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Social and Professional Practices in Praxeological Perspective

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ed. Jeanne Boge, Marianne Høyen, Kjersti Lea, Karin Anna Petersen, Gudmund Ågotnes

Introduction

The research group *Praxeology* from the University of Bergen, Department of Global Public Care and Primary Care, held their yearly conference addressing Master students and Ph.D. students together with senior researchers in March 2015 at Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, avenue de France, Paris.

The seminar was organised in collaboration between the research group Praxeology and The Norwegian Research Council/Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (FMSH), and Programme Franco-Norvégien (PFN) in Paris.

The seminar offered presentations and discussions of a broad spectre of praxeology research, with emphasis on projects performed within the framework of or inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practices.

The seminar was interdisciplinary oriented and therefore of high relevance to scholars in several disciplines such as health science, social science and educational studies and was open to researchers and Ph.D. students working within these fields.

Presentations were given by researchers from France, Romania, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, along with presentations by students.

The conference was prepared by Professor Karin Anna Petersen, University of Bergen, Associate Professor Elisabeth Hultqvist, University of Stockholm, and Assistant Professor/Ph.D. student Kjersti Lea, University of Bergen in cooperation with Programme Franco-Norvégien's (PFN) director Professor Bjarne Rogan from University of Oslo and responsible administrative Kirstin B. Skjelstad.

Recently Programme Franco-Norvégien (PFN) has changed its name to Centre Universitaire de Norvège à Paris (CUNP), and from July 2016 the director of the centre in Paris is professor Johannes Hjellbrekke, who comes from Department of Sociology, University of Bergen.

The task of the centre is to strengthen and support research environments between Norway and France and individual researchers from human and social sciences. Research recruits and established researchers in particular from the involved institutions and participating faculties are expected to benefit from the centre's activity. Especially Ph.D. courses and seminars and Ph.D. and Post.Doc. scholarships from Norway to France are supported, and also scholarships to establish French researchers' visits to Norway and scholarship from the NFR/FMSH.

Centre Universitaire de Norvège à Paris (CUNP) is affiliated to Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (FMSH) which is an institution housing a lot of larger or smaller research centres and programmes. For further information see: http://www.paris.uio.no/

Although CUNP is not financed by the Norwegian Council of Research regarding Medicin, Health and Care the Centre has been very helpful and supported us organising our conference during the last years. Therefore our group has been able to organise the conference at FMSH, meet with researchers from France, and develop research objects related to our programmes in Norway .

The articles presented in this special issue of *Praktiske Grunde* [Practical Reasons] were originally presentations by the keynote speakers and senior researchers from France, Romania, and Sweden at the 2015-conference. In a later issue of the journal, we shall present additional work from researchers from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden belonging to the praxeology tradition.

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The Craft of Sociology.
Epistemologial Preliminaries

Frédéric Lebaron

With *Le métier de sociologue. Préliminaires épistémologiques* (translated into English under the title: *The Craft of sociology. Epistemological preliminaries* in 1991), Pierre Bourdieu, Jean-Claude Chamboredon and Jean-Claude Passeron provide an epistemological introduction to contemporary sociology. First published in 1968 (second edition, 1972), this is an edited collection of texts in the history and philosophy of sciences, which relates to a class given by Bourdieu and his colleagues at the Ecole pratique des hautes études, but the book first aims to establish more soundly the scientific legitimacy of the discipline, by situating sociology within the continuum of the natural sciences, particularly physics and biology.

The *Craft of sociology* constitutes an important moment in the struggles inside the French, but also the international, field of sociology. It serves as an epistemological critique of positivism (dominant in the 1960s), recalls the relevance of the novel conceptualisations of the 'founding fathers' (Marx, Durkheim and Weber), and newly insists on their unity, as all share a common habitus, a set of 'interiorized scientific principles' that are incorporated into research. The book mobilizes philosophical resources from two strands (the Anglo-saxon philosophy of language and the French history and philosophy of sciences), and these are used as instruments to establish and strengthen the scientific legitimacy of the discipline.

Keywords: epistemology, social science, science, truth, construction of the research object, scientific language.

