Ethnography

www.sagepublications.com Vol 5(4): 387–414[DOI: 10.1177/1466138104052259]

Following Pierre Bourdieu into the field

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ABSTRACT ■ Attending to Bourdieu's early field studies conducted concurrently in colonial Algeria and in his childhood village of Béarn in southwestern France sets his scientific approach and output into a new light: it reveals the twinned ethnographic roots of his theoretical enterprise; it dissolves the caricatural figure of the 'reproduction theorist' oblivious to historical change; and it dispels the academic fiction of the 'practice theorist' by displaying how Bourdieu's conceptual innovations (such as the reintroduction of habitus) were driven by questions of field research centered on social transformation, cultural disjuncture, and the fissuring of consciousness. Using each site as a living laboratory to cross-analyze the other enabled Bourdieu to discover the specificity of the 'universally prelogical logic of practice' and led him to break out of the structuralist paradigm. It also stimulated him to translate his existential disquiet with the scholastic posture into a methodical return onto the operations and tools of objectivation that evolved into his trademark stance of epistemic reflexivity. Recoupling his youthful inquiries in Kabylia and Béarn further reveals how, foreshadowing the 'repatriation' of anthropology after the close of the imperial age, Bourdieu revoked the dominant conception of ethnography as a heroic exploration of otherness and pioneered multi-sited ethnography as a means for controlling the construction of the object. Bourdieu's paired field studies of social structure and sentiment in the far-away colony and the mother-country not only efface in practice the disciplinary division between sociology and anthropology. They demonstrate that one can conduct 'insider

ethnography' and acknowledge the social embeddedness and split subjectivity of the inquirer without reducing ethnography to story-telling and forsaking social theory for poetry. Indeed, the 'participant objectivation' that Bourdieu sought to achieve and exemplify in his linked trans-Mediterranean investigations aimed to buttress the scientific underpinnings of fieldwork and points up his conception of social science as an instrument of self-appropriation.

KEY WORDS ■ Bourdieu, ethnography, Algeria, Béarn, peasantry, contradiction, habitus, multi-sited field research, revisits, reflexivity, self-appropriation

> The ethnosociologist is a sort of organic intellectual of humankind who, as collective agent, can contribute to denaturalizing and defatalizing human existence by putting her competency at the service of a universalism rooted in the understanding of particularisms. (Pierre Bourdieu, 'Entre amis', 1997)

Perhaps due to his towering stature as a social theorist, Pierre Bourdieu is rarely regarded as a major practitioner of and contributor to the ethnographic craft.[1] Yet a cursory survey of his publications readily reveals that fieldwork played an integral role in his early studies of both colonial Algeria and his home region of rural Béarn no less than in his mature dissection of taste and in his late investigations of the novel forms of social domination and desolation wrought upon advanced society by the neoliberal revolution; that his variegated inquiries into education, art, class, language, gender, the economy, and the state are laden with close-up observation in real time and space (not to mention an exacting sociological resifting of his personal experiences); and that an ethnographic sensibility animates even his most abstract writings on intellectuals, reason, and justice.[2]

An attentive reading of Bourdieu's youthful writings in their sociobiographical and intellectual contexts discloses much more. It demonstrates, first, that it is first-hand exposure to the ghastly realities of imperial rule and warfare that moved Bourdieu to convert from the lofty and socially anodyne discipline of philosophy to the lowly and politically perilous one of social science – at a time when, for a top graduate of the École normale supérieure, opting to become a sociologist was akin to vowing to join France's intellectual outcaste (Bourdieu, 2004a: 27–30, 51–3, and 2004b). It is in the Algerian crucible that Bourdieu's *libido philosophica* was unexpectedly diverted and irreversibly transmuted into the *libido sociologica* that would fuel his lifelong pursuit of a science of practice and symbolic power. Bourdieu's anthropological vocation crystallized, and his hands-on

training in empirical research was literally begotten, 'in the field', as the expression goes, that is, through sustained immersion into the everyday realities of an anxious society caught in the throes of dying colonialism, surging nationalism, and the chaos born of their inevitable conflagration.

Returning to Bourdieu's early ethnographic forays also suggests that the queer 'epistemological experiment' he carried out in 1959–61 (Bourdieu, 1972: 222), which consisted in conducting concurrent and parallel fieldwork on a distant and exotic world – the Kabyle of colonial Algeria – and on a close and familiar one – his own childhood village in southwestern France – was crucial to the two moves that subsequently came to define his entire scientific enterprise. First, using each site as a living laboratory to cross-analyze the other enabled him to discover the specificity of the 'universally prelogical logic of practice' and to initiate the decisive break out of the structuralist paradigm by shifting his analytic focus 'from structure to strategy', from the mechanical mental algebra of cultural rules to the fluid symbolic gymnastics of socialized bodies (Bourdieu, 1980/1990: 37, 1985/1990). Second, turning his ethnological gaze back onto his native world stimulated Bourdieu to translate his existential disquiet with the 'scholastic posture', rooted in the anti-intellectualist dispositions inherited from his upbringing in a subordinate class and ethnoregional position,[3] into a methodical reflection on the act of objectivation itself, its techniques and its social conditions, that paved the way for elaborating and deploying the stance of *epistemic reflexivity* that is the trademark of his work and teaching (Bourdieu, 2003a; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 36–47, 202–15).

Social rupture and cultural disjuncture in Kabylia and Béarn

Next, attending to his youthful field studies sets the whole of Bourdieu's intellectual approach and output into a new light. It definitively dissolves the *caricatural figure of the 'reproduction theorist'* (still current in some sectors of sociology and education in particular, e.g. Archer, 1993; Sayer, 1999; Kingston, 2001) oblivious to historical change and unable to capture social contradiction in his conceptual net. For the author of *Algeria 1960* developed his core concerns and notions in an effort to expose the dynamic forces tearing at the social and mental fabric of the village community in which he grew up and coalescing in the violent overturning of the caste society of colonial Algeria.[4]

Bourdieu's investigations as an apprentice ethnosociologist deal squarely with cultural disjuncture, social disruption, and structural rupture at levels ranging from the individual to the societal, and in temporalities spanning the biographical to the epochal. His first empirically based essays tackle 'The Clash of Civilizations' and 'War and Social Mutation in Algeria' in the

longue durée of colonization as well as the transition 'From Revolutionary War to Revolution' (Bourdieu, 1959, 1960, 1962a) ushered in this country inside of a short dramatic decade. His first two major books, written near-simultaneously after an intensive period of research mating statistical survey and ethnography, *The Uprooting* (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964) and *Work and Workers in Algeria* (Bourdieu et al., 1963), deal with the two sides of the same cataclysmic transformation: the first depicts the accelerating destruction of the Algerian peasantry under the press of land spoliation, the commodification of social relations, and the forced resettlement of millions imposed by the French military in its hopeless effort to contain the nationalist insurgency; the second maps out the formation and the rising chasm between the stable industrial proletariat and the shiftless subproletariat condemned to the economy of misery of the street and the 'traditionalism of despair' that makes it susceptible to all manners of political manipulation. These two processes converge to foster the emergence of an 'agriculture without agriculturalists' and of 'cities without urbanites', leaving an entire people suspended, as it were, in the cracks of history, 'floating between two cultures' (Bourdieu, 1962a: 6, 2000b) in a society layered with contradictions and stamped by ambiguity, oscillation, and anxiety.[5]

