.g. p. 334) interprets this mainly as an indicator of the possession of personal contacts and relations (social capital, in Bourdieu's terms). An alternative explanation is that the social intercourse and the local associations are sites for the accumulation of "organizational capital."

In Scandinavian countries, another very visible feature of the cultural capital pole is its ties to the public sector. Social groups close to the cultural pole tend to be employed by the state or the municipality and/or to be more sympathetic towards the public sector as opposed to the private sector. This phenomenon is observed by Rosenlund who gives the following interpretation: "In the Norwegian case the opposition between the two forms of capital [...] manifests itself and is disguised by the private-public division" (p. 212). I would disagree. I find it hard to imagine cultural capital as some kind of essence that manifests itself. The polarity economic/cultural capital is not disguised

by the division private/public. Rather the division private/public is a part of the economic/cultural capital opposition – probably a more crucial element in Scandinavian countries than in France. A medical doctor at a university hospital and an employee in a private company might have the same salary and educational level, but their strategies and lifestyles might be rather diverse.

In our Swedish studies, this opposition public/private is not only visible among the elites. It reoccurs on all levels. In virtually every social category, people employed in the public sector possess on average more educational capital and less economic capital than those employed in the private sector. The same is to some extent the case when it comes to gender. In every social group, men earn more and are more often in fulltime employment than women. However, in some groups the women have higher level of education (which bears witness to the dominance of economic capital over cultural capital).

In the same vein, I am tempted to question Rosenlund's assumption that social structure comes first and that spatial organisation of the city is a translation of this social structure (see for example p. 325). Thus, in my opinion the "horizontal" polarities of the social space should not be reduced to an opposition between educational and economic capital. There are other oppositions the logic of which should be taken into account: public/private, men/women, urban/rural, young/old, Norwegians/immigrants, and so on. On closer observation, the cultural capital pole represents a conglomerate of different kinds of assets lumped together due to the technical peculiarities of the correspondence analysis, that is the projection on a two-dimensional plane. I would imagine that distances such as those between the clientele of Café Sting and of Skjenkestuen (p. 319) might be explained not only by the fact that the former possess more and the latter less cultural capital. There may be a different composition of their cultural capital assets.

Provided that relevant data were available, you might even construct a more synoptic local *champ de pouvoir*, to use Bourdieu's terminology, which means a system of relations between all the significant species of capital, thereby surpassing the duality economic/cultural capital. In mapping such a local "field of power" in Stavanger, you would perhaps locate for example academic, literary and artistic capital to one extreme, the economic capital to the other extreme, and political, medical, juridical and administrative capital in between.

Rosenlund provides solid evidence for his case that there is a "horizontal" axis that strongly contributes to the structure of the social space in Stavanger in the 1990s. Although I have suggested some alternative interpretations of its significance, I do not doubt that he has revealed such an axis. I am however somewhat hesitant to accept that the horizontal divides are of such recent occurrence.

Is the Capital Composition Principle such a recent Phenomenon?

According to Rosenlund, the emergence of "the capital composition principle" in the Stavanger social space is surprisingly recent. In his own words: during the period he is investigating, from the 1970s to the 1990s, "we actually are witnessing the birth of this principle of social differentiation," while "the old hierarchical principle of differentiation seems to have lost some of its former strength. The analysed occupational groups are less differentiated according to their average volume of capital in 1990 than they were in 1970" (p. 249f). "In contemporary Stavanger, the 'old' division of class, which sorts its population into a working class, an intermediate class and a dominant class, has been supplemented by a 'new' principle of social division: the capital composition" (p. 347).

In some respects, it is reasonable to state that the traditional "vertical" hierarchy between the upper classes and the lower classes is of decreasing importance when it comes to structuring the social space. This does not mean that the gulf between the classes has been narrowed, but significant changes have occurred. The working class has shrunk in number, as well as large parts of the traditional economic petty bourgeoisie, while intermediate and elite groups have grown.

It is also obvious that new "horizontal" divides have developed, that is new kinds of distances between the positions occupied by groups on similar levels, for example distances between the economic and the cultural elite, or between the economic and the cultural intermediate groups. I doubt, however, that the emergence of such a horizontal axis is as recent as Rosenlund suggests.