In its entirety, and through the collection and critiquing of significant texts on the history and philosophy of science, Pierre Bourdieu, Jean-Claude Chamboredon and Jean-Claude Passeron provided an epistemological introduction to contemporary sociology in *Le métier de sociologue. Préliminaires épistémologiques / The Craft of sociology. Epistemological preliminaries,* first published in 1968 (second edition, 1972). The authors intended to complete it with the publication of a more pedagogical and methodological book, which never appeared.

At the outset *The Craft of Sociology* aims to establish more firmly the scientific legitimacy of the discipline, by situating sociology within the continuum of the natural sciences, first and foremost within physics and biology. As last born among the empirical sciences, "this science like the others that sociology would like to be"[1] can benefit from its predecessors, especially when its disciples have a knowledge of their history and of their processes of development. Sociology could claim the

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status of "experimental science", if a number of obstacles are overcome, and provided that certain principles are adopted. First and foremost the necessity of a "rupture" (break) and a move away from "the construction of the research object" are imperative. The epistemology and the historical approaches of science offer a methodological approach that can be incorporated into the concrete practice of sociological research, and *Craft* sets out to justify such an approach.

The first cited references give an idea of the intellectual background to this stance. The authors muster arguments from *Cours de philosophie positive* by Auguste Comte and also the philosophers and historians of science, Georges Canguilhem and Gaston Bachelard, to recall that it is impossible to isolate methodology from the development of science. We should not "dissociate the method from practice" so techniques must be evident throughout all research activities, including the most theoretical. The authors invoke the Bachelardian label of "applied rationalism", a conception that challenges the bureaucratic autonomisation of research operations, and defines scientific validation as the progressive convergence of a system of proofs, presuming a correct functioning of the scientific order.

A reflexive posture in sociology
The main message, sometimes simplified, which will be remembered from Le métier de sociologue / *The Craft of Sociology* is that there is no empirical fact without at least an implicit theory and no method without practice. It is vain to pretend to be free from any a priori hypothesis before undertaking research in the social sciences, especially through a 'fetishist' use of techniques that are only apparently neutral.

As a philosophical intervention in an empirical discipline, *The Craft of Sociology* deviates from the traditional stance in relation to the social sciences common in France. It attempts neither to span or underpin existing knowledge, for it offers neither a philosophical 'crowning' nor 'foundation', but instead contributes to the diffusion of a (scientific) habitus. The aim is to 'give the means to acquire a mental disposition which is as much the condition of invention as it is the condition of proof'. This probably explains why the book has often been read rapidly and partially, and seen merely as a contribution to the philosophical debates in France around 1968, following the rupture with subjectivism, giving a theoretical / philosophical basis for reproduction theory, and the search for structural homologies, which Boudon criticizes in *Les méthodes en sociologie* in 1970 (Boudon, 1970).

It is relevant too, that despite stressing the conditions needed for the transmission of scientific habitus, *The Craft of Sociology* does not develop the practical aspects of sociological methodology. It is neither a guide nor a handbook, even though it places a strong priority on practice in scientific work. The preface to the second edition, in 1972, shows that the authors were conscious of the limits of such a perspective.[2] Without consensus or agreement on this point, the much needed pedagogical book will never appear.

Even if it makes some recommendations and takes a methodological stance at times, *Craft* refutes the dominant status of methodologists and methodology, which

is seen as a normative discipline associated with routinized and bureaucratized research practices. Instead, it sets aside methodological issues, without disqualifying them: they should have been the focus of a third book rather than merely mentioned within the third chapter of the presentation of texts.

The Craft of Sociology commands a philosophical reading: one finds here very few empirical analyses, neither qualitative nor quantitative. It is highly conceptual, which links it to the French tradition of providing a commentary to a collection of philosophical texts. However, at the same time the book argues radically for empirical research and against too rapid philosophical generalization, *a fortiori* against the big 'Somme' or overview, which reconciles a large range of authorial views, to offer a synthetic presentation. In this sense, the book plays a similar role within sociology to Wittgenstein's work in philosophy, open to what it is not, and sending modest invitations to reflect on the uses of theory and sociological discourse in daily research practice. It is 'preliminary' in the full sense.

