Predrag Cvetičanin, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia and Mihaela Popescu, California State University, San Bernardino, USA
STRUGGLES ON SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES

Abstract: Our article is based on data from the 2005 survey "Cultural Needs, Habits and Taste of Citizens of Serbia and Macedonia" conducted (in Serbia) on a national proportional probability sample of 1364 interviewees. Using Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA), we first reconstruct the field of cultural styles in Serbia as reflected in individual cultural needs (motivation for participation in cultural activities), cultural habits (actual participation in cultural activities), aesthetic preferences, cultural knowledge and cultural possessions and superimpose sociodemographic categories on them. Secondly, following the interpretation of cultural capital as an exclusionary device, we examine how these cultural styles are distributed along the four axes alongside which exclusionary and usurpation strategies are carried out in Serbia: between the educated and the uneducated; between the urban population, on the one hand, and the recently urbanized and rural population on the other; between the population of the ("European") North and the ("Oriental") South of the country, and between "cosmopolitans" and "patriots". Finally, based on semi-structured interviews with 64 respondents from six towns in Serbia (from the far north to the far south of the country), we argue that under certain circumstances low/local cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, informal knowledge, behaviors and goods) can function as cultural capital and can be used for social exclusion.

Key words: cultural map of Serbia, cultural styles in Serbia; axes of closure and usurpation strategies in Serbia

Nina Kahma and Arho Toikka, University of Helsinki
Cultural map of Finland 2007: Using Multiple correspondence analysis as a method for doing cross-national comparisons

Abstract: This paper maps out the patterns of cultural participation and taste in Finland, and analyses their connections to socio-economic factors. Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) is applied to find what Bourdieu calls the space of lifestyles. This space of lifestyles is constructed on questions concerning different areas of culture including music, TV, films, literature and leisure activity. The two dimensions of the MCA solution represent differentiations between high cultural engagement versus disengagement and modern versus traditional forms of culture. These dimensions are very similar to the dimensions found in the UK (Le Roux et al., 2008), even if the placement of individual cultural activities varies somewhat due to cultural differences. Socio-economic factors are superimposed over the space of lifestyles in order to scrutinize the connections between social background and the patterns in culture and in taste. The applicability of Bourdieusian approach to cultural differences between classes, as well as recent critical developments of the theory of distinction will be discussed in light of the results. The data used are from a nationally representative survey (N=1388) collected in 2007 by the research project Cultural capital and social differentiation in contemporary Finland: An international comparison.

Key words; Bourdieu, class, cultural capital, multiple correspondence analysis

Felix Buhlmann, Mike Savage and Andy Miles
Accounting for domination: life narratives from the National Child Development Studies

We draw on 14 interviews from the National Child Development study, chosen to exemplify different mobility trajectories, with a view to considering how respondents themselves reflect on their trajectories. We attempt not only to explore the meanings of mobility and immobility from the respondents' point of view, but more particularly to see how notions of past, present and future are variably interpreted according to the kind of anchors they can identify. Our aim is to disrupt any necessary assumption that people see their biographies in linear social or historical terms, and to demonstrate the need for a more complex, non-linear analysis of trajectory. We will show that those who can narrate linear stories of upward mobility do so through deploying boundary markers - including occupational transitions, geographical moves, educational achievements or familial events - which serve as anchors to bind their own lives to historical reference points and can also mark out particular passages in their lives. By contrast, those who are immobile, or downwardly mobile, do not necessarily see their lives as stable or continuous between discrete time points, but might lack such linear differentiation of time into clear and distinctive episodes. We can thereby better understand how people narrate their own mobility through focusing on the possibility of their defining boundary objects as life anchors. In developing this argument, we explore three specific issues. Firstly, under what circumstances do people identify "careers" as organising features of their lives? Careers have been seen as means of maintaining "a relationship with the past and future so as to provide for the sense of continuity through position, location and movement" (O'Doherty and Roberts 2000, 152, citing Arthur et al 1989). The relationship between career and their association with class and gender inequalities has been considerably explored historically (e.g. Miles and Savage 2004), though there is currently considerable discussion about the remaking of career pathways in the context of delayering, organisational restructuring and changing gender relations and household relationships1. Our interest here is partly in examining how far the career remains a device for organising people's biographical identities, and what kinds of people are affected by this.

