

**CULTURE AND THE MODERN SELF:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CULTURAL THEORIES
OF PIERRE BOURDIEU AND FREDRIC JAMESON**

by

Hajnal Sandidge

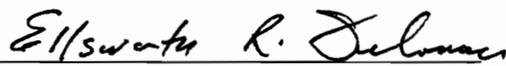
Thesis submitted to the faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

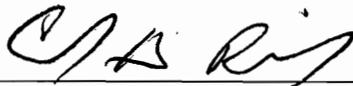
IN

SOCIOLOGY

APPROVED:



Ellsworth R. Fuhrman, Chair



Carol A. Bailey



William E. Snizek

April 30, 1996

Blacksburg, Virginia

Keywords: Bourdieu, Jameson, Sociology of Culture

LD
5655
V855
1996
S263
c.2

CULTURE AND THE MODERN SELF:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CULTURAL THEORIES OF
PIERRE BOURDIEU AND FREDRIC JAMESON

by

Hajnal Sandidge

Committee Chairman: Ellsworth R. Fuhrman
Sociology

(ABSTRACT)

Pierre Bourdieu and Fredric Jameson are in many respects two of the most influential contemporary theorists. Bourdieu's comprehensive theoretical model, termed "genetic structuralism", is a fruitful alternative to traditionally dichotomous modes of thinking: subjectivism vs. objectivism, agency vs. structure, micro vs. macro analysis. His model aims to subsume these divisions, by accounting for the generative ability of both mental and structural forces. Jameson on the other hand, as "America's leading Marxist critic", offers an engaging account of contemporary culture, as he attempts to find the connecting thread of our increasingly disjointed social reality to history. The following work is but a brief account of these wide-ranging theories. Its order of progression starts with contextualizing Bourdieu and Jameson in the framework of cultural debates, followed by an analysis of the structure and logic of both Bourdieu's and Jameson's theories, after

which comes a look at how these theories are applied to analyzing literary works. Finally the last part tries to grasp these theories in relation to each other, by highlighting some of their differences and similarities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee, Ellsworth R. Fuhrman, Carol A. Bailey and William E. Snizek for their help and encouragement. Special thanks to the chair of my committee E.R. Fuhrman, for his intellectual resources and guidance whenever I needed it.

I would also like to acknowledge, the secondary resources, listed in the bibliography, that provided invaluable insights in the complex readings of Pierre Bourdieu and Fredric Jameson.

Finally, but not lastly, I would like to acknowledge and thank my husband Bill, my son Kris and my parents for their emotional support, continuous encouragement and patience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter I</u>	INTRODUCTION.....	1
<u>Chapter II</u>	F. JAMESON AND P. BOURDIEU IN THE CONTEXT OF CULTURAL DEBATES.....	6
2.1.	The Early Dichotomy.....	6
2.2.	Attempts toward Overcoming the Dichotomy; Relatively Autonomous Views of Culture.....	10
2.3.	Structuralism and Poststructuralism.....	15
<u>Chapter III</u>	THE STRUCTURE AND LOGIC OF P. BOURDIEU'S THEORY.....	23
3.1.	The Field.....	23
3.2.	Habitus.....	28
3.3.	Capital.....	33
3.4.	The Field of Cultural Production.....	36
3.5.	The Structure of the Field of Cultural Production.....	40
3.6.	Habitus and Positions.....	42
3.7.	The Production of Belief.....	43
3.8.	The Market of Symbolic Products.....	45
<u>Chapter IV</u>	THE STRUCTURE AND LOGIC OF F. JAMESON'S THEORY.....	49
4.1.	Theoretical Outline.....	49
4.2.	The Postmodern Cultural Sphere.....	59
<u>Chapter V</u>	BOURDIEU'S AND JAMESON'S ANALYSIS OF LITERARY WORKS.....	68
5.1.	Flaubert in Bourdieu's Sociological Analysis.....	68
5.2.	Balzac in Jameson's Literary Analysis.....	75
<u>Chapter VI</u>	CONCLUSION.....	81
6.1.	Comparative Analysis of Jameson's and Bourdieu's Cultural Theories.....	81
6.2.	Concluding Notes.....	95
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	96
	VITA.....	99

Chapter I. INTRODUCTION

Culture with its inherent power, complexity and taint of mysticism has always intrigued the mind, for to understand a specific culture is to understand the human existence of a specific place and time. It is within culture that the repertoire of choices are found and the resources that we reach for, as we struggle with timeless questions of meaning, understanding and purpose. The view of the world which we espouse, our awareness of it and the goods we come to value, are all the legacy of our culture from which they can not be divorced. However much the idea might offend our relatively recent found sense of identity and individuality, it is also culture that supplies us with our sense of self, our understanding of it and the self-practices which ultimately emanate from these perceptions. As we contemplate upon the meaning of life and its embodied contemporary notions of inner-depths, self-realization and self-fulfillment, we are doing so in fulfillment of or in reaction to the cultural heritage of our past generations. An understanding then, of what it is to be human entails an understanding of the cultural resources which shape our knowledge, our experiences and our activities.

A study of our contemporary western culture is all the more engaging, since we perceive our age to be one of

unprecedented transformations, leaving in its wake a sense of crises which tends to elude immediate comprehension. Although, the view through the lens of direct experience tends to amplify, and the enormity of these changes is debatable in light of other turning points which compelled reevaluations, for example, the discovery of a heliocentric solar system, the invention of the steam engine, line production, etc., nevertheless our sense of self finds little repose in the flux of change. While the metamorphosis of the self is always a painstaking process as it was so vividly illustrated by Kafka, it is partly the subtlety of the forces and their multiplicity, that leave us in a state of puzzlement.

Perhaps this idea is best illustrated by what has been termed the "standardization" of self. It would be difficult to specify what exactly we mean by this for a variety of reasons. The forces at work shaping and normalizing the self seem to be all-pervasive, finding expression in a multiplicity of social institutions such as home, school, church, media, etc.. As the voices through which they offer to define our feelings, our desires, our needs, our thoughts, our social class, our sexuality, penetrating our very notion of the self, perhaps on a semiconscious level, we are only dimly aware of these, while upholding our illusory sense of autonomy and independence. So it is, that

we become inoculated, embracing and perpetuating the ideologies and values that lie behind our mass-produced consumer society. When we do become aware of it, we not only feel our highly valued freedom and self-determination threatened but we are also compelled to reevaluate the validity and meaning of these notions. The questions then arising as we reflect upon culture as it impacts the self, its maintenance and its development, are such: What are the prevalent forces shaping our contemporary culture? What is the role of the subject, what is the extent of his or her self-determination? What are the mechanisms at work in the production and reproduction of our social culture? Finally what is the direction in which this transformation is taking us?

As I will examine these questions, I will do so through the cultural theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Fredric Jameson. Perhaps the most obvious reason for this choice lies in the fact that these theories represent two of the most significant critical voices of our times. Bourdieu's method, "genetic structuralism", presents a model of analysis that subsumes the divisions (materialism vs. idealism, objectivism vs. subjectivism, structure vs. agency, macro vs. micro analysis) that have traditionally dominated theoretical debates. Through his model, he attempts to recapture the "double reality of the social

world" by weaving "together a 'structuralist' and a 'constructivist' approach", by accounting for the generative ability of both structural and mental forces (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 11). Jameson's method on the other hand, termed "postmodern Marxism", not only attempts "...to critically confront poststructuralism and postmodernism, but to assimilate their contributions to an enriched Marxian cultural theory." (Best & Kellner, 1991, p. 182). Seeing postmodern cultural developments within the context of the all-pervasive capital development, he aims to grasp the present "...historically in an age that has forgotten how to think historically in the first place." (Jameson, 1995, p. IX).

In the following pages, Chapter II starts by contextualizing Bourdieu and Jameson within the framework of cultural debates. This is followed, in Chapters III and IV, by an analysis of both Bourdieu's and Jameson's theoretical models. As I examine these analytical models, my aim is to focus on the essential elements that underlie these theories. I will end both of these Chapters by turning my attention to Bourdieu's as well as Jameson's analysis of the cultural realm. In Chapter V, I look at how these theories are applied to analyzing literary works. The reason for this choice, Balzac's novel *La Vieille Fille* analyzed by Jameson, and Flaubert's novel *Sentimental Education* analyzed

by Bourdieu, is that both of these novelists are writing in essentially the same time period. The common component of these analyses, both authors belonging to the same literary style, that of realism, will hopefully render the following chapter, of analytical comparison, more meaningful. Chapter (VI), attempts to highlight both some more general differences and similarities of these two theories, and some more specific ones that surface through the analysis of these literary works. Finally, the last section of this Chapter, contains concluding remarks.

Chapter II. JAMESON AND BOURDIEU IN THE CONTEXT OF CULTURAL DEBATES

2.1 The Early Dichotomy

While the term culture has been frequently invoked for a variety of purposes, there has been little agreement regarding its usage, and its meaning has been subject to reinterpretation as it became an area of interest for scholarly work in the social sciences. According to Raymond Williams, in the eighteenth century tradition, the term was used to denote the process of cultivation in reference to crops, animals and the human mind (1981, p. 10). It was almost a century later, as a result of anthropological studies that its meaning had changed, pointing to a common attribute of the different societies as a distinctive way of life. Questions regarding the nature of culture and its determining or formative elements have led to the emergence of two views of culture with their different approaches or methods. While one approach emphasized an idealist understanding of culture with primacy on what William calls, "the 'informing spirit' of a whole way of life", the other

viewed culture as an integral part of the social order, ultimately determined by other social activities (p. 12).

These two modes of understanding, the idealist or subjective and the material or mechanistic approach, have tended to frame subsequent theoretical debates. The archetype of this early dichotomy can be illustrated by the theoretical conflict between Marx and Hegel, a debate which has had a crucial role in the evolution of consequent cultural theories. Although both theorists thought in terms of totalities, seeing the distinction between the world of objective and subjective, the result of alienation, nonetheless their theories present significant differences. For Hegel, the whole or the Absolute is spiritual, the Spirit being the ultimate substance of the Universe. Historical evolution or change according to Hegel, can be conceived as the product of a dialectical process growing out of the constraining framework or Spirit of different periods in history. True knowledge then, is purely subjective as it begins with sense-perception and it culminates in the unity between the subjective and objective, in the Absolute, the highest form of knowledge (Russell, 1972).

While Marx retained the Hegelian dialectic as a sound explanation for historical development, he modified the concept in important respects by turning it on its "right

side up again" (McLellan, 1990, p. 420). As he writes: "To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, i.e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea', he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea'. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought" (p. 420). In Marx's theory then, it is the material that receives primacy, thus the distinction between superstructure (the realm of material and economic and infrastructure (the realm of culture of social), the latter being shaped by the material conditions of existence. It is this contradiction or conflict created by humanity's loss of self-determination and its denial of rational interest that is seen as the moving force behind historical development. Unlike Hegel for whom understanding was internal and subjective, for Marx it is the world of the material that provides the key to understanding.

The ideological and methodological implications of these two theories for regarding culture are clear; while in the tradition of Hegelian idealism the realm of culture is viewed as independent of external determination or autonomous, in Marx's materialistic and deterministic theoretical heritage, culture is but a reflection of the

underlying material conditions of existence. Thus as the former looked for meaning in individual action, the latter searched for the real and patterns of predictability.

Ensuing theoretical debates have continued both in the tradition and in reaction to the early dichotomous framework provided by Marx and Hegel. The reaction against Marx's mechanistic and deterministic theory has come from a number of different perspectives (Alexander & Seidman, 1990, p. 3). One such approach, the hermeneutic one, stresses the importance of interpretation regarding human action as the only source of meaning. Although this line of thinking finds its origins in biblical interpretation concerning the recovery of authentic meaning, it was later further developed and expanded in scope to include the interpretation of texts other than of biblical origins (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1994, p. 196 & 197). W. Dilthey building directly on Hegel's work, was the first to differentiate between the methods of *Geisteswissenschaften*, the study of human sciences, and *Naturwissenschaften*, the study of natural sciences. The hermeneutic method of human sciences sought to grasp meaning through understanding the cultural structures in and of themselves, as opposed to the natural sciences' observational and explanatory method (Alexander & Seidman, 1990, p. 3). Contributions to this idealist analytical framework, emphasizing the centrality of

culture to understanding social phenomena and stressing its autonomy, have come from K. Mannheim and more recently from G.H. Gadamer (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1994). For both thinkers understanding individual action of individual cultural manifestations is possible only within the context of a larger social horizon. The problems of hermeneutic theory become evident when cultural difference and historical distance are considered. Gaping the differences and distances is problematic as understanding is bound to be incomplete and interpretation tentative and subject to change (Calhoun, 1995, p. 49).