Indeed, the three theoretical questions that preoccupied Bourdieu in his early investigations of Algeria were (1) what are the means, mechanisms, and effects of the shift from a precapitalist to a capitalist economy; (2) how does this shift manifest itself in the changing consciousness and mental categories of those swept up in it, and particularly in their conception of time and their emotive conduct; and (3) which of the two popular classes, industrial workers and the peasantry, is primed to act as a revolutionary force in the (post)colonial setting; and can one validate there the classic differentiation between proletariat and subproletariat? The first two issues derived from his abiding interest in the Weber-Sombart debate on the rise of capitalism and the rationalization of behavior associated with it, and in the transposition of this problematic to the imperial context, as well as from his philosophical infatuation with the phenomenology of time (prior to crossing the Mediterranean, Bourdieu had planned to do his thesis in the history of science under Georges Canguilhem on 'the temporal structures of affective life').[6] The last query aimed to answer with the cool tools of science the burning question that animated the revolutionary intelligentsia during the 1960s from Jean-Paul Sartre to Frantz Fanon, namely, the choice between the Soviet and the Chinese road to revolution in the Third World (Bourdieu, 1977/1979: 1–7 and 92–4, 2000a: 7). Not exactly staple themes and core schemes of 'reproduction theory'!

Similarly, Bourdieu's ethnographic essays from the early 1960s dispel the academic *fiction of the 'practice theorist'* – often seen riding, Don-Quixote-style, alongside his sidekicks Anthony Giddens, Marshall Sahlins, and

Michel de Certeau, to fight the windmills of structuralism, phenomenology, and Marxism (e.g., Knauft, 1996: 110–15; Ortner, 1996: 2–12) – by displaying how Bourdieu's conceptual innovations were driven by practical questions of field research and not by the desire to resolve scholastic puzzles, such as the hallowed antinomy of 'structure and agency' or the kindred opposition between 'structure and event'. For neither of these dualities were constituted as such in the intellectual field in the 1960s, when Bourdieu groped for and then laid the lineaments of his approach to practice.[7] His distinctive mode of sociological reasoning crystallized through the construction of concrete empirical objects, and not through the kind of theoretical parthogenesis relayed in retrospective accounts 'inspired by pedagogical rather than scientific ends' that confuse the real articulations of the research enterprise with the 'indefinite reelaboration of theoretical elements artificially extracted from a select corpus of authorities' assimilating social theory to a modern-day progeny of 'medieval compilations' (Bourdieu et al., 1968/1991: 28). Moreover, when he drew on his store of philosophical tools or reconverted philosophical questions into observational experiments, Bourdieu thought as much *with* the main theoretical currents of his youth as *against* them, as revealed for instance by his double-sided relationship to and uses of phenomenology.[8]

Thus Bourdieu (re)introduced the old Aristotelian-Thomist notion of *habitus* in the 1962 article probing 'The Relations Between the Sexes in the Peasant Society' of Béarn (Bourdieu, 1962c), not to provide a lynchpin in the process of social reproduction or to throw off the yoke of structuralism (which he had yet to harness fully, cf. Bourdieu, 1968), but to describe the traumatic disjuncture between the embodied abilities and expectations of rural men and those of their womenfolk who, being more open to the cultural influences of the city, had come to perceive and assess these men through urban lenses that radically devalued their ways, thus making them 'unmarriageable'. He used it at about the same time in *The Uprooting* to refer to the 'general and permanent disposition toward the world and towards others' (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964: 102) that led displaced *fellahin*' to cling to their inherited values in the resettlement camps where the Algerian peasant 'no longer ha[d] the possibility of behaving like a peasant', and to transcribe 'the language of the body' in which the 'sense of loss and mislaying' of a people brutally thrown off its 'temporal and spatial rhythms' found its most vivid expression (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964: 154–9). Habitus is the *mediating category*, straddling the divide between the objective and the subjective, that enabled Bourdieu to capture and depict the troubled and double-sided world of crumbling colonial Algeria. In this turbid world, social and mental structures were not only out of kilter with each other but also themselves composed of a motley mixture of ingrown tradition and colonial imposition, and the strategies of the autochthons prone to vacillating between two

antinomic principles, the logic of honor, kinship, and group solidarity, on the one side, and the press of individual interest, market relations, and material profit, on the other. Deracinated peasants and urban subproletarians were thus revealed to be bifurcated beings, disoriented and discultured by the combined experience of war and the capsizing of established social relations.

> In all realms of existence, at all levels of experience, one finds the same successive or simultaneous contradictions, the same ambiguities. The patterns of behavior and the economic ethos imported by colonization coexist inside of each subject with the patterns and ethos inherited from ancestral tradition. It follows that behaviors, attitudes, or opinions appear as fragments of an unknown language, as incomprehensible to someone who does not know the cultural language of the tradition as to someone who refers only to the cultural language of colonization. Sometimes it is the words of the traditional language that are combined according to the modern syntax, sometimes the opposite, and sometimes it is the syntax itself that appears as the product of a combination. (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964/2004: 464)

The concept of habitus, integrating the notion of *hysteresis* (i.e., the temporal lag between the exertion of a social force and the deployment of its effects through the retarding intercession of embodiment) and the sequential sedimentation of acquired capacities and proclivities over time, also allowed Bourdieu to stress how the colonial system lives in and through the discordant dispositions and jumbled expectations it instils in its subjects – and how it would thus outlive the ending of French rule and the establishment of an independent Algerian state.[9]

If Bourdieu's ethnosociology of the 'societal surgery' attempted by France in its cross-Mediterranean colony gives a central place to incongruent logics of action, to the multiple templates and temporalities through which diverse communities and agents responded to colonial incursion and war,[10] his monograph on the 'social mutilation' of forced bachelorhood in his home village of Southwestern France is similarly focused on historical crisis, structural change, and the discrepancies between objective chances and subjective hopes that issue from and then feed into the unraveling of the established system of matrimonial exchanges. Whereas in the Atlas mountains it is French imperialism that put an end to the relative autotelic perpetuation of the resilient communities of Kabylia, in the Pyrénées massif it is the generalization of schooling, the disproportionate exodus of women, and the opening of the countryside to the influence of cities (propelled by the cultural-cum-economic center and relayed by the local market-town), that upended the time-honored arrangements between the sexes and, by the same token, rendered 'reproduction impossible' – to invoke the pointed title of Bourdieu's 1989 analytical revisit of this youthful research.

