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| 17:00 – 18:30 | Keynote Panel 1: Race, Ethnicity and Migration.  
Dr. Constantino Dumangane; Dr. Berenice Scandone and Dr Derron Wallace | George Fox LT1 Lecture Theatre                |
| 20:00 – 23:00 | Evening Dinner (for those pre-booked)                                 | Bowland Suite, Lancaster House Hotel          |
### Programme Outline
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<td>11:00 – 11:30</td>
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<td>11:00 – 11:30</td>
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<td>11:30 – 13:00</td>
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<td>Dr. Sol Gamsu and Dr. Tracey Jensen</td>
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<td>Hamilton, M.</td>
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Keynote Speakers
Keynote: Professor Derek Robbins  
Tuesday 10th July 2018  
14:30 – 15:30

### Bourdieu and the Field of Politics
Room LT1  
Chair: Nicola Ingram


#### Biography
Professor Derek Robbins is an Emeritus Professor of International Social Theory at the University of East London. Prof. Robbins has worked with and written extensively on Pierre Bourdieu most recently examining French post-war social theory and the social constructivist context of Bourdieu’s work.

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### Keynote Panel 1: Dr Constantino Dumangane, Dr Berenice Scandone and Dr Derron Wallace  
Tuesday 10th July 2018  
17:15 – 18:30

#### Race, Ethnicity and Migration  
Room LT1  
Chair: Jessie Abrahams

In this session Dr.Constantino Dumangane, Dr. Berenice Scandone and Dr Derron Wallace discuss issues of Race, Ethnicity and Migration in educational research. Drawing upon their own work they will begin with short presentations before opening up the discussion through audience interaction.

#### Biography
Dr. Constantino Dumangane is a research associate at the Wales Institute of Social and Economic Research, Data and Methods (WISERD). Dr. Dumangane completed his PhD at Cardiff University where he explored the experiences and identities of British African Caribbean Male graduates of elite Universities in England and Wales.

Dr. Berenice Scandone is a researcher at NatCen Social Research. Dr. Scandone’s research is on educational inequalities with a particular focus on race and ethnicity within a higher education context.

Dr. Derron Wallace is an Assistant Professor of Education and Sociology at Brandeis University. Dr. Wallace’s research focuses on race, ethnicity and education specialising in inequalities and identities in urban schools and neighbourhoods.
The difficult thing is not to rise in the world, but, while rising, to remain oneself (Jules Michelet – 1846). Taking Bourdieu's work to the limits is to engage with his research affectively as well as intellectually, to recognize our own social and academic positioning in the same powerful way he recognized and worked with his own auto-biography (Bourdieu 2008). It also requires the deconstruction and reconstruction of his concepts in relation to our own distinct experiences. In this talk I attempt to tease out the many different and antagonistic embodiments of the relationship between a habitus and a field, taking myself as a case study. I focus on three fields - the working class coal-mining community of my childhood and youth, the educational system and, last but not least, academia. My resistances over a period of 65 years have transformed my own life but they have made no difference at all to the status quo. As Bourdieu states, 'resistance can be alienating and submission can be liberating' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 24). The recalcitrant habitus can have both self-defeating and transformative consequences as I try to illustrate through my own experiences. The limits to change are central to the recalcitrant habitus, the refusal of others' power is at its heart but, as I conclude, that refusal is undermined by power imbalances that can be challenged but rarely transcended.

**Biography**
Professor Diane Reay is an Emerita Professor of Education at Cambridge University and Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics (LSE). Professor Reay's work has examined social inequalities through an intersectional lens and in particular how power and reproduction are manifested and experienced within various levels of education.

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In this session Dr. Lisa McKenzie and Professor Andrew Sayer discuss and the affective dimension of social class, including issues of morality and stigma. Drawing upon their own work they will begin with short presentations before opening up the discussion through audience interaction.

**Biography**
Dr. Lisa McKenzie is a lecturer in Sociological Practice at Middlesex University. Dr. McKenzie has previously worked on the Great British Class Survey and has published and campaigned widely on issues of social justice and working class identity.

Professor Andrew Sayer is a Professor of Social Theory and Political Economy at Lancaster University. Professor Sayer's notable works include the Moral Significance of Class (2005) and Why We Can't Afford the Rich (2014), the latter of which was awarded the British Academy's Peter Townsend Prize in 2015.
Teaching the working class to accept their destiny: the misrecognition of class in guiding educational transitions
Room LT1
Chair: Nicola Ingram

Contemporary dominant discourses on youth educational transitions are informed by rational choice theories stressing the centrality of individuals as instrumental and strategic actors deeply embedded in making their own specific and personal trajectories, biographies and lifestyles (Beck, 1992; Du Bois Reymond, 1998). In this scenario, guidance has become the new hegemonic tool (Romito, 2017) to channel youth educational transitions and reproduce the dominant social imaginary on individualization and choice. The paper analyses the contradictions of guidance discourses and practices and their effects in the reproduction of social inequalities through three main mechanisms based on Bourdieu conceptual tools (Bourdieu, 1984, 1996; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). First, the articulation of an ideology of natural gifts that does not acknowledge the role of the family habitus and the institutional habitus (Reay, et al 2001) in the production of abilities, vocations and choices. Second, the naturalization and hierarchization of different kinds of intelligence, consolidating the dominant hand -brain division (Lahelma, 2009) and neglecting the symbolic violence produced by secondary schools in excluding manual knowledge from mainstream curriculum and pedagogic activities. Third, the omission of the systemic and structural elements conditioning young people educational transitions and choices beyond their individual interests, talents and willingness, such as the politics of numerus clausus to access the most prestigious vocational training. All in all, the paper demonstrates how educational choices and transitions are embedded in a battle over desirable social positions hidden in the name of ‘realist choice’ that, in turn, legitimates and reproduces class inequality.

Biography
Dr. Aina Tarabini is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Dr. Tarabini’s research is concerned with social inequalities and their educational repercussions at three levels: actors’ subjectivities, educational practices and everyday actions; schools’ practices and pedagogical devices; educational policies and programmes.

Keynote: Professor Mike Savage
Thursday 12th July 2018
15:30 – 16:30

Global inequality and the geo-politics of national fields
Room LT1
Chair: Ciaran Burke

My paper will consider how rising levels of global inequality are challenging the (partial) autonomy of national fields, and will reflect on the significance of these shifts for Bourdieusian social theory more generally. I will review the implications of inequality dynamics across the globe to reflect on the way that strong national fields tend to forestall major income inequality rises, but will reflect on how larger and more powerful nations are leading the inequality drive. In this process I will question whether field analysis tends to over-spatialise relationships at the expense of recognising the significance of time and accumulation. I will consider how imperial formations are related to rising forms of inequality and consider how this might need us to rethink our modes of analysis.

Biography
Professor Mike Savage is a Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics LSE. Professor Savage has researched and published on issues concerning social class and inequalities for over twenty years, most recently he directed the Great British Class Survey in association with the BBC presenting a new model of class composition in the UK.
Keynote Panel 3: Dr Sol Gamsu and Dr Tracey Jensen  
Thursday 12th July 2018  
17:00 – 18:00

Capital over Time and Space  
Room LT1  
Chair: Kirsty Finn

In this session Dr. Tracy Jensen and Dr. Sol Gamsu discuss the importance of theorising time and space in relation to Bourdieusian notions of capital. Drawing upon their own work they will begin with short presentations before opening up the discussion through audience interaction.

Biography
Dr. Sol Gamsu is currently a research assistant at the University of Bath. Dr. Gamsu completed his PhD at King’s College London where he examined how regional inequalities shape the geography of an individual’s post-16 educational choices.

Dr. Tracy Jensen is a lecturer in Media and Cultural Studies at Lancaster University. Dr. Jensen’s research examines cultural politics, representation, social and media inequalities and the cultural and emotional dimensions of austerity.
Paper Session Details
The role of gender habitus in explaining young people’s educational aspirations and expectations
Curran, Marta (Autonomous University of Barcelona)

A great sector of feminist scholars have criticised the work of Bourdieu for setting gender as a second form of social stratification. The aim of this paper is to develop a critical analysis of Bourdieu's theoretical approach to explore young students aspirations and expectations from a gendered perspective. Specifically, the paper explores the concept of ‘gender habitus’ in framing young people's imagined and expected futures. To discuss this, the paper draws on data from a qualitative study developed based on in-depth interviews with 54 students (41 of whom are working-class) at the end of secondary compulsory education (Grade 9 and 10) and six focus groups with the same students. The findings of this study highlight different examples of students' dispositions and aspirations that demonstrate the key role of gender in exploring how habitus interacts with the educational field.

'B'Before we started doing all this mad stuff I just thought Uni’s not for me’ Exploring student responses to creative teaching methods in a non-traditional HEI.
Lacey, Steph (Barnsley College)

Theresa May's Conservative government announced, in February, that it would conduct a review of post-18 education fees and funding. The review has been framed as a conversation that emphasises the 'value' and 'worth' of HE qualifications that differ by institution; a move that is arguably set to bolster the elitism already present in a stratified UK higher education (HE) system. Whilst Oxbridge and Russell Group universities are still revered, experiences of 'College HE' or 'Partnership Institutions', that are predominantly attended by working class students, remain notably absent from these discussions. Despite assertions from the Prime Minister to the contrary, the marketization of HE, whilst operating under the guise of choice, has served to reinforce and reproduce the educational advantages already experienced by middle class families. This commodification of the education system has constructed students a 'consumer' of the 'product' the university has to offer, making it crucial to understand student responses to pedagogic practices and the value they find within them. This work focuses on students' experiences of creative teaching methods that deviate from 'traditional' lectures that are typically valued within political and educational discourse. Drawing on responses from 15 students in a Childcare and Education department in a non-traditional higher education institution, this work utilises a Bourdieusian conceptual framework to explore the role of habitus and capital in their journey to, and experience of, university. The work focuses on their classed identities within these spaces and their responses to creative pedagogies in HE.

Cultural reproduction and Inequity in Online Education
Oztok, Murat (Lancaster University)

Cultural reproduction theory argues that inequity is reproduced through the existing mechanisms by which continuity of cultural experience is sustained across time: cultural values, practices, beliefs, and norms. While Durkheim (1956) suggested that schools provide stability (more specifically, the division of labour in a modern society) by socializing individuals into the status quo, Bourdieu (1990) discussed the role of education in a modern society and argued that the education system was used to reproduce the culture of the dominant class in order for the dominant class to preserve their power. Bourdieu's work was mainly focused on the reproduction of disadvantages and inequalities that are caused by cultural reproduction in schools. According to Bourdieu, inequalities are produced through the education system and other social institutions. In this sense, public education and schooling are among the main mechanisms of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This work follows such an understanding and expands that perspective to describe learning conditions in online spaces. Using cultural reproduction theory, this work illustrates that, based on their identification, individuals experience differentiated learning conditions and opportunities within an online community. If public education acts as an agent of cultural reproduction not through the scientific curriculum, but through the hidden curriculum, I argue that identification is one of the primary means by which cultural reproduction occurs in online education.
Investigating Islamic teachers’ Identity construction in International Schools through the Bourdieusian lens
Gamal, Mohammed (Qatar foundation Keele University)

This study outlines how Bourdieu's conceptual tools of habitus, field and capital can provide an explanatory and analytical framework that explains the process of identity construction within the local teachers, exemplified in Islamic Studies teachers, who work in international schools. The study introduces international schooling as a Bourdieusian field where there are certain capitals that local teachers attempt to negotiate. Drawing on ethnographic research conducted in an international school in Qatar, the study sheds lights on the dialectical relationship between Islamic Studies teachers' habitus and the capitals of the international schooling.

Revealing Transnational Capital: International Students, Cultural Capital and the Social Work Profession
Hicks, Haidee (Victoria University)

Building on the nexus between Bourdieu's key concepts of habitus and cultural capital, this presentation will provide a critical analysis of international (overseas) students' experience of professional learning in social work field education in Victoria, Australia. Despite increasing numbers of international (overseas) students enrolling in social work courses in Australian universities, a detailed analysis of the habitus of the student-migrant in relation to race and ethnicity is largely absent in the social work literature. This presentation will focus on how international students, as racialised subjects, acquire cultural capital throughout their social work field placements. More specifically, I will argue that preliminary data provides evidence that international students acquire transnational capital through their simultaneous engagement with global cultures and contexts including their culture of origin. Preliminary data analysis indicates that international students access both cultural and transnational capital in order to adapt and adjust to the 'rules' inscribed within fields where they are located throughout social work field placement. Despite emerging data that reflects the ways in which social work field education appears to reproduce social inequalities, I will also provide accounts of key sites of resistance identified by international student agents and the process through which they are able to activate personal transnational capital in the social work field placement agency. In this presentation I will be arguing the importance of a Bourdieusian analysis to theorise the intersection between international students' professional learning, their habitus and the concept of transnational capital to inform alternative social work pedagogies.

Recognition of Linguistic Capital in a Hong Kong Multilingual Preschool
Sanders-Smith, Stephanie, Thorstensson, Davila, L. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

As a former British colony, English has the status as an 'official language' (Bourdieu, 1991) in Hong Kong. As Hong Kong has now reunified with mainland China under the 'one country, two systems' policy, Putonghua (Mandarin) is also increasingly legitimized in educational and political contexts. In schools, Cantonese language instruction receives less funding and fewer policy considerations than English or Putonghua (Lee & Leung, 2012). Policies surrounding education in Cantonese illustrate the linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) inherent in English and Putonghua. This paper presents a study of a preschool program at International School Hong Kong (ISHK) that supports the learning of English, Cantonese, and Putonghua through an emergent and investigative curriculum. The study considers how the translanguaging practices (García & Wei, 2014) of four- and five-year-old children in a trilingual preschool reveals the recognition of the differing linguistic capital present in each. The findings suggest that children engaged in translanguaging practices for three distinct purposes: 1) to designate relational changes, 2) to clarify a point, 3) to express critiques or commands. While relational changes and clarifications required translanguaging for easier comprehension by a partner or ease of linguistic expression for the speaker, critiques and commands were predominantly signified by a change from Cantonese or Putonghua to English. We suggest that the open language policy employed by ISHK allows language to emerge freely through authentic interactions in play. However, this policy also begins to reveal children's understandings of power structures embedded in language.
The nursing game: Bourdieusian account of nursing in Kuwait

Marzouq, Amnah, Windsor, C., Theobald, K. (Queensland University of Technology (QUT))

While nursing organisations in Kuwait have been working towards a shared objective of the nationalisation of the nursing workforce the agenda has not translated into practice. Evidence suggests that Kuwaiti nationals compromise 6.5% of the total nursing work force which points to the extent of the challenge of achieving the goal of nationalisation. Hence, the purpose of the research was to gain insight into the social space of nursing within the Kuwaiti context. The research began with the assumption that reality is never precisely what it seems and thus may not be obvious to the naked eye. Bourdieu's theoretical work lent itself well to the starting assumption and to an exploration of the social space and social relations of Kuwaiti nursing. The research adopted a relational approach where theory and empirical resources intersected. Empirical data were sourced through semi-structured interviews with 22 nurses in key positions and documents data which includes policies, guidelines, information circulars and newspapers covering a period of 1980-2016. Data analysis was organized around the micro, meso and macro context of social spaces in which the realities that underpinned Kuwaiti nurse practices were constructed and contested. The analysis explicated the constructed layers of assumptions that guided nursing practice and allowed power relations to function within the social space of nursing. The Kuwaiti nursing game was about relations of contestation and tension for domination rather than a shared endeavour to bring change to the current nursing situation. The research contributes an understanding of an organisational culture.