2.2 Attempts toward Overcoming the Dichotomy: Relatively Autonomous Views of Culture

Other theories that developed both in reaction to Marx's mechanistic vision of the social world and hermeneutic's strong idealism, have tended to emphasize the relative autonomy of the cultural realm. One such approach is that of functionalism, developed by the influential sociologist T. Parsons. His work is a synthesis and expansion on the works of Marshall, Pareto, Durkheim and Weber. He maintained these theorists have already laid the foundations for reconciling the opposing views of materialism and idealism (Johnson, 1981, p. 439). Marshall

and Pareto represent two different aspects of positivism, the utilitarian and the anti-intellectual. In Marshall's rational model of human behavior analyzed in terms of means and ends Parsons underscores the implicit, namely the subjectivity of the elective process regarding means and that rationality is not simply economic behavior it is also a "transcendental ethical value" (p. 395). Pareto's work on the other hand is concerned with nonlogical and nonempirical human behavior which served as an important element in Parson's framework. Durkheim's approach has emphasized the power of symbolic while still maintaining social reality as a reference, while Weber's comparative historical studies were remarkable examples of connecting cultural material to structural circumstances. In sum "...Marshall, Pareto and Durkheim each moved toward a voluntaristic position in which the importance of the normative orientation and shared ideals were recognized. Weber however is the theorist who demonstrated most systematically the possibilities for incorporating cultural ideals and norms in a model of behavior that also recognizes the importance of the material situation within which behavior takes place" (p. 398). Both components "the normative action and the situational context" were essential elements to Parsons' theory of action. The aim of his theory is to conceptualize the link between the material and cultural in an integrated social

whole. His four analytical levels: the physiological system, personality system, social system and cultural system, constitute different, yet interrelated aspects of social reality. The connection between the social system and cultural system is achieved, through the notion of social role. Social life is not only made possible through participation in the social system by enacting social roles but also by the norms and values attached to these social roles. Consequently the system of reference for human action is both social and cultural, a dynamic which allows Parsons to distance himself from both deterministic and idealist theories (Layder, 1994). Although his theory was an attempt to assume a neutral position in the idealist and materialist theoretical debate, ironically problems regarding the passivity of human actors in assimilating social roles and an overemphasis on social systems as opposed to cultural systems, have significantly weakened cultural autonomy. However, perhaps his most problematic theoretical component in regards to the autonomy of culture, has been the relatively underdeveloped linking mechanism between social systems and culture. The focus of his cultural analysis on cultural institutionalization or values as a practical solution to this dilemma, has led in turn to other limitations. Narrowing the extent of cultural analysis only to the interpretation of what is

institutionalized has the unintended consequence of reducing meaning to mechanistic social analysis. Still another outcome of this strong emphasis on the institutionalization of culture, has been to deflect attention regarding the origins and internal processes of cultural systems and to unduly focus on patterns of institutionalization (Alexander & Seidman, 1990, p. 6). Functional analysis has continued to be a viable theoretical alternative and played a significant role in the works of other theorists, such as R.K. Merton and S.M. Lipset (p. 10). However the same strengths and weaknesses typical of Parson's functionalism, surface in both in both of their works.

Another challenge to idealism that also sought an alternative to determinism, has come from the twentieth century Marxist thinker, A. Gramsci. While in a similar manner to the functionalist approach Gramsci conceives the cultural and material realm as interrelated, there are significant differences between the two theories. Conceptualizing a divided society along lines of social classes, he sees the role of culture as an essential ideological tool in class domination. As such the dominant class is able to impose its own ideology, its own norms and values, not only by coercion alone but also by consent as the "ideas and forms of consciousness" become incorporated in the "common sense" of the masses (Jenks, 1993, p. 235).

This process ultimately secures both the cultural hegemony of the dominant class and the its continued reproduction. While both Marx and Gramsci view ideologies as reflections of contradictory social realities, Gramsci, unlike Marx for whom the solution had to come from redressing the underlying material conditions of existence, ascribes a significant role to culture. In his view, it is through ideology that human beings become conscious of the contradictory social reality and the cultural hegemony of the dominant classes is eventually challenged by the potentially revolutionary practical consciousness, which has to be intellectually articulated (Jenks, 1993). Gramsci's attempt however to construct a relatively autonomous view of culture is undermined on two accounts. First, his strong emphasis on culture as the reflection of the underlying power structure precludes any kind of formative or determining influence of culture in the other direction. Second, in a similar manner to functionalism, where differentiation between culture and society constrains culture to values (excluding symbols), the prominence of class consciousness in Marxist analysis, although culturally defined, turns out to be socially reductive (Alexander & Seidman, 1990, p. 8).

2.3 Structuralism and Poststructuralism

The importance of F. de Saussure's theoretical development, his strong emphasis on the link between culture and social structure, becomes evident precisely in this context. Saussure a linguist, in *Course in General Linguistics* differentiates between *parole* and *langue*, defining *parole* as the willful act of the individual and *langue* as the social or collective part of language. By distinguishing between these two aspects of language allows him to demarcate the individual from the social, the essential from the ancillary by placing more value and importance on *langue*. Although individual actors may have power to refuse certain forms of knowledge they are powerless in the face of language, which has already entered beyond the level of consciousness. Thus the individual is compelled to enter a rigidly predetermined world, the world of symbolic, where he/she is condemned to passive existence without the capability to create or modify. The components of linguistic units, signifier and signified entertain a completely arbitrary relationship and they acquire their meaning or value only in relation and through difference to one another, in other words relationally and negatively, i.e. through the structure. Thus the symbolic system is an autonomous power, with its own internal laws and rules of

functioning, its structure immutable by neither social relationships nor historical development (Saussure, 1966).

Saussure extends the principles of semiotics into social analysis by arguing that social activities and social institutions have originated and are enmeshed in language, with their dynamics analogous to the workings of language. Consequently, as meaning is internal and relational, the focus of social analysis should be the reconstructing of "the internal codes of the institutional culture itself" (Alexander & Seidman, 1990, p. 9). Although in a similar manner to hermeneutics, structuralism emphasizes the autonomy of culture, there are significant differences between the two modes of understanding. While hermeneutical analysis is concerned with meaning and subjective experience, structuralism is as became evident, concerned with relationships or structure.

Following theoretical developments that have retained the fundamental principle of structuralism, namely that reality is inseparably embedded in language, have emerged under the conceptual umbrella of poststructuralism. While for this reason poststructuralism can be seen as an outgrowth of structuralism, there are significant divergences, of far reaching consequences, between the two approaches. Perhaps, the most important such difference is the poststructuralist's emphasis on the signifier over the

signified. Accordingly, meaning is not an innate one to one relationship that can be revealed by the study of internal structures, it is rather dynamic and unstable in nature, favoring an intertextual and diachronic understanding, as opposed to the stable and synchronic structuralist approach.

This alternative view of meaning, as continually shifting and flexible, allowed poststructuralists to attack the very foundations of traditional Western philosophy, namely its search for reality and truth as the only source of knowledge. Consequently, the conventional dualisms between object and subject, between reality and appearance, etc. which had such formative influence on the history of Western philosophy were criticized and rejected. Such criticisms were articulated by Derrida, Foucault, Lacan, Kristeva, Lyotard and Barthes, who called for a radically new philosophical approach (Best & Kellner, 1991, p. 20-25).

It is from within this theoretical framework that Bourdieu's method, termed "genetic structuralism" emerges. As the term implies his theory attempts to overcome the dichotomies of modernism, between objectivist and subjectivist forms of understanding, between agency and structure, and between macro and micro levels of analysis, by bringing the human agent to the center stage of analysis and accounting through the notion of "habitus" for the generative ability of both mental and structural forces.

While he shares in the poststructuralist critique of structuralism as being exclusively concerned with structures as autonomous entities and their inability to account for individual practice, he also shares an essential element with Marxism's critical ideology, namely the role of culture in class domination.

He conceptualizes the cultural field as part of the larger field of forces inextricably linked to other fields such as economic, political, educational, etc. while maintaining at the same time its partial autonomy with its own rules and laws of functioning. Its structure however is constructed in such a way as to benefit the dominant social classes, those in the possession of the cultural capital in the form of cultural knowledge, education, language, taste, style, wit, etc. According to Bourdieu, behavior concerned with maximizing one's profit is not constrained solely to the economic field, it extends also in the cultural realm and other fields, where the gain is symbolic power or profit in the form of authority, recognition, consecration and prestige. While economic power does not directly translate into symbolic power, the existent relationship between them comes through the notion of habitus. Past circumstances not only condition different levels of aesthetic disposition but also different levels of material existence. The dominant class is able then, to legitimize its power by "symbolic

violence", an act which disguises the underlying nature of dominant power, "...through violence which is exercised upon the social agent with his or her complicity." (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 167). Culture then, according to Bourdieu is an essential medium in the reproduction of social classes, through the legitimation it accords in the form of symbolic power.

By conceiving of culture as both "structured structures", i.e. "symbolic forms by which we order and construct an understanding of the objective world"; and, "structuring structures", i.e. "symbolic objects or means of communication whose internal logic may be uncovered through structural analysis", he is able to restore the constitutive power of the symbolic or culture, that was unaccounted for in Marxist theory (Wacquant, 1993, p. 130 & 131). His approach to culture as a relatively autonomous realm with its specific internal dynamic, through which external forces are mediated and refracted according to the field's own internal logic, Bourdieu avoids the *short circuit fallacy* typical of deterministic theories.

However Bourdieu's middle ground approach to culture has elicited the criticism of conceptualizing culture "as a structure that inevitably reproduces society" and similarly social classes "as the passive recipients of a culture that reproduces the structure of domination and carries little

potential to transform it" (Gartman, 1991, p. 438). His account of human agency presents similar problems. Although through the notion of "habitus" the individual is supposed to incorporate both the formative influence of social structures and limited creative potentials, in his analysis it is difficult to see the later's actualization. As Crowther puts it, "...individual agency is reduced to sets of relationships which in turn can be reduced to other sets of relations." representing "...the human subject as disembodied - simply an ideal point where different forces interact." (1994, p. 168).

While Bourdieu's theoretical approach has been an example of engaging poststructuralist analysis with some of the critical aspects of Marx's ideology, F. Jameson's "postmodern Marxism" provides a similar, however more extreme theoretical model by conceptualizing the postmodern in the economic context of late capitalism. In a Marxist fashion he envisions the realm of culture as expressive of an underlying economic reality. Following Ernest Mandel's framework of technological evolution he identifies three subsequent stages in the development of capital, namely market capitalism, imperialism, and multinational capitalism. Each stage of development is accompanied by its specific cultural expression, realism modernism and postmodernism (Jameson, 1995, p. 35). However to circumvent

the Marxist determinism, where the superstructure is seen as directly being determined by the infrastructure, Jameson employs the Althusserian model of structural causality. In this view the social whole is constituted through the relationship of its parts, not reducible to the sum of its parts, economy being only one among the many elements (Jameson, 1981). Thus what propels the social universe is not the economic infrastructure, but "it is this whole which is the 'structural cause' of the system as a whole" (Doyle, 1992).

Even if Jameson may be able to evade the determinist entrapment, his endeavor of blending postmodernism with Marxism, has been the object of criticism. The tension created by the linking of these two diametrical approaches, has left Jameson wavering "...between the privileging of Marxism as the master discourse and the perspectivism of standpoint theory" (Best & Kellner, 1991, p. 191).

