

## Papers presented at the Bergen meeting, 21.-22. april 2009

**Martin Gustavsson, Andreas Melldahl & Mikael Börjesson**

*Swedish Art Students and Art Producers, 1938-2007*

Abstract: Which acquired and inherited resources and capitals do individuals, who manage to be admitted to the most sought after areas of the educational system or who establish themselves in the most prominent positions within professional fields, possess? And how do these possessions change over time? In the paper, we try to answer this question by examining, 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. Our time period stretches from 1938 to 2007, which enables us to study changes over time. This paper outlines our research model - arguing for a strong relation between the study of the school and the study of the field of artists' and describes and discusses the principal empirical materials we have used and the methodological tools we apply to analyse them with.

**Magne Flemmen (Marianne Nordli Hansen and Patrick Lie Andersen absent)**

*Constructing Classes in Official Statistics: The Oslo Register Data Class Scheme*

**Anna Schroeder**

*Capturing class trajectories - a sequence analysis of work-life mobility*

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, stratification research in the UK has seen - a successive narrowing of research questions, from a general interest in the determinants and consequences of social status and of mobility between statuses to a narrowly focused interest on the bivariate relationship between the occupational classes of fathers and sons. (Treiman and Ganzeboom, 1998, 2) From these developments, three major shortcomings have been identified.

Firstly, class analysis in the UK has been dominated by the so-called Nuffield paradigm and a focus on social fluidity expressed in relative mobility rates (i.e. relative mobility chances net of mobility due to occupational change) from class origin to class of destination. In contrast, absolute mobility rates, which can be considered as manifestations of actual mobility experiences, have only been of marginal concern. Mobility that can be attributed to changes in the occupational structure has been considered as "noise" that needs to be eliminated to understand processes of social mobility. These assumptions have led to a narrow interest in relative mobility rates as indicators for the level of social fluidity net of structural change (Breen, 2004, Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992, Goldthorpe, 2000, Goldthorpe, 1987).

Secondly, due to this narrow focus on relative mobility rates, intergenerational mobility has been more important than intra-generational mobility. Much as absolute rates, intra-generational mobility has been considered as epiphenomena and unnecessary for understanding associations between origins and destinations (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992). Many of the findings about social mobility that are seen as more or less secured nowadays have been generated on the basis of standard mobility tables, so-called snap-shots of class positions without taking the longitudinal character of unfolding life-chance regimes into account. However, towards the end of the 1990s new trends have emerged and work-life mobility has re-appeared on the scene, due to the increasingly spreading

assumption that theoretical explanations need micro-foundations, which cannot be developed by analysing standard mobility tables.

Thirdly, there are still major concerns surrounding the social mobility of women (e.g. issues concerning the definition of women's class positions and their varying labour market attachment). While most recent studies incorporate women to some extent, there has been no extensive piece of work like Payne and Abbott's "The Social Mobility of Women" (1990) in nearly two decades. Questions raised back then (most importantly whether our understanding of mobility would be considerably different if women's mobility was as well researched as male mobility) are still valid today.

To sum up, class analysis in the UK (especially in the 1980s and 1990s) has been dominated by a focus on intergenerational mobility in terms of relative mobility rates, while ignoring absolute as well as intra-generational mobility, and has primarily investigated male mobility. These shortcomings raise the question whether our understanding of social mobility would change substantially (or would at least be reformed partially) through a renewed interest in a) absolute mobility b) intra-generational mobility c) mobility of men and women.

This paper seeks to address these questions by focusing on absolute intra-generational mobility of men and women. It summarizes findings on patterns of work-life mobility and effects of socio-economic variables on trajectories. It thereby represents one of the first attempts of this kind investigating class trajectories holistically, while also addressing concerns of intergenerational mobility research. The analysis employs sequence analysis to examine work histories, but also uses more orthodox regression techniques. The paper is structured as follows: firstly, data and methodology will be discussed briefly. Secondly, career patterns for men and women will be described. Each section contains graphs visualising career patterns and tables describing career patterns in relation to socio-economic variables. Thirdly, results from multinomial logit models for career patterns as dependent variable will be discussed, demonstrating the impact of class background, education and age.

### **Nina Kahma**

*'How Finns talk about and what makes them identify with class'*

In the media discussion in Finland talk about social classes has been reduced to observations on that all the Finns would belong to the middleclass(-es).

- The predominant middle-classiness is therefore an interesting phenomenon, that the very middle class, that is talked about, is rarely defined or outlined.

- At the same time talk about growing inequalities has increased in the media

The discussion is based on interviews and on survey data.