Remarkably, in Béarn as in Algeria, Bourdieu (1962b, 2002: 113) articulates the same problematic of the 'clash of civilizations' and its multi-sided impacts on social structure and subjectivity, including the 'dedoubling of consciousness and conduct' according to the conflictive principles of sentiment and interest, the erosion of traditional hierarchies and authorities (based on lineage, age, and gender), and the recursive relationship between the devolution of customary social units, the unleashing of individual competition, and the skewing of social strategies.[11] In Bourdieu's youthful usage, 'clash of civilizations' meant the confrontation between two social systems locked in asymmetrical relations of material and symbolic power. It was intended to counter the hegemonic view of socioeconomic development in the emerging Third World as a gradual, quasi-organic, teleological process propelled mainly by cultural diffusion – as in the 'modernization theory' of Daniel Lerner excoriated in *Algeria 1960* (Bourdieu, 1977/1979: 30–2; see also Bourdieu, 1975 for an extended critique). From his very first writings, Bourdieu opposed such a benign notion of 'acculturation' and stressed that the colonial system is founded on 'the relation of force whereby the dominant caste maintains the dominated caste under its rule' and keeps it locked in a situation of collective 'humiliation' (Bourdieu, 1958/1962, 1961: 28–9).[12] As his later writings on language and regional identity would make clear, in Bourdieu's (1977a, 1982/1991: 43–89, 220–8) view a similar relation of economic penetration and cultural subordination between the Parisian center and the provincial periphery obtained in France via the agency of the state: the multisecular deployment of the bureaucratic state effected the forced unification of linguistic usages and created an official language used as yardstick to purge not just local idioms but all cultural particularisms. This resulted in the devaluation of 'popular ways of speaking' inflected by class and ethnicity and of the lifestyles associated with them, through the negative sanctions of the nationalized school system and labor market, amplified by a suffusive feeling of cultural indignity in the provinces (which Bourdieu felt keenly as a *béarnais* transplanted in Paris during his student days).[13]

The analyses of 'The Peasant and his Body' (Bourdieu, 1962/2004) and 'The Peasant and Photography' (Bourdieu and Bourdieu, 1965/2004) in Béarn can be read as trans-Mediterranean empirical variations on, and structural variants of, the themes of honor, morality, and solidarity that run through Bourdieu's (1964, 1965, 1970) classic essays on Kabyle culture. Both stress the social embeddedness and consequentiality of categories of judgment as well as the meshing of ethics and aesthetics in everyday life. Both spotlight the role of shame, that self-defeating emotion that arises when the dominated come to perceive themselves through the eyes of the dominant, that is, are made to experience their own ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving as degraded and degrading.

> The judgement of the peasant upon himself is no less ambivalent than that which he passes upon the town-dweller and the civil servant. Pride in self, tied to scorn for the urbanite, coexists within him, if not with the shame of self, at least with an acute consciousness of his deficiencies and his limits. If they take the town-dweller as target for their irony at every turn they can, that is, when they are several together or among themselves, they are rather embarrassed, awkward, and respectful when they encounter him one on one. It is revealing that the most appreciated jokes have for theme the clumsiness and the ridiculeness of the peasant, and particularly of the peasant among the urbanites. (Bourdieu, 1962b, 2002: 105–6)

The diminishing cohesiveness of the local society determines as well as expresses at the collective level the fission of peasant subjectivity. The latter explains, for instance, that, although they are vastly predominant demographically, the farmers and farm workers of Béarn always elect to local positions of authority the doctors, schoolteachers, city clerks, and big landowners who possess the very species of capital they lack. The enveloping consciousness of this lack redoubles the lack and magnifies its impact.[14] Along with the social ecology and morphology of their communities, the radical expropriation of peasants from their means of symbolic production saddles them with a 'fundamentally heteronomous identity' that makes them the prototypical 'object class', a 'class-for-others', compelled 'to form its own subjectivity' through 'the gaze and judgement of outsiders' (Bourdieu, 1977b: 4–5, 2002: 249–59), rather than a mere aggregate of materially isolated households as with Marx's proverbial 'sack of potatoes'.

The rural society of Bourdieu's native Southwest turns out to be no less shot through with ambivalence and oscillation between antagonistic systems of values than the deserted villages and booming shantytowns of war-torn Algeria. Bourdieu even uses the same conceptual neologism of 'dispeasanted peasants' and 'empeasanted peasants' – an analytic construct derived from the Béarn folk notion of '*paysanas empaysannit*' (Bourdieu, 1962b, 2002: 53) – to characterize two diverging categories of agents stripped from or pathologically entrenched in traditional cultural forms in the far-away colony as in his home region.[15] And he assigns social science the same mission in both research projects and sites. At the opening of Part 2 of *Work and Workers in Algeria*, Bourdieu writes in energetic defense of fieldwork in the colonial context: 'What we may demand in all rigor of the anthropologist is that he strive to restore to other people the meaning of their behaviors, of which the colonial system has, among other things, dispossessed them' (Bourdieu et al., 1963: 259). The closing sentence of Bourdieu's ethnography of his childhood village in Béarn assigns sociology 'the task of restoring to those people the meaning of their actions' (Bourdieu, 1962b, 2002: 128).

From participant observation to participant objectivation

As this special issue of *Ethnography* demonstrates, Bourdieu's paired field studies of Kabylia and Béarn gain greatly from being read together, or better yet across one another. Their (re)coupling spotlights the fact that they were conceived and carried out as the two moments of a single bold experiment in social-scientific reflexivity and, in so doing, helps us track the *twinned ethnographic rooting of Bourdieu's theoretical enterprise* on the two sides of the Mediterranean. It also sets into relief three innovations that constitute striking practical anticipations of methodological issues and trends that have become central to field inquiry some three decades later.

First, by 'doing a *Tristes Tropiques* in reverse', as he liked to say, Bourdieu overturns the undiscussed presumption, congenital to the craft, that one must necessarily be socially distant and culturally different from those whom one studies in order to carry out valid participant observation. By pursuing Kabyle queries in the Béarn countryside of his youth, he revokes the dominant conception of ethnography as a 'heroized journey into Otherness', and with it 'the hierarchy of field sites [that] privileges those places most Other from Euro-Americans' (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 16, 17), long before this conception became suspect and unfashionable among professional field researchers – even as it continues to govern their practice. That this was no accidental slippage is confirmed by the fact that this presumption is methodically overturned again 20 years later in *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu, 1984/1988: esp. xi–xvi, 1–11) and then violated another decade hence by the design of the team ethnography of social suffering in postindustrial France led by Bourdieu – a study whose thematics and aim are in manifold ways evocative of *Work and Workers in Algeria*.[16] In *The Weight of the World*, the contributing field researchers were expressly instructed to diagnose up-close the predicament of persons and positions with whom they were intimately familiar, so as to minimize the symbolic violence inherent in the relation of ethnographic communication and to foster the 'generic and genetic comprehension' of each informant 'based on a (practical and theoretical) grasp of the social conditions of which she is the product' (Bourdieu et al., 1993/1998: 609–13).[17]

Second, by applying the tools of ethnographic objectivation to his native world, Bourdieu foreshadows the 'repatriation' of anthropology fostered by the closing of the imperial age and the accelerating transnational circulation of people, commodities, and signs that have eroded the boundary between the West and the Rest over the past quarter-century (Peirano, 1998). His return home, however, is not predicated on the simple cross-cultural *juxtaposition* of foreign and domestic realities, as in the classic works of the mid-century school of culturalism,[18] or on the soothing *separation* of

(post)colonial and metropolitan problematics that has recently characterized the 'second projects' of scholars drawn back to their national societies by 'undisguised passion, identification, or some clear personal connection' (Marcus, 1998: 239). It rests instead on their close linking and *mutual questioning in the very production and interpretation of field data*: Bourdieu carried out his initial observation of Algeria and Béarn jointly during 1959–61; he worked on the resulting materials simultaneously throughout the 1960s; and he rewrote both side by side into his first full-fledged statement of his theoretical framework, *Le Sens pratique* (Bourdieu, 1980/1990: 145–99).