In a concluding note to this section, the above pages are not meant in any sense to give a comprehensive review of the cultural debate. Rather it intends to identify the two major lines of thought, materialism and idealism, that have continued to stay at the heart of theoretical and methodological discussions thereby framing cultural debates. While subsequent developments from both directions are efforts to overcome this dichotomy, the task of linking the

symbolic realm to the material one into a position of relative cultural autonomy, has proved to be problematic as it becomes evident through the few examples listed above. It is within this context that Jameson and Bourdieu enters the stage of theoretical disputes. Their approaches although in some respects similar through elements of Marxist origins, fare on different places on the cultural continuum. In the next chapter, follows a more detailed analysis of Bourdieu's theoretical model.

Chapter III. THE STRUCTURE AND LOGIC OF PIERRE BOURDIEU'S THEORY

3.1 The Field

The purpose of this chapter is to give a brief outline Bourdieu's theoretical model. As such, its focus is to grasp the meaning and the function of a number of key elements, around which his theory is structured. The notions of field, habitus, and capital are conceptual elements that attest to "the relational perspective that forms the core of his sociological vision..." (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 16). In the following pages I will analyze each of these elements, before turning to Bourdieu's account of the cultural field.

By introducing the concept of "field" in his analysis, Bourdieu departs from both structuralist and substantialist modes of understanding, as the former places the emphasis on structure, while the later tends to foreground the individual. For Bourdieu to think in terms of the field is to think relationally, implying that neither agency, nor structure, holds primacy to social reality, it is rather in their intersection, in their relationship that history is to be found. To grasp the meaning of the field, is to reconstruct the set of objective and historical relations

between spaces of positions specific for different social spheres of activity, such as cultural, educational, economic and political (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

The laws and rules within which these relationships exist in the different fields exhibit both general and specific characteristics. Universal mechanisms, such as struggles for power between the dominant factions and the ones challenging, the existence of capital as the object of competitive struggles and mechanisms of reproduction, are structural similarities, homologies of the different fields. These analogies however, are but "resemblances in difference", affirming "...the existence of structurally equivalent - which does not mean identical - characteristics in different groupings...", specific of a certain time and society (Bourdieu 1990, p. 140 & 141). In other words, each field is a structured system of objective forces with its own particular "...relational configuration endowed with a specific gravity..." imposing its internal propensity on both objects and agents that enter the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 17). Thus social reality, especially in differentiated societies, is constitutive of a number of "relatively autonomous microcosms" with its spaces and relations conforming to the internal logic of each particular field, irreducible to those of other (p. 97).

None of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, including the field, can be defined in isolation devoid of its systemic context. Out of the invariant laws of functioning of the different fields arise universal mechanisms, or properties, general across different fields. Perhaps, one of the most fundamental elements by which a field defines itself, among other elements, is the stake or specific interests involved, over which the actors compete. Stakes acquire their specific value only in relation to a given field. While some types of capital may be effective in all fields, as "fundamental species of capital", their relative value and validity as "principal forms of capital" is "determined by each field and even by the successive states of the same field" (p. 98).

The structure of any given field is determined by the "distribution of the specific capital", that is by the "...state of power relations among the agents and institutions engaged in the struggle..." (Bourdieu 1993a, p. 73). The structure itself, the conservation or transformation of the distribution of specific capital, is always at the heart of the struggles. Thus, those having monopoly over a specific form of capital, have an interest in preserving the rules and laws of the field, engaging in conservation strategies. The newcomers to the field, as they challenge the ones in the possession of the monopoly,

aim to change through their struggles the established state of power relations, the specific distribution of capital, in other words, the very structure of the "game" (1993a).

Perhaps a less apparent characteristic of fields concerns the actors. The "players" of a particular field, share a number of fundamental interests, relating to the field. These interests and presuppositions usually at an implicit level of knowledge become part of the agents understanding by the mere fact of entering and "playing" the "game". This implicit understanding entails an agreement about the value of the "game" and its laws and rules of operation, assumptions that are preconditions for entering the field. Knowledge of principles of functioning and of the value of the game constitutes the history of the field, thus each act or "game" carrying within, the whole history of a specific field. To understand an act then, in addition to account for the social, economic, and political environment in which it originated, it is essential to view it in the context of the objective relations which constitute the field, in other words in the historical context of its field (1993a).

According to Bourdieu, the study or analysis of a particular field entails three interrelated processes of different social levels. First, it is necessary "...to analyze the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of

power..."¹, or to establish its location relative to the meta-field of power encompassing of different forms of capital. The second step, involves mapping out "...the objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions..." engaged in the struggle over "the legitimate form of specific authority". Finally, the third component concerns the agents, the dispositions or habitus they acquire as a result of internalizing the social and economic circumstances of their environment, predisposing them to a "...definite trajectory within the field under consideration a more or less favorable opportunity to become actualized..." (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 104 & 105).

1 Field of power defined by Bourdieu as: "...a field of forces defined by the structure of the existing balance of forces between forms of power, or between different species of capital. It is also simultaneously a field of struggles for power among the holders of different forms of power. It is a space of play and competition in which the social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural capital in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields (the economic field, the field of higher civil service or the state, the university field, and the intellectual field) confront one another in strategies aimed at preserving or transforming this balance of forces...This struggle for the imposition of the dominant principle of domination leads, at every moment, to a balance in the sharing of power, that is, to what I call a division of the work of domination. It is also a struggle over the legitimate principle of legitimation and for the legitimate mode of reproduction of the foundations of domination." (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 76n)

3.2 Habitus

The field as a space of play, with structured spaces of positions, presents itself for the actor as so many opportunities, with rewards, profits, regularities and indeterminacies. As the space of possibles extends itself to be engaged and acted upon, its appearance will acquired unique manifestations through the filter of differential perceptions and predispositions. It is in these dispositions, tendencies or inclinations that patterns of social actions emerge, giving it structure and predictability. Bourdieu terms this internal structure habitus, and defines it as "...systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72).

Attempting to account for the logic of practice "without having logic as its principle" through the notion of habitus, Bourdieu intends to overcome the break between the mechanical action of objectivism, and the rational and conscious act of subjectivism. His concept of habitus is a "...manner of constructing and understanding practice in its specific 'logic'...", and as such, it is an effort to transcend another dualism, that of materialist theory and idealism. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 121) As such, habitus emerges from practice, from the "practical relations to the world", "always oriented toward practical functions". (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52) Expanding on the Durkheimian thesis of "sociocentrism", Bourdieu formulates a genetic model of the mental and cognitive structures, or habitus, elucidating the relationship between external societal structures and internal mental structures. He argues that a particular history, the social and economic conditions of an environment or social divisions become internalized or embodied, impregnating the individual with its objective structures. It follows, that if internal structures are reflections of external ones, then the "...analysis of objective structures logically carries over into the analysis of subjective dispositions, thereby destroying the false antinomy ordinarily established between sociology and social psychology" (1992, p.13). Implicit in this argument

is that the representation or division of social world, in other words the world order itself, is at the stake in the struggles, as individuals of divergent interests attempt to impose their corresponding social realities. These symbolic systems of internalized schematas of classification and division, always the objects of struggle, the sites of perpetual disputes regarding their shapes or forms, are the producers and reproducers of the social world.

Habitus then, as an unconscious "modus operandi", as a "sense for the game" is neither fully individual nor collective. It is collective in the sense of incorporating in itself the objective structures of the social world, "the sense objectified in institutions". (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56) As systems of representation, classification, meaning, interest, etc., or in other words history itself is absorbed to be sedimented in the form of durable dispositions, the social becomes individual, and institutions come to "life" and into "full realization" through the individual. Thus it is through the habitus generated practices that social structures tend to perpetuate themselves "...into the future by making themselves present in the practices structured according to its principles, an internal law relaying the continuous exercise of the law of external necessities (irreducible to immediate conjunctural constraints) - is the principle of the continuity and regularity which objectivism

discerns in the social world without being able to give them a rational basis." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82). As habitus and social structures encounter each other, the practices they generate will be "mutually intelligible and immediately adjusted to the structures, and also objectively concerted and endowed with an objective meaning that is at once unitary and systematic, transcending subjective intentions and conscious projects, whether individual or collective" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 58). It is the homogeneity of habitus and social structures, that renders the world with a sense of mutual recognizability and familiarity, with harmony and unity in meaning and intent, thereby constantly reinforcing the very practices that are recreating the objective structures of their own production.

While it is in the habitus that social structures become incorporated and inculcated, thereby the social world reproducing itself as it becomes re-enacted through practices, creation and transformation finds its source also in the habitus. It is generated through the specificity and particularity² of individual social circumstances, as they

2 According to Bourdieu, while it is impossible for any two individuals to have had fully identical social conditions and experiences and thus habitus, members of a particular social class having been exposed to similar conditions will be more alike in their habitus. The relationship between individual habitus and class habitus is a "relationship of homology, that is, of diversity within homogeneity reflecting the diversity within homogeneity characteristic

impose their order and "particular logic on incorporation"(p. 57). Individual differences in habitus are representative of different "social trajectories", which are "chronologically ordered determinations" as experiences are always structured by the structures of past experiences³ and uniquely synthesized. As such, habitus provides the freedom necessary to circumvent the assumptions and limitations inherent in the deterministic and mechanical model of social behavior. Through habitus, the generative cognitive and mental schemata, the individual is able to freely practice, yet only within the boundaries of the specific external conditions of its creation and "...as such it is what gives practices their relative autonomy with respect to external determinations of the immediate present." (p. 56).

Consequently, in accounting for practice it is insufficient to look for catalytic conditions in the present that would serve as causal explanations, but it is also inadequate in itself to explain past social conditions which

of their social conditions of production."(Bourdieu, 1990, p. 60)

³ Bourdieu accords primacy to early experiences, as "habitus tends to ensure its own constancy and its defense against change through the selection it makes within new information by rejecting information capable of calling into question its accumulated information, if exposed to it accidentally or by force, and especially by avoiding exposure to such information."(1990, p. 60 & 61)

generate habitus. A full understanding of action incorporates both, "...by relating the social conditions in which the habitus that generated them was constituted, to the social conditions in which it is implemented, that is through the scientific work of performing the interrelationship of these two states of the social world that the habitus performs, while concealing it, in and through practice." (p.56).

3.3 Capital

Although the notion of capital invokes a sense of association with economic theories of human action, Bourdieu's use of the term does not share the reductionistic tendencies implied; their recognition being limited to material forms of interest and of conscious actors making rational decisions in an effort to maximize utility. Bourdieu's use of capital intends to capture the "energy of social physics", in other words capital in all its different forms as well as the laws that regulate their circulation, conversion, accumulation etc.. As such, he identifies four categories of capital: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic, each including its own subtypes. His analysis of the different forms of capital concentrate on the later

three forms, these being the areas of theoretical neglect and misrecognition (Bourdieu, 1992).

Although forms of capital are specific to different fields, acquiring their full value and efficacy only in relation to a particular field, they are also convertible or exchangeable into other species and in between different fields, their relative value being the function of the field and "successive states" of the field⁴. Forms of capital, as social resources and powers, constitute the energizing force or power of the field, "...whose distribution constitutes the very structure of the field, and over the regularities and the rules which define the ordinary functioning of the field, and thereby over the profits engendered in it." (p. 101).

Social capital, defined by Bourdieu as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition", serves not only as an analytical tool in uncovering the functions and roles specific to social institutions, but also to expose the logic by which it is transmitted, reproduced and

⁴ The rate of exchange between different forms of capital is always the object of struggle, as those in possession of certain species of capital will seek to maximize its value relative to other forms of capital. (Bourdieu, 1993)

accumulated. More simply, it denotes the practices and representations concealed under taken for granted everyday terms such as, social connections, socialization, etc. (Bourdieu, 1993b).

Symbolic capital, perhaps the most misidentified form of capital is defined by Bourdieu as "...economic or political capital that is disavowed, misrecognized and thereby recognized, hence legitimate, a 'credit' which, under certain conditions, and always in the long run guarantees 'economic' profits." (1993a, p. 75). It refers to a form of capital denied and not recognized as such, represented by prestige, honor, reputation, recognition, etc. Its circulation entails a certain form of economism and logic that concurs with the economy of other forms of capital, that of preservation and accumulation.