Survey data from the project "Cultural capital and social differentiation in contemporary Finland" (2007) (Random sample of 3000 persons aged 18 to 74. Response rate of 46.3 percent, altogether 1388 returned questionnaires. The survey consisted of questions concerning different areas of culture, taste and lifestyle.)

25 interviews:

- 19 interviewees chose middle class in the survey (13 mere middle class, 2 lower, 4 upper)
- 4 chose working class
- 2 chose "none of the above"
- In the interviews the concept of class was usually brought up by the interviewer. Only a few of the interviewees used the concept of class spontaneously as an adjective in describing their childhood homes
- Most say, they had never talked about the class issue at home
- Most say, they have sometimes thought about it
- Great difficulties in talking about class, defining class and justifying the "subjective class position" marked in the interviews
- Insecurities on the possible options to choose from
- The conversation was sometimes momentarily drying out when class was brought up
- In spite of the difficulties the class topic was usually discussed thoroughly
- The intensity of identifying with class among the Finns
- The interviewees could normally choose a suitable class from the given options
- Awareness of some sort of class structure
- No strong class identification in the sense of political class consciousness

Although over 80 % of survey respondents could name a class they identify with, the divisions between classes are not too clear

- Finns do talk about classes when they are asked to, but there are some difficulties
- According to the interviews, class division is not seen as very steep. Clear class consciousness could not be detected; instead the Finns are aware that classes do exist, but the division between the classes is not that clear.- Identification with different classes could be explained with some of the sociodemographic factors, especially those concerning educational, occupational and income differences but also differences in father's occupational status
- Political or cultural divisions are rarely mentioned when talking about class differences

- It was emphasized in the interviews, that a special character of the middle class was not rising to the barricades

- Difficulties in detecting/articulating the cultural differences?

### **José Virgílio Pereira**

*Social divisions and family reproduction in a 'field' determined by construction industry".*

Over thirty years ago, that which was to be, in my opinion, one of the most stimulating and creative phases in the consolidation of Portuguese sociology, was initiated. With the purpose of studying the processes of rural land tenancy and their relevance in the complex modernization processes of economic and social activity in Portugal, the Portuguese northwest, the Penafiel municipality and Fonte Arcada were gradually seen as an empirical context of reference for detailed sociological research, given their particularly strong dynamics with regard to tenancy. The importance of this context and how it was worked from a sociological point of view are well-known in Portuguese sociology<sup>1</sup>. However, and taking advantage of the dynamics generated by the effort to revisit sociologically the parish between 2005 and 2007, what did we actually find in Fonte Arcada and, in light of previous references, what was reproduced and what had changed? Following a perspective based on two of the most important theoretical contributions from the original sociological studies accomplished, I will seek to answer questions derived from the sociology of social classes and from symbolical-ideological practices. I will however need to be highly selective and brief in the degree to which I will provide answers to the questions. Given the perspective explored here, the answers imply three major analytical moments. In a first moment, following the guidelines underlying the approach developed originally and which is now retaken, I aim to identify the configuration of the field of social classes in Fonte Arcada, in 1977-78 (to go); in a second stage, a portrait is drafted of the most relevant properties in the process of class formation in the Sousa Valley region and Penafiel over the last thirty years (to frame); and, in a third stage, the main outlines of the social divisions in Fonte Arcada in 2007 are highlighted, and their relationship, only exploratory at this stage, with the social reproduction strategies of families (to return)

### **Simone Scherger and Mike Savage**

*Cultural transmission, educational attainment and social mobility*

During the past two decades major advances have been made in comprehending both the scale and extent of mobility in the UK, and its core economic and social dimensions. There is now a widespread recognition that there can be general stability over time in the relative chances of children from different social classes in moving into the most attractive occupational positions, at the same time that occupational change allows a considerable amount of mobility because it brings about more "room at the top" (Goldthorpe 1980 and 1987; Marshall et al. 1997; Goldthorpe and Jackson 2007). There has, however, been considerable uncertainty in examining the cultural dimensions of mobility, including both the effect of mobility on cultural practices and tastes, and the role of cultural processes themselves in affecting mobility outcomes. This issue is linked to the existence of unresolved theoretical issues in the study of mobility which pit rational action approaches against those who argue for the importance of cultural capital as a key force in the structuring of social mobility (see Goldthorpe 2007a and b; Savage et al. 2005; 2007). This uncertainty also bears on the analysis of the role of educational attainment as a key mediator of social mobility, given current debate about its significance as a lever for upward mobility (consider the contrasting arguments of Marshall et al. 1997; Goldthorpe and Jackson 2007), and especially on

the question of whether the role of educational qualifications in affecting life chances is to be understood as evidence of meritocracy or the power of cultural capital.