Secondly, and relatedly we are interested in differentiating between passive and active conceptions of life events. At one extreme, individuals can present their lives as accounts of their own actions, which both confirm, and also construct, their identities. Through such active stories, individuals can define themselves as both historical and individual agents. At the other extreme, one's life can be presented passively, as a series of events which happen to you and over which one has little control. Such accounts render one as relatively powerless. Such different narrative forms are hence liable to be socially structured and will also convey important differences in how individuals see their social place. This leads to our third interest, in assessing what exact kinds of anchors people use in talking about their life trajectories. Our theme here is that there are two powerful devices which remain important in constructing notions of the active career, namely organisational career mobility and geographical mobility. Where individuals can link their occupational mobility to the anchors of the organisational career (in which different levels have symbolic, usually hierarchical, meanings, and when they can narrate a life story of moving from a "constrained" to a "chosen" area of residence, they are more likely to mark out linear life stories of progress. By contrast other sorts of life events, however important they might be in shaping an individual's life chances and trajectory, are less easily assimilated into this kind of framework. A particularly important case here are familial events, which although are frequently identified as important, are often identified as external forces, and are linked to narratives of cyclicality which are not easily appropriated to ideas of clear temporal trajectories. The same also applies to educational attainment, in which it is often seen as "luck" that one happened to go to a good school or university, and is not always identified as a

central focus of one's life trajectory [partly because few people can exert control over this at that age - although see 562] . Our focus therefore is on exploring the kinds of devices which respondents themselves use in piecing together stories of their own lives.

Magne Flemmen, University of Oslo
Class structuration of upper class love and success

ABSTRACT: This paper deals with the economic upper class of Norway, understood as a group of large property owners and the top stratum of executives, managers and business professionals. In the present analysis, respondents who meet these classification rules are analyzed with their spouse. Marriage patterns - the social class backgrounds of both spouses and the present social position of the spouse - and their relation to income within the upper class is examined by way of multiple correspondence analysis. Findings indicate a significant correspondence between backgrounds, positions and income levels. Three main groups appear: those originating from the popular or working classes, where the spouse is also classified as working class, and the household make up the bottom of the internal income distribution; those originating in upper cultural capital groups, where the spouse is also presently in such a position, and the household is at the mid-level of the internal income distribution; and those originating in the upper class or adjacent social strata, with spouses in high positions and with overall high household income.

Morten Kyed, University of Aalborg
Distinction meets "dirty work" in everyday life - on the tracks of symbolic domination and autonomy among refuse collectors in a Danish city

Abstract: In this paper I outline some ambivalent tendencies concerning Bourdieu's recognition of working class autonomy in Distinction. In this monumental work Bourdieu is somewhat unclear about the issue of symbolic domination and the "antinomy of domination" of the "dominated classes". I use a small-scale ethnographic fieldwork among refuse collectors in a Danish city1 to suggest that normative dimensions of everyday life may be important bastions for class identity and autonomy in contemporary Denmark - especially in the working classes. I also suggest, that Thomas Højrup's "life-mode-analysis" approach may solve some of the problems Bourdieu faces vis-à-vis the actual autonomy of the allegedly "dominated classes".

Vegard Jarness
EVERY EXCEPTION HAS ITS RULE From the question of what to the question of how in the "cultural omnivore" debate

Abstract: This paper takes as its point of departure Pierre Bourdieu's endeavour to map out oppositions in cultural taste vis-à-vis social positions and then relates the discussion to the debate on "cultural omnivorousness". This term was originally coined by Richard A. Peterson (1992) to denote the alleged breakdown of the distinction between "high-brow" and "low-brow" cultural taste, and the rise of new eclectic ways of appropriating cultural goods. Drawing on qualitative data

generated in the ongoing project Petropolis and Cultural Life: Processes of Social Differentiation in Stavanger, I argue that even though there may have emerged new ways of appropriating cultural goods that do not easily fit into dichotomies such as "legitimate" vs. "illegitimate", "elite" vs. "mass", "high-brow" vs. "low-brow", the Bourdieusian argument is not necessarily rendered invalid. Rather, I argue that methodological approaches that exclusively focus on the cultural products consumed might be missing important stratifying social processes. Likes and dislikes of cultural products hardly tell the whole story about social oppositions regarding social agents' aesthetic orientations toward these products, a dimension that was arguably very much present in Bourdieu's Distinction. My contention is that a more fruitful approach would be to analyse oppositions regarding the form and content of the cultural products consumed and opposing modes of aesthetic appropriation as separate, yet possibly interrelated, dimensions. Focusing here on the latter, my findings suggest that there are still clearly detectable oppositional modes regarding how the cultural products are appropriated and that these are systematically related to social positions. In other words, consumption of what may be shown to be "common" cultural products may still be highly socially loaded as regards how these products are used and understood. Thus, I challenge the idea that we are witnessing a blurring of class related cultural hierarchies.

David Wright
Making tastes for everything: Omnivorousness and cultural abundance

Abstract: This paper argues that debates about the social patterning of tastes need to take greater account of changed practices of cultural production as well as consumption. It identifies two "stories of abundance" in the cultural realm, firstly relating to the expanding and influential accounts of the cultural industries and secondly to the rich variety of widely available culture enabled by various technologies of distribution. Taking these into account, it argues that sociological analyses of cultural hierarchy might lag behind those that are mundane and everyday to both cultural producers and consumers. The rise of alternative sources of capital that have questions of cultural openness and tolerance at their core means that an orientation to culture that ranges across established hierarchies is increasingly unremarkable. Such a change is not solely related to age cohorts but the structural and discursive means through which culture is produced and valued. The paper concludes that cultural analysts need to modify their theoretical models and their methodological approaches to better reflect a variegated field of culture and a more fluid cultural hierarchy. In the tradition of both Peterson and Bourdieu, contemporary analyses of patterns of cultural consumption and taste need to take fuller account of the ways in which culture is produced, circulated and valued if they are to maintain their explanatory power.