Finally, Bourdieu's use of the term cultural capital refers to the possession of a certain level of cultural competence or aesthetic disposition, a form of knowledge that enables one to understand cultural relations that contribute to the making of the field and of cultural works. This form of capital is acquired through a process of inculcation, transmitted by social institutions responsible for its preservation and production, such as: the family, educational system, museums, etc. (1993a). The relationship between cultural capital and economic capital in the

cultural field seems somewhat of a paradox. While acquiring cultural competency seems to be contingent on economic well-being, as its pursuit presupposes freedom from economic necessity, and "...distance from the world...which is the basis of the bourgeois experience of the world...", a display of economic interest or success in the cultural field, may mean disallowance from the legitimate field of cultural production, thus from consecration and symbolic power (1984, p. 54).

3.4 The Field of Cultural Production

Analyzing cultural works within the framework of their field, or in other words, contextualizing works of art in relation to what makes up the field of cultural production, implies a break from substantialist modes of analysis, which have sought to explain a work of art in terms properties inherent in its creator. The concept of field also offers an escape from "external" readings of a work, linking acts of production directly to the social conditions of its producer, by acting as an intermediary force. To actualize the field of cultural production, it is necessary to reconstruct both the space of positions and the space of position takings. Bourdieu defines the space of positions "...by possession of a determinate quantity of specific

capital (recognition) and, at the same time by occupation of a determinate position in the structure of the distribution of this specific capital..."; while the space of position takings as "...the structured set of the manifestations of the social agents involved in the field...⁵" (1993a, p. 30). This distinction between positions and position takings is an essential component of Bourdieu's cultural analysis, for it allows him to ground the system of cultural works in the social conditions of their production, i.e. in the "...positions occupied in the field of production..." (p. 33). In effect the space of position takings, as manifestations of the space of positions, are inseparable from the space of possible positions which "determine it by delimiting it" (p. 30). As such, the shifting boundaries of the space of possibles, as a result of changing power relations in the space of positions, will mean a shift in position takings, thereby altering the universe of cultural works in their meaning⁶.

A theory of cultural production, in addition to taking into account the material production of works of art, also has to take into consideration their symbolic production,

⁵ Including not only artistic works "but also political acts or pronouncements, manifestos or polemics, etc." (Bourdieu, 1993. p. 30)

⁶ An illustration of this process by Bourdieu, is the effect of parody, for example the response a play elicits when it is played out of its historic context.

i.e. the production of the meaning and value of the work of art. As such, the object of attention will have to include the indirect producers of works, "...critics, publishers, gallery directors and the whole set of agents whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of art as such, in particular teachers (but also families, etc.)." (p. 37).

According to Bourdieu, the first step in understanding the field of cultural production entails the relationship between the field of power and that of culture, i.e. the position of the field of cultural production within the field of power. With respect to the principles of economic and political hierarchization, the artistic field occupies a dominated position in the field of power, but a dominant one, in the field of class relations, meaning that field of culture or art is at "the site of a double hierarchy": the heteronomous and autonomous principle of hierarchization (p. 38). The more dominant is the heteronomous principle of hierarchization, the more directly is the field of art under the influence of the field of power relations, having to conform to a greater degree to its laws of functioning. The greater its degree of autonomy, the more the field of art is able to function according to its own logic, yet, regardless of its degree of independence "...it continues to be affected by the laws of the field which encompasses it,

those of economic and political profit..." (p. 39). This double hierarchy of the artistic field is always the site of struggles, as both those "who dominate the field economically and politically" and those who "tend to identify with a degree of independence from the economy" will attempt to impose "the legitimate mode of cultural production"⁷ (p. 41). The stake in the struggle is over the authority of imposing the definition of what a particular form of art is, and over the legitimate membership of this group. As the boundaries and positions of the field of cultural production are in the process of continuous creation and recreation, and as the capital required to enter the "game" is less than clearly defined, the field of cultural production is "...one of the indeterminate sites in the social structure...", accounting for "...its extreme dispersion and the conflict between rival principle of legitimacy..." (p. 43).

⁷ This struggle is linked to the struggle of the dominant class, as "some of their competitors identify their interests with the dominant principles of hierarchization and seek to impose them even within the field, with the support of the temporal powers." (1993, p. 41).

3.5 The Structure of the Field of Cultural Production

The principle of double hierarchization, characteristic of the field of cultural production, bears its mark on the structure of the field. On the autonomous end of this polarized field is the sub-field of restricted production, where the main audience of cultural works are other producers, constituting their only source of recognition. In constant opposition, on the heteronomous end of the field, is the sub-field of large scale production, where works of art fulfill a demand created by the market, followed by economic and political profits⁸. The relationship between these two sub-fields is one of constant antagonism over legitimate membership, yet the practice of each is "determined by the negative relation which unites them" (p. 46).

Changes in the structure of the field are determined mainly by internal changes, such as access to the field between opposing positions ("dominant/dominated, consecrated/novice, old/young, etc.") (p. 53). Although these changes are largely independent from external ones,

⁸ In a similar manner to the larger cultural field, the sub-field of large scale production is polarized in between those who "manage to secure 'high-society' successes and bourgeois consecration" and those "who are condemned to so-called popular success" (1993, p. 46).

they may seem determined by them as a result of their chronological correspondence. However, the outcome of these struggles may depend on the concordance between internal and external changes, as newcomers of differing dispositions and position takings from prevailing norms may identify and seek support from sources external to the field, without which they may not prevail. This type of change is less representative of the restricted field of production, where "...each change at any one point in the space of positions objectively defined by their difference, their ecart, induces a generalized change - which means that one should not look for a specific site of change." (p. 58). Every change in positions will have a double effect of transforming the structure and altering position-takings, these resulting "from the relationship between positions" (p. 59).

It is through this continuous change in positions, as newcomers to the field struggle to distinguish themselves by creating new positions and thus as the old ones become displaced, moving down on the temporal and social hierarchy, that the history of the field emerges. This endless link of negative relationships between positions, implies that past changes are always contained within the present. As is expressed by Bourdieu: "...that is why, in an artistic field which has reached an advanced stage of this history, there

is no place for naifs; more precisely, the history is immanent to the functioning of the field, and to meet the objective demands it implies, as a producer but also as a consumer, one has to possess the whole history of the field." (p. 60 & 61).

3.6 Habitus and Positions

The relationship between habitus and positions, has to be viewed according to Bourdieu, as the intersection of two histories: "the history of the positions they occupy and the history of their dispositions" (p. 61). While the relationship is one of mutual influence, it is the habitus that bears primacy, as it is the product of independent conditions and existence, with the power to shape positions. This relationship between habitus and position becomes effective in the field, appearing to agents as a "space of possibles", which is defined by Bourdieu, as "...the relationship between the structure of average chances of access to different positions...and the dispositions of each agent, the subjective basis of the perception and appreciation of the objective chances." (p. 64). Dispositions then, as schemes of perception and appreciation, provide the agent with a "sense of social direction" and a realm of feasible possibilities, as certain

positions will appeal through their "calling" and familiarity, while others will appear as unacceptable or impossible. It is this relationship that provides the "...basis of the astonishingly close correspondence that is found between positions and dispositions, between the social characteristics of posts and social characteristics of the agents who fill them." (p. 64). In the context of the field of culture or art, where the position of the "pure" artist is an institution of freedom, competition, and criticism, the actualization of a position involves the encounter of appropriate dispositions, such as "...disinterestedness and daring, and the (external) conditions of these virtues, such as private income."⁹ (p. 63).

3.7 The Production of Belief

Characteristic of the cultural field is an 'anti-economic' attitude of "...collective disavowal of commercial interests and profits...", nevertheless this realm is one of economic rationality (p. 75). As the economic field is identified by the pursuit of economic profit, the cultural field recognizes as legitimate, both economic and symbolic

⁹ Bourdieu notes that mostly those rich in economic, social and cultural capital are likely to take up economically risky and new positions. Thus those of significant resources are the first to embrace avant-garde positions.

capital¹⁰. It is thus through this unique combination of economic disavowal, which does not imply neither complete negation nor dissimulation but "minor concessions to 'economic' necessities", that the pursuit of profit takes on the appearance of disinterestedness (p. 76). This fundamental law of the field (economic disavowal) is continuously reasserted in the form of oppositions between commercial and non-commercial, small and large scale production, classics and best-sellers, etc., and is the source of the continuous debate surrounding the definition of art is¹¹.

Unlike in the economic field where the value of the product is determined by "the sum of the production costs", in the field of culture or art, the value of the product depends on the belief generated by the interplay of an intricate network of agents and institutions such as, the artist, art trader, art dealer, publisher, public, etc. (p.76). Establishing the value of the art then, is a process where the author is "discovered" and is invested with the "credence", i.e. the symbolic capital of the art trader, publisher, etc., the whole course of events culminating in the act of consecration, in other words in

10 For a definition of symbolic capital, see page 11.

11 Although this opposition may appear in different form across the various fields of art and at successive states in the same field, it is structurally invariant (82).

establishing the authors "worthiness", or his or her value. A consecrated author carries within the "magical" power conferred upon him, whereby through his signature he is able "...to mobilize the symbolic energy produced by the functioning of the whole field, i.e. the faith in the game and its stakes that is produced by the game itself." (p. 81).

3.7 The Market of Symbolic Products

The division of labor characteristic of developed societies is associated with another process, that of autonomization of the different realms, the attainment of relative independence from economic factors. Progress toward autonomy in the cultural field advanced at different rates in different societies, and was accompanied by the development of a professional body of producers that would increasingly observe only internal rules and constraints. The ever growing autonomy of the cultural field was followed by a process of differentiation, in part elicited by the diversity of a gradually enlarging public. It was this progress toward internal differentiation and of the advent of art as commodity, which have eventually led to the emergence of a new distinct category of art, "art-as-pure-signification" (p. 114).

The sub-field of large scale production, fulfilling a demand created by the public, is subject to the external rules of the market, obeying "the imperatives of competition for conquest of the market" (p. 125). In its pursuit of profit, and thus in its need to appeal to the widest possible audience, "...it is obliged to orient itself towards a generalization of the social and cultural composition of the public...", meaning that even works targeted at special populations must "...represent a kind of highest social denominator..." (p.126). Moreover, it depends on the legitimate culture for the borrowing of its themes and techniques, by "...adapting the most venerable themes or subjects, or those most amenable to the traditional laws of composition in the popular arts." (p. 129).

The field of restricted production on the other hand, unencumbered by demands external to the field, such as the public or critics, is free to function in accordance with its own internal logic. Its mode of production without readily available instruments of appropriation, affirms the "mode of representation over the object of representation", the "primacy of form over function", thereby articulating "...the field's claim to produce and impose the principles of a properly cultural legitimacy regarding both the production and the reception of an art-work." (p. 117).

Consequently, the works of the restricted field of production find their audience among those in possession of a certain level of knowledge regarding the history of the field, among those with the ability to understand field's internal dialectic that of stylistic differentiation, such as other producers, critics, publishers, etc.. In other words, unraveling the "mystery" of a "pure" work of art requires a certain cultural competence or aesthetic disposition, realized through institutions of reproduction and conservation, such as the educational system, respectively museums. It is in this context, that the role of the educational system becomes apparent, as it not only plays a role in the production of different levels of cultural competence, i.e. cultural capital, but through its social power also serves to legitimate the products of the dominant class, in the same time devaluing those of the dominated classes. The dominant culture then, serves to symbolically legitimize "a form of domination", through a process which goes unrecognized as it functions to disguise the underlying nature of the dominant power.

In conclusion, the internal structure of the cultural field has been itself subject to a historical process of evolution toward a growing independence from external determinations. What emerges out of these series of transformations, is an internally divided field, into two

subfields, the restricted and the large scale field of production. While the later is subject for its survival on the demand of the public, the former is free of such demands, creating and imposing its own principles of cultural legitimacy.

This chapter was a short account of Bourdieu's general theoretical model, as well as that of the cultural field. However brief though, it is in the hope that it has captured the fundamentals of Bourdieu's theory. The next chapter will turn to Jameson's theory, providing a similar account in purpose.

Chapter IV. THE STRUCTURE AND LOGIC OF FREDRIC JAMESON'S THEORY

4.1 Theoretical Outline

The aim of this chapter is to outline the basic framework of Jameson's theory. Although his model is essentially Marxist in its origins, there are a number of points where the two models diverge, as he attempts to overcome the limitations of this deterministic mode of understanding. Thus the first part of this chapter, is a brief delineation of Jameson's theoretical model, with a focus on some of the elements that set his theory apart from orthodox Marxism. The second part, will summarize his account of the postmodern cultural sphere.