Nursing ethos and differentiation as symbolic structuring forces

Ernst, Jette (University of Southern Denmark)

The paper draws on Bourdieu's (1977) conceptualization of the symbolic order and his little used concept of ethos in order to understand a recent development within nursing professionalization that concerns two approaches to nursing: caring and curing and their historical relation to each other and the medical profession. The caring and curing divide in nursing concerns how nursing identity is constructed through either a proximation to the medical professional by accepting the Cartesian worldview of medicine (Broom and Adams, 2012; Nolan and Bradley, 2008) or as a differentiation towards medicine, where nursing identity emerges through its holistic approach to the patient, comfort and interpersonal intimacy (Apesoa-Varano, Barker, and Hinton, 2011; Glouberman and Mintzberg, 2001a, b). Methodologically, the paper draws on ethnographic fieldwork and document studies. Following the argument that 'the symbolic properties of the social have the same world making powers as have its material characteristics' (Bourdieu, 1990 p. 135), the author examines the genesis of the caring and curing ethos in the nursing field through the narrative representations crafted by the nurses in a hospital department and in the wider field. Caring and curing as professionalization narratives rest on two wider field level narratives – the narrative of nursing progression through evidence based knowledge and the narrative of nursing as a worldview informed by the clinical judgement (Benner, 2004) and patience. Both narratives are connected to a moral dimension of practice and, hence, the caring and curing ethos can be linked to the concept of virtue (Tsoukas, 2017).

Hyper-masculine responses to class inequality: resistance, autonomy and health risks.

Dumas, Alex (University of Ottawa)

Why are low-income men more prone to avoid or reject lifestyles prescribed by dominant health institutions? Why are they adopting risk-oriented lifestyles when they wholeheartedly know they may harm their health? These public health questions can be answered by Pierre Bourdieu’s symbolic theory of power and his social critique of judgment and taste. By drawing on a secondary analysis of over 100 in-depth interviews held in Québec (Canada), this paper (a) briefly outlines different orientations towards health between men and women from contrasting socioeconomic conditions, and (b) presents a more detailed analysis of low-income men’s anti-normative practices. Results present three key aspirations – achieving a sense of security, preserving autonomy, and gaining social recognition that can provide relevant explanations for understanding underprivileged men’s health lifestyles. These aspirations are interpreted as means to gain social value despite adverse impacts on health. The paper concludes on the importance of frameworks that can extend Bourdieu’s approach of symbolic power to include reflexivity in order to better understand the relations between structural vulnerabilities, social suffering, resistance and poor health outcomes/practices.
Disruption in the field: youth detention and security through a Bourdieusian lens
Bray, Andrew (Dublin Institute of tecnology)

As Ireland moves out of austerity and into a new phase of public service managerialism existing services are being restructured with a hybrid delivery focused on control. This results in assemblages of providers who are, in turn, controlled by a reliance on state economic capital. Whilst Ireland has traditionally relied on a welfare approach, the emphasis on securitisation demanded by the managerialist approach points to a more punitive approach to youth detention. Using the Bourdieusian toolkit, current research is utilising field analysis as a way of identifying the relational positions of key agents within the field as well as the relational engagements with other fields; and habitus as a driver of care practices that in turn reinforce the cultural capital of agents. Disruption in the field has shifted detention from its historical position to either a different existing field or a totally new field. To what extent does the change in habitus impact the care delivery? A new organisational ethos has led to a reversal in the dominant positions within the field as the managerialist approach undermines the distribution of capital. The paper will draw on data collected from interviews carried out with detention staff to provide a snapshot of the perspectives from differing positions within the field.

From Criminal Violence to Security. The reproduction of State Order in Science
Alvarez, Irene (CIDE/COLMICH/University of Aberdeen)

Since 2006, Mexico has seen the increase of criminal violence related to the exchange of illicit goods (such as drugs, stolen crude oil, mineral commodities, endangered species, precious wood...) and to public security policies. For some, the country is experiencing a civil war. This phenomenon has attracted the attention of scholars who seek to explain the collage of events linked to ‘narcoviolence’. I attempt to show the symbolic domain of the State in science through the construction of the ‘sociological problem’ of security in Mexico. In other words, I am interested in analysing discourses and forms of classification adopted by social scientists as effects of the State.

Security, Fields and Habitus: Towards a Bourdieusian Theory of Securitization
Bowden, Matt (Dublin Institute of Technology)

While the capitalist city enfranchises new cadres of consumers with the right to the city, the new urban process sees the formation of assemblages of state, civil and business interests working to create safety in varying forms. For the last three decades writers on the emergence of the late modern society have spoken variously of ontological insecurity, the dizziness of uncertainty and the emerging including-excluding filters that stream people into distinct categories: the emergence of digital security as a key technological instrument aiding vision and division, and new mobilisations of social panoptics. In addition we have witnessed the growing industry of private security whose main market is the protection of capital. We have also seen the formation of new expertise to inculcate ‘states of mind’ [habitus] so as one can make security decisions to avoid victimisation. This paper presents a working definition of the security field as an emerging pluralised assemblage of security providers operating in networks and formed from a fragmenting bureaucratic field of policing. Drawing upon empirical work exploring plural policing, the security field appears to be a forming system of positions, dominated by the field of power. While those rich in economic capital are brought close to the state in the form of policy networks under the guise of ‘regulation’ and ‘standardisation’, others are kept firmly at a distance relying upon symbolic capital within the field.
Youth, Work and Precarization: Capital Mobilisation in Catalonia

Strecker, Tanja Conni., Miquel Úbeda; M.Angels Cabasés (Universitat de Lleida)

Youth is on occasion described as a seismograph for paradigmatic changes that will come to affect the rest of the population sooner or later. The increasing precariousness affecting especially young people in the labour market is therefore showing the potential of becoming a new labour paradigm for all age groups, though its spreading is likely to be influenced by social class and other dimensions of social difference. Southern-European countries have long known prolonged labour market transitions, so we can expect to find especially interesting findings in this region. In this presentation we build on our research of youth employment, labour market transitions, youth labour policies (namely the European Youth Guarantee) and social inequality questioning if and how these tendencies can be read from a Bourdieusian perspective, especially regarding the reproduction of social inequalities over generations. In concrete, we build on theories of capital acquisition and mobilization that describe how young people from different backgrounds are more or less able to smoothen their transition into paid employment. This choices and conditioning factors can be analysed as elements of production, involving the creation of repertoires and the mobilization of adaptabilities to the processes of precarization, which can be read as practices of resistance or as practical rationalities. To do this, we start with a fieldwork based on the application of ethnographic techniques on the strategies of young people within the framework of youth employability policies.

Tilting at windmills or dragon slaying: Reproduction and resistance in the early career development of lecturers in the field of Further Education

McCrone, Georgia (Lancaster University)

This paper reports on findings from a doctoral thesis into the interplay between policy around professional and early career development of recently qualified Further Education lecturers. It focusses on their developing practice, drawing on the conceptual framework of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and of Bourdieu and Passeron (1990). It suggests that their cultural and social capital and pre-existing and accrued habitus informs their ability to reproduce or resist practice in response to local and national policy imperatives. The participants in the study entered the field of Further Education during a period of shifting policy and contested concepts of the profession (Taubman in Daley et al, 2015), with moves away from statutory requirements for entry towards a more fluid and discretionary framework (ETF 2014). This framework has led to greater variation in academic and cultural capital acquired by participants and greater variation in their ability to resist managerialist requirements and more localised fields of reproduction. The increasing complexity of pathways into the field and policy changes around access to related fields of education (DfE 2012) has both constrained and freed participants with some developing entrepreneurial habitus, while others find their access to their intended fields of employment constricted or obstructed. This paper will suggest that the degree of resistance or compliance shown by participants is partly informed by reproduction based on their prior experiences, but also shaped by the ways that the fields in which they find themselves have adopted and adapted to changing policy.

Gendered class habitus as the range of professional choices: the classification of precarious employment strategies

Vanke, Alexandrina, Tartakovskaya, I.(University of Manchester, State Academic University for the Humanities)

In his book 'The Logic of Practice', Bourdieu introduces the concept of habitus as an analytical tool that means a system of stable dispositions, as well as social agents' schemes of thinking, perception and appreciation inscribed in physical bodies and producing sets of specific social practices. Class habitus correlates with a collective position of social agents in the space of social distinctions determining peoples' ways of behavior, life styles, manners, etc. Despite Bourdieu's attention to gender differences he addressed in 'Masculine Domination', feminist scholars criticize him for the lack of reflection regarding gender dimension of class habitus. Building on a Bourdieusian approach, Cornelia Behnke and Michael Meuser formulate the concept of gender habitus that means social gender is always connected to the specific habitus, which generates appropriate masculine and feminine practices. In our empirical research, we combine approaches of genetic structuralism and intersectional analysis and try to understand how gendered class habitus is interrelated with employment strategies of precarious people. The paper is based on the analysis of 75 biographical interviews with women and men residing in Russian regional cities, aged 23 to 58 and involved in precarious
employment. These interviews were conducted under the project ‘Intergenerational social mobility from XX to XXI century: four generations of Russian history’ in 2017. The paper presents a typology of precarious employees’ strategies based on a complicated configuration of ‘forced’ and ‘free’ choices of that type of employment.

**Paper Session 2: Tuesday 10th July 2018**
12:00 – 13:30

**Educational Battle ‘Fields’: Policy and Practice Symposium:**
Beyond Pessimism? The Social Justice Potential of Bourdieusian Work for Educational Theory, Research and Practice
Room LT2
Chair: Jessie Abrahams

**Beyond Pessimism? The social justice potential of Bourdieusian work for educational theory, research and practice.**
*James, David (Cardiff University)*

The session aims to undertake a detailed consideration of the affordances and limitations of Bourdieusian theory for educational researchers and practitioners who are concerned with social justice.

Bourdieu’s work remains globally influential, not least for its sophisticated analysis of the role of social structures in the reproduction of inequalities in educational settings from the earliest years to higher education. Yet adaptations and applications of his work do not lead easily to guidance for change in policy or practice. Moreover, his work is critiqued for its perceived pessimism and emphasis on the intractability of relations of privilege/subordination.

This session will provide a novel questioning and re-thinking of Bourdieu’s substantive and globally significant body of theoretical work. It will bring together UK and US scholars to interrogate theory through existing and new empirical data from both compulsory and higher education, with the goal of pushing forward and extending existing thinking.

Through two theoretical and two empirical papers from social justice-orientated UK and US scholars, the session seeks to push Bourdieusian theory into new articulations and spaces, questioning and re-thinking the social justice potential of the work and the role of theory in relation to educational policy and practice. The first paper establishes some fundamental tensions between a Bourdieusian approach and educational goals, arguing that these tensions often result in superficial usage of Bourdieu. Through a review of existing work, it is argued that the practical significance of Bourdieusian work lies in its capacity to inform awareness, understanding and criticality amongst publics, practitioners and policymakers. In the second paper, this argument is worked through empirically, drawing on a seven year qualitative study of UK university students, highlighting the pervasive, reproductive and adaptive nature of privilege, while also pointing to how Bourdieusian understanding of these processes might inform policy as to the scale of change required.

The third paper makes a theoretical contribution, proposing how Bourdieusian conceptualisations of capital might be integrated with a funds of knowledge (FoK) approach to provide educational researchers with a better understanding of power relations and the capacity for change in educational institutions. This integration of Bourdieusian and FoK theoretical ideas is then worked through empirically in the fourth paper, considering changes in practice and power that occurred within a 5 year study conducted with 20 secondary school teachers.

Collective discussion after the papers will interrogate and reflect on the affordances and limitations of Bourdieusian theory, its potential for useful integration with other work, and what are appropriate expectations for theory.

**From determinism and despair to cautious optimism: developing realistic expectations of Bourdieu**
*James, David (Cardiff University)*

As is well known, Bourdieu was both a social theorist and a public intellectual/ engaged activist for social change. His theoretical tools inspire many and are widely used, yet in educational research many of these applications are criticized: some for a superficial use of the basic concepts, others for their portrayal of social worlds in which oppression is so thoroughly deep-seated that there seems to be no hope and no room for change. Furthermore, applications of Bourdieu’s theoretical tools do not lead easily to policy recommendations or new recipes for practice. In fact, they often seem to produce accounts in which nothing much can change until everything changes. Paul Willis once claimed that Bourdieu offers us a ‘...glummy, enclosed Weberian world of no-escape… (with) no theoretical basis for a politics of change, for the production of alternatives or radical consciousness’ (Willis, 1983, p. 121).
This paper takes issue with Willis' view and others like it. Whilst acknowledging that a pessimism is inherent in the approach (or perhaps better, a 'fatalism' or a 'reluctant cosmic conservativism' – Robbins 1991), it offers two main arguments. The first addresses fundamental tensions between Bourdieusian work and the axiomatic assumptions of educational activity (and educational research). The second addresses the importance and significance of theoretical tools, such as Bourdieu's, that engender thoroughgoing critical engagement with current social arrangements whilst not claiming to offer a 'theory' in a traditional sense. To do this, the paper draws on Bourdieusian sources but also on insights from others (e.g. Jean Anyon and Michael Apple).

The paper draws indirectly on empirical data (mainly from interviews and questionnaires) from several large ESRC-funded projects in the UK, concerned with learning in further education, social class and school choice, and student-school-university transition. Whilst drawing indirectly upon various sources of data, the paper is also informed by experience as an international journal editor, which involves seeing a large number of articles that make use of Bourdieusian concepts. However, the paper is essentially 'theoretical'.

Four areas of tension or incongruity between the educational field and Bourdieusian work are set out, under the headings of: interest and proximity; unit of analysis; compass; tenor. These areas of tension, it is argued, often produce the 'superficial' use of Bourdieusian concepts (c.f. James, 2015). The paper then demonstrates examples of the practical significance of Bourdieusian work, arguing that this is most logically to be expected in the realms of awareness, understanding and criticality amongst publics, practitioners and policymakers, rather than in the form of recipes for individual or policy action.

The scholarly significance of the paper is twofold - in its argument for more realism in the expectations placed upon Bourdieu-informed research, and in its rejection of the simplistic but widespread assumption that the only legitimate role for theory is to produce testable propositions in the production of evidence that can directly steer policy and practice in education.