My assumption is that had Rosenlund been able to find and use more indicators – no easy task – he would have detected some "horizontal" polarities in Stavanger even twenty or thirty years ago, perhaps between, say journalists or schoolteachers on the one hand and manufacturers or shopkeepers on the other. To some extent, his results are due to the indicators that were available. Rosenlund uses educational level as the main indicator for cultural capital. I suppose that type of education for example would be an important distinguishing variable. Rosenlund confines himself to level of education. But cultural capital is not only about education. It contains other components, other subspecies of capital that might function as antipodes to the economic capital. One reason why Rosenlund was not able to discern the "capital composition principle" in his data from the 1970s and only found weak tendencies in his data from the 1980s might be that he puts such a great emphasis on the level of education as the prime indicator of cultural capital. If so, what Rosenlund has found is perhaps not the birth of the capital composition principle as such – the emergence of horizontal polarities within the social space – but rather the rapidly growing importance of educational capital as a component of the cultural capital.

Rosenlund's focus on the polarity cultural/economic capital is mainly inspired by Bourdieu's work *La distinction* from 1979. The core of it was published already a few years earlier in an article (P. Bourdieu and Monique de Saint Martin, 1976) that contained the first published results from correspondence analyses of the social space and the space of lifestyles. To me it is obvious that the article and the book marked the end of a period. *La distinction* was a balance sheet, a synthesis of results and conclusions from the studies undertaken by Bourdieu and his first generation of collaborators in the sixties and early seventies. Thus, it presented a bird's-eye view on the distribution of symbolic and economic assets within the French society. The aim was to draw the broad lines, which explains why social classes and the principal class fractions often were treated as rather non-differentiated units. For example, it was more important to pay attention to the opposition between cultural and economic elites or between the cultural and economic middle classes than to enter deeply into the internal divides within each of those categories.

At the same time, Bourdieu and his collaborators turned to another endeavour, the investigation of different social fields. After some theoretical preludes (Bourdieu 1968, 1971a, 1971b, 1971c), the first empirical studies were published in 1975. Followed by a myriad of studies of social fields. Here the focus is no longer on cultural capital as such but on specific species of capital: academic and scientific capital within academia, political capital within the political field, artistic capital within the fields of art and literature, etc. Rosenlund's thesis is similar to *La distinction* in that its prime aim is to give the general view. There remains the investigation of different specific species of capital, as well as studies of the development and structure of the corresponding fields – studies that no doubt would make the cultural capital pole (and probably also the economic capital pole) appear less homogenous. In future research, it will be unavoidable to raise the question of the relations between local fields in Stavanger and other cities on the one hand and Norwegian (or ^{transnational}) fields on the other. It might be that the investments and stakes of certain elite groups in Stavanger are

in fact directed towards national or ^{transnational} fields. Another possible direction of future research would, as Rosenlund himself suggests, be to explore the field of competition between Norwegian cities.

My remarks should not be taken as negative criticism. I do not suggest that Rosenlund should have done otherwise. The thesis is comprehensive enough as it is. If some of his interpretations are questionable, they are questionable in a literate sense. They give rise to fruitful questions. The thesis is a good example of the fact that it is often advantageous to use certain research tools tenaciously rather than to compromise.

The Classes Are not Dead Yet

In the concluding part of his thesis, Rosenlund criticises the popular notion in recent years that we are witnessing the transformation into a new post-modern phase, in which solitary individuals in search of their own personal values and self-created identity have liberated themselves from their social origin and class and other social bonds and loyalties. Not at all, Rosenlund asserts. The social determinations do change but they are as effective as ever. I totally agree. Those who today compose funeral orations for the class society ought to be reminded that it has been declared dead before. In fact, the targets for Bourdieu's very first polemic intervention into the sociological debate (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1963) was "the massmediologues" – i.a. Gilbert Cohen-Séat & Pierre Fougeyrollas, *L'action sur l'homme : Cinéma et Télévision* (Denoël, 1961) and Edgar Morin, *L'Esprit du temps* (Grasset, 1962) – who in the early 1960s declared that since everybody watched the same television program, the new mass media had brought an end to the class society. It was not true forty years ago, as demonstrated by Bourdieu and his collaborators in their studies from the 1960s and 1970s, summarized in *La distinction*. And it is not true today. It is not

true that lifestyle changes and identity construction is located in a brand new sphere beyond the social space.

It seems as if there will always be a need for sociologists to present rigorous empirically based counter-arguments against the reoccurring prophecies about the arrival of the classless society. Lennart Rosenlund's work is a significant contribution to this mission.