Jameson's method "postmodern Marxism", seems at first a contradiction of terms, as it couples the postmodern's connotation of war on totality with the Marxist economic determinist and thus totalizing approach. As Jameson theorizes the postmodern, which he sees as a radical departure from the bygone age of the modern, he relies on a totalizing methodology for two reasons. First, he argues that differences become intelligible and can be measured only against the background of a dominant cultural logic, without which history appears as "...sheer heterogeneity,

random difference, a coexistence of a host of distinct forces whose effectivity is undecidable..." (Jameson, 1991, p. 6). Second, such a methodological standard grounded in the overarching history of relations of production, allows for the understanding of society and culture as the symptom of a greater, all encompassing development, at the same time offering a means to detect capitalism's homogenizing tendencies. Thus his method "postmodern Marxism", stands to denote the contextualizing of postmodern culture in the history of relations of production.

For Jameson, it is Marxism alone, that is capable of providing a historical framework, a "single great collective story" which allows for the progression of culture and society to be reinterpreted and retold "as sharing a single fundamental theme" (Jameson, 1981, 18&19). In other words, reinstating history rescues from the depths of the unconscious and symbolic our collective social reality. Only by understanding the underlying contradiction of social existence, that society and culture gain coherence and intelligibility. As Jameson writes, "...it is in detecting the traces of that uninterrupted narrative, in restoring to the surface of the text the repressed and buried reality of this fundamental history, that the doctrine of a political unconscious finds its function and necessity..." (p. 20). Consequently, for Jameson interpretation of literary texts,

art and culture has to start from the realm of social and historical, in other words it has to be political in nature. To establish a distinction between what is political and what is not, would be "...a symptom and a reinforcement of the reification and privatization of contemporary life...conceptual gap between the public and the private,... between the public and the 'individual'..." (p. 20).

However, Jameson's use of the Marxist model does not mean that his methodology will embrace the economic determinism of the orthodox model, or a mechanistic model of causality, in the view of which the superstructure is seen as the direct effect of the underlying infrastructure or in other words culture, art and literature are seen to be determined and the result of economic relations of production, with no existence of their own. Although he does not exclude a certain usefulness or "local validity" of this type of analysis, he argues that the use of such a model is "...a symptom of objective contradictions that are still within us..." (p. 25& 26). In a similar manner, he rejects another view of causality, that of expressive causality, the idea that the whole composed by different domains, such as economic, political, religious, etc., may be explained by or reduced to an inner essence. The problems he sees with such a view is not only that it invites a factitious reinterpretation of the social or

cultural in terms of a master narrative, but also that as this essence projects itself into the different levels of social reality, they become nothing but reflections of each other, collapsing into one another and with no existence of their own (Dowling, 1984). In an effort to avoid the so called "short circuit" effect, a frequent criticism of Marxist theories, Jameson builds his theory on the Althusserian concept of "structural causality". This term denotes a model of causality where the effect becomes something of a cause, in other words, social reality becomes the result of the existing relations among the parts or elements of a social structure that is something more and different from the sum of its parts. Althusser defines it, as the "...concept whose object is precisely to designate the mode of presence of the structure in its effects, and therefore to designate structural causality itself..." (1981, p. 24). Consequently, it is through this concept, that Jameson tries to circumvent the model of mechanistic causality, as different domains of social reality such as political, legal, religious, economic, etc., are not only effects but functioning conditions of the social whole. As no one part is assigned primacy in the inner operation of this structural totality, the different realms can be conceived as possessing a logic and existence of their own, in other words a semi-autonomy that "has to relate as much

as it separates" (p.41). The ambiguity created by the concept of semi-autonomy, is clarified by Jameson through "mediation", which is an attempt to overcome the fragmentation, compartmentalization and the proclivity toward autonomization. Mediation, "...the relationship between levels or instances, and the possibility of adapting analyses and findings from one level to another...", underscores on a symbolic and methodological level the prior existence and unity of all social reality. If by now structural causality is beginning to show similarities with the notion of expressive causality, where different social levels are mere reflections of each other, it is because there is some validity to this observation. However, Jameson argues that only against the background of a common identity, in this case the historical process, does it make sense and is it possible to talk about differences.

Accordingly for Jameson mediation or transcoding is a methodological tool to recover history, i.e. to expose the contradiction, the unacknowledged and repressed which in Marxist theory is seen as the result of estrangement and alienation, in other words the division and fragmentation of the collective and ultimately the individual. Thus social expressions in form of culture, art, religion, etc., are misconstrued attempts toward some degree of coherence, i.e. strategies of containment "...which allow what can be

thought to seem internally coherent in its own terms, while repressing the unthinkable...which lies beyond its boundaries..." (p.53). Consequently, the aim of his analysis is to "...find its privileged content in rifts and discontinuities within the work, and ultimately in a conception of the former 'work of art' as a heterogeneous and a schizophrenic text..." (p.56).

The question emerging then is: How is one to recapture social reality or history without being entrapped in yet another ideology of containment, another form of meta-narrative of one's own construction? Jameson provides the solution to this problem through Greimas' and Rastier's semiotic model of analysis, according to which the structure of social reality is mapped out in combinations of logical possibilities. He is able to appropriate this ahistorical scheme of binary oppositions for his own purposes, precisely because it provides the limits of "ideological consciousness", because it maps the boundaries of containment. Thus it is this kind of semiotic analysis, that enables Jameson not only to recognize ideologies of containment but also to see behind them the unrecognized and repressed source of repression. This boundary or limit "...now affords a way into the text, not by positing the mere logical possibilities and permutations, but rather through its diagnostic revelation of terms or nodal points

implicit in the ideological systems which have, however, remained unrealized in the surface of the text, which failed to become manifest in the logic of narrative, and which we can therefore read as what the text represses..." (p.48).

Works of art as symbolic manifestations of underlying contradictions, as ideological acts "with the function of inventing imaginary or formal 'solutions' to unresolvable social contradictions" are to be interpreted with the aim of recovering history or social reality (p.75). To this end Jameson builds on the Marxist critical insights of literary and cultural interpretation, proposing a framework with three concentric levels which encompass gradually increasing stages of abstractness and extending social contexts. The first step, in this process of reinterpretation centers on the text or object within the narrow limits of its historical and political background. Situating the text or object within the limited confines of its environment, allows for the work or act under examination to be grasped essentially as symbolic. Transcending the symbolic functions of an individual work of art or rewriting it in terms of its interrelated conditions within which it occurs, is not to be conceived, Jameson reminds us, as relinquishing "...the purely formal level for something extrinsic to it...but rather immanently, by construing purely formal patterns as a symbolic enactment of the social within the formal and the

aesthetic..." (p. 77). The cultural object then, is to be seen not merely as a reflection of the underlying social and political contradiction but also as a solution or resolution to that contradiction, finding expression in the realm of the culture or aesthetic, and as such, the work of art becomes an act with an ideological content.

The second step, expands the "semantic horizon" to incorporate the social order, and the text or object is seen from within the dynamics of social classes, becoming nothing more than an "...ideologeme, that is, the smallest intelligible unit of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses of social classes" (p. 76). At this stage, the cultural analysis comes to completeness only by the reinterpretation of the work of art within the framework of class struggles. Because from a Marxist point of view class struggles are viewed as dichotomous and relational, between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, between the oppressors and oppressed, this perspective distinguishes itself from other sociological modes of analysis to which different subgroups appear as isolated and independent, reflecting their unique positioning in the social stratum. The transition from the first stage of analysis, where the work of art or the text was still essentially symbolic and situated in a univocal context, to the second stage, involves the rewriting or restructuring of the subtext as to reflect the dialogical

and antagonistic nature of class relations "...in which two opposing discourses fight it out within the general unity of a shared code..." (p.84). As such, using the analogy of Saussure's semiological model, the object of analysis "...will be refocused as a *parole*, or individual utterance, of that vaster system, or *langue*, of class discourse..." (p. 85). Since cultural objects appear hegemonic, in the sense of representing only one element or side of the dialog, the other silent "voice" has to be reconstituted and thereby the autonomy of the text or work undermined. It is this emphasis on the dialogical and relational nature of class relations, that allows Jameson to view cultural hegemony as "...a process of the reappropriation and neutralization, the co-optation and class transformation, the cultural universalization, of forms which originally expressed the situation of 'popular', subordinate, or dominated groups..." (p. 86).¹²

Finally, the third stage involves placing the work of art in the context "...of human history as a whole and by their respective positions in the whole complex sequence of the modes of production..." (p.76). The work, at this stage of analysis, comes to be viewed from the perspective of

12. This process of aesthetic universalization according to Jameson corresponds to the "process of legitimation in the realm of ideology and conceptual systems" (p.87).

history itself, as the ultimate ground of understanding and interpretation. In Marxist theory, each stage of history corresponds to a specific mode of production, which are delineated by Marx as: primitive communism or tribal society, hierarchical kinship society, oligarchical slaveholding society, feudalism, capitalism and communism, each stage having its own dominant form of cultural and ideological production. This type of Marxist analysis which views cultural stages as so many expressions of different modes of production, invites the criticism of reifying history, of being synchronic and categorizing. To circumvent these criticisms, Jameson develops his theory based on Poulantzas' model of "social formation". Poulantzas distinguishes between "modes of production" as abstract and theoretical constructions, and "social formations" as more empirical forms of understanding society at certain points in history, as the concomitant existence of different modes of production. Although Jameson rejects this mode of analysis, he retains the later concept of "social formations", and engages it in the construction of his own theory. Consequently, through this view of history involving the simultaneous presence of different modes of production at any one point in time, for example during the Enlightenment period the coexistence of "*ancien regime*" as it was gradually being displaced by the capitalist market

society, Jameson recaptures the dynamism and diachronicity of social reality. Thus in this third stage, the object of analysis "...may be designated, drawing on recent historical experience, as *cultural revolution*, that moment in which the coexistence of various modes of production becomes visibly antagonistic, their contradictions moving to the very center of political, social and historical life..." (p. 95). The idea behind cultural revolutions does not designate or limit itself only to periods of transition, it rather serves to denote continuous struggles or changes between older and newer modes of production. The work of art then in this third stage of analysis, is to be reinterpreted in the context "...of a field of force in which the dynamics of sign systems of several distinct modes of production can be registered and apprehended..." (p.98). As such, the cultural artifact becomes an "ideology of form", i.e. a content carrying within itself besides its manifest ideological message, the underlying contradictions and discontinuities of social reality.

4.1 The Postmodern Cultural Sphere

Having outlined the basic framework of Jameson's theory, his methodological tool that allows a penetrating look behind the mysticism of culture, it becomes evident

that perhaps his most essential concern is centered around recapturing and regrounding the world of the social, in history. His task of recovering the historical subtext of contemporary culture appears to pose a paradox, as it attempts to tell the story of an age which has lost the thread to its past, which has lost nature to culture. However, Jameson does not seem encumbered by appearances as he employs Marx's totalizing theory to expose postmodernity as only the symptom, the expression of yet another purer stage of capital development.

Following Ernest Mandel, he distinguishes three stages in the evolution of capitalism, each marked by the predominance of a specific technological power. These periods are outlined as: market capitalism, the monopoly stage of capitalism or imperialism and lastly the multinational stage of capitalism. Building on this evolutionary scheme, Jameson identifies three corresponding moments in the cultural sphere: realism, modernism and postmodernism. Although periodizing hypothesis often invoke the criticism of losing the voice of opposition and difference in the great mass of homogeneity, Jameson insists that it is important precisely for this reason to understand postmodernity "...not as a style but rather as a cultural dominant: a conception which allows for the presence and

coexistence of a very different, yet subordinate, features..." (p.4).

Also as previously mentioned, only with the contrasting background of a dominant cultural logic can differences be appraised and the continuity of history retrieved in the face of erratic and isolated differences. Thus, through his critical insights in contemporary culture and art, he undertakes the task of giving a systematic description of the dominant cultural norm along with its mechanisms of reproduction.