Reimagining the Landscape of Higher Education for Social Justice
Ingram, Nicola (Lancaster University)

In western democracies Higher Education (HE) has long since shifted from being the domain of the elite to being a space that is theoretically open to all. In many countries the participation of young people from non-traditional backgrounds has increased, albeit in-line with a significant increase in the overall participation rate. Yet HE still remains the great differentiator of the prospects of the rich and poor, and arguably offers a means of reproducing rather than challenging inequities. Through considering the mechanisms of social reproduction operating throughout the student-lifecycle, this paper considers ways of radically rethinking the structure of HE to enable the promotion of social justice.

Bourdieu's concepts of capital and field are employed to consider how shifts and interruptions to social space prompt changes to 'the game' play in a way that ensures that the overall composition of power and advantage remains intact in current HE systems. A crucial element of the equation of 'practice' is capital in all its forms. The social, economic and cultural capitals of different students and graduates is therefore considered in relation to the social fields in which they seek to gain success.

A seven-year, in-depth qualitative study of the lifecycle experience of university students from induction to graduate labour market transitions. Participants are working-class and middle-class students from an elite and a 'more accessible' university in the same city in England. Students were studying the same subjects that included a range of sciences, social sciences, and arts and humanities subjects. They were each interviewed regularly for a period of seven years.

Data analysis of 500 qualitative in-depth interviews of 76 students and 200 interviews with 50 of the same cohort after they graduated.

Findings show that despite policy and institutional commitments to widening participation for working-class young people, the playing field is not levelled through access to university. Advantage is maintained in two ways. First, working-class students are more likely to gain access to lesser valued institutions. Second, even when access is gained to elite institutions for working-class people (or when the elite only access 'lesser valued' institutions) the inventiveness of the privileged to adapt their game to the changing conditions of the field orientates them towards drawing on, developing and mobilising their stocks of other capitals to maintain advantage.

This work calls into question the potential for widening participation to effect the change needed for a socially just education system. The paper suggests that the privileged can/do compensate for increased competition for high status education and employment by deploying a range of capitals that are in addition to academic credentials. It is therefore necessary to consider a more fundamental shift in educational policy that ensures that access to higher education is equally distributed amongst all social groups, opportunities at university are genuinely open to all, and degrees from all
institutions are equally valued. This involves not only a diverse intake at individual institutions but a flattening of the hierarchy and competition amongst Higher Education Institutions.

**Changing the field? Developing/implementing a Bourdieuian-inspired pedagogical approach with urban secondary teachers and students**

*Archer, Louise* (University College London)

Science classrooms provide an apt context for the study of inequalities, given stark, persistent inequalities in participation, particularly in the physical sciences and engineering, where critique has long been levelled at the dominant white, male, middle-class culture of science. This paper discusses an attempt at praxis, namely a theoretically-informed, collaborative, reflective dialogue between researchers and teachers that sought to disrupt prototypical approaches to science education and open up more inclusive possibilities. We ask: How did participants experience the intervention and what emancipatory potential did it offer?

Our approach combines Bourdieu’s theory of practice - through which we understand student engagement with science as produced through a dialectical relationship between dispositions, capital and field, played out through students’ agentic ‘improvisations’ against/within constraining, intersecting social structures – with a funds of knowledge approach to valuing student use-value capital. Because ‘groups, individuals, and institutions are not so much defined by their objective attributes in themselves, as by their position in the structure of attributes’ (Krarup & Munk 2016: 767), the approach focused on changing the field. Specifically, to achieve (i) a closer alignment between student habitus and field, particularly for students from non-dominant communities and (ii) a broader valuing and translation of non-dominant students’ identities, experiences and use-value capital within science classes.

We worked with 20 teachers over 4 years to co-develop and refine the pedagogical approach, which was delivered with two separate cohorts of teachers (nine in London, in 2015/16 and 11 in three northern cities in 2016/17). Delivery was through two whole day weekend professional development sessions (each year) and regular (three-weekly) individual qualitative classroom observation and feedback sessions conducted with each teacher over a nine month period, supported by interview and discussion group data and collection of artefacts (e.g. lesson plans).

Data are discussed from the nine month period of classroom observation conducted with nine secondary science classes from six inner London schools (c.200 students, aged 11-15), interviews and workshop data from the nine teachers and 13 discussion groups conducted with 59 students.

The approach produced noticeable changes in practice, which were perceived by teachers and students to improve student engagement, cultivate a range of science-related dispositions and promote wider student participation and ‘voice’ in classes, particularly for students from non-dominant communities. Issues, limitations and possibilities for socially just educational theory, practice and research are discussed.

Very little research has attempted to exploit the ‘hopeful’ potential of Bourdieuian theory. This paper suggests the value of attempting ‘small gains’ that might enable under-served students to play a better ‘hand’ in the ‘game’ of educational reproduction. We argue that sociologically informed research might be both a critical voice and a critical partner for educational policy and practice, offering ideas for how things might be ‘one differently’ in the ongoing struggle for a more socially just education system.

**Decolonising Bourdieu: ‘Race’ Ethnicity and Migration**

*Education, Migration and Distinction*

*Room LT3*

*Chair: Carl Mallett*

**Are they all ‘white and middle class’. Stigma and symbolic violence among EU migrants**

*Varriale, Simone* (University of Warwick)

This paper expands research on both class cultures and intra-European migration. It explores differences of cultural and economic capital among EU migrants and how these feed into competing practices of social distinction. Focusing on Italians who moved to England after the 2008 economic crisis, and drawing on 56 in-depth interviews and participant observation, the paper discusses the evaluative criteria through which participants make distinctions between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ EU migrants. My findings reveal that Italians’ distinctions are stratified by education and professional status. As a result, they confer symbolic power to highly-skilled migrants, while stigmatising the experiences of those with less cultural and economic capital (especially migrants working in the catering/hospitality sector). Further, notions of ‘culture’, ‘hard work’, and ‘integration’ are key to Italians’ distinctions, but respondents have unequal access to these repertoires.

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BSA Bourdieu Study Group Conference 2018

Lancaster University

Sensitivity: Internal
While lower-skilled Italians are associated by professionals and graduates with ‘poor’ cultural taste and lack of talent, distinctions between ‘hard working’ and ‘lazy’, ‘integrated’ and ‘insular’ migrants are the only source of worth for Italians without degrees and working in the precarious, physically demanding service economy. Focusing on class differences, and on both white and black/ethnic minority Italian migrants, the paper questions the sociological stereotype of EU migrants as ‘white and middle class’, revealing how individuals with unequal resources compete over the definition of morally significant European migration. This represents a unique contribution in both migration studies and Bourdieusian class analysis, which remains uninterested in how intra-European migration reproduces structural and cultural inequalities in national societies.

Class Educational Styles & Polish Migrants in the UK
Sadura, Przemyslaw (University of Warsaw)

One of the rarely addressed issues concerning Polish community in the UK is the question of its internal class differentiation (Garapich 2008, D’Angelo & Ryan 2011). The paper aim to fill this gap focusing on class styles of education in Polish communities in the UK. Class style of education is seen as a part of broader category of class lifestyle (Bourdieu 1984). The paper use the empirical analysis to address the theoretical issues of relation between national & class habitus (Thatcher i Halvorsrud 2016), Polish/British class structure, the educational system(s) and the state(s). Poland's accession to the EU in 2004 changed the pattern of migration from Poland to the UK (see Ryan, et al, 2009). The consequence of this new migration trend was the large numbers of Polish children arriving in British schools: according to the Office for National Statistics in 2015 there were 213,000 Polish nationality residents aged 0-18 in the UK. The analysis presented in the paper based on the project 'Londoner-Pole-Citizen' implemented by the Centre of Migration Research, Poland & CCER Goldsmiths College; London Borough of Lewisham and Lewisham Polish Centre (LPC). In the course of the research more than 40 polish parents were interviewed. The literature on class attitude toward education in the UK (e.g. Ball 2003) introduces comparative perspective. Another source of comparative data is more than 200 interviews with members of working and middle classes collected by the author in Poland (Sadura 2015; 2017).

The purchase of private supplementary instruction and familial education strategy
Dooley, Karen (Queensland University of Technology, Australia)

Private supplementary education (PSE) is booming. Familial purchase of instruction in academic subjects from for-profit providers has increased, even in nations where PSE has been a low intensity phenomenon. In Australia, this development has occurred in a context of policy settings that have responsibilised parents for children's achievement, promoted marketization through school choice, expanded and enriched an already large private school sector, and established a national regimen of literacy testing. In this context, a burgeoning literature highlights struggles between culturally dominant and dominated social fractions for educational resources. PSE, it has been suggested, may enable immigrant families to negotiate assimilationist pressures from private schools and the risks of pedagogies that give the culturally dominant an edge in national testing. Explicitly or otherwise, it is assumed that immigrant families are using education strategically to secure an advantageous position in Australian social space for high achieving children. The uptake of PSE for more remedial purposes and by non-migrant families has excited neither public contention nor scholarly attention. This paper reports qualitative analyses of interviews with parents about their PSE purchases. It probes dimensions of the mechanisms of familial strategy and the selection logic of the school institution in an immigrant nation with neoliberal policy settings. Conclusions are drawn about the mode of social (re)production through schooling, noting that PSE is an investment in both strategies of education for some families, and the non-education strategies imagined by others.
A central tenant within Bourdieusian social theory is that of social reproduction. Echoed throughout the various focus of his work is the principle that the dominant typically reproduce their position in social space through various apparatus, such as the education system, to the detriment of the dominated group, who are unable to leave their own position, characterised by inequality and suffering. A key tool in achieving social reproduction is the process of symbolic violence; whereby the dominated not only misrecognise relations within social space but also understand their position to be both natural and justified, in other words: “how things are”. This paper will consider symbolic violence from an alternative perspective, specifically an inverted form of symbolic violence where the dominated groups’ flexibility within social space is regulated through an equal understanding of “how things are”. Illustrated through empirical findings, the paper traces the trajectories of two middle class university graduates demonstrating the detrimental effect inverted symbolic violence has on their graduate employment trajectories. Respondents are depicted as having inflated subjective expectations incompatible with current objective realities within the labour market, resulting in a relatively downward, or unsuccessful, trajectory.

Bourdieu has received a highly-critical response from both orthodox Marxists and sociologists of other persuasions. Although accepting some of his stipulations about the category of capital, they accuse him of having a theory of habitus that is merely a black box, a response to social rules that is even narrower than that of Merton and a mechanistic account of social reproduction that condemns to failure any social movements towards human emancipation or liberation. This paper defends the claim that accepting Bourdieu’s more complex account of sources of social domination does not entail removing all sources of resistance or drives towards feasible utopian alternatives. It will lean particularly on Bourdieu's accounts of the purposes of his social theorising (Pascalian Meditations, Sociologie Générale), and his other posthumous works - On the State and Manet - for a detailed account of symbolic and social revolutions.

This paper examines ‘character education’ in a school setting. It does so by drawing on ethnographic data collected at Milltown Community Academy, a secondary school in northern England. I focus on how character education at Milltown materialises and is enacted within the sites and everyday practices of schooling. By analysing the practices of teachers at the school, I show how, on one hand, the character initiative is embedded and complied with, but, on the other hand, teachers’ practice is also littered with instances of ‘refusal’ and non-compliance. Conceptually this presentation is foregrounded in the idea that the Academy’s attempts to instil an ‘entrepreneurial character’ are part of a problematic policy complex that reproduces class-based inequalities, I argue, however, that those tasked with ‘teaching entrepreneurial character’ are indeed part of the process of the socio-cultural reproduction of inequality and dominance, but importantly, they also engage in plural and contradictory practices when it comes to putting the agenda into action. Throughout this presentation there will be a theoretical discussion in which I map out some of the current theoretical paradigms in education research, including Bourdieusian, Foucauldian, and de Certeauian framings. In particular, I unpack the different way these three theorists have conceptualised power, in order to inform their theories of practice. I highlight some of the tensions between these theories and claim that working with(in) these tensions provides a generative conceptual framework for my analysis of entrepreneurial character at Milltown Academy.
Strategies of reproduction and reclassification: an analysis of the Brazilian political conjuncture

Miraídi, Juliana, Martinelli, M. (Universidade Estadual de Campinas)

Bourdieu's definition of field as a relatively autonomous space implicates that the transformations produced in a specific field affect, although in a refracted way, other fields. The field's power to change the internal rules of other fields arises from the volume and the diversity of capitals such field have and also from the specific object that is in dispute. Because of it, Bourdieu (2012) highlights the State as a meta-field that produces tyrannical coups, since it possesses a bigger relative weight to change the production relations of the social fields. Based on that, the objective of this presentation is to demonstrate how the Brazilian State actions in the High Level Education sector between the years 2002-2016 reorganized popular and middle classes' reproduction conditions. The production of habitus déchiré (Bourdieu, 1997) and of transclasses agents (Chantal, 2014) provoked conservative reactions that intensified after 2016 and had as targets the artistic and intellectual fields. The development of the pointed problem will be divided in three parts: (i) introduction of the structural causality in the bourdieusian theory; (ii) presentation of the reproduction conditions of positions and social practices in the contemporary Brazil, which has the movie 'The Second Mother' (2015) by Anna Muylaert as the analysis object; (iii) at last, we launch the hypothesis that the dominant positions reaction to this new scenario has as one of its strategies the attack towards the intellectual and artistic fields throughout denied discourses that sustain themselves by a return to moralizing principles.

State violence and (symbolic counter-violence). The case of economic discourse and its discontents

Paolucci, Gabriella (University of Florence)

The paper focuses on Bourdieu's theory of the relationship between the State and Economics, addressing in particular the domination effect of neoliberal discourse. One of the most important contributions of Bourdieu's sociology is the analysis of the symbolic dimension of the State violence. The State is mostly responsible for ensuring the conservation and the legitimation of relations of domination, as it masterminds the doxic submission to social order and the credence to the legitimacy of domination. In order to reproduce social order the State needs to disguise its economic policies under the veil of universality and naturality. Thus, the State contributes to the existence and reproduction of both the economic field and of the decisions made within it, whilst structuring the relations of force that characterise the market. Controlled, selected, distributed and legitimated by the State, a consensus about the positive effects of neo-liberal policies has established itself as a dominant discourse across the social space. This discourse established itself as a doxa, colonising the debate about economic policies. The neoliberal philosophy of development is an expression of the interests of neo-conservative restoration forces in the world, the forces of mega-capital that promote ultra-right utopia, the utopia as unrestricted exploitation. Such a logic leads to the extensive exploitation of labourers: job dismissal, unemployment, job insecurity, privatisation of public services, destruction of the institutions of the Welfare State and the achieved standards in the domain of labour law. Some European experiences of symbin contemporary Europe will be analyzed.

