

REGULAR SESSION INFORMATION

Title of Session: Social Inequality and Socio-cultural Differentiation in the Global Age:

Re-reading Bourdieu

Name of Session Convener(s): *Anna Amelina*, Goethe-University Frankfurt am Main;

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Comments: -

I) *Migrants' Transnational Habitus in the Digital Age*

Mihaela Nedelcu, University of Neuchâtel

II) *Migrant Families and Care Practices: The Symbolic Power of Care Regimes*

Karolina Bargłowski, Bielefeld University

III) *Transnational Capital at Stake: Using Bourdieu for Analyzing Transformations in Swedish Elite Upper Secondary and Higher Education*

Mikael Palme, Uppsala University

Mikael Börjesson, Uppsala University

Tobias Dalberg, Uppsala University

Donald Broady, Uppsala University

IV) *Marginalization and the Field of Deliberative Politics*

Markus Holdo, Uppsala University

Session description:

Overcoming the purely national perspective on social inequality and socio-cultural differentiation continues to be a great challenge for sociology in the global age. In search for adequate epistemological and methodological lens to capture global and transnational phenomena, scholars dispersed across various fields of sociology and countries suggest re-examining the concepts offered by the scholarship of Pierre Bourdieu, in particular habitus, capital and field. So far, these attempts are limited to particular case studies. We see a need for intensified exchange between the scholars applying the theory of Pierre Bourdieu in global and transnational contexts. This, as we strongly believe, timely session aims thus at identifying main fields of application and challenges in analyzing social inequality and socio-cultural differentiation in globalized and transnationalized contexts to foster the theoretical and methodological innovation.

The contributions to this session engage but are not limited to the following issues:

- Intersections and transformations of cultural, economic and social capital across nation-state borders;
- Class formation and changes of social positions in social spaces across and beyond national contexts;
- Transformation of personal and group habitus due to transnational and global mobility and migration flows;
- Conversions and conflicts between individual and group habitus in transcultural settings;
- Temporal and spatial conditions of mobile individuals' positions within social fields.

Contributors are encouraged to depart from their own empirical work in how they address the innovation in theory of social inequality and socio-cultural differentiation.

Abstracts:**I) *Migrants' Transnational Habitus in the Digital Age***

Mihaela Nedelcu, University of Neuchâtel

The extensive use of modern communication technologies in migration contexts significantly improve and diversify the ways of being together and ways of belonging at a distance of migrant and non-migrant populations. Thus, dynamics of transnational migration are more and more complex, and 'online connected migrants' represent a quintessence of *homo mobilis* and *homo numericus* embodying the social mutations generated by two most important features of contemporary social worlds: mobility and technology. An analysis of Internet use by Romanian migrants in Canada and Switzerland and by their transnational families will show the mechanisms through which ICTs produce connected lifestyles, enhance the capacity to harness otherness, and facilitate socialization beyond borders. It also illustrates how online migrants go through multi-scaled deterritorialized matrix of socialization and develop a transnational habitus combining heterogeneous cultural references inherited from their physical and virtual journeys.

Building both on Bourdieu's habitus theory and on Ulrich Beck's methodological cosmopolitanism, this paper shows that studying migrant transnationalism through the ICT's lens reveals subtle social processes of disembedding society and social functioning from the 'national container' (Beck 2006). The emergence of transnational habitus reflects the making of a transnational *illusio*, and the inception of a shared cosmopolitan sensitivity, i.e. the emergence of an awareness that one belongs to a globalised world of networks and complex interdependencies. Therefore, we suggest that Bourdieu's theory of habitus, essentially a theory of social reproduction, is yet an interesting heuristic tool to understand sociocultural transformations in the global age.

II) Migrant Families and Care Practices: The Symbolic Power of Care Regimes

Karolina Bargłowski, Bielefeld University

Recently a plethora of studies occurred, that investigate the migration-care-nexus from different perspectives. However those studies rarely analyze the negotiations of care arrangements in migratory contexts on *both sides* of the border and the inequalities that arise in terms of 'care' for various social groups.

The inequalities which are (re)produced in the social field of care can be analyzed drawing from Bourdieu's dialectical habitus-field relationship (Bourdieu 1984). According to that, care practices can be conceptualized as embedded in care regimes, which besides material constructs like state policies include symbolic parts, like 'care cultures', popular discourses and social relations of power. Migration interferes into this dialectical relationship, as firstly by migration care regimes are being juxtaposed between at least two nationally structured social spaces and secondly migration induces re-negotiations of care arrangements concerning those who migrate as well as those who 'stay behind'.

Analyzing migrant's care practices in a Bourdieuan sense means understanding them as interrelated with care regimes which evolve 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu 1984), i.e. impacts of (unconscious) common-sense classifications on practices. Conceptualizing care regimes as a power relation offers an insight into multiple inequalities which arise in cross-border networks at the intersection of migration and care. Although Bourdieu pointed at the interrelation of different classifications for the formation of inequalities, like class and gender (Bourdieu 2001), his perspective was mainly national. However this national perspective conceals the significance of other inequalities like age and location which may be equally life deciding. The paper thus claims for adopting Bourdieu's concepts into inequality orientated research on cross-border social spaces.