Jameson's map of postmodern culture identifies features characteristic of this third stage of capitalism, which he achieves by juxtaposing the modern with the postmodern. Emerging from his analysis are a number of specifically postmodern qualities, of which perhaps the most evident one is a sense of depthlessness and flatness or superficiality. Along with this new development came the postmodern's repudiation of a number of traditional models built on binary oppositions, such as: that between "essence and appearance..., latent and manifest..., authenticity and inauthenticity..., and between signifier and signified... (p. 12). All these symptoms however, can be seen as the enveloping layer of some more profound underlying change, that has been termed the death or decentering of the subject. The very condition of these dualities lay on the

presumption of a center, that of an autonomous individual or subject. While the modern experienced these existential dilemmas in terms of alienation and anxiety, the postmodern offered its resolution through the decentering and fragmentation of the individual, or as expressed by Jameson through the "waning of affect".

In the context of the artistic field these changes translate into a new development, the proliferation and coexistence of "...stylistic and discursive heterogeneities without a norm...". Art devoid of subject and of content, has "...nowhere to turn but to the past: the imitation of dead styles, speech through all the masks and voices stored up in the imagery museum of a now global culture..." (p.18). This turn to history, its reappropriation and transmutation into stylistic images, marks the existence of a new culture, what Jameson terms the culture of "simulacrum"¹³. As past referents have been sealed into their own reflections, into their own images, and as history has become nothing more than a distant amalgam of unrelated images, is not only social reality that eludes interpretation, but also works of art. This development comes, not incidentally, in an age when the divorce between use value and market value has been

13. The concept originates from Plato, used to denote "the identical copy for which no original has ever existed" (Jameson, 1995 p. 18).

so complete, that "...even the very memory of use value is effaced..." (p.18). Thus, in culture or art we are lead to recognize reflections of the condition of late capitalism, which has severed all its ties to its hidden essence or its moment of truth.

The analysis of the postmodern's loss of historicity, its loss of cognitive or mental ability to connect the flux of time into a coherent whole and to map temporality, has lead to the emergence of a new cultural style, termed "schizophrenic experience". The concept used by Lacan to describe the breakdown of the signifying chain in effect that of meaning, now denotes the experience of isolated or incongruous moments, the "...experience of pure material signifiers, or, in other words, a series of pure and unrelated presents in time..." (p. 27). Consequently, not only is the subject deluded by the intensity of an ever staring present without the possibility of meaning or intention, but its senses and perceptions are deluded by the expansion of the material. The contextual displacement of the postmodern does not limit itself merely to the temporal context. As Jameson illustrates through his analysis of architecture, it is also the spatial that underwent a mutation or evolution, in which the subject is yet to find itself. The disorienting capitalist hyperspace leaves the individual in a state of numbness and impotence, as it

"...has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its immediate position in a mappable external world..." (p. 44). The individual then, is rendered to passivity, as its very being has been absorbed and neutralized under the all-penetrating force of capitalism.

Another attribute of Jameson's cultural map, is his view concerning the traditional distinction between high and low culture, which does not come as a surprise. The existence of the concept high culture presupposed some degree of autonomy or self-determination, a view according to which art could be an end in itself, without any particular instrumental reason. Although, it is precisely this end which has been encapsulated by the extensive commodification of the third stage of capitalism and "reduced to a means for its own consumption", Jameson suggests another way of conceptualizing the issue for a number of reasons. First, stating the problem in terms of the binary opposition between high and low culture infers the universality of high culture and secondly it valorizes high culture as a standard against which low culture can be compared and from which it can be criticized. For Jameson then, the issue will have to be rephrased in such a way as to reflect a "...genuinely historical and dialectical approach..." (1990, p. 16). If the problem is so restated,

it becomes clear that "...the only form of high culture which can be said to constitute the dialectical opposite of mass culture is that high culture production contemporaneous with the latter, which is to say that artistic production designated generally as modernism..." (p. 15). Through this reinterpretation in the context of history, it becomes evident that both modernism and mass culture have similar contents as they are sustained by the same raw material, namely the "...relations of repression with the fundamental social anxieties and concerns, hopes, and blind spots, ideological antinomies and fantasies of disaster...". However, the process by which they incorporate this raw material is different; if modernism is still a reaction to the process of commodification, an attempt to produce an aesthetic language to withstand instrumentalization, the mass culture has already created a solution in its own right "...by the projection of an optical illusion of social harmony..." (p. 26).

The question rightfully arising at this point is: How does Jameson conceptualize these postmodern cultural developments, which tend to withstand interpretation and comprehension? The solution to this question lies in his attempt to conceive of the present in terms of history, as "the cultural dominant of the logic of late capitalism" (p. 46). For him only this type of logic is able to provide the

distance imperative for critical analysis, and is capable of reconnecting this seemingly free floating present to its material origins. For Jameson, this means understanding the disorienting culture of the postmodern as the symptom of a larger development, namely the stage of multinational capitalism. To grasp the meaning of this new economic world system, its expansion into and commodification of all social life, Jameson proposes a look at the aesthetic representation of machine power. Whereas for the modern, the machines constituted "...still visible emblems, sculptural nodes of energy which gave tangibility and figuration to the motive energies...", for the postmodern, the age of computer, television and other various reproductive technologies (movie cameras, videos, etc.), the imposing power of the machine has become nondiscernable (p.36). Consequently, this new vast power network of information and control which eludes representation, stands as an analogy, illustrating of something deeper, namely the invisible penetration of all social life by the "massive Being of capital".

Accordingly, understanding culture in the context of capital development, in terms of its interrelationship with the economic, as it expresses a condition all the while repressing it, the predicament of the postmodern becomes nothing more than the "...consumption of sheer

commodification as a process..." (p.X). Jameson's final diagnosis regarding culture, of having lost the semi-autonomy that it still enjoyed in the period of the modern, of having expanded to envelop everything from "...economic value and state power to practices and to the very structure of the psyche itself..." is a reflection of the system which has absorbed into itself and thereby paralyzed all attempts of resistance (p.48).

Chapter V. BOURDIEU'S AND JAMESON'S ANALYSIS OF LITERARY WORKS

Having outlined in the previous two chapters the basic theoretical framework and methodology of both theorists, Bourdieu and Jameson, the next chapter will look at how these analytical models are applied to the analysis of two literary works. The two novels, *Sentimental Education* by Flaubert, and *La Vieille Fille* by Balzac, analyzed by Bourdieu, respectively Jameson, have been chosen because they have been written in relatively the same period of literary style, that of realism. This choice should give more meaning and an equal base of comparison to what follows in chapter VI, which is an analytical comparison not only regarding the general differences and similarities of these two theories, but also more specifically as they apply to the analysis of literary works.

5.1 Flaubert in Bourdieu's sociological analysis

Bourdieu's analysis of Flaubert, more precisely his novel *Sentimental Education*, can be seen as a sociological endeavor to unveil the social structure behind the story. By applying his systematic tool of analysis to this novel to reveal the implicit, the story gradually becomes a

transparent medium through which his sociological model takes shape. Through his methodology he integrates the analysis of the text itself with the analysis of the structure of literary field and the author's habitus and position in that field.

In following his analytical scheme, the initial component of his analysis exposes the underlying structure of the narrative. As such, the fundamental interplay of two fields throughout the story becomes evident: the field of power personified through characters propelled in politics and business, and the artistic field embodying the world of art and politics. The relationship between these fields is one of antagonism and incompatibility; while the field of power is characterized by the ultimate value placed on financial resources, the artistic field is one of "disinterested intelligence" and "deliberate poverty" (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 148). The characters histories or trajectories are seen to be determined by the interaction between the field(s) and their habitus. The effectiveness of this model holds only so many possibilities; defining the narrow range of one's trajectory is nowhere more apparent than in the life of the protagonist, Frederic. Throughout the story, he is at a crossroads, as he is torn as a result of his conflicting ambitions, between a career in business or in art. Because of this indecisiveness, "...he breaks

the golden rule of the field of power, trying to bring about the marriage of opposing extremes, the *coincidantia oppositorium*, by attempting to maintain a position of untenable equilibrium between the two worlds..." (p. 153). Through the entangled love life of Frederic, the reader is led to recognize the existence of structural homologies between different forms of love and love of art, as both pure love and pure love of art are passionate, priceless and unreasoning, characteristics or laws that stand in complete opposition with the "conventional" world of business and money. As Frederic finally makes his choice toward the untainted in love, having chosen "...to play a losing game, he can do none other than to lose; and he loses on all accounts, because unlike pure art, pure love is necessarily sterile, and can never be embodied through any act of creation..." (p. 155). When at the end, Frederic makes his final remark: "It was there that we had the best of our lives..." referring to a futile visit at the brothel, he not only encapsulates his own life-story in this sentence, but also that of the artist in general. Although, in a conventional sense it is a life of impotence and of unrealized possibilities, it is also one of absolute tranquillity as all these possibilities come to fulfillment in art. For Bourdieu, it is at this point that we can catch a glimpse of the writer behind the story, as he projects

into it not only the dilemma of the artist's existence but also the realization or objectification of one of his own possibilities through the life of Frederic and thereby his disassociation from it. Through the artist's detachment the sociologist's, view of the social world concealed in literary form comes to life. The task of a sociological reading then, is to lift this veil, to recover the absent text, in other words to make explicit what was expressed only in terms of negation. In Bourdieu's words, it is this literary objectification "...which enables the most deeply buried and the most safely hidden truth to emerge; indeed, the form constitutes the veil that allows the author and the reader to hide from themselves...this repressed truth (in this case, the structure of the field of power and the model of social aging)..." (p. 159).

To understand Flaubert the writer, to grasp the impetus behind his "generative scheme" which is itself a function of his habitus, it is essential to examine the potentialities and structure of the artistic field, in which it realized itself and from which it is inseparable. Since the general structure and laws of functioning of these fields were described in some detail in a previous chapter (III.), this discussion will limit itself to the historical context of Flaubert's age. This period around mid-nineteenth century was a time of significant structural transformations in the

literary and artistic fields. As higher education became more expansive, turning out greater numbers of individuals "versed in the humanities and rhetoric", that not even a growing job market could absorb, many found themselves turning toward the glorified literary and artistic professions (p. 194). Converging mainly in Paris in the hope that art would provide not only a means to life but also prestige, and "...separated from the rest of society by the lifestyle they were in the process of inventing, there arose a veritable society within society..." (p. 195). The characteristics of this group, their lack of financial means and yet their aristocratic or upper bourgeois lifestyle, refused any kind of clear categorization. Their ambiguous relationship to the market, their assertion of independence over the principles of legitimate behavior, were structural changes, that according to Bourdieu, no doubt contributed to the emergence of an autonomous literary field. Between 1830 and 1850 the literary field was structured around three positions, that of "'social art', 'art for art's sake' and 'bourgeois art'" (p. 166); positions defined both in relation to the field of power and in reference to other positions within the literary field. Social art fulfilled a social and political function at the intersection between the political and literary fields, occupied a dominated position in the literary field, and identified with the

interests of the dominated class. Bourgeois art on the other hand, in their life style and value system identified with the dominant class, and their rewards included not only material benefits but also the honor of the Academy. Finally, the position of art for art's sake defied simple categorization, as its relationship to both social and bourgeois art was ambivalent from an aesthetic and political perspective. At the heart of this ambivalence was art for art's sake's position "...at the field's center of gravity, leaning towards one pole or the other, according to the state of the forces outside the field and their indirect consequences within the field, shifting towards political commitment or revolutionary sympathies in 1848 and towards indifference or conservatism under the Second Empire..." (p. 168). This effort toward separation and detachment from all outside reference groups, became the impelling force behind its evolution into an autonomous field (restricted field of production), as its internal functioning became the economic world reversed, its product eluding the law of the market, which contrary to other commodities it "is not made to be consumed" (p. 169).