Structure and Dynamics of the German Field of Sociology

Schmitz, Andreas, Schmidt-Wellenburg, C., Schneickert, C., Beyer, S., Gengnagel, V. (University of Bonn)

This contribution from a collective of 20 German field theorists presents an ongoing research project that analyses the structural and cultural dynamics of the German field of sociology. Nearly two decades ago, Pierre Bourdieu characterized this field as being affected by particular frictions between academic theoreticians closely associated with European philosophy and empiricists following American Social Sciences. Since then, (German) sociology has undergone fundamental transformations, such as economization, transnationalization and extensive internal standardizations. These developments produce effects on both the scientists' everyday lives and the forms of academic institutions. Recently, a latent difference has become manifest in the field of German sociology: the establishment of the 'Academy for Sociology', a scientific association adhering to 'analytical sociology' that is perceived by some as opposing the classical German Sociological Association. Developments of this kind cannot be understood without recourse to complex autonomous and heteronomous dynamics: One can observe increased conflicts between national and transnational publication strategies, empirical and theoretical traditions, critical and value-free stances, or quantitative and qualitative research; conflicts that are variously intertwined with struggles for material, institutional and
symbolic resources such as research funding, positions and public recognition. By using geometric data analysis we present an empirical construction of the German field of sociology and its dynamics, and in doing so provide the groundwork for a critical reflection of ongoing transformations of social sciences in general.

Reclassification: Employment, Un-employment and Underemployment Inequalities and Graduate Employment
Room LT6
Chair: Anu Lainio

Accessing work placements and graduate jobs: exploring students’ relative success, through a consideration of capitals
Taylor-Smith, Ella., Smith, S., Smith, C. F. (Edinburgh Napier University)
Computing degrees provide good opportunities for social mobility (Marks and Baldry, 2009), but the discipline suffers from relatively high levels of graduate unemployment. The Shadbolt Review (2016) highlighted that relevant work experience improves employment outcomes for computing graduates, but also that UK students from disadvantaged, black or minority ethnic backgrounds have less successful outcomes in terms of graduate employment. Understanding the contexts and experiences of diverse students will help universities to improve their work placement strategies and support.

This paper draws upon two studies: one exploring computing students’ perspectives on work experience through a face-to-face survey; the other working with computing graduates, looking back to university and reviewing their careers since graduating, through a survey and interviews. Inspired by the Paired Peers project (e.g. Bathmaker, Ingram, and Waller, 2013), both studies gathered information about the participants’ backgrounds and their awareness of the employability game. In both, the quantitative results followed patterns in which white, middle class students, for whom at least one parent had attended university, were more likely to get paid work experience. Middle class graduates in employment were, on balance, earning more than their working class peers. However, middle class graduates were more likely to be unemployed than working class. The qualitative data revealed how students’ relative access to economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals influenced their ability to compete for work experience and how this continued after graduation, into their early careers.

Academic warriors in the educational battle field: the dilemma of social inequality
Strecker, Tanja Conni., (Universitat de Lleida)
Higher Education (HE) is considered one of the central fields of the reproduction of social inequality in the theory of Bourdieu, as access and success are still highly influenced by the social class of origin, while HE itself offers a possibility to improve one’s social position through the accumulation of a certain form of cultural capital, embodied in HE titles. However, HE titles are no longer enough to enable a suitable positioning on the graduate labour market. ‘Soft credentials’, e.g. proficiency in foreign languages, Extra-Curricular Activities, internships in prestigious institutions, work experience in the field of study etc. are increasingly accepted as ‘just’ criteria to distribute social positioning, though young people’s ability to acquire and mobilise the capitals necessary for such curriculum-building is highly dependent on their social class of origin. This presents researchers who have been fighting for widening participation in HE with a dilemma: if young people from families of origin with less capital are less likely to be ‘successful’ on the graduate labour market and are more likely to face underemployment and over-qualification, is it ethical to encourage them to accumulate debts to achieve HE titles? What should we be fighting for to achieve more equality? In this presentation, I retrace this dilemma differentiating between the macro- and micro-level and compare the Anglo-Saxon context, characterised by high matriculation fees and advanced social segregation between HE institutions, with the Catalan context, marked by high HE participation and high social acceptance of prolonged family dependence.

Using Bourdieu's Theory of Practice to Investigate the Experience of International Ontario Community College Graduates Seeking Career Employment in Canada
Legusov, Oleg, (University of Toronto (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education))
With an aging population and a looming shortage of skilled labor, the Canadian government has been trying to attract more skilled immigrants to the country. International students represent a potential source of such immigrants. For many international graduates, however, the path to Canadian citizenship involves securing employment in Canada. But, even with educational credentials, many of them have difficulty obtaining jobs that suit their qualifications and can lead to
permanent-resident status. This qualitative study uses an interpretivist paradigm to explore the experience of Ontario college graduates from three Russian-speaking former Soviet republics: Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia as they attempt to transition from school to work and integrate into Canadian society. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice is used as the theoretical framework to analyze participants' work and integration experience. The study examines the relationship between structure and agency, as well as the interplay of three elements of Bourdieu's theory field, capital, and habitus. According to Bourdieu's theory, the job market can be considered a field that job seekers try to enter and establish themselves in. To do so, they need to use their cultural and social capital as well as to enhance it. They enter a complex game, which they may be ill equipped to navigate effectively because they are new to Canada. Thus the main focus of this research is to determine the degree to which international college graduates succeed in using their capital to learn the rules of the game.
The end of the twentieth century has entailed important processes of educational expansion in most European countries. Spain is not the exception. As a result, access to higher education has expanded and diversified, incorporating increasingly heterogeneous social profiles. The expansion of access, however, has led to new patterns of inequality affecting university and degree choice, as well as success opportunities associated to different educational trajectories. In this context, the objective of the communication is to analyse the experience of non-traditional students in higher education, with special emphasis on identifying the patterns of inequality underlying their trajectories, their processes of adaptation to higher education, and their resulting strategies of habitus accommodation. With this objective, I carried out a case study at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, following a mixed methods approach. Drawing on a representative sample (n 2008) of first-year students (2015-16), I conducted 40 biographical interviews to non-traditional students (2016-17). Results show the different social profiles, paths of access, and motivations of access among non-traditional students. The analysis also highlights the different process of adaptation to the higher education field and the differences generated by social origin - even among 'non-traditional students'. This appears to be a generic category that needs to be unpacked in order to capture the social heterogeneity of this group.

This paper is based on a study exploring the experiences of Irish schoolgirls in a middle class post-primary school. Extensive interview data suggests that Bourdieu's ideas about the transferability of different forms of capital remain significant today. This is particularly evident within an education system that is highly orientated towards academic success; success which is solely measured in the number of points gained to enter higher education. This paper argues that economic capital is powerful in determining the realisation of students' aspirations. This form of capital operates at the macro (state) and micro (institutional) levels and filters down to the individual student level. The neo-liberalist agenda is visible in the way the macro and micro fields are impacted by market forces which can lead to a diminishing ethic of care for the individual student. Consequently, the agency to resist is impacted within this battle field. On the one hand, the middle class girls have access to significant economic capital which together with their valuable social and cultural capital means they conform to the educational game. On the other hand, the working class girls resist the dominant middle class discourses and become alienated from their educational aspirations. This paper explores how the broader capitalist agenda and its influence on education policy has profound consequences for both the school and the individual student. This is manifested in a lack of care for the individual and the subsequent realisation of their long term educational aspirations.

This research explores the educational experiences by means of a qualitative perspective with in-depth interviews, with timeline, and focus groups to young pupils (aged between 16-21) and their parents. The research takes place in, private and public, secondary plastic art schools in Milan. The educational reality lived by young pupils represents the focus. The artistic pathway is defined as atypical, an against the grain experience characterized by both manual and intellectual dimensions. In a Bourdieusian perspective, I study the educational dispositions and attitudes of the students, and their parents, as well as the ambitions on the future. I investigate the school choice, learner identity and the creative aspiration as classed concepts by means of cultural capital and habitus tools. I consider how they acts in contemporary Italian society. I intend to consider how the educational and professional projects of students are linked to class identity and to neoliberal order. I study the class differences in the way in which students orient themselves towards creative educational routes and professional futures. Thus, I problematize the cultural capital definition looking at new emergent
dimensions. I examine how the reflexive capacity to aspire is a class cultural resource. Finally, I problematize the link between individualization forces and reproduction social processes looking at contemporary Italian youth condition.
practices and address concerns about potentially discriminatory practices. This paper will present early findings from research funded by the Nuffield Foundation on fair admissions policies and practices in a sample of 21 highly selective degree programmes universities across England. The research sets out to explore the knowledges, values and understandings of all those involved in making assessments about future undergraduates to examine different cultures of thinking within different institutional contexts (Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2010; SPA, 2012). Our first analysis of the mechanisms by which capitals are recognised or misrecognised and transformed thus into academic capital (Bourdieu, 1996) will draw upon policy documents and in-depth semi-structured interviews with professional and academic selectors to produce a taxonomy of systems of ‘vision and division’ (Bourdieu, 1996). We will draw on Boltanski & Thevenot’s work on ‘orders of worth’ and ‘repertoires of evaluation’ (2006 (1992)) which offers a framework for understanding the ways in which social actors (individuals and/or institutions) develop criteria for the placement of people or things in ‘orders of worth’ which recursively provide the cognitive scaffolding needed to understand and negotiate the rule of justification for situated action. The analytical power of the orders of worth approach is linked to the fact that actors’ accounts of the decisions they make are conceptualised as entailing not only processes of sense-making but also as requiring an appeal to a particular mode of understanding the situation or ‘moral order’ (Thevenot, 1984).

Media misrepresentation of lone motherhood: Symbolic violence, cultural capital and dis-identification

**Carroll, Nicola, (University of Huddersfield)**

Despite the increasing prevalence of single parenthood in the UK, negative stereotyping continues to dominate popular media discourse on lone motherhood. This paper is based on qualitative research involving 26 lone mothers from two contrasting locations in the North of England. It draws on case study analysis to exemplify the salience of Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence and cultural capital in understanding lone mothers' subjective negotiation of a de-legitimated identity. The doctoral study took a feminist Bourdieusian approach in considering the significance of class in lone mothers’ experiences of stigma within a socio-political context characterised by welfare reform, austerity and ‘poverty porn’ reality television. Participants overwhelmingly invoked 'single mum stereotypes' and pointed to what they regarded as damaging media portrayals, and their circulation via social media, as the root of stigmatisation. While behaving agentially in distancing themselves from derogatory depictions, the women tended to position themselves hierarchically in relation to such stereotypes according to age, employment and relationship history. Participants also reproduced dominant imagery in deploying what cultural capital they possessed to dis-identify from what they saw as the ‘chav mum’ caricature. Significantly, women who regarded their class identity as 'mixed' were most likely to conjure their education, taste and other markers of cultural capital as distancing devices, whilst also voicing anger at media depictions. Symbolic violence thus helps understand stigmatisation of lone mothers as a process of internalisation of symbolic structures whereby women can be, as one participant put it, 'doomed by stereotypes', even in attempting to resist them.

Recapping Distinction for the study of news preferences and news practices

**Lindell, Johan (Karlstad University)**

While Bourdieu is often cited in media and communication studies, his theory-method is rarely deployed in full in these fields. Cultural sociology, in turn, seldom takes media and news consumption as their object of study. This study addresses these gaps by using multiple correspondence analysis on a representative sample (n = 3850) to understand the dispersion of news preferences and news practices in the Swedish social space. It is argued that the Bourdieusian view is fruitful in order to understand the symbolic struggles taking place in increasingly high-choice and fragmented media environments. Findings reveal, first, that the Swedish social space is structured by the two main principles unravelled by Bourdieu as well as contemporary cultural sociologists: volume of capital and capital composition. Second, findings show a homology between the space of news practices and preferences and the social space. Results thus highlight the importance of class habits for the formation of news repertoires. Since different groups form altogether different news repertoires—and distaste the preferences of the groups most different to themselves (in terms of access to capitals)—news practices and preferences solidify the positions of groups in the social structure. The study sheds light on the relationship between social and digital inequality and challenges the psychological and individualistic bias in contemporary research on news media use, and adds empirical focus on news consumption to the existing body of Bourdieusian cultural sociology.
The State: Power, (ig) Nobility and Politics
Rethinking the State and Power
Room LT5
Chair: Kirsty Finn

From the National to the Global Field of Power

Theoretical Conceptualization and Methodological Implications
Schmitz, Andreas, Daniel Witte (University of Bonn)

Sociology gives different theoretical answers to the challenges of a globalized society. In recent times, also Bourdieu's conceptual instruments have been used increasingly. Bourdieu's approach, however, faces the problem that his notion of society, in its classical form, is based on the assumption of nationally limited fields and spaces, and ultimately equates society with the 'nation-state'. In this contribution, we argue that Bourdieu's strong analytical emphasis on the state is to be abandoned and that the resulting theoretical gap is to be filled with a more abstract concept. To this end, we first critically reflect his version of the nation-state as a 'field of power' and present theoretical deficits therein as well as the implied challenges for an analysis of global issues. By deriving a 'global field of power', an approach is then proposed that is capable of theoretically integrating the different research perspectives and results on transnational fields. Amongst others, this modification allows us to relocate the nation-state as a historical and analytical special case of the formation of social order. Finally, we shall derive the methodological implications from this line of argumentation.

Class and politics in post-socialist Poland.

Marzec, Piotr, (University of Bristol)

The paper analyses the relationship between the social space and political space of Poland with the intention of determining whether Bourdieu's thesis of homology applies to an exemplary post-socialist society. The conceptual point of departure is similar to that for advanced capitalist societies insofar as the social space is held to represent the distribution of economic and cultural capital, and the political space is conceptualized in terms of the core oppositions in position-takings on a range of issues. The latter include themes tapping into authoritarian/liberal views ('cultural' politics) and left/right attitudes on state intervention in the market ('economic' politics) but also orientations toward a range of more nation-specific matters. Using existing data and deploying multiple correspondence analysis, the findings reveal that the shape of both spaces departs from that known from the advanced capitalist societies researched so far. The social space displays the same structure, as volume of capital is the primary principle of difference and capital composition secondary, but the former is overshadowing the latter by a huge margin. Moreover, the cultural and economic components of the political space are highly correlated, suggesting a one-dimensional solution. Analysis of the relationship between the two spaces reveals the following opposition: on one side there are those well-endowed with capital, the 'winners' of the systemic transformation combining pro-market views and liberalism/libertarianism, and on the other are the 'losers' of the process, characterized by low levels of capital and having state-interventionist and authoritarian views.