By thus deploying the same instruments of observation and pursuing kindred questions in two communities across vast divides of power and culture, Bourdieu may be seen as an odd precursor of 'multi-sited' ethnography decades before it became identified as a distinctive methodological genre. But his conception and practice of 'multi-sidedness' differs decidedly from the contemporary professional vogue for conducting fieldwork that tracks people and signs across locations and borders, makes connections along vast geographic and institutional scales, and depicts transnational or putatively global phenomena (see Hannerz, 1998; Fischer, 1999; Gille and Ó Riain, 2002, for broad surveys). To start with, Bourdieu practices a multi-sited ethnography solidly grounded in fieldwork in the two places and nourished by the methodical transfer of conceptual schemes and empirical results from the one to the other (see especially Bourdieu, 1966 and 2002: 9–14, 257–9), as distinct from programmatic celebrations of 'the great *potential* of a multi-sited research *imaginary*' (Marcus, 1998: 20, emphasis added) that can invite the hasty collage of vignettes based on travel diaries more than field diaries, rushed reporting instead of systematic first-hand observation.

> When I was in Kabylia, I distrusted the old Kabyles at the same time as I admired them enormously, [laughter] I was thinking to myself: 'But what is he talking about, this old man, with his mustache, about honor?' when the others were saying to me, 'Well you know, he's telling you this story, but when we can manage things, we manage. Every rule has its door (*tabburt*).' And I was thinking to myself: if it was an old Béarnais peasant who was telling this story, what would I make of it? I would take some and leave some. Then I came to think: I am using these Béarnais peasants as an instrument to control the Kabyles, but I need to control my instrument of control.
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> So I undertook a study of Béarn during the same period. Sayad was there. At night we were working on *Le Déracinement* [*The Uprooting*, 1964] and, in the daytime, we would go out and do interviews in the

> Béarn countryside. The idea was to study Béarn, but also to be able to do a comparison between Béarn and Algeria, and especially to study myself, my preconceptions and my presuppositions. . . . This was the same thing with *Homo Academicus*, in which I study the university but wherein I also study myself, since I am a product of the university.
>
> Pierre Bourdieu (2001, in Adnani and Yacine, 2002: 240).

Next, Bourdieu returns to his childhood community of the Pyrénées as the 'second site' of his ethnography of social structure and sentiment to elucidate the tacit (folk) knowledge of the rural lifeworld that he caught himself smuggling into his analyses of Kabylia (Bourdieu, 2002b). The journey home aims to render explicit the implicit comparisons that the budding ethnosociologist was drawing between his originary milieu and the Algerian peasantry in his effort to make sense of the latter's predicament. The principle of selection here is not the connection *between the sites* inscribed in the object itself but the connection of *each site to the investigator*: Béarn is the place where Bourdieu can best submit to ethnographic scrutiny, and thereby bring to reflexive awareness and methodological control, (1) the social unconscious that he is *nolens volens* investing in the elaboration of his Kabyle ethnography and (2) the unseen effects of the operations of ethnographic objectivation itself, for example, the artificial detemporalizing and totalizing effects of genealogical charts to capture kinship relations that are never grasped by agents in such totality and simultaneity (Bourdieu, 1980/1990: 16–17, 162–99). For most of its contemporary practitioners or advocates, multi-sited fieldwork is a means for putting the ethnographer in resonance with the spirit of the age and in a better position to record (and often celebrate) fluidity, hybridity, and multiplicity – of place, scale, culture, and points of view.[19] For Bourdieu, it is an experimental device for practically implementing the principles of applied rationalism: an instrument of 'epistemological vigilance', or what Bachelard (1949: 77–8) calls the 'surveillance of the third degree' that scrutinizes 'not only the application of method but the method itself'. In the former perspective, submission to the phenomenon, or to the image that the phenomenon has imposed of itself (including upon the anthropologist) as translocal, dictates the selection and connection of the sites; in the latter approach, it is the ethnographer who selects a second site as a requirement of method and a resource for self-monitoring and epistemological safeguard.

Bourdieu's Siamese studies of Kabylia and Béarn assume special significance when one considers that the trend toward multi-sited ethnography and concern for the subjectivity of the ethnographer, and thus the value of 'insider ethnography', have been virtually identified with postmodernist and feminist currents that view and wield 'positionality' as the deadly dagger

plunged into the heart of the very idea of social science. For together they demonstrate that one can conduct fieldwork as a self-conscious 'halfie anthropologist' – an investigator 'caught at the intersection of systems of difference' and possessed of 'a blocked ability to comfortably assume the self of anthropology' (Abu-Lughod, 1991: 140 and 1993: 39–40) – as Bourdieu did in both places, without giving up social analysis for story-telling and succumbing to the narcissistic seductions of literary entertainment.[20] One can acknowledge the social rooting and split subjectivity of the ethnographer without reducing ethnography to the rhapsodic evocation of subjectivity, and hence swapping social theory for poetry (Behar, 2003). Indeed, the 'participant objectivation' that Bourdieu sought to achieve and exemplify in his trans-Mediterranean ethnography linking the far-away colony to the mother-country aims not to undermine but to buttress the scientific underpinnings of fieldwork:

> One does not have to choose between participant observation, a necessarily fictitious immersion in a foreign milieu, and the objectivism of the 'gaze from afar' of an observer who remains as remote from himself as from his object. Participant objectivation undertakes to explore not the 'lived experience' of the knowing subject but the social conditions of possibility – and therefore the effects and limits – of that experience and, more precisely, of the act of objectivation itself. It aims at objectivizing the subjective relation to the object which, far from leading to a relativistic and more or less anti-scientific subjectivism, is one of the conditions of genuine scientific objectivity. (Bourdieu, 2003a: 282)

Anthropologizing one's own world, that is, the succession of social matrices from which one is issued, as Bourdieu sought to do through his studies of his childhood village, the higher education system that moulded him, and the very intellectual cosmos in which he had become a central if reluctant protagonist, is the concrete application of his teacher Georges Canguilhem's definition of objectivation as 'an incessant work of desubjectivation'.[21] And it offers an experimental vindication of Bourdieu's view that

> one knows the world better and better as one knows oneself better, that scientific knowledge and knowledge of oneself and of one's own social unconscious advance hand in hand, and that primary experience transformed in and through scientific practice transforms scientific practice and conversely. (Bourdieu, 2003a: 289)

Third, by reexamining the nexus of kinship, gender, and class not only across the Mediterranean but in the same village community at 10- and 30-year intervals, Bourdieu (2002) delivers a rare 'reconstructive revisit', enriched by an 'ethnographic update', in which the field researcher returns to a site already studied to revise a theory initially developed there