An "integrative" book

The Craft of Sociology seeks to be an integrative book. It sits in a transitional space between traditions which at that time were in strong opposition (at least apparently) with empirical Anglo-saxon sociology, structural functionalism but also critical sociology (Mills), interactionism and constructivism; Karl Marx and Marxism (Althusser and even Aragon were present in the first edition of 1968), also the French school of sociology. This integrative posture explains why commentators have had difficulties situating the book within the intellectual space: not 'Durkheimian', or 'Weberian' or Marxist, neither hostile to quantitative research nor fanatic. It insists on a "conception of the theory of sociological knowledge which holds this theory for the system of principles defining the conditions of possibility of all acts and all discourses defined as properly sociological, and only these ones, whatever the theories of the social system developed by those who produce or have produced sociological work in the name of these principles" (p. 15-16).

Craft first bases this integrative will on a distinction between the particular 'theory of the social system' (characteristic of an author or a school) and the 'theory of the knowledge of the social', which is actually utilised in sociological practice, and whose foundation is the scientific habitus common to authors and traditions presented as oppositional: "it is possible to define the principles of the knowledge of the social, independently of the theories of the social which separate schools and theoretical traditions" (p. 108). This position is developed further on pages 48 and 49, and clearly highlights the supposed 'meta-scientific' agreement on the principles between authors *and* their diverging views on 'partial theories of social reality'.

Against the academic doxa, which creates false oppositions, routinized epistemological couples (individualism / holism, etc.) or false reconciliations (with sociological 'sommes' – collections), *The Craft of Sociology* characterizes sociology by its profound unity of scientific attitude. This attitude is established beyond theoretical and ideological divisions, which become relevant only to assess the relative

weight of a particular explanatory social factor, or to validate a conceptual instrument or a local theory, in order to describe and interpret the reality of the social world, once the preliminaries of rupture and construction have been applied.

One of the foundations of this integrative perspective is the hypothesis of "non-consciousness", which presupposes that individual actors are not perfectly aware of the totality of factors which govern their actions; a hypothesis which the authors distinguish from the notion of an opaque and reified unconscious (as was developed at the time in various guises, for example around Lacan). Another, more operational, way to formulate this hypothesis is to invoke the principle of "methodological determinism" (p. 31), and state that the causes of a behaviour are not reducible to what the actors spontaneously perceive, in the illusion of their acts, and the full freedom of their choices, whereas they are taken in the trap of spontaneous categories.

The claim of the "non-consciousness postulate", even though it is free from anthropological presupposition, has created many misunderstandings, provoked radical oppositions, and has contributed to an accentuation of the cleavages that it was supposed to help overcome. For some authors, it is a determinist negation of the individual actor or subject, with an infinite number of illustrations in French and world sociology. For authors, it creates a very asymmetrical relation between the sociologist and ordinary people, who have developed capacities of creation and cognition: this is the spirit of critiques of the break between scientific and ordinary knowledge, which one finds in many sociological developments (first in ethnomethodology).

These two critiques at least show one thing: *Craft* has failed to impose the idea of a meta-scientific convergence between sociologists, and has contributed to the intensification of cleavages which it describes as secondary. This does not invalidate the thesis of the book, but it confirms that there is no 'intrinsic strength of truth idea' in the epistemological domain any more than anywhere else. Misunderstandings are not magically suppressed by integrative propositions, and contradictory beliefs go deeper than 'partial' theories, as they are based on 'principles'. Jean-Claude Passeron, a few years later, will develop a more pessimistic view of this impossible convergence. However, one can remain optimistic but must recognise that the obstacles preventing convergence are stronger than was foreseen in *The Craft of Sociology*.

The space of reference of *The Craft of Sociology*
To substantiate their position on convergence the author's draw on a collection of texts that is subtly polyphonic: philosophy and history of sciences represent less than a third of the texts (14), and are dominated by Bachelard (5) and Canguilhem (4). Also invoked are a series of Anglo-saxon scientists, epistemologists or historians (Darwin, Campbell, Wind, Kaplan) and the French physicist and historian of science Pierre Duhem. Durkheim and the durkheimians play an important role with 11 texts (7 from Emile Durkheim, 2 François Simiand, 2 Marcel Mauss); followed

by texts from within contemporary anglo-saxon empirical sociology (7). Here, authors represent very diverse traditions, theoretically and/or methodologically: Goldthorpe and Lockwood for British sociology with two texts; Berger, Wright Mills, Katz, Schatzman and Strauss, illustrating multiple orientations in anglo-saxon sociology; Max Weber (4 texts are included); philosophy of language and linguistics (3 authors, including Wittgenstein); anthropology (3: Lévi-Strauss, Maget, Malinovski); Karl Marx (2); and Panofsky (1). Marx and Marxism hold a marginal position in a set dominated by Anglo-saxon authors.