The game-changer? Treaty settlements as a strategy for transforming the freshwater decision-making field in Aotearoa New Zealand

Bennett, April, (Massey University)

In Aotearoa New Zealand, indigenous Maori tribes (iwi) tend to occupy a disadvantaged position in the field where decisions are made about water. This position is a legacy of colonisation that continues to be reproduced by complex and multiple forces that can be conceptualised as power. However, iwi have the potential to re-structure the field by negotiating Treaty settlements with the Crown. The purpose of such settlements is to resolve grievances brought by Maori against the Crown for breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi; the document that effected the colonisation of Aotearoa. A Treaty settlement enables an iwi to acquire valuable capitals in the field, particularly economic capital in the shape of the financial redress that is part of a settlement package, and cultural capital through governance arrangements with the Crown and regional councils, the local bodies responsible for sustainably managing water. Using a case study of the Manawatu River, a polluted river in New Zealand's lower North Island, this paper will explore the idea of Treaty settlements as game-changers that have the potential to elevate iwi into a stronger position in the freshwater decision-making field. Settlements will be conceptualised as a strategy aimed at transforming the futures and territories of iwi, and within which reproduction, resistance and struggle all occur at the same time.
The Class Ceiling in UK Television
Friedman, Sam, (LSE)

There are increasing concerns about UK television’s ‘social mobility problem’, with academics and policymakers citing the precarious nature of television work, the preponderance of unpaid work, and the use of informal recruitment practices, as all contributing to the rise of a disproportionately privileged workforce. Yet the reality is that we actually know fairly little about how class origin affects a person's ability to get in and get on in UK television. This paper draws on a case study of a high–profile British broadcaster - including a survey of 624 staff (response rate 76%) and 51 in-depth interviews. This shows, first, that those working at the broadcaster are twice as likely to be from a professional and managerial background than the average UK citizen. Second, those from low socio-economic backgrounds are disproportionately located in entry or middle-management roles and there is a clear ‘class ceiling’ between management and senior management; only 2.5% of senior managers are from working-class backgrounds and none are found in Commissioning. Finally, the paper draws on interview data to understand why this ceiling exists, examining the role of occupational sorting, sponsorship and behavioural codes in erecting barriers to progression for the socially mobile.

‘I feel like a real fashionista!’: A sense of distinction amongst middle-class women working in luxury-retail.
Boyle, Bryan, De Keere, K. (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Aesthetic labour scholars have rightly deployed Bourdiesuan concepts in understanding how styles of service encounters are tied to social class. However, this discussion has been limited by focussing only on how employers recruit middle-class dispositions. We explore the continued significance of distinction mechanisms, post-entry and on-the-job, by looking at how classifications of legitimate taste shape worker performance. We do so by looking at lower-middle class women working in luxury retail stores; a case we consider insightful given the distance between these workers, positioned in the halfway region of social space, and their customers, positioned in the economically-dominant. The 18 participants were recruited and interviewed in Amsterdam’s luxury shopping districts. We found that: 1) workers constructed their labour as distinct from that of more ‘popular’ fashion stores; 2) workers adopted their company’s fashion taste during their tenure, which was simultaneously viewed as an acquisition of a higher taste; 3) the latter process was aided by purchases via employee discount, the availability of which triggered workers' efforts to emulate their upper-class customers; and 4) embodying the company’s fashion on the shop floor to aid selling, a bodywork practice self-described as ‘walking advertisements’, was viewed as fundamental to the fulfilment of their role. Despite the workers’ feelings of elevation and fulfilment, the instances of alldoxia that emerged from analysis lead to a more critical conclusion: distinction as complimentary to exploitative labour extraction. In this sense, the article also tests dialogues between relational-centred and exploitation-centred models of class.
The Bourdieuan legacy: Recapitalizing the Habitus of an inner-city school practitioner

Brar, Victor, (Surrey School District)

This article considers how theory of practice might provide practitioners with a useful heuristic framework for their inquiry, reflective practice, and dialogue among other practitioners who intend to adjust the notions and activities that currently swirl around the 'achievement gap.' In this article, I reflect upon multiple layers of inductive impressions, garnered from engaging in a literature review of the work of 40 scholars who are both supportive and/or critical of theory of practice and its various interpretations. A synthesis of these layers leads me to conclude that an adjusted approach to theory of practice can provide an effective heuristic lens for practitioners, as they seek best ways of responding to the differences in academic achievement among children from lower status socio-economic backgrounds in inner-city schools in British Columbia, Canada. Written from a practitioner's viewpoint, the article pursues a primarily conceptual type of inquiry. However, I conclude by highlighting a process by which, I believe, theory of practice can feature strongly in the transformation of my own school.

Classroom assessment practices and Institutional Gatekeeping: Exploring the contributions of classroom assessment practices to inequality in Canadian Education

Moon, Angela, (The University of British Columbia)

Drawing on Bourdieu's social theory (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), with a particular focus on how capital is both embodied and legitimized in institutional contexts (Bourdieu, 2011), this six-month ethnographic case study explored ways in which classroom assessment practices contribute to the construction of some students as struggling and to the reproduction of inequality in education. A literature review of research situated in the historical, social, political and economic context of Canadian education suggests three assessment related concerns: a disconnect between 'best practices' and actual classroom assessment practices, the contribution of assessment practices to the marginalization of some non-mainstream students, and that classroom tasks and assignments are not relevant to students' experiences outside of school (Bachor & Anderson, 1994; Frey & Schmitt, 2010; Lehmann, 2012; McGee & Colby, 2014; Reitz & Banjeree, 2007; Rogers, 1993; Volante & Fazio, 2007; Weissmann, 2013). Over the course of the study, the author was present with participating focal students and teachers in rural, Atlantic Canadian classrooms. Data generation methods included: interviews; audio recordings of 'naturally occurring' talk in the consenting classrooms; participant-observations; field notes; policy and archival documents; artefacts; photographs; and video (when appropriate with consent). Data was analyzed thematically employing data-near principles of discourse analysis. This study is grounded on our knowledge of classroom assessment in the K-12 public education system, as well as cultural reproduction. It is hoped that the findings of this study will influence teacher education and education policies in Canada and in similar contexts elsewhere in the world.

Redefining the hysteresis and prescribed doxa of an education system in pursuit of online learning implementation

Omarali, Shaiffadzillah, Motteram, G. (University of Manchester)

The implementation of new learning systems is oftentimes complemented with the profiling of its prospective learners to gauge the compatibility of learners' dispositions with the learning approach. When these two components conflict with each other, the resulting hysteresis becomes a complex problem to solve, evermore so when an unquestioned doctrine - a doxa of who the learners are - formulates the hysteresis. This paper reports on the use of Pierre Bourdieu's key constructs, notably his 'habitus' construct, to holistically profile learners so that the education system has a more nuanced understanding of its prospective learners without resorting to conjectural doxa and stifled by hysteresis. The study that serves as the data for this paper concluded that learners can be classified into several habitus types based on their differing combinations of capitals and dispositions. Using Brunei Darussalam as the research context, the study found 7 prevalent habitus types each exhibiting a set of modus operandi that discerns it from other types and expecting specific learning technologies and approaches. The significance of 'conatus' in describing the dynamic changes across habitus types has also contributed to the overall findings.
Cultural Capital as Whiteness?: Examining Logics of Ethno-Racial Representation & Resistance  
*Wallace, Derron, (Brandeis University)*

There is a significant, longstanding tradition in British sociological research that renders cultural capital synonymous with whiteness. In this piece, it is suggested that one substantive factor that contributes to the enduring relationship between whiteness and cultural capital is the paucity of research on the Black and ethnic minority middle classes. Studies of social class in the UK frequently render middle class life synonymous with whiteness and all too often fixes ethno-racial identities with working class status. This paper draws on a 14-month long comparative ethnography as a case study to provide an asset-based reading of cultural capital among the Black Caribbean middle classes in Britain. The findings suggest that the seemingly exclusive link between whiteness and cultural capital is problematised by Black Caribbean young people, and therefore should be further critiqued in sociological and educational research, especially when developing cultural capital analyses.

Black Female Graduates and the role of Social Class within their Educations  
*Pennant, April-Louise, (University of Birmingham)*

This paper forms the underpinnings of a thesis chapter about the educational experiences and journeys of 25 Black British female graduates. It focuses on how they make sense of their social class and its interaction with their gender, race and ethnicities. Little regard has been given to such educational experiences and journeys beyond Black feminist research and a few dedicated previous studies. In addition, there is limited research exploring how social class is understood and encountered by particular ethnic minority groups in the UK such as Black females. Bourdieu’s theory of practice demonstrates the role of habitus and how different forms of capitals are utilised within particular fields like the education system. I utilise his frame, alongside Critical Race Theory and Black Feminist Thought, to engage with the strategies, involvement of parents and conceptualisations of social class shared by participants- which are heavily shaped by their educational experiences and journeys. Interestingly, participants express uncertainty when defining social class positions regardless of educational trajectories, educational success achieved or current occupation. This is revealed in various ways within interviews through the salience of their race, ethnic and cultural identities; the 'struggles' faced throughout their education and their proximity to particular surroundings. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to discussions about the usefulness and limitations regarding Bourdieu’s theory of practice, especially when applying it to particular sample populations, with consideration of both Feminist and Race critiques.

Bourdieu in Nigeria: The Colonial Habitus and Elite Nigerian Parents’ Aspirations for their Children  
*Ayling, Pere, (University of Suffolk)*

Bourdieu's theoretical framework has been taken up by several western scholars to demonstrate how aspiration is a product of one’s habitus. Despite Bourdieu's international reach and popularity, Bourdieu's theoretical concepts are rarely utilized in sociological studies in Africa. In thinking with and beyond Bourdieu, this paper argues that, as well as being a product of culture, aspiration is also produced by, and reproductive of, racial histories. Drawing conceptually from both Bourdieu and Fanon, this paper reflects on how elite Nigerian parents’ aspiration of reproducing their social positioning via their children, while transforming their children into transnational elites at the same time, is a reflection of both their class and racial histories, or their 'colonial habitus', to be more precise. Specifically, the paper reflects on how utilizing Bourdieu's notions of 'attributes of excellence' and 'distinction strategies' enables us to understand the consumption of 'white' schooling as a type of distinction strategy used by Nigerian elite parents to acquire what they perceive as 'attributes of excellence' for their children. The coupling of Bourdieu's (class) and Fanon's (race) respective theories engenders a nuanced understanding of how colonialism has permeated and reconfigured the habituses of the educated Nigeria elites thereby making white middle/upper classes the class for whom these parents’ must aspire to if they are to continue to maintain their social position in present day Nigeria. The chapter concludes by highlighting the epistemological and methodological implications of taking Bourdieu to Nigeria.
Young People’s Access to Employment in Disadvantaged Communities in Wales

Stevens, Rhiannon, (Cardiff University)

Youth engagement and skills development is prominent in Welsh Government agenda. It is widely recognised that skills have a major impact on the economic and social wellbeing of Wales (Policy Statement on Skills 2014). Some groups of young people are presented with huge challenges to progression. As well as commitment to ‘Tackling poverty’, there is also a commitment to increasing productivity, reducing barriers to work and supporting young people into sustainable employment (Youth Engagement and Progression Framework 2013). This research is investigating how young people from unskilled households fare in gaining employment in local contexts of poor work and job shortages in a number of disadvantaged communities in Wales. This research explores what particular challenges Young People from disadvantaged communities and unskilled households face in transitioning into employment and how these challenges actually experienced by Young People in their everyday lives and concrete social situations - families, peer-groups and neighbourhoods. This is being achieved through both Secondary data analysis of data sets of 43 young people throughout their time at high school and primary data collection achieved through different qualitative research methods. This includes the ethnographic study of young people in one particular disadvantaged community in South Wales and narrative biographical interviews to ensure that the voice of the young person is heard. As this research is taking shape, the trajectories of the young people are being explored so that a better understanding of the barriers to employment they face can be better understood.

Habitus in academic/lay partnerships

McGovern, Pauline, (Lancaster University)

Academics are pressured to prove their worth as researchers through impact activities that allow cross-fertilisation, the transmission of research skills and findings from the academic domain into the ‘real’ world and the seeding of academic research with real-life knowledge from other domains. This usually involves joint-working with lay organisational and individual partners. This presentation reflects on the effects of academic habitus in such partnerships. Academics have status beyond the academic domain and tend to be higher in the social hierarchy than the actors with whom they partner. There is potential for unrecognised symbolic violence. Although there is much research on the problems that arise when academics ignore this issue and on creating equal partnerships, none suggests that power differences are inherent in such interactions and should be managed rather than ignored. I use evidence from two contrasting partnerships: one that aims to promote co-operative policy making and has partners from the public and third sectors as well as individuals from areas of deprivation; and one study that has partners from a local hospice. I conclude that power in academic/lay partnerships - the capacity to act and to control partners’ actions – cannot be equal but only balanced. A balance of power arises when power differences are not removed but equalised by the complementary competencies of partners. The implication is that some kinds of partnership are likely to be more successful than others.

The State: Power, (ig) Nobility and Politics

Habitus and Political Identity

Room LT5
Chair: Kirsty Morrin

The jilted generation: the student activist habitus, reproducing resistance against material and symbolic violence.

Ibrahim, Joseph, (Leeds Beckett University)

The student ‘activist habitus’ is one of enduring resistance, in fact, a continuing reproduction of resistance against injustice (McAdam, 1989; Crossley, 2003; Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012; Ibrahim and Crossley, 2016; Nilan, 2017). One of the most recent cases is resistance against austerity, which was at the forefront of the UK general election campaign of 2017 when student political activists through the campaign group, Momentum, mobilized young people to vote for the Labour Party. The Labour Party created an anti-austerity collective action frame and developed polices that claimed they represented the ‘many not the few’. Key manifesto pledges reflected the fact that young people had been jilted by
earlier governments with rising costs of higher education leading to unsustainable debt, and so pledges included abolition of tuition fees and the reintroduction of maintenance grants for students. It has been argued that this led to an increase in the youth (18-24) vote from 47% in 2015, to 72% in 2017 (Lockhurst, 2017). Drawing on 30 semi structured interviews with student activists, this paper investigates to what extent student political activities were framed by their ‘activist habitus’ and motivated by wider ideological commitments towards social justice. Preliminary investigations reveal that ideas of social justice, coupled with political habitus ‘know how’ were mobilized to resist austerity policies conceptualized here as material and symbolic violence, imposed by previous UK governments.

Political habitus in cross-border student migration: A longitudinal study of mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong and beyond

Xu, Cora Lingling, (Keele University)

This paper contributes to the understanding of how shifting time, space and subject positions can impact on the political habitus of border-crossing students. Employing in-depth interview data from a longitudinal project involving 31 mainland Chinese students whose higher education journeys converged in Hong Kong, it argues that it is often unintended outcomes such as the development of a political habitus that can have lasting effects on students' longer-term life trajectories. This paper's systematic exposition of these students' political habitus formation redresses Bourdieu's relative neglect of the shaping of the political habitus of 'non-professional' political agents, in contrast to his emphasis on that of the 'professionals', such as politicians. This paper also moves beyond existing literature's focus on social agents' experiences in static and unified political fields at specific times by foregrounding the experiences of these mainland Chinese students moving across conflictual political fields over time.