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Appendix: Bourdieu's "Suicide"¹

Loïc Wacquant

Lennart Rosenlund's thesis is an ambitious replication and extension to Norwegian society (and its third major city, Stavanger) of Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1979; tr. London and Cambridge, Routledge and Harvard University Press, 1984). As backdrop to an assessment of this Nordic adaptation, it is useful to provide, an analysis and evaluation of Bourdieu's central propositions in his magnum opus.

I have entitled my remarks "Bourdieu's Suicide" because *Distinction* is to Pierre Bourdieu what *Suicide* was to Emile Durkheim: what Bacon calls an *experimentum crucis*, a "critical experiment" designed to demonstrate, first, the generic potency of the sociological method - against the claims of philosophy - and, second, the fecundity of a distinctive theoretical schema - the theory of practice anchored by the conceptual triad of habitus, capital, and field.

¹ Prepared for the Panel on Classics of the Twentieth Century, World Congress, International Sociological Association, Montreal, Canada, 28 July, 1999.

When Bourdieu undertakes his "critique of judgment" (the subtitle of *Distinction*, in reference to Immanuel Kant's famous three "Critiques of judgment"), the notion of taste enjoys at best a marginal status in the social sciences. Apart from Max Weber's brief considerations on the stylization of life, Thorstein Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption, and Norbert Elias's (then-little known) study of the "civilizing process," the notion has been abandoned to philosophers of mind and aesthetics, on the one side, and to biologists, on the other. It is deemed either too high or too lowly an object for the sociologist to bother with.

In *Distinction*, and in related studies of cultural practices upon which it builds (notably *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*/1965 and *The Love of Art: European Museums and their Public*/1966), Bourdieu effects a Copernican revolution in the study of taste. He abolishes the sacred frontier that makes legitimate culture a separate realm and repatriates aesthetic consumption into everyday consumptions. He demonstrates that aesthetic judgment is a social ability by virtue of both its genesis and its functioning. In so doing, Bourdieu offers not only a radical "social critique of the judgement." He also delivers a graphic account of the workings of culture and power in contemporary society. And he elaborates a theory of class that fuses the Marxian insistence on economic determination with the Weberian recognition of the distinctiveness of the cultural order and the Durkheimian concern for classification.

1. A theory of perception and judgment

First, Bourdieu shows that, far from expressing some unique inner sensibility of the individual, aesthetic judgement is an eminently *social faculty*, resulting from class upbringing and education. To appreciate a painting, a poem, or a symphony presupposes mastery of the specialized symbolic code of which it is a materialization, which in turn requires possession of the proper kind of cultural capital.

Mastery of this code can be acquired by osmosis in one's milieu of origin or by explicit teaching. When it comes through native familiarity (as with the children of cultured upper-class families), this trained capacity is experienced as an individual gift, an innate inclination testifying to spiritual worth. The Kantian theory of "pure aesthetic," which philosophy presents as universal, is but a stylized - and mystifying - account of this particular experience of the "love of art" that the bourgeoisie owes to its privileged social position and condition (this point is revisited in historical fashion in *The Rules of Art*, in which Bourdieu retraces the historical genesis of the artistic field, which is the "objective" counterpart to the emergence of the "pure" aesthetic disposition among privileged classes).

2. Social judgement as a relational system of oppositions and complementarities

A second major argument of *Distinction* is that the aesthetic sense exhibited by different classes and class fraction, and the lifestyles associated with them, define themselves in opposition to one another: *taste is first and foremost the distaste of the tastes of others*. ("In matters of taste, more than in anywhere else, any determination is negation: tastes are no doubt first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance ('sick-making') of the taste of others" (Bourdieu 1984:56). This is because any cultural practice--wearing tweed or jeans, playing golf or soccer, going to museums or to auto shows, listening to jazz or watching sitcoms, etc. - takes its social meaning, and its ability to signify social difference and distance, not from some intrinsic property it has but from its location in a system of like objects and practices. To uncover the social logic of consumption thus requires establishing, not a direct link between a given practice and a particular class category (e.g., horseback riding and the gentry), but the structural correspondences that obtain between two constellations of relations, the space of lifestyles and the space of social positions occupied by the different groups.

3. A theory of social space

Bourdieu reveals that this space of social positions is organized by *two crosscutting principles of differentiation, economic capital and cultural capital*, whose distribution defines the two oppositions that undergird major lines of cleavage and conflict in advanced society. (We must note here that while Bourdieu's demonstration is carried out with French materials, his theoretical claims apply to all differentiated societies. For pointers on how to extract general propositions from Bourdieu's specific findings on France and to adapt his models to other countries and epochs, see "A Japanese Reading of Distinction", Bourdieu 1995).