The large diversity of traditions represented within the book is striking, especially since they are presented as fundamentally converging over a certain number or principles, as we have seen. At the same time, these very general principles are explicit and implicit, practical as much as theoretical, and this book is a reflexive construction, offering a pedagogical generalization based on these principles, while refusing the recipe style of many methodological handbooks. This provides another opportunity for misunderstandings.

Beside the choice of texts, there is a large bibliography that includes the quantitative texts dominant within Anglo-saxon sociology (Lazarsfeld and Boudon, Merton, etc.); logics and epistemology (Borel, Carnap); anthropology and linguistics, also Raymond Aron and Jean Piaget. This set of references provides a useful combination of epistemological reflections and good illustrations.

The book pays homage to the traditions of both Durkheim and the French history and philosophy of science, but footnote references make frequent claims on the Anglo-saxon social sciences (Hempel, Richtie, Campbell, etc.) and the Wittgensteinian philosophy of language. The breadth of references cited is both philosophical and sociological, continental and Anglo-saxon (US and UK), theoretical and empirical, and this contributes to creating fuzzy boundaries between the classical academic divisions.

A polemical book

Behind its ecumenical appearance, the book is also, and probably above all, a violent attack on the many temptations, digressions, and errors that are presented as classical in the history of human and social sciences. It is the strong coupling of diltheyen dualism and mechanical positivism that reconciles the two opposing attitudes towards the natural sciences: their absolute rejection on the one hand and their servile adoption and reproduction on the other, and the unquestioning use of norms of validation which sociologists simply forget to question. *Craft* refutes bureaucratized and hierarchized representations of research operations, and rehabilitates the theoretical work of construction without denigrating empirical research. On the contrary it recognizes both practices and as a consequence doubly risks disparagement: it can be criticized as either infra-theoretical or hyper-theoreticist. This duality of the book may appear to be a compromise, especially between Bourdieu and Passeron themselves, the one more empirically oriented, the other more theoretical.

The critiques that deprecate the state of contemporary sociology in its dominant form are many: sociology is accused of positivist empiricism; prophetism; dependent on political will; its authors decried as too academic, its exponents too devoted to grand theory. Classical errors are pointed out, as is the misuse of words coming from other disciplines (*substantialism*) or from common parlance.

The critique is often shaped by polemical categories: "spontaneous sociology ", "daily gossip", the "imperative of ethical neutrality turned into catechism", the "methodological mania", or "-isms" ("empiricism", "positivism", "prophetism", "class ethnocentrism", etc.). It also directly target authors: Hayek is positioned as an incarnation of subjectivism (p. 19); Merton, as stressing too strongly the role of chance in the history of science (p. 29); Parsons for his false reconciliation of "grand theories" (note 2, p. 45); Parsons and Merton for their theoreticism, p. 46-47; the French "sociologie gurvitchienne" (from the French Gurvitch) for its multiple typologies (p. 47); Barton and Lazarsfeld, more gently, are accused of flaws in the designation of objects in their work on the construction of the object (p. 53); Elton Mayo (p. 60) is criticized for his indifference to class and power relations, Barton and Lazarsfeld for their statistical "methodological ethnocentrism" and their subordinate use of qualitative methods (p.66); Bierstedt, author of an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* is accused of "reifying" ethnographic method, an approach which will be very successful later.

Heritages, traditions, and dialogues
The standpoint adopted in the book recalls Durkheim's stance in *The Rules of Sociological Methods* and, indeed, *The Craft of Sociology* can be read as an expression, in the context of the 60s, of a modernized Durkheimian programme, in the context of the evolution of a global sociology, and also the philosophy of language. It was the rise of instrumental positivism which stirred up a counter-movement, and a focus on the construction of the research object and the multiple stakes of scientific vocabulary. Research in epistemology and history of science, and the philosophy of language, have opened up new ways for rationalist and empiricist investigations in philosophy; and thereby helped to embed sociology within the 'normal history of science'. The classification of texts foregrounded the 'prenotions and techniques of rupture', and in part this was well-received due to the approach of methodological critique of language.[3]

Anglo-saxon empirical sociology is omnipresent in *The Craft of Sociology*, but this incarnation of empiricism and positivism serves only as a foil to the main argument, a claimed heritage. References to this tradition abound in the general discussion of texts and in the bibliography, but it is is scarcely evident in the illustrative texts selected for inclusion, only included as a self-critique (within a text from Elihu Katz).