Building a Bourdieusian Social-Political Economy: Capitals and Habitus in a Population-Level Structural Model

Daly, Shawn, Xiaoyu, Luo (Niagara University)

Bourdieu’s (1986) formulation of capital theory has been suggested as a means to quantitatively examine how human capital lubricates society's social development (Svendsen and Svendsen 2003). Given to extended qualitative treatises, Bourdieu describes the relationships among his major constructs via an equation only once: ((habitus) (capital) + field) = practice (1984, p. 101). While not a literal equality in the sense of cardinal numbers establishing mathematical equivalency, the form does indicate particular theoretical relationships among these constructs. Governments worldwide expend huge effort collecting data across a wide range of social and economic variables. These indicators have been rigorously cast in terms of hundreds of development aspects. Many organizations publish their country-level collation and analysis efforts (e.g., Inclusive Development Index, Indices of Social Development, Prosperity Index, Social Progress Index, and Sustainable Development Goals). Therefore, the extensive data needed for creating an all-inclusive analysis already exist in the public domain, merely requiring an organization along the lines of Bourdieu’s constructs. While economic capital measures are plentiful and well-understood, measures of the other constructs in Bourdieu’s model are required. Such population-level data analysis was pioneered by Putnam (2000); but less scholarly effort has been expended in elucidating the content and structure of cultural capital -- and most especially, habitus. Thus, the main focus of effort in building Bourdieusian models of the social-political economy rests in these areas. Once properly curated, structural equation modelling allows quantitative testing of various aspects of Bourdieu’s theories using the vast pool of population-level data. Validated structural models can examine which institutional policies and expenditures impact social and economic development most effectively.

Territorialization: Space, Place and Gentrification
The Space Class Habitus
Room LT6
Chair: Nicola Ingram

Creating and Sustaining Mental Health Promotion in Educational Battle ‘Fields’
Lowney Slattery, Maryanne, (Mary Immaculate College)

This paper uses Bourdieu's (1993) concept of social ‘fields’ to frame an exploration of policy and practice in the Irish post-primary schooling system and the resulting impact on mental health promotion. The post-primary educational landscape in Ireland operates within a market model where a student's educational success is measured in an aggregate of Leaving Certificate points and resultant progression to higher education. The marketisation of post-primary education, through the introduction of ‘choice ideology’ in the Education Act (1998), has intensified competition or ‘battles’ among actors in each socioeconomic profile for schools with high progression rates to third level. This paper demonstrates that
Ireland operates a classed system of education with three main provision types receiving funding from the Department of Education and Skills. The State contributes to a spectrum of provision from private fee-paying schools to DEIS (Delivering Equality in Schools) for disadvantaged socio-economic profiles. Contemporary practices of ‘class-based’ enrollments appear to have been tempered somewhat with the passing of the EPSEN (Education for Persons with Special Education Needs) Act (2004) which legislated for students with SEN to have the right to mainstreaming where appropriate. Using Bourdieu’s concept of social field, this paper provides detailed analysis at a micro or ‘policy as effects’ level (Ball, 2003) and examines the trend of middle class parents of students with SEN or additional needs enrolling in DEIS schools. Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital (1984) provides an investigative perspective to examine contemporary education policy the impact of current enrollment practices for DEIS school communities.

Working-Class Life in an Industrial Neighborhood: Reflection on Application of Bourdieu’s Concepts in Sociological Ethnographic Research
Vanke, Alexandrina, (University of Manchester)

Bourdieu’s intellectual heritage is highly debated in contemporary sociology in the UK and beyond. These critical reflections of Bourdieusian theory are mostly connected to the analytical development of conceptual instruments, which he elaborated in France in the 1960’s. These reflections also refer to the relevancy of his analytical ‘tools’ still used in empirical research. As Liza McKenzie argues, the Bourdieusian approach facilitates a more accurate understanding of social class divisions and social inequalities in contemporary Britain (McKenzie 2016:29). To this I add that genetic structuralism also ‘works’ beyond European societies and can be applied in sociological ethnographic research in post-Soviet Russia. However, being transferred Bourdieusian concepts they still need reconceptualization. In this paper I will present a critical reflection on the application of Bourdieu’s apparatus in a sociological ethnographic research of working-class life in an industrial neighborhood in a Russian regional city. I examine the everyday life of workers through the concept of ‘class’ understood as an implicit and hierarchical category (Bottero 2004:993). ‘Class’ as a relational concept helps to reveal social inequalities contributing to the reproduction of a specific ‘class habitus’ of working-class people. Being the result of unequal distribution of capitals in the space of social distinctions, social differences are objectified in the geographical space of an industrial neighborhood. This paper will address the following questions. How do working-class people perceive social inequalities? How do social divisions contribute to reproduction of ‘working-class class habitus’? What are the difficulties of application of Bourdieu’s concepts in post-Soviet context?

Capitalism, capitals and resistance: Notes on a critical realist theory of class and social space
Finnegan, Fergal, (Maynooth University)

This paper will argue from a critical realist perspective (Bhaskar, 1979; Sum & Jessop, 2013) that an adequate exploration of class requires working across several interconnected levels of analysis – the economic, historical, political, cultural and the everyday. Here Bourdieu’s work on social space and class (1985, 1986a, 1986b) is invaluable. The paper will review how this approached by Bourdieu and make the case that it needs to be critically extended by drawing on other work analysing social space in relation to capitalism and resistance. Specifically, the proposition will be, pace Lefebvre (1991), that any theory of social space has to explicitly theorise the global space of flows in capitalism - of commodities, money and people but also of ideas, practices and images (Berardi, 2015; Jessop, 2012). This has significant implications for how we theorise social space from a Bourdieusian perspective. Part of the hypercomplexity of social space is due to ceaseless political and classificatory struggles over class (Bourdieu, 1985). In theorising this a case will be made for a fuller engagement with questions of everyday agency and spatiality (Archer, 2013; De Certeau, 1984; Scott, 1990) and close attention to the spaces and practices of social movements (Cox & Nilsen, 2014; Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000; Thompson, 1963. The aim of the paper is to sketch out a conceptual synthesis of how classed social space is structured by both proximate and distant powers and mechanisms, and due to the interplay of these powers is constantly subject to emergence and change.
Leisurely universities and anxious universities: ‘slow academia’, social class and the spaces of higher education
Telling, Kathryn, (University of Sussex)

Social class has generally been central to Bourdieusian accounts of higher education, whether they examine the classed experiences of students and staff, the relationship between disciplinary and institutional choice and class background or the cultures on different sorts of university campuses. This paper, however, examines the cultures of different university spaces as analogous to individual class habitus. It draws on interview data with academics at three case-study universities (one large red-brick research-intensive, one small plate-glass research-intensive and one post-1992 teaching-focused), forming part of a larger project on the design and implementation of new humanities degrees in England. In the course of the interviews the ways in which participants described university cultures became similar to Bourdieusian accounts of cultures of class, namely:

Red-brick: leisurely, esoteric
Plate-glass: anxious, aspirational
Post-1992: comradely, cheerful

As for Bourdieu in, for example, his work on photography, it is the aspirational ‘middle-brow’ or petty-bourgeois culture which may tell us most about class change.

In a climate where resistance to the metrics and bureaucracy of universities often focuses on slowness and leisure (Seeber and Berg 2016; Gill 2009), it is important to interrogate the different meanings of slowness in different contexts. It is also important not to lose sight of the classed implications of any focus on leisure in educational settings. Understanding the cultures of universities as analogous to class habitus allows us to place the ‘slow academia’ movement within the history of an upper-class relation to education which distinguishes itself from the anxious pace of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Decolonising Bourdieu; ‘Race’, Ethnicity and Migration
Xu, Cora Lingling, (Keele University)

This paper contributes to the updating of Bourdieusian sociology by proposing the notion of ‘transborder habitus’, a necessary extension of ‘habitus’ in a transborder context. Transborder contexts refer to spaces that belong politically to the same country, share a deep level of historic cultural and/or ethnic entanglement, but can be ideologically, linguistically and socially divergent. Such transborder contexts present empirical challenges that notions such as ‘habitus’ and ‘transnational habitus’ cannot adequately address. First, the national borderline delineation presumed in ‘habitus’ and ‘transnational habitus’ can no longer account for the intricate and complex within-country border diversities. Second, although dissonances between border-crossing agents’ habitus and their original field have been sparsely noted in existing empirical work, few attempts have been made to offer theoretical accounts for habitus–field dissonances along the axes of religion, ethnicity and ideology. Drawing on in-depth interview data from two parallel ethnographic projects (Project 1: mainland Chinese students moving to Hong Kong, n=31 and Project 2, Hong Kong students moving to mainland China, n=23) that examine the bi-directional student flows between mainland China and Hong Kong, a typical transborder context, this paper argues that ‘transborder habitus’ can effectively redress these two identified gaps and will show how it can offer a more adequate explanation in empirical contexts.
Bourdieu and Beyond: Developing widening participation and equity initiatives
Hayton, Annette, (University of Bath)

While Bourdieu's theories of habitus, capitals and field provide useful tools for exploring the mechanisms that reproduce socio-economic inequalities they do not readily offer a basis for developing interventions that instigate change. This presentation will consider how the work of other theorists can support and inform equity and widening participations initiatives including Freire's concept of praxis, Fraser's social justice framework, Sen's concepts of capability and Yosso's development of cultural wealths.

Body work and the work of the Body: Physical, Social and Symbolic
Room LT5
Chair: Jessie Abrahams

Elocution, assimilation and cultural capital as resistance in UK drama projects with asylum seeking single mothers
Hayes Laughton, Rebecca, (Royal Central School of Speech and Drama (University of London))

How can drama projects for asylum seeking women host opportunities for resistance to the UK government's discriminatory policies? Drama training can be criticized as elitist and exclusive, often employing highly classed practices of deportment, speech and manner. With many community drama projects unwittingly promoting assimilation and cultural colonialism, the reflective and ethical applied theatre practitioner is right to question the motives and self-serving projects promoted by many mainstream theatres and arts organisations. However, in resisting the urge to use drama as a civilising tool of gentrification, and using my own practice as a drama facilitator with women of non-citizenship status in London, I suggest that drama can be a practice that knowingly provides training in creating female bodies that strategically perform cultural capital in order to resist the UK government's Hostile Environment policies which discriminate against those seeking asylum. Following de Certeau's ideas on strategies and tactics, Goffman's writing about sincere and cynical performances of self and Conquergood's revisiting of elocution, voices that matter and 'trick-back' on the apparatus of oppression, I discuss the co-existing yet contradictory power dynamics at play.

Territorialization: Space, Place and Gentrification
Room LT6
Chair: Kirsty Finn

The Social Logic and Economy of Adolescent Smoking
Hewer, Rebecca, Amos, A., Hill, S. (University of Edinburgh)

This paper draws on data generated via 56 focus groups, conducted in seven European countries, to explore how adolescent's circumvent national minimum age laws in order to obtain tobacco products. It draws on Bourdieu's theory of action, augmented by Thorton's 'sub-cultural capital', to explore the social logic and general economy of practices, which both bestow cigarettes with value and organise young people's access to them. It contends that – across research sites - cigarettes and smoking often represent important forms of objectified and embodied sub-cultural capital, which young people seek to obtain via forms of economic, social and sub-cultural capital. This paper goes on to posit – however – that the adolescent field enjoys only semi-autonomous existence, and is influenced by other dominant fields in ways which structure the general economy of tobacco access. We will demonstrate this influence in four ways.
• By illustrating how differing levels of institutional encroachment subtly reconfigure the relative value of different capital types, as they relate to tobacco access.
• By evidencing the contested legitimacy of smoking as a form of sub-cultural capital, and the role broader narratives of smoking play in this contestation.
• By illustrating that this contested legitimacy can prompt something approximating a habitus hysteresis when young people enter the adolescent field, resulting in contradictory feelings regarding the relative value of smoking and their dispositions in relation to it.
• By evidencing how inequalities and stratifications organised by the regularities of other fields, are variously exploited and reconfigured in this essentially sub-cultural space.
Secondary track choice as a fighting field. How Bourdieu helped me making sense of the conflictual dimension of guidance practices within the Italian context.

Romito, Marco, (University of Milano-Bicocca)

Italian students move from a comprehensive to a stratified secondary education when they are about 13 y.o. Research show that, within a ‘free choice’ regime, track decisions are heavily conditioned by students’ family background. School performance considered, lower class and immigrant origin students tend to opt for vocational education leaving academically oriented secondary schools to their upper class colleagues. The channeling of underprivileged students within devalued educational tracks is highly debated within the sociological literature. Issues of socially biased filtering mechanisms and processes of self-exclusion have been outlined. Based on an ethnographic research carried out in the city of Milan, IT, my contribution will point out two relevant dimensions that need to be taken into account to explain unequal upper secondary track choices within the Italian context. First, it will show the role of ‘taken for granted’ assumptions about academic education on students’ aspirations and their embeddedness within familial biographies. Second, it will point out the role of teachers’ socially biased guidance advices and how they contribute to shape the educational decisions of underprivileged background students. By using ethnographic material and interviews transcripts, I will particularly focus on how guidance practices and secondary track choices are more or less explicitly experienced by agents as fighting practices capable of securing or troubling the dominant educational order and its enduring inequalities.

Framing choices at the end of compulsory schooling in Catalonia: the interaction between ‘transition fields’, institutional habitus’ and ‘teacher taken for granted expectations’

Tarabini, Aina, Curran, M., Castejon, A., Montes, A. (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

The objective of this presentation is to analyse the construction of educational expectations and aspirations among working class students in Catalonia once their compulsory secondary schooling is about to end (level 10). The analysis focuses on three main elements: first, it explores the impact of the Catalan education system on student’s educational expectations and aspirations. Specifically, it shows how the features of upper secondary schooling in Catalonia (structure, supply, ownership and tracks) are crucial factors in framing students’ expected and imagined futures, stressing the impacts of the ‘Catalan transition field’ into the students’ choices. Second, it analyses the effect of several dimensions of the ‘institutional habitus’ on students’ expectations, aspirations and choices. In this regard, particular attention is attributed to grouping practices and curricular adjustments as well as to their contradictions and omissions. Third, it focuses on the role of teachers as key actors in shaping young people educational decisions. Teachers’ expectations, taken for granted assumptions and guidance practices are shown of paramount importance in this field. The analysis has been developed though an ethnographic study in five lower secondary schools in Barcelona. The fieldwork includes 50 interviews and 5 focus groups with teachers, 54 interviews and 6 focus groups with students, observations of teaching staff meetings, classroom dynamics and informal spaces at the schools and documentary and data analysis for each of the selected schools.