(Burawoy, 2003: 653, 646). This revisit is doubly rare in that, unlike Oscar Lewis's historical reconstruction of Redfield's *Tepoztlán*, Annette Weiner's feminist reassessment of Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, or Michael Burawoy's own Marxist reframing of Donald Roy's human-relations approach to exploitation on the industrial shopfloor, in his village of Lasseube Bourdieu reconstructs not the views of an illustrious predecessor or an intellectual rival but *his own theory* of practice. By twice (re)producing the same object according to a more condensed and general set of principles each time, he gives the reader an exceptional window into the fruition of his mode of thinking: a chance to chart the emergence and the effects of the deployment of his distinctive conceptual apparatus; a concrete backdrop against which to differentiate the 'hard core' of his research program from its 'protective belt'; and an empirical benchmark for assessing its 'progressive' character. In short, *Le Bal des célibataires* qualifies as the first Lakatossian ethnography fully vindicating both the constitutive role of theory in ethnography and the special virtues of field revisits.[22]

Thus, in the 1989 reflection upon his earlier dissections of gender relations in the Béarn countryside, Bourdieu (1989, 2002: 213–37) corrects and amplifies several empirical and methodological points made in the 1962 and 1972 pieces. He reformulates and refines with his trademark notions (habitus, capital, field, symbolic violence, doxa, reflexivity) analyses initially couched in a language closer to those of phenomenology and culturalism. And he explicates the theoretical model of 'the unification of the market of symbolic goods' across city and country that 'led to the decline of the ethical autonomy' of the peasant society, and thence to 'the unification of the marriage market' manifested in the scene of the village dance where the local bachelors stand idly on the sidelines because they can neither fathom nor withstand the logic of individual competition for sexual mates. More provocatively still, Bourdieu (2002: 213–19, 225–6, 229–32) suggests that this local gendered phenomenon may be understood under the broader rubric of 'symbolic revolution', with structural parallels in the great social-cum-mental conversions that spawned the worlds of art, politics, and science, as well as drive the labor of group-making.[23]

The wisdom of the ethnographic eye

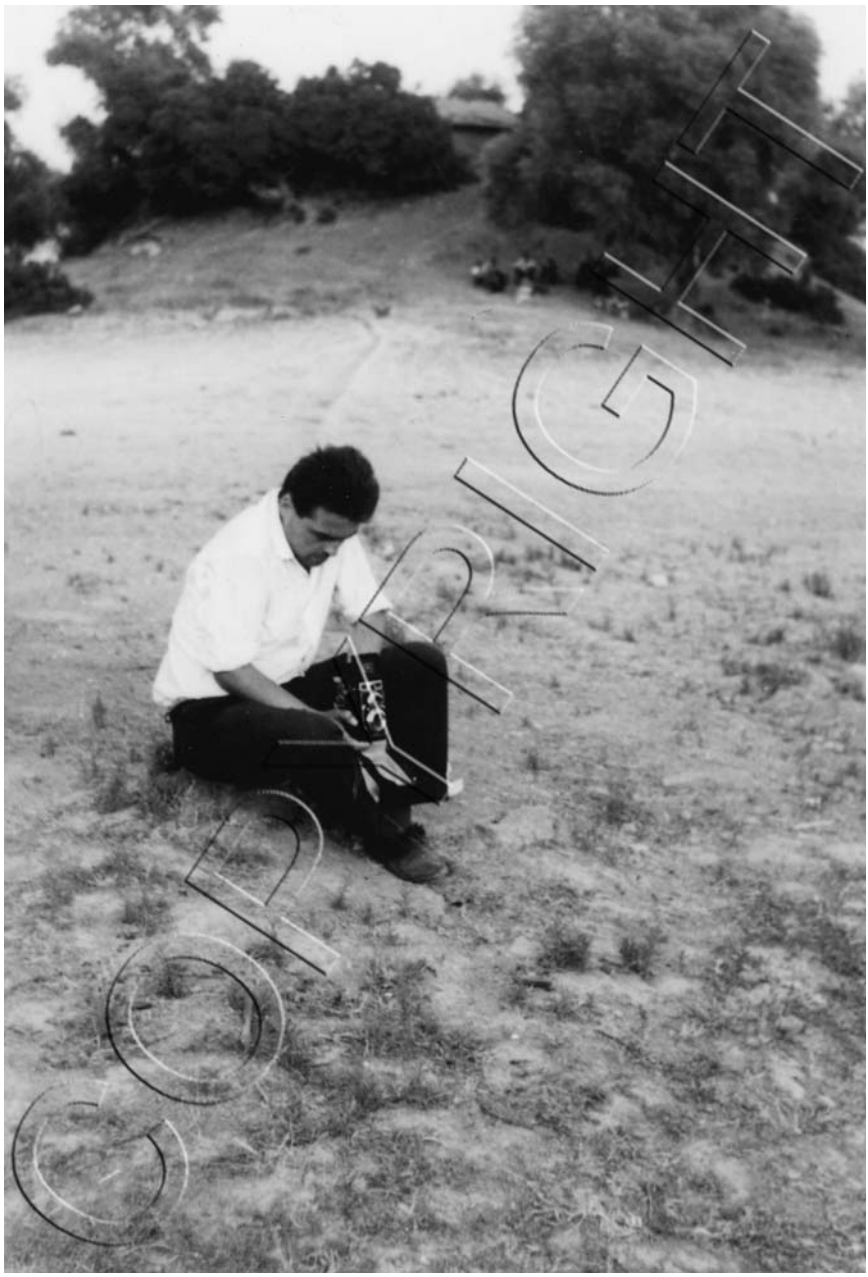
Photography played a major role in Bourdieu's early ethnographic practice, and so this special issue gives pride of place to the pictures he took in 1958–61 in the Algerian countryside and city in the course of his field studies of them. The images that accompany the six texts by Bourdieu are selected from the nearly 1200 photos kept mostly untouched for four decades in school notebooks and shoe boxes at his Pyrénées house, before they were

retrieved in 1999 for purposes of a photographic exhibit on his Algerian period organized at the Kunsthaus of Graz at the behest of the art journal *Camera Austria* and now travelling across Europe (Bourdieu, 2003b).[24]

The young Bourdieu was an avid and savvy photographer with a keen interest in both the technique and the aesthetic of this art form, as amply attested later by the team study of the 'social uses of photography',[25] for which 'The Peasant and Photography' (Bourdieu and Bourdieu, 1965/2004), his inquiry into photographic practice in his home village of Lasseube, served as ethnographic springboard. During his Maghreb stint, he shot thousands of pictures with a Leica and then a Zeiss Ikoflex camera (which he had specifically purchased in Germany and later broke during his only extended US sojourn, at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton in 1972–3) fitted with a viewer on top of the body, which made it possible to take pictures unnoticed by a population unfamiliar with such a contraption. Amidst people threatened not only in their dignity but in their physical integrity, making photographs of them and for them was, 'a way of telling them, "I'm concerned with you, I'm with you, I'm listening to your stories, I will testify to what you are living through" ' (Bourdieu, 2003b: 28). In a society stamped by contentious caste-like divisions, returning to a mountain village or a shanty-town neighborhood to give its residents pictures taken there a few days earlier was one way of firming up contacts, establishing good faith, and eventually gaining entry.