The diverse methods of sociology are evoked at various moments in the book, from an epistemological and reflexive perspective, but without detailing their use. The leitmotiv, which will become a constant in Bourdieu's work from the mid- 60s, is the stress put on the 'system of objective relations' which is the very focus of

sociology. It leads to the quest for structural homologies, necessitating a critical reflection on multivariate analysis.[4] The book includes as well a critique of the use of opinion questionnaires (developed in the article « Public opinion does not exist " in 1973), and many remarks about the discursive formalization of the scientific object. Bourdieu will refer to Marcel Maget's *Guide for the Direct Study of Cultural Behavior* to defend ethnographic observation, provided it is epistemologically grounded.

The theme of reflexivity is clearly present in *The Craft of Sociology*, especially in the conclusion which is based on a dialogue between the critical epistemology of positivism (close to C.W. Mills) and the sociology of knowledge (in line with Durkheim and Mannheim). Actually, one finds in *The Craft of Sociology* a nuanced elucidation of the necessity for self-socioanalysis (as it will be developed for example in Bourdieu, 1984) and also its limitations: it is at the scale of the entire field of sociology that 'crossed controls' can allow a collective progress (since 'the objectivity of science cannot be based on a foundation as uncertain as the objectivity of scholars', p. 102). The first enemy of the book is explicitly designated: it is the 'positivist temptation', which was at its highest point in the mid-60s, when technologies were imported from the US into Europe and when a scientist faith prevailed. This was to be overturned a few years later (around 1968), giving way to a period of hyper-theoriticism, especially on the Marxist side. Finally, the authors place emphasis on a conception of the 'scientific city' where, through informed critique, peers contribute to the emergence of an increasingly substantiated scientific reason (collectively validated). To use Durkheim's terminology, this would allow sociology to shed its 'fashionable' status and gain greater academic acceptance, but at a price, the loss of a little of its esoteric stature.

Conclusion

The Craft of Sociology constitutes an important moment in the turmoil inside the French but also the international (global) field of sociology. An epistemological critique of the overarching acceptance of positivism (of the 1960s), the book recalls the relevance of epistemological beliefs of the 'founding fathers' (Marx, Durkheim and Weber). Unusually, the authors insist there is unity across the two traditions, describing this as based on a common habitus, a set of 'interiorized scientific principles' incorporated into research. The book mobilizes philosophical resources emanating from two strands (an Anglo-saxon philosophy of language, and a French history and philosophy of sciences), and these are used as instruments to establish and strengthen the scientific legitimacy of the discipline.

If *The Craft of Sociology* failed to create a 'consensus over the principles' as the authors had wished, it is difficult to explain the failure without a more in-depth analysis of the structures within the field of sociology that may account for this. One can posit that the work was poised between the affirmation of the consensus and an exploration of the polemical dimension, and this prevented the authors from making their objectives totally explicit. The absence of a second volume, which the authors announced but never wrote, makes it even more difficult to interpret the

first accurately. The craft of sociology remains therefore, if not still to be written, still to be defined.

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Notes

[1] Translations by the author.

[2] In French: "chacun des principes aurait ainsi pu être monnayé en préceptes, ou, au moins, en exercices d'intériorisation de la posture ; par exemple, pour dégager toutes les virtualités heuristiques qui sont impliquées dans un principe tel que celui du primat des relations, il aurait fallu montrer sur pièces, comme on peut le faire dans un séminaire, ou mieux dans un groupe de recherche, en examinant la construction d'un échantillon, l'élaboration d'un questionnaire, ou l'analyse d'une série de tableaux statistiques, comment ce principe commande les choix techniques du travail de recherche (construction de séries de populations séparées par des différences pertinentes sous le rapport des relations considérées, élaboration des questions qui, secondaires pour la sociographie de la population elle-même, permettent de situer le cas considéré dans un système de cas où il prend tout son sens, ou encore mobilisation des techniques graphiques et mécanographiques permettant d'appréhender synoptiquement et exhaustivement le système des relations entre les relations révélées par un ensemble de tableaux statistiques)." (p.5-6).