A Bourdieusian perspective on educational, choices, aspirations and transitions in Europe

Ingram, Nicola., (Lancaster University)

Young people’s educational choices and transitions at the breaking points of their respective educational systems are of paramount importance in order to ensure the longest possible educational trajectories for all students as well as to increase their chances of educational success. According to the EU Strategy Education and Training 2020 one of the crucial objectives of all EU countries is to enlarge enrolment and transition rates to post compulsory education levels by reducing the rate of early school leavers from education and training aged 18-24 to 10%. In this context, the objective of this symposium is to analyse how educational choices and transitions are featured in and by different educational
systems across Europe. What are the breaking points for young people’s educational transitions in different countries? How does the very structure of different educational systems generate different patterns of educational transitions? The symposium includes different contributions arising from different national or regional contexts: Catalonia (Spain), Italy, France, and Turkey. Our data is analysed from a Bourdieusian perspective which considers the interplay between habitus, field and capitals in reproduction of and resistance to inequalities.

The ‘New’ Cultural Arbitrary? Changing Formations of Culture Sociology
Capitals: Accumulation and Practice
Room LT3
Chair: Carl Mallett

Practicing Reflexivity: Sociology of judo practice in a Paris suburb
Iso, Naoki, (Keio University)

In this presentation, with the concept of reflexivity, I apply the theory and the methods of Bourdieu to analyse the data collected from my fieldwork at a Judo club in a Paris suburb, infamous for a poor and dangerous area. From this ethnographic research, I found the social boundary in the area and that it was closely related to the order of violence there. In the ‘dojo’ at the Judo club, the boundary did not make sense and then the order of violence changed. The children of the club learn the values and the morals that are not common in the area but are more extensively in France in practicing judo. This can imply social mobility of the children and their potential departure from the area in the future. In this study, I practice reflexivity in order to objectify the objectifying subject or myself. Through such practice, I analyse the meaning of the Judo practice there.

Follow the capital: What parents’ capital accumulation strategies in the school field reveal about mechanisms of advantage
Aris, Sharon, (University of Sydney)

Applying market logics such as school choice to education appears to empower parents and is promoted as a mechanism to raise educational performance. However in Australia, in common with many countries, educational outcomes are closely linked to family SES status. Furthermore, schools are increasingly diverging along SES lines. Most analyses including those using Bourdieu have concentrated on the reproduction aspect of this, reflecting Bourdieu’s formulation of education as ‘the social reproduction function of cultural reproduction’. However this approach obscures a description of the logics pursued by parents and the mechanics of how these accumulate to produce advantage or disadvantage. This paper operationalizes Bourdieu’s logic of habitus, field and capital using the analytic framework of Legitimation Code Theory. This enables a close description of parents’ capital strategies in the school field, particularly the operations between capital and habitus by different groups of parents. Using data from semi-structured interviews with 28 parents in a single geographic region in Sydney, Australia, four groups of parents are constituted based on the capital they sought for their children from schooling. Analysis of parental strategies reveals parents sought to utilize their own capital in the school field, both to enable their children to acquire the same capitals and exchange it for other capitals. However, with dispositions shaped by their own capital acquisitions, only some were successful, particularly when seeking capitals different to their own. The paper concludes with insights from successful interventions by and with parents and policy observations on the limitations of school choice.
The field of institutions of higher education: privatisation and social reproduction

Palma Amestoy, Carlos, (University of Bristol)

The wave of neoliberal reforms during the 1970s has meant the advance of ideas such as deregulation and privatisation. In this scenario, education has been one of the main targets of neoliberal policies. In the case of higher education, terms as marketisation, privatisation and commodification have been increasingly gaining importance. Today, although the situation varies from country to country, there is growing ‘corporate culture’ (Giroux 2002) penetrating the sector. At the same time, tertiary education systems seem to leave its elitist character to integrate a broad range of social classes (Trow 2007; Marginson 2016), which may be understood as the ‘democratisation’ of post-secondary education. In this context, the question about the connection between the reproduction of social classes and higher education once again becomes relevant. Focusing on the case of Chile – an experimental case in terms of neoliberal policies (Harvey 2005; Bellei and Vanni 2015) – and based on Pierre Bourdieu’s theoretical framework (1979; 1990; 1996; 2010), this paper addresses the question about the relationship between privatisation of higher education and social reproduction. How does privatisation of the field of institutions of higher education institutions affect social reproduction? This work, starting from the Bourdieusian approach, explores some conceptual elements and rises some hypotheses to understand privatisation of higher education as a mechanism that has reinforced the segmentation of the student population and the reproduction of social inequalities in Chilean society.

Governance and reproduction in the academic sector: a case study of the ‘field’ of Higher Education research

Cohen, Elie, Papatsiba, V. (University of Sheffield)

Bourdieu’s field theory has been used to study stratification in the academic sector (Naidoo, 2004; Marginson, 2008; Maton, 2005). The significant stratification that characterises UK universities is much discussed and there are signs that it is increasing (Boliver, 2015; Marginson, 2016, 2017; Wolf & Jenkins, 2015). This paper shows how stratification is reproduced at the level of individual disciplines ‘sub-fields’) in the context of new orders of governance and markers of ‘excellence’ which pave the way for position-taking through success according to non-academic criteria, for example in the ‘impact agenda’. The authors’ own field of Higher Education studies is used as a case study. The ‘impact agenda’, institutionalised in the Impact element of the Research Excellence Framework (REF), denotes the demands that, and incentives for, academics to consider the potential use(rs) of their research. Analysis of the funders, users and ‘impact pathways’ in fifty-three ‘Impact Case Studies’ submitted to the REF 2014, identified as being relevant to the field of Higher Education, reveals how existing institutional hierarchies are reproduced. Researchers at ‘higher’ status universities (Boliver, 2015) have greater access to prestigious funding and greater influence on strategically important policy issues, despite the policy of promoting research ‘excellence …wherever it is found’ (Stern, 2016, p. 28). The findings raise questions about the legitimacy of the impact agenda, and the extent to which new markers of ‘excellence’ represent an emerging academic doxa.

Secondary Modern Universities?

Branch, Andre, (University of East London)

Given their disproportionately large intake of BAME and white working-class students, mitigated to some extent by discipline selection, urban-located post-1992 UK universities are ideally situated to apply Bourdieu’s conceptual toolkit to real world inequalities, defined as an unequal distribution of legitimated capitals. The paper argues, however, that government policy calling for greater ‘vocationalism’ - and its linking of this to a funding model operating in an institutional market recently freed from imposed caps on recruitment - reduces the scope for this critical work to thrive in these institutions. This trend is reinforced by the political acquiescence of post-1992 HEI managers, who perversely claim to be enhancing the social and cultural capitals of these students. Their impoverished understanding of vocationalism in this context defines it as the inculcation of skills suitable for relatively low paid, precarious employment rather than a more radical definition of it as the teaching of the transferable skills of abstract thinking and reflexive awareness of the field of power.

The paper concludes by outlining an alternative model of UK HE provision that proffers greater resistance to the logic of market economics - currently skewed in favour of dominant institutions - and an embracing of Bourdieusian scholarship across disciplines, such that an accurate reading of his concepts can enhance both the learning experiences
of the dominated and dominant. Further, by developing inter-institutional collaboration, a greater mix of learners by social class - itself a necessary requisite for the radical change urgently needed - might be achieved.

### Body work and the work of the Body: Physical, Social and Symbolic

**The Body and Emotional Labour**

**Room LT5**

**Chair: Ciaran Burke**

#### Dealing with the Dead: the accumulation of emotional capital through exposure, experience and practice

_Ward, Jenna, McMurray, R._ (University of Leicester)

Why do we each have different capacities, tolerances and reactions to performing emotional labour, and why is that we each differ in our abilities to thrive in different emotional 'fields' (Bourdieu, 1977)? Our task is to consider these questions in relation to death work (Henry, 2004). In this presentation we explore the nature of the practices, experiences and related resources drawn upon by independent funeral directors to better understand the nature, texture and lived experiences of those working in extreme emotional contexts (Zembylas, 2007) and to make rigorous observations about life experiences that may have contributed to their ability to undertake such work. We propose that through exposure, experience and practice an 'accumulated [emotional] history' (Boudieu, 1977) manifests itself as emotional capital that allows death workers, such as funeral directors, to cope with what they see, feel, hear and smell in the moment, but that this emotional capital does not mean they are unaffected in the longer term.

#### How Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice illuminates complexities in spousal care relationships for people living with dementia and co-morbidities

_de Waal, Denise._ (University of Bradford)

Couples share a common sense in their relationship that is based on norms, values and past experiences. Accordingly they develop role patterns that produce bodily dispositions. When one of the couple develops a serious illness both their common sense and bodily dispositions can be disrupted. Drawing upon ethnographic data of five people living with dementia and co-morbidities and their spouses over a 6 month period we describe how the couples renegotiate their relationship. We address the following questions: how does one negotiate a new common sense when one's habitus is influenced by cognitive impairment including memory loss? How are identities preserved when the body is unable to enact customary activities due to multiple health conditions? While our habitus and body have the ability to adapt to situations a new shared common sense and bodily disposition can be negotiated. The habitus applies to everyone but cognitive impairment can influence its functioning and the negotiation of a shared common sense becomes especially complicated. Bourdieu's Theory of Practice helps us to understand the spousal relationship by illuminating its complexity and diversity. For example it offers a route to consider the importance of cognition and of embodiment in the transitions that are experienced. This sort of understanding enables us to provide more appropriate support for couples.
Participant Objectivation: a lens to explore video observations of classroom practice

Savage, Suzann, (Birmingham City University)

The study of classroom observation is an emerging field within educational policy research. Similarly, the use of digital video technology as an instrument of observation is rising across education sectors in England. Recent studies have focused largely on the developmental and reflective opportunities afforded by the digital medium, with a gap in research exploring the impact of this technology on the professional lives of teachers whose practice is predominantly observed for performance management purposes. This paper aims to address that gap. Drawing on emergent findings from a pilot study, it discusses the impact of digital video technology to observe teaching and learning. What do educators notice in the classroom when observing practice through a video lens? How do different digital video technologies impact what is seen? At the heart of this research is an epistemological and methodological investigation into the practice of observation itself, both how I as a researcher use it as a method of inquiry and how educators use observation as a method to understand and evaluate teaching and learning. Bourdieu's participant objectivation offers an insightful theoretical perspective, through which I as researcher and educator reflexively turn the instruments of my inquiry onto my own research methodology to analyse the dispositions and biases in observation. I explore the doxa underlying the practice of observation and the habitus of educators as a means of understanding the tensions between the current performative education policy environment and the individual agency of teachers and observers when engaging in professional dialogue.

‘Our Voices, Our Images, Our Story’
A Narrative Inquiry Study on Primary Pupil’s Experience in Designated Disadvantaged Schools in Ireland.
Campion, Gemma, (Lancaster University)

In Ireland Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools (DEIS) is the main policy instrument to combat educational disadvantage. The policy focuses on the educational needs of children from disadvantaged communities. Unfortunately, after a decade of successful implementation of the DEIS programme, the attainment gap between DEIS and non-DEIS schools, and the inequalities of social stratification continually persist in Ireland. Qualitative studies into the DEIS initiative at primary school level which prioritise pupil voice are limited. This paper argues that in the interest of a social justice perspective it is essential that working class voices and experiences of those who receive the DEIS programme ought to be at the forefront of any review of the policy. Hence, this paper draws from a narrative inquiry study of a diverse group of pupils (aged 11 and 12) from three DEIS primary schools in a provincial city in Ireland. The pupils engaged in one on one interviews and created drawings to portray their school experience. Using a Bourdieusian perspective, narratives and drawings were analysed in light of field, habitus and the interacting capitals that entrench social disadvantage. Only by making visible symbolic violence and injustices can we hope to break the paradox of doxa and allow us to question the acceptance of social order even by the very people disadvantaged by it. This study is a small step towards allowing pupils to reflect and question the rules (policy) governing their school (field), and in doing so inform educational disadvantage policy from a new perspective.

The ‘New’ Cultural Arbitrary? Changing Formations of Culture Sociology Distinction and the Arts

The Borders of Art
Miraldi, Juliana, Venturini, B., Ferreira, T. A. (Universidade Estadual de Campinas)

The definition of what is conceived as art in each historical moment is not something natural, but an effect of complex disputes between agents that occupies distinct and unequal positions on the art field. Faced with the possibilities of symbolic and material gains provides by the artistic legitimacy, the interest for this dispute often overflows the borders
of art field. In the last twenty years the art field has felt the effects of globalization, the financial capital and the art market, which reorganize its production logic and incorporate new agents into this framework. Based on this, and on the contemporary Brazilian artistic scenario, we will analyze the entrance of two new production fields in the art field: the fast-fashion chains and the gastronomy. The objective is to analyze under what conditions these specific fields dispute their participation in the art field, what are their strategies and how the art field resists or not these investments. Therefore, we choose the collaboration between the Brazilian fast fashion chain Riachuelo and the Museu de Arte de São Paulo which aims to expand the fashion collection of the museum. On the second case, we will analyze the convergence between gastronomy and art presented in 33ª Bienal de São Paulo. Our hypothesis is that these investments, although with distinct histories and objectives, are periscopes to comprehend the new agents and process of symbolic alchemy that become effective in the field of art and the disputes between orthodox and heterodox positions in the definition of art.

Cultural Capital and Distinction in Literary Festivals
Rossetti, Giulia, Quinn, B. (Dublin Institute of Technology)

Since Bourdieu's (1979) theory of homology, scholars have analysed the role of cultural capital in shaping cultural participation (Friedman, 2015). Holt (1998) argued that participants with high or low cultural capital may consume leisure differently because they value different dimensions of the experience. Yet, much scope remains to further investigate the role of individual cultural capital in shaping festival audiences (Snowball and Willis, 2006). Research on literary festival audiences has been particularly limited (Mintel, 2011). Scholars claim that attendees require a certain level of cultural knowledge or taste in order to enjoy literary festivals (Driscoll, 2014). In contrast, other studies argue that literary festivals reflect the contemporary breadth of cultural tastes (Giorgi, 2011). Thus, are literary festivals symbols of high-brow classes, dominated by high cultural capital attendees? This study aims to further the understanding of how cultural capital shapes literary festival participation. It asks whether cultural capital is a prerequisite for access and therefore a marker of distinction. The research draws on qualitative data collected at two literary festivals, the Listowel Writers' Week in Ireland and Pordenonelegge in Italy. Observations and interviews were used to develop an understanding of audiences' cultural capital. The study's findings suggest that literary festivals generally involve high levels of cultural capital. However, there is a considerable mix of participants with various levels of institutionalised, objectified and embodied cultural capital. This omnivorous audience consumes literary festivals differently, from serious self-education to pure hedonism. This diversification of tastemakers and levels of cultural capital may create literary distinction.

A Martial Art? Resistance and Struggle
Childhood, Resistance and Struggle
Room LT4
Chair: Ciaran Burke

Reproducing the Class Habitus in Urban Irish Childhood – A Case Against Resistance
Brennan, Aimie, (Mary Immaculate College)

International research has highlighted the increasingly intensive nature of adult surveillance of children's leisure time (Nelson, 2010; Furedi, 2001). In the Irish context, parents' surveillance practices have been found to be class-bound, dichotomous and reinforced by access to capital (Brennan, 2014). Using surveillance as a structural lens, this paper will explore the reproduction of the class habitus in urban Irish families and will contribute to the structure-agency debate by questioning disadvantaged children's potential for resistance. Data from sixteen interviews with parents from affluent and disadvantaged neighbourhoods will be presented (Haase and Pratschke, 2016). This dataset is part of a broader mixed-method study focusing on the complex cultural and historical contexts in which supervision practices are formed.