Based on 20 interviews with respondents who migrated from Poland to Germany at various times and for manifold reasons and 10 interviews with their significant others who stayed in Poland, the paper elucidates how care regimes, materialized in practices, affect people's chances to partake in relevant social areas like labor markets and mobility.

It will be shown, that care regimes evolve symbolic power in the sense that they need to be negotiated by all respondents but in different ways alongside classifications like gender, age and transnationality. (Anticipated) care commitments and requirements lead to the exclusion from labor markets for older women 'staying behind' in order to allow the younger women to perform economically. On the other hand younger women after migration and due to the lack of 'family caregivers' see themselves faced in a situation in which they have to balance different forms of protection, what exacerbates their economic activities and leads to power asymmetries in their relationships. Migration of parts of a family, also may limit chances to migrate for other family members in terms of their (anticipated) care commitments for older family members. Interestingly, against the backdrop of Bourdieu's notions of the socially constructed nature of classifications like gender, migration experiences seem to promote the deconstruction of naturalizing assumptions about e.g. gendered practices, as some respondents point at the processes in which they after migration had to socialize themselves into gendered roles.

III) Transnational Capital at Stake: Using Bourdieu for Analyzing Transformations in Swedish Elite Upper Secondary and Higher Education

Mikael Palme, Uppsala University

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Donald Broady, Uppsala University

With the growth of new transnational social spaces created by globalization processes, be it in the corporate sector or in organizations, the importance of transnational or global forms of symbolic assets seems to increase. Symbolic capital of this kind include for example internationally oriented educational diplomas such as International Baccalaureate or Masters in Business Administration, language skills, especially in English, knowledge of the institutional and organizational landscape that connect countries, and familiarity with globally shared cultural forms.

Still, the nation states play a crucial role in creating the positions from where access to transnational resources is gained. Individuals, social groups and institutions who are strong holders of nationally recognized forms of symbolic capital outrival others in the competition for transnational capital. Moreover, the conversion of capital can work in both directions: while resources built up nationally are often a prerequisite for accumulating assets recognized on transnational symbolic markets, assets accrued on transnational markets – or the pretension to such assets – may be used in the competition for nationally defined social positions. The analysis of these kinds of conversions needs to take into account differences between social fields with different forms of recognition, i.e. the specific kind of symbolic capital at stake.

Building on ongoing research, this paper explores the relation between forms of national and transnational symbolic capital in institutional and individual strategies in Swedish upper secondary

and higher education. The education system offers a unique position for understanding the stakes at hand. In upper secondary education, the marketization and de-regularization of the last two decades have created an increasingly more complex educational landscape of schools and study programs that respond to diversified demands on education from social groups with different volume and composition of capital. Internationally oriented schools and study programs, sometimes using English as the language of instruction, challenge the traditionally prestigious *lycéés*, which, in turn, tend to incorporate international content into the general knowledge (*Bildung*) that dominates their educational profiles. In higher education, both outgoing and incoming students have increased tenfold in two decades. While the overall structure of higher education was adapted to the Bologna-process in 2007, student fees for students from so called third countries were introduced in 2011, forcing both institutions and students to adjust their strategies to new conditions. Research results point to an increased differentiation of the whole Swedish field of higher education, the most prestigious and selective institutions setting themselves further apart from others, also in terms of the international contacts and assets they uphold. In upper secondary as well as higher education, students with an origin in social groups with large amounts of different forms of capital come closer than students with more modest origin to accumulating transnational assets, both through the cultural, economic and social resources provided by their family network and through their greater chance of entering into elite educational institutions giving access to such assets.

IV) Marginalization and the Field of Deliberative Politics

Markus Holdo, Uppsala University

A growing social science literature addresses questions about widening social and economic gaps, exploitation of immigrant workers without citizen rights, and the securitization of poverty, in terms of the emergence of a precariat, that is, a new, heterogeneous and transnational, social class, characterized by marginality (Wacquant 2007). The precariat, writes Standing (2011), is a class in the making, yet it lacks the sense of commonality that could be the base for collective action. It is, in Bourdieus words, compelled to form its subjectivity out of its objectification by others. We might say, with Bourdieu, that it emerges out of the breakdown of social fields on which actors guided by a feel for the game, i.e. a sense of common stakes, defend the basis of their social recognition.

Departing from Standings (2012) suggestion that the precariat needs deliberative democracy in order to make its voices heard in political institutions, this paper seeks to elaborate a conception of deliberative social change, modeled on Bourdieus account of the emergence of the field of art. Introducing Bourdieus concepts of symbolic capital, field and investment to deliberative politics, the paper demonstrates their fruitfulness in a field that has been largely hostile to considering the constitutive power of social structures. The paper draws on fieldwork on participatory budgeting in Argentina, and extends its conclusions to point to a few areas of European precariat that deserves more attention in future research on new forms of marginalization and mobilization.