Our paper uses the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) Taking Part-Survey conducted in 2005 and 2006, to deliver the most comprehensive study of the relationship between parental cultural practices and respondents' social mobility in contemporary Britain. The Taking Part-Survey contains an extensive battery of questions on social and cultural engagement, and data not just on the occupational class of the respondent's father, but also on cultural activities encouraged by parents or other adults when the respondents were growing up. This makes it a rich survey to analyse since it allows us to assess how socialisation into cultural activities may have an effect on both educational attainment and social mobility. We thus have the unusual scope to unpack the dynamic of those cultural processes which might structure social mobility.

The first part of our paper examines how social mobility researchers have reflected on the significance of cultural processes. We take up the discussion around cultural capital, merit, education and mobility, and report the results of studies that have been carried out in this field so far. The second part of our paper reviews the nature of the Taking Part dataset, and explains the selection of our variables. In the third section we examine the extent of parental socialisation and its association with age and class. In the subsequent fourth part of the paper, we demonstrate that cultural socialisation has a major impact on educational attainment, over and above the effect of class. Finally, the fifth part shows that parental encouragement and socialisation into cultural activities also have a marked effect on the prospects of upward mobility for the working and intermediate classes, even when controlling for educational attainment, gender, ethnicity and age. The same applies to the prevention of downward mobility for service class children. In the sixth and last section we finish with some conclusions regarding whether our results can be taken to indicate the existence of parental cultural capital as a significant feature in the shaping of children's mobility prospects.

**Bruno Monteiro**

*Communist conversions*

**Morten Kyed:**

*"Tales from the field" "Capturing class"*

**Mike Savage (& Modesto Gayo-Cal not present)**

*Against the omnivore: assemblages of contemporary musical taste in the United Kingdom*

Abstract: This paper offers a comprehensive analysis of the structure of British musical taste, drawing on the unusually detailed survey questions and in-depth interviews carried out as part of the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion project in 2003-04. Using cluster analysis, multinomial regression, and multiple correspondence analysis, the paper demonstrates that there is a major partition between those attracted to popular music, and those who prefer classical, jazz, or country music, which is primarily related to age divisions. More specifically, the analysis disputes that the concept of the "cultural omnivore" is a valuable tool for understanding musical taste. We show that the considerable interest in a genre of "light classical" music, which embraces easy listening, but not esoteric, forms of classical music, means that we should no longer view a taste for classical music as necessarily "highbrow". Once this point is recognised, most measures of the "cultural

omnivore" become problematic. The paper concludes by emphasising the need to recognise the continued importance of powerful, contested musical enthusiasms in contemporary cultural life.

**Jacob Skjøtt-Larsen (& Lars Skov Henriksen not present)**

*"Exploring the Social Differentiation of Trust and Networks: Combining Multiple Correspondence Analysis with In-Depth Interviews"*

This paper presents some preliminary research results and a strategy for combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a study on the social differentiation of trust. The paper is written in relation to an ongoing research project intended to investigate the interrelationships between different forms of trust, different types of networking/participation, and inequality in resources. In many contemporary studies trust is heralded for its beneficial effects at the individual level as well as at the collective level. Trust, however, comes in many forms and may have different sources, functions and effects. Drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984) as well some more recent contributions within this line of research, we will explore how different forms of trust are related (or opposed) to each other, how different patterns of trust are related to habitual dispositions and inequality in resources, and finally how boundaries of trust are drawn by different social groups. Making a distinction between trust towards generalized others; trust in institutions and trust/attachment to locality we expect to find specific forms of trust to be produced within particular social settings (related to specific social conditions). Also, we believe that the limits of trust towards institutions, generalized others as well as specific groups are to be understood as the product of a collective boundary making process that takes place within social groups. Thus, in contrast to much existing research on trust, which focuses on causal mechanisms at an aggregate level, we want to disaggregate the analysis and focus on the social differentiation of forms of trust, the relation of trust to other resources as well as on the boundaries of trust and possible consequences for those who are not trusted.

**Elizabeth Silva, Alan Warde and David Wright:**

*Using mixed methods for analysing culture: The Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion project* (Forthcoming: Cultural Sociology, 3(2) June 2009.)