Photography played a triple function in Bourdieu's fieldwork. First, it operated as an efficient recording and storage technique that enabled him to capture and collect large quantities of information in situations of social tension and temporal emergency where it was simply not possible to linger about and carry out minute observation. Many regions of Algeria were officially designated as 'forbidden zones' that one entered only at the risk of being killed by the French army or the nationalist insurgents, and where physical presence was always tenuous and problematic. Interpersonal relations in urban slums were similarly stamped by distrust and danger, due to spying by administrative and police informants, periodic military sweeps (and torture), and intermittent bombings, so that even notetaking was liable to eliciting suspicion until one produced warrants of good faith.[26]

Second, photography served to intensify the sociologist's gaze and to sharpen his sensitivity to the dissonance and discrepancy that wracked all sectors of Algerian society during that turbulent decade. This is particularly visible in the series of pictures that Bourdieu took in Algiers and Blida (a commercial town located fifty kilometers to the southeast) on the jarring comingling of French-European and Algerian-Arab dress, street signs, commerce, and everyday objects, and which he personally selected out of his collection (Bourdieu, 2003b: 176–202; see p. 422 in this issue).[27] It is in evidence in the photograph featured on the French cover of *Algeria 1960*



Pierre Bourdieu at work in the resettlement camp of Aïn Aghbel (Collo mountains, Kabylia), winter 1960.

(whose subtitle is 'Economic Structures and Temporal Structures'): it shows an anonymous Algerian day-worker of Blida, sitting on the stoop of a beat-up truck in his traditional garb and headdress, holding his face in his hand and gazing downward in worry. The photograph compresses into a narrow visual space the temporal stretch of colonial crisis and creates a haunting sense of arrested movement and despondency by placing the hunched and partly hidden body of the worker between the tattered plate of the vehicle in the foreground and the placid backdrop of a well-manicured street on which is parked a modern car (Bourdieu's own Dauphine).

Last but not least, photography anchored and facilitated the emotional work necessary to carry out first-hand observation in the extreme circumstances of a militarized conflict that infected every last corner of colonial life. It helped Bourdieu tame the 'state of extreme affective exaltation' in which he conducted his fieldwork by fostering a posture of objective distancing while expressing personal respect and maintaining closeness to his subjects:

> I was truly overwhelmed, very sensitive to the suffering of all these people, and at the same time, there was a certain distance of the observer, manifested in the fact of taking photographs. I thought of all that when I read Germaine Tillion, the ethnologist who worked in the Aurès, another region of Algeria, and who recounts, in her book *Ravensbrück* [Tillon, 1946/1976], how she saw people dying in the concentration camp and she would make a mark every time there was a death. She was doing her work as a professional ethnographer and she said that it helped her to hold out.
>
> And I was thinking of that, I was telling myself that you're an odd sort of guy: there I was, in this village, under the olive tree. . . . People started speaking, 'Me, I had this, I had that, me I had ten goats, I had three sheep,' they were enumerating all the valuables they had lost and there I was with three others, I was taking notes on everything I could. I was recording the disaster and, at the same time, with a kind of irresponsibility – this is really scholastic irresponsibility, I realize this retrospectively – I had in mind to study all that, with the techniques at my disposal. I was constantly telling myself: 'My poor Bourdieu, with the sorry tools that you have, you won't be up to the task, you would need to know everything, to understand everything, psychoanalysis, economics.' . . .
>
> It was dramatic but not in the way that people said it was. And I observed all that, which was so complicated, so far above my means! When they were telling me their stories, sometimes it would take me two or three days afterwards to understand them, to sort out the complicated names of places or tribes, figures for the loss of cattle and possessions. I was submerged, so everything was good for the taking, and photography was that: a manner of trying to cushion the shock of a crushing reality. (Bourdieu, 2003b: 29–31)

Whether photographic or scriptural, couched in scribbled fieldnotes, snapshots, or printed text, frenzied ethnographic recording was for the young Bourdieu an essential component of a *cognitive-cum-emotive coping mechanism*: a way to absorb a 'reality so pressing, so oppressive' that it constantly threatened to overwhelm the novice ethnosociologist (Bourdieu, 2003b: 32).[28] Through the photographic prism, one discerns better how the project of a total science of society, capable of embracing all aspects of reality, visible and invisible, embodied and objectified, and of laying bare the social causes and reasons for its unruly course, not only made intellectual sense. It met a vital existential need and harnessed the impetuous civic urges of Bourdieu by giving him a concrete task and an urgent mission in which to lose himself.

Being at once capable and compelled to train the 'gaze of mandatory understanding' (Bourdieu, 2003b: 42) that is the distinctive *eye of ethnography*, not only on the distant colony but also on his familiar and even his familial universe, points to the one property that explains the special place that fieldwork occupies in Bourdieu's scientific practice: it is a potent *instrument of self-knowledge through the intimate knowledge of the other* and, by the same token, a channel for self-acceptance. By disclosing the social necessity lodged at the heart of the most ineffable ways of being and behaving, social science in general, and ethnography in particular, can help one acquire this consciousness of world and self in their full web of determinations that opens onto a kind of Spinozist wisdom (*acquiesentia*).[29] This virtue radiates in Bourdieu's pensive eulogy of Mouloud Mammeri, the poetic bard and 'insider anthropologist' who was his friend, informant, and colleague from across the Mediterranean – in many ways his Kabyle *alter ego*:

> I would not want to reduce to only one of its aspects an *oeuvre* that is fundamentally plural, multifaceted, and no one is more concerned than I to protect it from all the attempts at appropriation of which it will be the object. Nonetheless, I believe that the personal conversion that Mouloud Mammeri had to effect in order to find again the 'forgotten hill,' to return to the native world, is no doubt what he wanted, more than anything else, to share with all, not only with his fellow-citizens, his brothers and sisters in repression, in cultural alienation, but also with those who, subjected to whatever form of symbolic domination, are doomed to this supreme form of dispossession that is the shame of self. (Bourdieu, 1998/2004: 619)

It is arresting that one need only substitute Bourdieu for Mammeri and not change another word in this rumination on 'The Odyssey of Reappropriation' to make it encapsulate Bourdieu's own sociological journey away from and back to the culture and society of his native Béarn.

Acknowledgements

Producing this issue, to which Pierre Bourdieu had agreed to contribute, in the wake of his passing was at once an ordeal and a redemptive undertaking. It could not have been brought to fruition without the support of Jérôme and Marie-Claire Bourdieu, Marie-Christine Rivière, Franck Poupeau, and Megan Comfort. The suggestions and reactions of Javier Auyero, Philippe Bourgois, Michael Burawoy, Gretchen Purser, Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Florence Weber were particularly helpful, as was the stimulation of the lively debates at the Ethnografeast II, held at the Ecole normale supérieure in Paris on 14–18 September 2004. The multifaceted assistance of Nicole de Pontes in New York City was essential. For the references to Bourdieu's work, I relied on Yvette Delsaut and Marie-Christine Rivière, *Bibliographie des travaux de Pierre Bourdieu* (Pantin: Le Temps des Cerises, 2002). These are listed below in chronological order of first publication (whether solo or jointly authored). All quotations of Bourdieu are my translations from the French original.