It is from among the potentialities inscribed in this restricted field of production, that Flaubert was predestined to express and fulfill by his disposition or habitus. To understand the source of this predisposition,

it is necessary to understand the indeterminacy of his position in the social space, the ambiguity of his father's position as a physician, his endowment with largely equal amounts of both economic and cultural capital, and the family dynamic especially in relation to his older brother which propels him into the position of "family idiot" (p. 171). According to Bourdieu, once we understand Flaubert's indeterminate position in the field of power, his trajectory to a homologous position in the field of art will start to make sense. His position in the nebulous social realm at the intersection of the intellectual and bourgeois world, actuates into a similarly obscure position within the two poles of the literary field, distinguished by its refusal of constraining limits, and by its indeterminacy. It is this negative relationship to the literary field, that explains Flaubert's work, accounting for its value and originality.

Perhaps one of the most important merits of Bourdieu's methodology is bringing to life a historical horizon in the context of which the work of art is to be comprehended. In the present case, it is only by historicizing Flaubert that "...we can understand how he tore himself away from the strict historicity of less historic fates..." (p. 205). By considering his resources, potentialities and his point of view, are we able to avoid seeing him through the filter of

our posterior literary constructions, and are we able to understand his struggles and his achievements.

5.2 Balzac in Jameson's literary analysis

It should be apparent from the previous discussion of Jameson's theory, that he regards cultural artifacts as embodiments of ideological messages or of strategies of containment. Literary texts, as manifest narrative structures are subject to interpretation, the process by which the latent is unveiled and exposed. The novel, a literary form, which develops simultaneously with capitalism, is of special interest for Jameson as it produces "...as though for the first time that very life world, that very 'referent'-the newly quantifiable space of extension and market equivalence, new rhythms of measurable time, the new secular and 'disenchanted' object world of the commodity system, with its post-traditional daily life and its bewilderingly empirical, 'meaningless', and contingent *Umwelt*-of which this new narrative discourse will then claim to be the 'realistic' reflection." (Jameson, 1981, p. 152). Balzac's writings, progenitors of realist novels, present Jameson with the opportunity to explore the historical emergence of the "centered subject", a change brought about by "...the universal commodification of the labor-power of

individuals and their confrontation as equivalent units within the framework of the market, the *anomie* of these now 'free' and isolated individual subjects." (p. 154).

The novel *La Vieille Fille*, by Balzac, through Jameson's analysis comes to reveal precisely these mutations, bringing to the surface expressions characteristic of distinct historical moments in the development of capitalism. One such exposure is illustrated by Jameson through the narrative element of description, which in Balzac's novel is still signifying the anonymous and depersonalized nature of desire. This particular form of desire, seen by him as "allegorical of all desire in general and of Desire as such", is different from the desire of the "individual monad", where it becomes relativized and a psychological characteristic or an individual trait (p. 156). Balzac's inviting description of Mademoiselle Cormon's stylish townhouse, with its surroundings of "tranquil chastity" and infinitely "calm" and peaceful atmosphere becomes symbolic of "Utopian wish-fulfillment" for the past, for the "feudal lordship" and "great estate" (p. 155 & 157). Besides the Utopic desire evident in this image, what is also discernible here, is the ideological conflict of these two historical periods, between the aristocracy and the ensuing bourgeoisie, which is resolved in the text through the dynamic of juxtaposing these

different life-styles. The same concept of contradiction and resolution is to be found behind the persona of Mademoiselle Cormon, who is at once "grotesque" yet "desirable" (p. 158).

Another element of the novel, which is again idiosyncratic of this period of the yet undeveloped autonomous individual is the lack of a protagonist, which is achieved by the "rotation of character centers which deprives each of them in turn of any privileged status" (p. 161). The characters, the poet Athanase, the impoverished noblemen from the extinct House of Valois, and the bourgeois Du Bousquier, are all contenders for Mademoiselle Cormon's hand, and their puzzling identities are endowed with allegorical meanings. Du Bousquier's energetic character, as the "former profiteer of the Revolutionary armies" and the "head of the liberal opposition to the Bourbon restoration", carries within a tension, that comes to light, as his sexual impotency is disclosed (p. 161). On the other hand, Chevalier's sexual potency which is inferred from a series of allusions, comes as a surprising revelation. For Jameson, the sexual overtones of these characters, become symbolic of the "...relationship between sexual potency and class affiliation..." (p. 163). The narrative reinterpreted in this light, the quest for Mademoiselle Cormon's hand, develops into a quest of legitimacy, into a struggle for

power between the traditional and the aristocratic typified by the noble Chevalier and the bourgeois post-revolutionary state expressed through the character of Du Bousquier.

Although the conclusion of the story, Du Bousquier's victory over Chevalier comes as no surprise, if we keep with the reality of history, Jameson redirects our attention to the didactic message of the work, to the "...political object-lesson that seeks to transform the events of empirical history into an optional trial run against which the strategies of the various social classes can be tested." (p. 164). At this level of analysis, we acknowledge the paradox at the heart of this narrative, experienced as an antinomy to which the story seeks resolution, between the sterile revolutionary world of Du Bousquier with its bourgeois values and the elderly Chevalier's world of tradition, aristocracy and potency. The synthesis of these values comes "...in the sorry young would-be poet Athanase, and beyond him by Romanticism itself: a movement of which Balzac's work, ...stands as a thoroughgoing critique..." (p. 168). However, the ideal and unattainable integration is personified through the character of yet unmentioned Comte de Troisville, an aristocratic officer in whom aristocratic legitimacy and Napoleonic type of military power come to realization. Although he is imagined by Mademoiselle Cormon to be the perfect solution to her problem, this option

though proves unfeasible, as he is already married. This character is termed by Jameson, the "horizon-figure", the ideal alternative, but only in the event "...the aristocracy could learn this particular object-lesson, namely that it needs a strong man who combines aristocratic values with Napoleonic energy..." (p. 168). Mademoiselle Cormon's pathetic fate then, "married, and an old maid all at once", proves to be the "horrible object-lesson", through which the didactic message of the narrative comes forth; namely the conditional view of history "...emptied of its finality, its irreversibility, its...inevitability..." (p. 169).

By now the underlying motives of the narrative, the unrelativized desire of the yet uncentered subject within the still indeterminate history are evident. As Jameson addresses the question regarding the function of desire of wish fulfillment and its connection to realism, building on the Lacanian model, he distinguishes two stages in this process. In the first stage, the wish-fulfilling or Imaginary text seeks an impossible solution, which in the case of this novel is "...the dream of landed establishment marked out but left narratively unfulfilled in the horizon-figure of Troisville." (p. 181). At this point, the wish-fulfilling text is ideological in nature and it is the precondition of its own realization. In the second stage, that of the "Symbolic text", the narrative seeks to answer

the difficulties or "...objections of the nascent 'reality principle' of capitalist society and of the bourgeois superego or censorship." (p. 183). It is here, that the connection between desire and realism first appears in the "resistance of the Real" to the fulfillment of the wish or desire. Consequently, the "Real" is an "absent cause", which emerges to the surface only through "Desire", only through the dynamic of "wish-fulfilling mechanisms" (p. 184).

Chapter VI. CONCLUSION

6.1 Comparative Analysis of Jameson's and Bourdieu's Cultural Theories

The purpose of this chapter is to critically examine, by juxtaposing and comparing, the cultural theories of Bourdieu and Jameson and their analyses of cultural works. Through this process, I hope to expose their significant similarities on a number of accounts, while at the same time highlighting some divergent points in their theories.

Perhaps, the analytical component that is most revealing and far reaching in consequence, is the fundamental question regarding the role of culture in the social whole. For Jameson, a Marxist, culture entertains a definite relationship with the social and material realm, by being embedded and an expression of specific moments within the larger historical framework of relations of production. However, as is evident from a previous chapter (IV), this does not mean that he embraces the economic determinism of the Marxist model. In fact he very deliberately tries to avoid such an allusion by adopting the Althusserian model of structural causality, where social reality is seen to be the result of existing relations among the different parts of the social structure, which can not be reduced to the sum of

its elements. Cultural products or works of art then, which are ideological in nature, are nothing but strategies of containment, i.e. manifestations of and solutions to the underlying contradictions of capitalism.

Bourdieu's view of culture on the other hand, presents similarities in important respects. Culture, a relatively autonomous field, with its own logic and rules of functioning, is expressive of the underlying social structure in an obscure fashion, by masking the economic and political nature of domination. By concealing the real nature of social power, symbolic capital, as the stake in the struggle for domination, contributes to the reproduction and legitimation of the dominant social class. The potency of culture to transform originates precisely in this "...specific power, the properly symbolic power of showing things and making people believe in them, of revealing, in an explicit, objectified way the more or less confused, vague, unformulated, even unformulable experiences of the natural world and the social world, and of thereby bringing them into existence." (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 146).

It is apparent then, that for both theorists, the symbolic or cultural is grounded in social reality and holds important political implications. For Jameson, it serves to express while at the same time repress the underlying contradiction of economic reality. For Bourdieu, the same

relationship holds. Culture and social reality are interrelated in a complex relationship of mutual constitution, which may have ideological functions by concealing and misrepresenting the economic and political nature of class domination.

On the same note, another point needs to be brought out, the conceptualization of the linking mechanism between the realm of symbolic and material, common to both of these theories. Jameson's structural causality and Bourdieu's notion of the field, both allow for a view of culture that avoids the determinism of orthodox Marxism. Both concepts, situate culture in a relatively autonomous position with its own internal logic. However, while in Bourdieu's theory we find these laws and rules of functioning clearly specified, it is more difficult to see in Jameson's theory the dynamic of this semi-autonomous regulation. In addition, where Jameson leaves unspecified the constitutive power of culture, in other words how exactly does culture contribute to the production or transformation of social reality, Bourdieu accounts for it through the power of symbolic representation as it acts upon social reality by molding, transforming and bringing into existence.

In making the transition to a more micro level of analysis, concerning the connection between agency and structure, important theoretical differences emerge between

Bourdieu and Jameson. For Jameson, a true Marxist in this area, human agents are passive, and ultimately powerless against the overarching force of capitalism. In his words: "That this seemingly disembodied force is also an ensemble of human agents trained in specific ways and inventing original local tactics and practices according to the creativities of human freedom is also obvious, from a different perspective, to which one would add that for the agents of capital the old dictum holds: 'people make their history, but not in circumstance of their own choosing.' It is within the possibilities of late capitalism that people glimpse the 'main chance,' 'go for it,' make money, and reorganize firms in new ways..." (Jameson, 1995, p.408). In contrast, for Bourdieu it is the notion of habitus, i.e. "...systems of durable and transposable dispositions..." that furnishes both the limitations and potentialities of action (1977, p. 72). Habitus provides the link between external societal structures and internal mental and cognitive ones, by translating social and economic circumstances into internally objectified structures, and by its mark of a "...particular logic of incorporation..." and "...chronologically ordered determinations..." (1990, p. 56). The homogeneous relationship between habitus and social structures is important in its implications. By rendering the world into a familiar place, by giving the

appearance of naturalness to the social structures of domination in place, it disguises the arbitrary relationship of this system of domination and legitimation. These symbolic systems or schemas of classification are always the object of struggle, as social reality itself is at stake in the struggle of divergent interests. It is through the notion of habitus then, that Bourdieu accounts for the more micro sphere that is left untheorized by Jameson. Through it, he is able "...to explain the origins of the doxic experience of the world as 'taken-for-granted'...and to illuminate how culture plays the mundane political function it does..." (Wacquant, 1993, p. 133).

In essence, Bourdieu's theory eludes a mechanistic vision of culture more convincingly than Jameson's, on two accounts. First, by the notion of field through which he articulates a mediatory mechanism between the symbolic and material. Second, by the concept of habitus through which he restores the creative power of human agency (within limitations) and the subjective dimension of social and cultural analysis.

After these more general notes of comparison, it is in order to look at how these theoretical differences translate more specifically into their analyses of cultural works. For both theorists, works of art or literary texts present themselves as symbolic expressions of an underlying

structure or reality, which can be recovered or exposed only through reinterpretation. For Jameson as for Bourdieu, this process of reinterpretation entails three concentric levels of gradually expanding horizons.

Within the first level of analysis the text is essentially to be grasped as a symbolic enactment of the social. Consequently, for both theorists, interpretation at this level is purely formal and it entails understanding the text immanently, within the narrow confines of its historical and political background or its societal structures. For Jameson, this means recognizing the literary work as a symbolic act, as the resolution of an underlying contradiction on an imaginary level. Similarly for Bourdieu, this first step of analysis entails the recovering of the underlying structure, that "...the literary text unveils while still veiling it...that it will say only in such a manner as to leave it unsaid, that is, by means of negation..." (1993a, p. 158).