The first, vertical, division pits agents holding large volumes of either capital - the dominant class - against those deprived of both - the dominated class. The second, horizontal, opposition arises among the dominant, between those who possess much economic capital but few cultural assets (business owners and managers, who form the dominant fraction of the dominant class), and those whose capital is preeminently cultural (intellectuals and artists, who anchor the dominated fraction of the dominant class). Individuals and families continually strive to maintain or improve their position in social space by pursuing strategies of reconversion whereby they transmute or exchange one species of capital into another. The conversion rate between the various species of capital, set by such institutional mechanisms as the school system, the labor market, and inheritance laws, turns out to be one of the central stakes of social struggles, as each class or class fraction seeks to impose the hierarchy of capital most favorable to its own endowment. (This is explored further in *The State Nobility*).

4. Distinction, necessity, and cultural goodwill: three kinds of class taste

Having mapped out the structure of social space, Bourdieu demonstrates that the *hierarchy of lifestyles is the misrecognized retransformation of the hierarchy of classes*. To each major social position, bourgeois, petty bourgeois, and popular, corresponds a class habitus undergirding three broad kinds of tastes.

The "sense of distinction" of the bourgeoisie is the manifestation, in the symbolic order, of the latter's distance from material necessity and long-standing monopoly over scarce cultural goods. It accords primacy to form over function, manner over matter, and celebrates the "pure pleasure" of the mind over the "coarse pleasure" of the senses.

More importantly, bourgeois taste defines itself by negating the "taste of necessity" of the working classes. The latter may indeed be described as an inversion of the Kantian aesthetic: it subordinates form to function and refuses to autonomize judgement from practical concerns, art from everyday life (for instance, workers use photography to solemnize the high points of collective life and prefer pictures that are faithful renditions of reality over photos that pursue visual effects for their own sake).

Caught in the intermediate zones of social space, the petty bourgeoisie displays a taste characterized by "cultural goodwill": they know what the legitimate symbolic goods are but they do not know how to consume them in the proper manner - with the ease and insouciance that comes from familial habituation. They bow before the sanctity of bourgeois culture but, because they do not master its code, they are perpetually at risk of revealing their middling position in the very movement whereby they strive to hide it by aping the practices of those above them in the economic and cultural order.

5. Cultural consumption, the hidden dimension of class struggle

But Bourdieu does not stop at drawing a map of social positions, tastes, and their relationships. He shows that the *contention between groups in the space of lifestyles is a hidden, yet fundamental, dimension of class struggles*. For to impose one's art of living is to impose at the same time principles of vision of the world that legitimize inequality by making the divisions of social space appear rooted in the inclinations of individuals rather than the underlying distribution of capital. Against Marxist theory, which defines classes exclusively in the economic sphere, by their position in the relations of production, Bourdieu argues that classes arise in the conjunction of shared position in social space and shared dispositions actualized in the sphere of consumption: "The representations that individuals and groups inevitably engage in their practices is part and parcel of their social reality. A class is defined as much by its *perceived-being* as by its being" (Bourdieu 1979/1984: 564). Insofar as they enter into the very constitution of class, social classifications are instruments of symbolic domination and constitute a central stake in the struggle between classes (and class fractions), as each tries to gain control over the classificatory schemata that command the power to conserve or change reality by preserving or altering the representation of reality.

To conclude: *Distinction* provides a sociological answer (i.e., a historical and empirical answer) to one of the grand questions of philosophy, the question of the origins and operations of judgment. It shows that, just as suicide varies according to social factors, taste, far from being the ultimate repository of spontaneous individuality, is a transfigured expression of social necessity. By revealing taste as simultaneously weapon and stake in the classification struggles whereby groups seek to maintain or improve their position in society by imposing their lifestyle as the sole legitimate *art de vivre*, Bourdieu brings *homo aestheticus* back into the world of the mundane, the common and the contested, i.e., back in the heartland of social science.

In the course of this demonstration, *Distinction* puts forth and illustrates a historicist theory of knowledge (encapsulated by the idea of *practical sense*, which is the original title of *The Logic of Practice*, the companion volume to *Distinction*), a dispositional theory of action (anchored by the notion of habitus) and a relational and agonistic conception of social space (summed up by the concept of field). And it unties the vexed nexus of culture, power, and identity in modern society. All in all, it's not a bad recipe for attaining classical status.

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