Notes

1 One indicator among many: Bourdieu does not rate a single mention in Van Maanen (1988) and Emerson (2001), two volumes widely used to initiate sociologists to field research in the United States, or in Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), a textbook popular in the United Kingdom. As for American anthropology, Goodman has lamented: 'It is somewhat surprising that his work has remained largely outside of the purview of the literature attentive to the political and ethical responsibilities of ethnographic representation' (2003: 782). A signal exception to this pattern of omission is Beaud and Weber (2003). It should be noted that Bourdieu's early ethnographic essays have long been known and influential in countries, such as Brazil and Portugal, where the 'rural question' was epicentral to the establishment of modern social science (e.g., Leite Lopes, 2003).

2 See in particular Bourdieu (1977/1979, 2002) on the transformation of the peasant societies of Algeria and Béarn; Bourdieu (1979/1984) on class and taste; Bourdieu et al. (1993/1998) on the bases and forms of social suffering in contemporary society; Bourdieu (et al., 1965/1990 and 1992/1996) on the uses of photography and the invention of the artistic gaze; and Bourdieu (1984/1988 and 1997/2000: esp. pp. 33–48, 'Impersonal Confessions') on intellectuals.

3 In a 1990 interview with Antoine Spire for France Culture, Bourdieu remarked: 'In my originary pulsions, there is a form of anti-intellectualism, of exasperation at intellectual exhibitionism, narcissism, and irresponsibility. I have often said of intellectuals that they overestimate themselves individually and underestimate themselves collectively. And my work – here

one must take the word in the sense of psychoanalysis – has consisted, and it was not always easy for me, in reconverting this anti-intellectualist pulsion.'

4 The project of producing a 'historical anthropology of the present' (to twist Foucault's expression) to shed light on the political predicament of decolonizing Algeria is clear from the backcover text of *Le Déracinement* written by Bourdieu:

> The statistical and ethnographic observation of one of the most brutal displacements of rural populations known to history allows us to grasp, in the very moment when they are shaken, the most fundamental structures of the peasant economy and mind. By destroying the spatial and temporal frameworks [of the Algerian peasantry], the uprooting completes what the generalization of monetary exchanges had started. . . . This analysis of the social processes engendered by the pretention to accelerate history through violence and in ignorance of the mechanisms triggered would not be totally useless if it could contribute to ensuring that history does not repeat itself. (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964: cover copy)

5 See also Bourdieu (1961: esp. 34–9). This point is duly stressed by Hammoudi, who suggests that Bourdieu's model of late-colonial contradictions remains pertinent: 'The Maghrebines of today would do well to meditate this reflection that Bourdieu offered them already in the sixties. For they could throw unprecedented light on the new critical currents christened "radical Islam". . . . Indeed, the ambivalence and ambiguity noted and analyzed [by Bourdieu four decades ago] characterize just as well these new movements' (2000: 15).

6 'During the whole time that I was writing *Sociologie de l'Algérie* and conducting my first ethnological fieldwork [in Algeria in 1957–60], I continued to write every evening on the structure of temporal experience according to Husserl' with the hope of returning rapidly to earlier philosophical projects (Bourdieu, 2004b: 419).

7 This much is clear from Bourdieu et al. (1965/1990: 1–5); Bourdieu and Passeron (1967); Bourdieu (1997/2000: 33–48, and 2004a: 21–30, 36–45, 94–108). For the young philosopher-turning-anthropologist and thence sociologist, the overriding dualities at that time were those between philosophy and social science, on the one hand, and the philosophy of the subject (embodied by Sartrean existentialism) and the philosophy of the concept (incarnated by his teachers Gaston Bachelard, Georges Canguilhem, and Jules Vuillemin), on the other. On Bourdieu's work as a sociological adaptation of the 'historical epistemology' of Bachelard, read Broady (1990).

8 From his early work on, Bourdieu opposed the 'imaginary anthropology' of Sartre, that secularized the Cartesian vision of a self-constituting and world-making consciousness, by drawing on Merleau-Ponty's conception of the lived body as synthetic product-producer of social reality and active repository of past forces, but for that he relied in turn on the Merleau-Ponty of

The Structures of Behavior against the Merleau-Ponty of *The Phenomenology of Perception*, all the while trying to puzzle out empirical questions, such as why Algerian peasants who could *anticipate* their planting needs over a decade refused to *plan* for new crops over a two-year span as instructed by colonial agronomers (Bourdieu and Sapiro, 2004).

9 'The different levels of social reality do not necessarily transform themselves at the same rate' and 'manners of behaving and thinking outlive a change in the conditions of existence. The peasant can be liberated from the colonist without being liberated from the contradictions that colonization has nurtured in him' (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964/2004: 471–2).

10 The authors of *The Uprooting* expand an entire chapter to lay out the divergent ways in which two different regions of Algeria responded to colonial penetration and nationalist mobilization: 'Thus groups that differ in their history can react very differently in the face of very similar situations by conferring a very different lived meaning to identical behaviors identically imposed by the objective situation' (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964: 110). But, in both cases, it is the French state that determines 'a pathological acceleration of cultural change' through its 'colonial interventionism'. *Work and Workers in Algeria* similarly closes on a 'tableau of social classes' that stresses the differentiation of the 'system of models of conduct' (Bourdieu et al., 1963: 382–9) particular to the four major classes of Algerian society on the cusp of independence.

11 The second section of the 1962 book-length article 'Bachelorhood and the Peasant Condition' is entitled 'Internal Contradictions and Anomie' (Bourdieu, 2002: 55–85). It is evocative, in tone and composition, of the second chapter of *The Uprooting* that compares the differential impact of colonial penetration upon 'two histories, two societies', those of the tribes of the Collo mountains and the Chélif valley in Kabylia.

12 'The colonial society is a system whose internal logic and necessity must imperatively be grasped. . . . To the transformations resulting inevitably from the contact between two civilizations, colonization adds the upheavals deliberately and methodically provoked in order to safeguard the authority of the ruling power and the economic interests of its nationals' (Bourdieu, 1958/1962: 106).

13 'Visible in all areas of practice (sport, song, clothing, housing, etc.), the process of unification of the production and circulation of economic and cultural goods entails the gradual obsolescence of the earlier mode of production of the habitus and their products.' Bourdieu (1982/1991: 50) specifically mentions here 'the discrediting of "peasant values", leading to collapse of the value of the peasant' in the local space of the village, and hence to forced celibacy.

14 The same mechanism of amplification between social and mental structures is at work in Algeria in the 'razing of social realities' by the bulldozer of colonial war:

> There is no one who is not aware that a veritable abyss separates Algerian society from its past and that an irreversible movement has been accomplished. What matters is less the rupture than the sense of rupture. It determines a suspension and a questioning of the values that used to give one's existence its meaning. The experience of a life in suspension, always threatened, makes one grasp as vain the traditions and beliefs hitherto held as sacred. (Bourdieu, 1961: 38–9)

15 On the paradoxical revelation of 'peasantness' by 'dispeasantization' in these two locales, compare Bourdieu (1962b, 2002: 53–4, 65–6, 78, 100–2, 107–8) with Bourdieu and Sayad (1964: 85–93, 165–8).