JAN FREDRIK HOVDEN
Professional cosmologies - Social and mental structures in the Norwegian journalistic field

ABSTRACT: Using survey data on 1203 members of the Norwegian Union of Journalists and the Union of Editors, in this paper a model of the basic structure of the Norwegian journalistic field in 2005 is sketched by correspondence analysis. The analysis, oriented by the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, suggest a bipolarstructure broadly similar to other cultural fields; a first dimension of capital volume which is also linked to age, and a second dimension which oppose agents with

higher and lower volume of internal recognition, which is to say, a specific type of symbolic capital (journalistic capital). The details of this structure is then discussed regarding the distribution of various forms of capital, the placement of various types of media publications, journalistic specialisations, agents´ habituses and a variety of other factors. Special attention is given to the homology of this social cosmos with a specific cosmology of basic journalistic beliefs and position-takings in major journalistic struggles, and the strong links between symbolic and economic dominance in this field.

Jakob Skjott-Larsen, Aalborg University
Cultural and Moral Class Distinctions in a Danish Context: the fall of the cultural elite?

Abstract: One of the major contributions of Pierre Bourdieu in Distinction (1984 [1979]) was to illuminate the function of cultural consumption as a marker of status in 1970's France. Since then, there has been an ongoing debate as to whether these findings apply to other national contexts, and not least, whether other forms of symbolic boundary-drawing may be more relevant. The aim of this paper is to investigate whether cultural consumption and moral-political stances serve as markers of class positions, and to elaborate on the specific ways that people in different social positions draw symbolic boundaries between "Us" and "Them". Based on a survey conducted in the municipality of Aalborg in Denmark in 2004 (N = 1174), and by the use of multiple correspondence analysis, a space of social positions is constructed. The distribution of cultural practices and moral-political stances among different class positions within that space is examined. By introducing a range of qualitative semi-structured interviews with respondents from the survey, the specific modes and the relative salience of the two forms of boundarydrawing are evaluated. It is argued that both cultural practices and moralpolitical stances serve as markers of social position. However, while examples of symbolic boundary-drawing based on cultural distinctions do exist, it is more pronounced, even within the fractions richest in cultural capital, to draw boundaries towards other social groups on the basis of moral-political criteria. Attitudes towards immigrants seem to play a particularly important role. Finally, boundaries are not only drawn by the privileged towards the less privileged positions. Antipathies towards the cultural elite are expressed through aversions against the state subsidization of highbrow culture.

Dieter Vandebroeck
"Distinctions in the Flesh. Obesity, weight and the class body"

Abstract: Starting from Bourdieu's proposition that "the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste", this paper aims to show that class differences not only structure agents' practices and representations, but also become durably incarnated in the physical dimensions of their bodies. Drawing on data generated in two recent surveys, I aim to demonstrate that physical size (as measured through the "body mass index") is not just a matter of biological variation, but is distributed across classes (and class fractions) in a manner which proves quite consistent with Bourdieu's views on lifestyle and symbolic distinction. Far from being randomly distributed across social space, the "ideal measurements" tend to be the disproportionate privilege of those who occupy dominant social positions, while the most devalued (i.e. largest) body sizes tend to be most prevalent at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Furthermore, I will argue that the social perception

of such differences in physical capital, and especially the moral stigmatization of obesity, plays a crucial role in the naturalization and hence legitimation of class differences. By durably inscribing themselves in the bodies of social agents, class tastes become (mis)perceived as indicators of innate moral fiber, distinguishing those who have a "natural" capacity for restraint and self-control from those who apparently lack the willpower and self-discipline to harness their primary needs.

Martin Gustavsson, Mikael Börjesson, Andreas Melldahl & Donald Broady Sociology of Education and Culture (SEC) Uppsala University
Swedish Art Students and Art Producers, 1938�??2007 Social Origins, Educational Trajectories, and Artistic Careers Some Preliminary Results

Summary/Abstract: Our presentation at the last SCUD-meeting in Bergen was devoted to the research model (focusing the relations between educational institutions/educational strategies and different social spaces or fields), the data collection and management (prosopographical databases), and the statistical methods (Geometric Data Analysis) applied in the project ─The Art of Succes in Art. Social Origin, Gender, Education, and Career 1938 - 2007. The present paper focuses more on preliminary results from the project. Crucial questions are: which species of acquired and inherited capital are characteristic for individuals and groups that are admitted to the most sought after areas of the educational system or are successful in conquer the most prominent positions within professional domains or social fields? And how have these possessions evolved? By investigating the changes over time at, on the one hand, the most dominant school of fine arts, the Royal University College of Fine Arts in Stockholm, and, on the other hand, the field of leading artists, we try to understand fundamental social, cultural, economic and geographical conditions as well as differences according to gender and age, and thereby also to answer the question on how success in the arts was created during the Swedish post-war period.