Informed by Bourdieu's (1984) seminal work 'Distinction', findings will reveal that all children accrue valuable social capital through class-bound surveillance practices. Children gain 'possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition', through the freedoms or structures supported by parents during leisure-time (Bourdieu 1986: 248). Drawing from Elijah Anderson's (2008) anthropological analysis of the norms of inner city neighbourhoods, this paper will demonstrate that disadvantaged children's social capital embodies street wisdom, or 'the code of the street'. While this capital is essential for life in a risky environment, it has limited value in a neoliberal world, raising the question; do parental surveillance practices effect children's potential for resistance against inequitable structures?
Resistance as resilience: Floating children and left-behind children in the face of structural constraints

Mu, Michael, (Queensland University of Technology)

The study reports on the resilience process of floating children and left-behind children to structural constraints in the internal migration context of China. Although the notion of resilience is traditionally rooted in the school of psychology, the study rethinks resilience as a sociological process and a class-based, intergenerational project. Drawing on data collected from migrant parents, school teachers, and floating children and left-behind children, the study qualitatively and quantitatively analyses the ways in which socioeconomic status and domestic culture shape resilience into an embodied disposition. When the neoliberal logic behind mainstream praxis uproots many working-class young people out of their cultural communities, it also rips valuable indigenous dispositions out of their body and coerces them to 'happily' leave their culture and epistemology behind. In response to the socially defined and desired outcomes (e.g., academic engagement and aspiration), some floating children and left-behind children engage in 'anti-social' behaviours. Their resistance to mainstream definitions is a sociological praxis re-theorised as resilience. Such resilience enculturates floating children and left-behind children into a system of dispositions (habitus) and a set of capacities (capital) required for rebounding from adversities. Drawing on resistance-cum-resilience, these children are loath to lie to themselves and loyal to their working-class dispositions; they define their own life instead of the life socially defined for them; they revolt against the symbolic violence imposed on them by mainstream definitions; and they also remind the powerful of the power of the powerless.

Self Defence or Attack? Exploring the nature of resistance among middle class and working class school girls

Hamilton, Miriam, (University of Limerick)

This paper is based on a study exploring the experiences of Irish schoolgirls in a middle-class post-primary school. Extensive observational and interview data highlights that cultural hegemony can influence resistance and struggle in particular ways, among middle-class and working-class schoolgirls. Bourdieu's and Gramsci's ideas about hegemony from symbolic domination and cultural perspectives, remain significant today. Whether fields or superstructures, the notion that resistance and struggle operates in educational battlefields is undisputable. This is particularly evident within the Irish education system, which is highly orientated towards academic success. This study finds that cultural struggle in educational fields is likely among both middle-class and working-class students. What differs though, is the nature and the outcomes of such resistance. This paper argues that middle-class girls engage in low resistance actions as they struggle to uphold the middle class cultural expectations. The working-class girls engage in more high stakes resistance, as they struggle to survive a culturally hegemonic field. The middle-class girls conform through safe resistance and this protects them from educational alienation. The working-class girls engage in riskier resistance, which contributes to their own educational failure, due to significant social and cultural alienation from peers/teachers. The data suggests that resistance acts as a form of self-defence against the symbolic violence perpetrated against the working-class girls. However, resistance also acts as a survival mechanism for middle-class girls, against the pressure manifested through expectations of high academic attainment and conformity to middle-class culture. Neither resistances instigate transformational change, supporting social and cultural reproduction in schools.

Body work and the work of the Body: Physical, Social and Symbolic Technologies of Self

Room LT5
Chair: Kirsty Morrin

Exploring Bourdieu’s habitus in sport and physical activity: an interdisciplinary approach

Lesnik, Jerneja, Sheffield Hallam University)

Social research according to Bourdieu, particularly research in the field of sport and physical activity, requires an interdisciplinary approach, since, sport is not an isolated field of social research but is integrated into broader socio-economic mechanisms and in the broader context of an individual’s life-style and personal well-being. However, most applied Bourdieu’s ideas in the field of physical activity is qualitative, often overlooking the quantitative aspect of research. Bourdieu’s position, links with the quantitative research in the field of psychology, suggesting that the individual’s social and economic conditions of living and his/her objective well-being affect his/her internal psychological state of mind which further impacts his/her behaviour and practice of healthy life-style. Thus, inter-disciplinary research in the context of sport and physical activity, proposed in this paper, particularly building on previous qualitative research in the field of psychology, could, on the one hand, expand understanding of the individual’s habitus and on the other expand the range of quantitative approaches within Bourdieu’s research.
The rise of a new symbolic capital of presentation of self
Michelzon, Inbar, Bar Ilan University, Israel

Only a few studies have been conducted about social network sites (SNS) as arenas of social struggle over symbolic capital (Schwarz 2010), even though they have undoubtedly produced new ‘digital habitus’ that have fundamentally altered social relations (Hallet and Barber 2014). Habitus for Bourdieu, as Reay (2004) points out, is interconnected with cultural capital and always operates in a specific field. Therefore, to closely examine the demanding task of continual ‘becoming’ characterizing late modernity (Bauman 2002), we must first understand digital presentation of self in everyday life (Goffman 1956). Yet how different is it for youth from poor neighborhoods to present themselves in this highly visual culture compared to youth from middle and upper middle class homes? And what kind of new symbolic capital do these adolescents need to develop and acquire in order to be considered respected players in this field? The current study examines how young people from middle and lower class homes construct their identity value through Instagram. The research methodology included in-depth interviews with 60 adolescents, ages 15-18, from two Israeli cities: Lod, which is a peripheral low-income city, and Modiin and Ramat Aviv, a high income city and neighborhood respectively. I also conducted digital ethnographic research with observations of the interviewees’ activities on Instagram. I will argue that SNS is a new field for youth to develop symbolic capital for presentation of self. This reproduces inequality because it is based on habitus and cultural capital (meaning skills and knowledge), that are not achievable by and accessible to everyone to the same extent.

Territorialization: Space, Place and Gentrification
Place, Space and Childhood
Room LT6
Chair: Jessie Abrahams

Power, resistance and the meddlesome fictive: Troubling notions of social and cultural capital in early childhood education
Shaw, Linda, (Oxford Brookes University)

The paper draws on ethnographic research carried out in six contrasting pre-school and reception class spaces as part of a PhD thesis on early years’ pedagogy in England. The historical legacies of the physical and social spaces from which early childhood services are delivered are troubled. The intention throughout is to delve into the complexity (or intensity) of early years’ spaces and expose them as ‘more macrocosmic or more microcosmic than every day [learning] spaces’ (Johnson, 2013:798). In other words, to trouble their modernist construction by drawing on the post-modern thinking of French philosophers such as Foucault and Derrida and their possible influences on sociological paradigms in education. Participant observations over a five-year period revealed tensions between the intentions and interpretations of early learning spaces by children and practitioners. The research revealed enduring tensions for practitioners and children in the dichotomous conceptualisations of indoor and outdoor play; caring and educating; child and pupil and the terms teacher and professional (Shaw, 2017). In relation to cultural space, or field (Bourdieu, 1977, Alanen et. al, 2015, Brooker, 2015) religion, schools, and differing potential meanings of heterotopic (Foucault, 1997) early years’ spaces, outside learning areas, classrooms and corridors, floors and carpets all revealed significance in relation to cultural capital and pedagogical enactments and articulations.

It’s about trying to get round the systems: Institutional concerted cultivation and the reproduction of social class inequality.
Abrahams, Jessie (University of Surrey)

Sociology, and in particular Bourdiesuan sociology, has a long history of research highlighting the ways in which social class inequalities (amongst others) are produced and reproduced in society. Political responses to inequality have often focussed on parenting practices and family circumstances, something which has been largely critiqued for individualising inequality and placing the blame on the victims. Sociological work has instead demonstrated the structural and material realities which contribute to different parenting practices and unequal familial transmission of valuable and symbolically recognised forms of capitals. Whilst there exists tools and concepts for exploring the practices of individual agents in society, there remains a need to develop and refine sociological tools for exploring and explaining the inequalities prevalent in the practices of institutions. In this paper, building upon Anette Lareau’s widely influential concept of concerted cultivation, I introduce the concept of institutional concerted cultivation. This concept is used as a tool to explore the intricate ways in which institutions can be seen to be picking up where parents left off in their work to cultivate particular dispositions towards success, giving some young people an advantage over others. This paper develops this concept through the use of empirical data collected from three contrasting schools in one city in England. Data includes qualitative interviews with pupils in years 7, 9 and 11 and careers advisors alongside observation of careers events.
Nurturing the Distinctive Body – An Exploration of Agency and Docility in Affluent Children
Brennan, Aimie, (Mary Immaculate College)

Bourdieu highlights the ways in which the natural body is transformed into the distinctive body through class dispositions and 'taste' (1984). Irish parents have subjective dispositions which guide their parenting behaviour, particularly their assumptions about the nature of childhood and their obligations as parents. This paper will offer specific examples of affluent parents’ conscious effort to foster a distinctive body in their children through their increased involvement in children's leisure activities. Bourdieu's (1984; 1990) discussion of the 'distinctive body' and Foucault's (1977) analysis of the 'docile body', will be combined to investigate the effect of surveillance on children's expression of agency. Affluent parents' adoption of concealed and technological surveillance often prevents children from negotiating control over their bodies and encourages them to accept and submit to parenting norms. This paper will argue that the excessive control affluent parent wield over children's bodies results in docile characteristics that dampen affluent children's expression of agency and feed a neoliberal agenda. For the purpose of this research, 'the body' is considered to mean the physical body of the child and the symbolic body which manifests through characteristics children's display when engaged with the social world. Data from twenty-one interviews with children from affluent and disadvantaged communities will be presented (Haase and Pratschke, 2016). The data presented is part of a broader mixed-method study focusing on the complex cultural and historical contexts in which supervision practices are formed.

Will I Rise Like A Phoenix Out Of The Fire? Migrant Women’s Habitus After Divorce in Hong Kong and Melbourne, Australia
Ridgway, Alexandra, (The University of Hong Kong)

When women migrate on relationship-based visas, few imagine that their migration journeys will involve marital collapse. Yet, for some, the end of their marital unions will become part of the reality of their migration journey. Faced with the loss of the marriage which they migrated either because of or for, these women are placed in a predicament of rebuilding their lives anew in a foreign city or returning home. Those who stay must learn how to survive (and thrive) as fishes out of water. To swim again involves a deep and conscious re-examination of one's own dispositions and how they fit (or not) within the new field structures in which one is (or seeks to be) engaged (Hardy, 2012). A reflexive examination of one's position can reveal the necessity of habitus transformation as a mechanism for survival (Jo, 2013). This poster draws upon the preliminary findings of a doctoral project on the post-divorce lives of 45 migrant women who originally arrived in Hong Kong and Melbourne on relationship-based visas. It considers whether these women were able to transition from positions of dependency into ones of independence after divorce through the power of habitus transformation. Situated against the backdrop of research findings on the downward mobility of divorced women (Devillier and Forsyth, 1988; Grela, 1990), this poster explores whether processes of habitus adjustment can act as a buffer to post-divorce socio-economic decline, thereby testing the agency versus structure debate which is so prevalent within Bourdieusian theorizing.

Weight stigma and bullying in Chilean teenagers: symbolic power in bodily appearances between youths
Vega, María Jesus., (University of Bristol / Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)

Weight stigma expresses a form of symbolic power with respect to bodily appearances. Research on western countries have identified weight bias in school settings, embodied in obese students being bullied for their weight. Obese youths are marked by a stigma symbol that deviates from the ideal-normal body that is imposed by the health and social world. Weight stigmatization is examined between Chilean teenagers through the analysis of self-reported bullying behaviours (physical, verbal, social and electronic) and obesity status from 17,867 grade-8 students from 647 schools of Chile (14 years-old average). Logistic regressions with clustered standard errors were used to analyse the data. Results showed that after adjusting for school and family characteristics, compared to non-obese, obese teenagers had greater odds of bullying victimization. However, this association was stronger for verbal and social bullying, followed by physical, but no significant difference was established for the electronic one. By adding the effect of gender and obesity as an interaction variable in the models, the main effect of the obesity variable dissipates for verbal, social and electronic bullying modes. On the opposite, for physical bullying, obese girls had 40% more chances to report victimization, compared to their non-obese peers. Marginal effects of obesity among boys were reported for verbal and social bullying, while among girls, only for the physical one. These results evince how weight stigmatization among Chilean students is expressed in different bullying behaviours, affecting obese boys and girls in dissimilar ways.
Contemporary British Bourdieusian Sociology of Education – Theoretical Gaps, open questions, and inherent dangers
Winzler, Tim., (Glasgow Uni)

Pierre Bourdieu's ideas undoubtedly have influenced British Sociology massively in the last decades. This is perhaps particularly true of the Sociology of Education. This body of work which claims to utilise and even to go beyond Bourdieu's epistemology and theory (Reay et.al.2005, 2011), has found wide-spread support and recognition and is often labelled as 'seminal' (Abrahams 2014). However, a critical comparison with Bourdieu's original meta-theory (Bourdieu et.al. 1991, Bourdieu 2000) shows significant gaps between the two approaches. One significant difference seems to regard the construction of proper theoretical models that are validated or not by the empirical data they produce. While Bourdieu pushes forward this aspect of theory-construction as vital for a proper sociological understanding of education (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), many British Bourdieusians seem to reject it by referring to the alleged premature limitation of perspective that this would lead to (e.g. Reay et.al. 2005, Sayer 2005). This approach seems much closer to an interpretivist or grounded theory approach. While there is nothing wrong with this per se, the critical observer has a rather hard time envisioning how it can be reconciled without contradiction with the use of concepts like class or habitus while still heading under the name of Bourdieusian analysis. It appears, moreover, as if the 'unlimited' and 'inflected' use of both concepts within the modified approach carries in itself dangers of 'self-nullification' and 'value-universalisation', in other words, of what Bourdieu calls 'subjectivism' (Bourdieu 1992). This will be shown in detail on a concrete example.
Workshops

During the conference delegates will be able to attend two different workshops. Workshops are an informal small group discussion facilitated by experts in the field including a number of our keynote speakers. They are an opportunity to work through an issue you may be having in your work and to get to know other delegates with similar interests. You will be able to sign up for one workshop of your choice from Session A and one from Session B once arriving at conference at the registration stand. Each workshop has limited capacity, places will be given on a first come first served basis. Each workshop has a number of suggested (optional) pre-readings which will be circulated prior to the conference.

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