This paper discusses the use of material generated in a mixed method investigation into cultural tastes and practices, conducted in Britain from 2003 to 2006, which employed a survey, focus groups and household interviews. The study analysed the patterning of cultural life across a number of fields, enhancing the empirical and methodological template provided by Bourdieu's Distinction. Here we discuss criticisms of Bourdieu emerging from subsequent studies of class, culture and taste, outline the arguments related to the use of mixed methods and present illustrative results from the analysis of these different types of data. We discuss how the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods informed our analysis of cultural life in contemporary Britain. No single method was able to shed light on all aspects of our inquiry, lending support to the view that mixing methods is the most productive strategy for the investigation of complex social phenomena.

**Riie Heikkilä and Camilla Kennedy Harper**

*Investigating personal taste and class using interviews - A methodological comparison between British and Finnish qualitative data*

This paper draws on qualitative data from two very different countries in what comes to class and lifestyle: Britain and Finland. The British data is comprised by 33 personal interviews conducted among "Tate Members", middle class enthusiasts of art recruited and interviewed at the Tate Gallery. The Finnish data consists of 25 personal "follow-up" interviews for a national survey, and therefore the participants form a heterogeneous group from all around Finland. We focus our comparison on the talk on taste and class and the challenges on researching it through personal interviews.

The structures of the British and Finnish interviews differ notably both in topics and in style, but in both interviews, class and taste were discussed. In this article, we focus our comparison on the talk on class and taste, and the challenges on researching it through personal interviews. Class was a difficult topic in both studies and it was discussed on many overlapping levels both inside and outside the actual framework of the interview. In this paper we give special emphasis on "situated generated information" (Silva and Wright 2005 : 4) that our research produced: how should the off-tape or extra-textual material be taken into account?

After sketching our theoretical framework, we go through our data sets and then proceed to comparing them from our point of view. Our aim is to show how personal taste and class position is revealed in private, personal interviews and what things affect that.

### **Gitte Sommer Harrits**

*"Praxeological knowledge and the combination of research strategies: Causal mechanisms and/or double hermeneutics?"*

This paper discusses the combination of research strategies and methods in light of the basic problem of double hermeneutics, i.e. the problem of analysing and interpreting human and social life, which in some ways is already interpreted by the social actors themselves. The point of departure is the concept of praxeological knowledge suggested by Pierre Bourdieu, which intends to bridge the gap between an objectivist and a subjectivist or phenomenological position. Following Bachelard, Bourdieu suggests that a research process must always start by breaking with common sense. This epistemological break involves posing a research question, and subsequently (as the second step) constructing the social as an object, utilizing different research methods and techniques. However, this first break and the objectivist construction is not enough. Thus, the research process must include a second break with the implicit realism of the structure, reflecting an awareness of the distance between science and praxis. This results in a double perspective on social and human life, holding together the *opus operatum* and the *modus operandi*, and methodologically it involves the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Illustrating the research strategy of praxeological knowledge, the paper discusses a research project analysing class differences in political participation.

### **Tony Bennett**

*Culture/Power/Knowledge: Between Foucault and Bourdieu*

What are the contrasting implications of the work of Bourdieu and Foucault for the place of culture within an analytics of power? Is anything to be gained from trying to work a way between them to see if drawing elements from both might enrich our understanding of the ways in which culture forms a part of the mechanisms through which power is exercised? Without aspiring to some impossible grand synthesis between two such sharply different bodies theory, I seek to identify

where their insights might be mobilised in a complementary fashion. I look first at Bourdieu's suggestion that Foucault's concept of the "field of strategic possibilities" might be likened to his own account of the "space of possibles", only then to be chastised as idealist for its failure to anchor the organisation of discursive possibilities in an objective social structure. I show why this is an illegitimate comparison which fails to take account of the respects in which the regularities and dispersions Foucault attributes to the organisation of discourse cannot be assimilated to Bourdieu's accounts of the relational struggles between agents within fields. I also point to the respects in which Foucault's work on governmentality and his conception of the relations between technologies of the self and technologies of power provide an alternative to the concept of habitus as, for Bourdieu, the key "hinge" between the organisation of social relationship and the cultural aspects of personhood. I then turn to the different accounts that are on offer from within Bourdieusian and Foucauldian frameworks regarding the role that varied forms of cultural knowledge and expertise play in relation to the operation of power at the conjunctions of cultural and social practices.

**Frederic Lebaron & al.**

*"The space of cultural practices in France. Some investigations based on GDA."*

The presentation was based on a survey on household living conditions in 2003. The goal was to gain a better knowledge of cultural and sportive activities through detailed information on households and individuals through a geometric.