As such, in Jameson's analysis of *La Vieille Fille*, by Balzac, at this initial stage, the work is grasped "...as libidinal investment or authorial wish-fulfillment...", through which the underlying tension is relieved (Jameson, 1981, p. 155). Consequently, the contradiction is expressed and resolved in the different narrative elements as they incorporate incompatible qualities, such as the Parisian

townhouse in its surroundings that evokes the provincial images of the past, the persona of Du Bousquier who unites in his character "Napoleonic" energy with sexual impotency, and the old aristocrat Chevalier with his alluded to sexual potency. What these contradictions and resolutions allude to, is the immediate historical context, the legitimate, organic, yet fading world of aristocracy as it is being displaced with an air of unease by the illegitimate and impotent world of bourgeoisie.

In Bourdieu's analysis of *Sentimental Education* by Flaubert, in this initial stage, the underlying structure is revealed as the author projects into the narrative, through his generative model, the social conditions of his own understanding and existence. Recovering the structure, means lifting the veil of literary objectification, to see behind the story the interplay of two antagonistic forces, that of the field of power and artistic field, around which the narrative is centered. It is evident then, that at this formal stage of analysis, for Bourdieu as well as Jameson, the text is a symbolic act which conjures into existence the social world. While its presence is not immediately evident, it is through the process of reinterpretation that the literary work will disclose its nevertheless present subtext.

At the second stage, the scope of the analysis expands beyond the confines of the initial level. For Jameson this means widening the "semantic horizon" to include the social order, in other words, understanding the work within the dynamics of antagonistic social classes. Using Saussure's semiotic analogy, the text must be reconstituted at this level as *parole* in relation to the larger context of class struggles, *langue*. In the particular case of *La Vieille Fille*, the novel is to be understood as an *ideologeme* within its specific historical framework, the nineteenth century. In this context, narrative elements such as, decentered subjects, the lack of a protagonist, and the yet impersonal nature of desire are cultural referents of a period prior to the new stage of market capitalism. Its relationship to the emerging bourgeoisie business world, that at the first level was perceived in terms of contradiction, now must be reformulated in terms of antinomy "an insoluble logical paradox", a closure which the novel seeks to transcend (Jameson, 1981, p. 167). The didactic lesson of the work is, to present a conditional view of history by showing the ideal and its alternatives. The ideal which is personified in one of the characters, Count de Troisville, by synthesizing in his person the positive qualities of both worlds, can be actualized only if the "...aristocracy could learn its particular object-lesson..." (p. 168).

In a similar manner, Bourdieu at this second stage, expands the scope of his analysis to include the social space of the author in order to understand the position or the principle behind Flaubert's work. However, contrary to Jameson, who at this level explains the work in terms of social variables, Bourdieu does not entirely abandon the point of view of the individual. Consequently, his concern is to show the genesis of the social structure of the literary field and the genesis of Flaubert's habitus (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 162). At this point, we glimpse through Bourdieu's analysis the transformations taking place in the structure of the artistic field, namely its evolution toward greater autonomy with its own laws and rules of functioning. Its internal structure is organized around three positions: social art, bourgeois art and art for art's sake. The later position, to the invention of which Flaubert has greatly contributed, being at the center of two opposing poles, both of the artistic field and social space, is subject to rejection and distantiation from both directions, and thus to indeterminacy. The fact that Flaubert was drawn to the potentialities of this position can be attributed to his predispositions, to his habitus. The ambiguous position of his family in the social space, and the dynamics of his family, have both contributed to his indeterminate position within the field of power. Thus

Flaubert's trajectory seems predetermined by his characteristics as he moves from an indeterminate position from within the social space to a homologous position in the literary field. It is this vague or undetermined position " 'live like a bourgeois and think like a demigod' " that is projected in Frederic's character, the protagonist (p. 175).

It is evident after this second stage of analysis that both theorists, Bourdieu and Jameson, move beyond the text of the literary work to recover the social conditions of the novel's production. The historical context of the early nineteenth century ushering in the new world of bourgeoisie with its vigorous commercial activity and expanding market, is where both theorists ultimately look to recover the subtext. However, where Jameson does this directly, seeing the text as an ideological message emanating from a social order in transition, Bourdieu turns to the artistic field, through which external determination, economic, political, etc., is refracted and absorbed according to the field's own internal logic. Consequently, while Jameson sees in this period of transition the roots of the contradiction to which the work itself seeks solution, Bourdieu observes this change as it contributed to the development of the autonomous artistic field.

The third stage of analysis, for Jameson involves the ultimate ground of interpretation and understanding, in

other words looking at the work within the context of history itself, within subsequent moments in the mode of production. Balzac's novel, situated at the very center of the simultaneous coexistence of two modes of production, the disintegrating "ancien regime" as it is being displaced by capitalist market society, points to a social reality that is marked by contradictions and antagonism. The wish-fulfilling function of the text, "...the dream of landed establishment marked out but left narratively unfulfilled in the horizon-figure of Troisville...", has been pointed out at an earlier stage of analysis (Jameson, 1981, p. 181). At this level, what needs to be established is the connection between "...wish-fulfillment and realism, between desire and history..." (P. 182). This connection to reality and history emerges as an absent cause, as Balzac raises the obstacles and objections of reality as to refute them and overcome them. However, he does its "...preparatory work so well that the wish, and desire itself, are confounded by the unanswerable resistance of the Real..." (p. 183). It is in this sense then, that the work draws into itself history, in other words it is Desire that invokes history or reality, as to test the resistance of the later.

The purpose of Bourdieu's analysis at this stage, is to expose the model of the field of power and of the artistic field and reveal the connection of the novel to its social

background. By examining the field of power, he points to the same structural transformations resulting from the expansion of industrialization and market economy, as does Jameson. This social change however, unlike in Jameson's analysis, is not seen as the underlying background that comes to expression in the novel. Instead, the social and economic transition of this period is assimilated in the literary field according to its own specific logic, ultimately providing the impetus behind the internal structural change of the artistic field itself, namely its growing independence from external determination. It is this new found autonomy and indetermination, what characterized the position within the literary field of Flaubert the writer, and is to be found within the "deep memory" of the novel. In a similar manner to Jameson's analysis, where social reality or the cause is absent, for Bourdieu it is by means of negation that the otherwise unbearable truth comes to expression. This negation is to be understood as literary objectification, where reality is experienced as an illusion, in other words, "...the reality against which we measure all our imaginings is merely the recognized referent for an (almost) universally recognized illusion." (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 160). It is in this sense then, that reality stamps its mark on the novel, as Flaubert "...takes his distance from Frederic, who is one of his own

possibilities, and from his impotence, his indecisiveness and his indifference, in the vary act of writing Frederic's history." (p. 157).

In conclusion, the comparison of the analyses of literary works by these two theorists, Bourdieu and Jameson, highlight some significant elements common to both theories. The analytical framework of three concentric levels of gradually expanding horizons is a similar attribute of both theories. Bourdieu as well as Jameson, starting from an immanent level, widen the scope of analysis to the ultimate ground of reference, that of social reality. However, the mechanism of this process differs in these theories, as Bourdieu employs the mediatory concepts of literary field and the author's predisposition or habitus. Consequently, for Jameson the literary work carries within its buried memory, the history of two subsequent modes of production, feudal and capitalist, and their contradictory cultural expressions. It is this reality, the social condition of the author's existence, that finds expression in his work, that breaks to the surface through Balzac, as "...his incorrigible fantasy demands ultimately raise History itself over against him, as absent cause, as that on which desire must come to grief." (Jameson, 1981, p. 183). For Bourdieu on the other hand, the literary work under consideration is an expression not only of a social reality mediated and

transformed by the logic of the literary field, but also the result of its author's creative potential, within the confines of Flaubert's habitus. Although the notion habitus functions to retain precisely this creativity and some degree of individual freedom from external determination, ultimately Bourdieu's over-emphasis on the formative influence of structure on habitus, strips the agency to a large degree of individual determination and creativity, leaving him/her the casualty of social reproduction. Ironically the weakness attributed to Jameson, that of accounting for the individual in terms of social variables, and thus of seeing the artist or the writer and the literary work as an expression of this social reality, proves to be a frail point of Bourdieu's theory.

6.2 Concluding Notes

One of the last questions, but perhaps one of the most important ones, in regards to any work, invariably concerns its value. The importance and worth of the present analysis comes from the subject of study, or in other words the theorists under consideration, Pierre Bourdieu and Fredric Jameson. Through my effort to capture the essence or the fundamentals of these theories, I came upon what is perhaps the most valuable for someone in search of understanding, namely two complex and systematic critical tools of analysis. It is through this inquisitive power to scrutinize and search the depths of the social, that the profound yet engaging vision, of these two theorists emerge. In both, Bourdieu's and Jameson's theories, we witnessed the attempt and the difficulty of overcoming in different ways, deterministic or reductionistic modes of understanding. As such, their theories stand as excellent examples, not only of the problematic nature of the issue to be surmounted, but also as challenges that are yet to be transcended.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

READINGS FROM P. BOURDIEU

Bourdieu, P. (1993a). The Field of Cultural Production. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). Language and Symbolic Power. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). In Other Words. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992). An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1993b). Sociology In Question. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc..

Bourdieu, P. (1984). Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron J.C. (1977). Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture. Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications Inc..

Bourdieu, P. (1990). The Logic of Practice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

READINGS FROM F. JAMESON

Jameson, F. (1995). Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. Durham: Duke University Press.

Jameson, F. (1990). Signatures of the Visible. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall Inc.

Jameson, F. (1981). The Political Unconscious New York: Cornell University Press.

Jameson, F. (1994). The Seeds of Time New York: Columbia University Press.

GENERAL READINGS

Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., & Turner, B.S. (1994). Dictionary of Sociology. New York: Penguin Group.

Alexander, J.C. & Seidman, S. (1990). Culture and Society. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Berger, B. (1995). An Essay on Culture. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Best, S., & Kellner, D. (1991). Postmodern Theory. New York: The Guilford Press.

Calhoun, C. (1995). Critical Social Theory. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell Inc.

Crowther, P. (1994). Sociological Imperialism and the Field of Cultural Production: The Case of Bourdieu. Theory, Culture and Society, 11, 115-169.

Doyle, K. (1992). The Reality of a Disappearance: Fredric Jameson and the Cultural Logic of Postmodernism. Critical Sociology, 19 (1), 113-127.

Dowling, William C. (1984). Jameson, Althusser, Marx. New York: Cornell University Press.

Gans, H.J. (1974). Popular Culture and High Culture. New York: Basic Books, Inc..

Gartman, D. (1991). Culture as Class Symbolization or Mass Reification? A Critique of Bourdieu's Distinction. American Journal of Sociology, 97, 2, 421-447.

Harker, R., Mahar, C., & Wilkes, C. (1990). An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu. The Practice of Theory. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc..

- Harvey, D. (1990). The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Johnson, D.P. (1981). Sociological Theory. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Layder, D. (1994). Understanding Social Theory. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Inc.
- McLellan, D. (1990). Karl Marx. Selected Writings. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Merton, R.K. (1973). The Sociology of Science. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Robins, D. (1991). The Work of Pierre Bourdieu. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Russell, B. (1972). A History of Western Philosophy. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc.
- Saussure, F. de (1966). Course in General Linguistics. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Sewell, W.H. (1992). A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation. American Journal of Sociology, 98(1), 1-29.
- Wacquant, L.J.D. (1993). From Ideology to Symbolic Violence Culture, and Consciousness in Marx and Bourdieu. International Journal of Contemporary Sociology, 30(2), 125-142.
- Wacquant, L.J.D. (1993). From Ruling Class to Field of Power: An Interview with Pierre Bourdieu on La noblesse d'Etat. Theory, Culture & Society, 10, 19-44.
- Williams, R. (1981). The Sociology of Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

VITA

Hajnal Sandidge was born in Romania, on February 18, 1966. She attended Lynchburg College from 1990 to 1994, majoring in Social Sciences. She continued with her studies in the Master of Science program, in the Sociology Department, at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, graduating in May 1996.