16 *Travail et travailleurs* (Bourdieu et al., 1963: 451–564) contains some hundred pages of rich field appendices (topically organized interview excerpts, the worldview of a cook, and a mini-monograph on artisans) that prefigure in their construction the topological hermeneutic developed in *The Weight of the World*. The conceptual duet of 'poverty of condition' and 'poverty of position' is present in both studies, if implicitly in the Algerian one. The will to serve as witness and 'public scribe' – as distinct from spokesperson – for those socially dispossessed of access to recognized discourse and civic representation is explicitly affirmed in both studies (Bourdieu et al., 1963: 260 and Bourdieu, 1991: 4, which explicates the scientific-political rationale for the 'socioanalysis' of social suffering). The similarity in design, contents, and purpose between *Travail* and *Misère* is spontaneously stressed by Sayad (1998: 71) in his recollection of his collaborative work with Bourdieu during the Algerian period (Sayad was a major contributor to both studies).

17 *The Weight of the World* also gives Bourdieu an opportunity to return yet again to the childhood friends of his Béarn village (Bourdieu et al., 1993/1998: 381–91, and the chapter entitled 'The View From Below', pp. 333–45 in the original French edition, left out of the abridged English translation). Thirty years after writing about the cleaved consciousness and cultural sabir of Algerian peasants, rooted in the conflictive meshing of the social relations of community and colony, he finds that 'the *double-bind* inscribed in the very structure of their economic and domestic enterprise' endows the agriculturalists of his home region with 'a system of dispositions itself contradictory and, as it were, divided against itself' (Bourdieu et al., 1993/1998: 382).

18 The claims and career of Hortense Powdermaker (1966), taking her from New Guinea to Mississippi, and from Hollywood to Rhodesia, offer a paradigmatic illustration of this approach.

19 To the 'grand narratives' of class, progress, and a unified modernity of the preceding generation, the advocates of postmodern and/or global ethnography have substituted the equally grand narrative of multiple identities, continual dispersion, and ubiquitous hybridity. The trusting acceptance of

bounded community, cultural homogeneity, and temporal stability as parameters of ethnographic production has thus given way to an equally uncritical embrace of fluidity, heterogeneity, porosity, and contestation as the core tropes of social life and fieldwork, with networks, flows, and 'borderlands' abruptly displacing communities, institutions, and territories. This obscures the fact that the degree of boundedness and connectedness of a given site are highly variable, depending on the phenomenon examined and the problematic in which it is inserted. It is ironic, for instance, that those who have studied actually existing national borders at ground level find that they display little of the volatility, hybridity, permeability, and liminality that multi-sited ethnographers have claimed as general properties of the social today (Berdahl, 1999; Andreas, 2001; Bernstein, 2001). As for those who believe that 'broadly spread processes' are novel phenomenon of the past three decades, they might profitably re-read Durkheim and Mauss' (1913: 49–50) 'Note on Civilization', in which they argue that the transnational circulation of 'myths, tales, currencies, commerce, the fine arts, techniques, tools, languages, words, scientific knowledge, literary forms and ideals' has long ago led to the crystallization of 'a social life of a special genre, which has for substrate a plurality of political bodies in relation with one another and acting upon one another' that 'sociology must get to know'.

20 It is surprising that Lila Abu-Lughod (1991: 141) takes Bourdieu's theoretical critique of objectivism to task for missing 'the obvious point' that 'the outsider self never simply stands outside' of the world he studies when Bourdieu's ethnography of his childhood village would seem to make him a prototypal representative of the 'halfie anthropology' she advocates (albeit of a variety that refuses to grant an absolute epistemological privilege to the native and defies the principled irrationalism of the postmodernist creed). That Bourdieu was far from 'unaware of his situation as a Frenchman working in the colony' is clearly indicated by the multiple, urgent, even passionate warnings that dot his early Algerian texts, such as this one:

> *The colonial system is a given with which the ethnologist must recount* because he finds himself placed, by the force and the logic of things, in the presence of a social form that exists before him, that he has not created, that he must bear with even as he disapproves of it or strives to disengage himself from it, and *from which he benefits, even in his craft as anthropologist*, since the relation between the ethnographer and the informant, like any interpersonal relation, is established against the backdrop of the objective relation of domination obtaining between the colonizing society and the colonized society.

Or again:

> The experience of a field study conducted at the climax of the crisis of the colonial society does away with normative discourses and abstract casuistry. Because the colonial system is the context of all actions, relations between

> persons always have for background the hostility that separates the groups and that constantly threaten to resurge and to alter the meaning and the very fact of communication. (Bourdieu et al., 1963: 258, 264, emphasis added)

This is a threat which Bourdieu sought to contain by finely designing the field teams (which mixed European and Algerian interviewers as well as men and women), the drafting of questionnaires, the selection of the sites and occasions for observation, etc. (see also Bourdieu, 2004b: 424).

21 The possibility and profits of an ethnography of the *endotic* as a resource for scientific self-control is demonstrated in and by *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu, 1984/1988) and its practical preamble, the 'Lecture on the Lecture,' conceived and carried out as an academic 'breaching experiment' à la Garfinkel (Bourdieu, 1982/1994).

22 Lakatos (1975) provides a compressed explication of the notions of hard core, protective belt, positive and negative heuristics, and the progressive versus degenerative evolution of research programs.

23 'Symbolic revolution is the cumulative product of innumerable individual conversions which, after passing a certain threshold, draw one another headlong into a more and more rapid race' (Bourdieu, 2002: 226). The direct parallelism with the invention of the artistic gaze and world is found in 'The Historical Genesis of a Pure Aesthetics' (Bourdieu, 1987), written at about the same time as 'Reproduction Impossible' (Bourdieu, 1989).

24 The pictures were selected by this author, with the help of Marie-Christine Rivière, Frank Poupeau, and Tassadit Yacine. Thanks are due to Catherine Frisinghelli of Camera Austria for providing us with scans and Jérôme Bourdieu for his kind permission to reprint them in this issue.

25 This is the original French subtitle of the book that became *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art* in English translation (Bourdieu et al., 1965/1990), at the opening of which Bourdieu offers a first adumbration of his theory of practice. The field study of peasant photography in Béarn was carried out by Pierre Bourdieu in 1961–2 in collaboration with his wife Marie-Claire Bourdieu.

26 See Bourdieu et al. (1963: 261–4) for a comparison of the conditions eliciting minimal trust and acceptance among urban and rural informants, and Bouhedja (2003) and Bourdieu (2004b) on the constrictive parameters of fieldwork in the resettlement camps.

27 Bourdieu (1979/1984) used a similar technique in the construction of the text of *Distinction* as well as in the layout of *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, the journal he founded and edited for three decades at the Center for European Sociology, in which photographs and fac-similes of field documents typically serve an analytic or synthetic function, as opposed to an illustrative purpose.

28 The best clue to this is the near-absence of pictures of war scenes and military destruction in his Algerian photographic collection, which censorship and risk do not suffice to account for: it does appear to be the result

of systematic if not willful avoidance (discussions with Tassadit Yacine helped bring this trait into relief).

29 Of the variant of ethnographic interviewing employed in *The Weight of the World*, Bourdieu writes:

> The welcoming disposition that inclines us to make ours the problems of the informant, the ability to take her and to understand her as she is, in her singular necessity, is a sort of *intellectual love*: a gaze that consents to necessity, in the manner of the 'intellectual love of God', that is, of the natural order, that Spinoza held to be the supreme form of knowledge. (Bourdieu et al., 1993/1998: 614)

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