[3] See for example: P.Champagne, R.Lenoir, D.Merllié, L.Pinto, *Initiation à la pratique sociologique*, issu des travaux de la "deuxième génération" des représentants de l'école de Bourdieu (Champagne et al., 1989).

[4] In French: "il faudrait enfin se demander si la méthode d'analyse des données qui semble la plus à même de s'appliquer à tous les types de relations quantifiables, à savoir l'analyse multivariée, ne doit pas être soumise chaque fois à l'interrogation épistémologique : en effet, en postulant que l'on peut isoler tour à tour l'action des différentes variables du système complet des relations à l'intérieur duquel elles agissent, afin de saisir l'efficacité propre à chacune d'elles, cette technique s'interdit de saisir l'efficacité qu'un facteur peut tenir de son insertion dans une structure et même l'efficacité proprement structurale du système des facteurs" (p.68-69).

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Foucault and Bourdieu at the Collège de France

Frédéric Lebaron

Foucault's and Bourdieu's commitment to 'work together' with a workers union, the French Democratic Confederation of Workers (CFDT), occurred at precisely the same time as the French neoliberal shift in economic and social policies, in 1981-1984. This period of intense collaboration in the intellectual field by the two leading French social scientists (at least by today's rankings and perception) was relatively short: bounded by Bourdieu's election to the Collège de France in 1981 and Foucault's death in June 1984. This article describes and analyses events during this short period, through a socio-historical analysis of their two personal trajectories in the post-68 intellectual field, based on public archives of the Collège de France and secondary literature. It offers a detailed description and interpretation of Foucault and Bourdieu's positions and viewpoints, their affiliation to and critiques of external movements as Collège de France academics between 1981 and 1984, setting this in the broader political context.

Keywords: intellectual field, Bourdieu, Foucault, Collège de France, commitment, symbolic capital.

Foucault's and Bourdieu's commitment to 'work together' with a workers union, the French Democratic Confederation of Workers (CFDT), occurred at precisely the same time as the French neoliberal shift in economic and social policies of 1981 to 1984. This period of intense collaboration in the intellectual field by the two leading French social scientists (at least by today's rankings and perception[1]) is relatively short: it happened between 1981, the year when Bourdieu was appointed at the Collège de France, and ended with Foucault's death in June 1984.

Foucault's academic trajectory was very unusual, with an election at Collège de France at the age of 44 in 1970. Whereas Bourdieu (who is 5 years younger) was 51 (7 years more senior) before he was himself elected with Foucault's support. This is still rather young, also an atypical profile, but a bit less exceptional.[2] As is well-known, from a purely disciplinary point of view, Foucault was a philosopher and Bourdieu a sociologist. Their research and work interests were also rather different: the history of madness, justice and prisons, power, discourse and knowledge, liberalism, sexuality on one side, vs education and culture, social classes, inequality and domination, fields of cultural production, especially literature and art, on the other.

Nevertheless there are some interesting similarities in their professorial activities at Collège de France, for example: the reflexive perspective of their inaugural lecture, an important ritual in this institution (published as *L'ordre du discours – The order of discourse* – for Foucault in 1971 and *La leçon sur la leçon – Lesson on lesson* – for Bourdieu in 1982); their intense and close intellectual relationship to the French philosopher of science Georges Canguilhem; and also their strong interest in politics and the economy and in intellectual struggles more generally.

This very short period when Foucault and Bourdieu were both professors at Collège de France clearly strengthened their visibility as public intellectuals, but it also contributed to the particular – and in a sense misleading – reputation of the Collège de France as an exclusive institution that venerates a theoretical and intellectual avant-garde. This is an institution where professors give (a small number of annual) lectures on whatever subject they want, possibly without any students and always without exams, and where they have a great deal of time available for organizing their own research activity. Yet for both, the public was numerous and the lectures were crowded (Eribon 2011). Both Bourdieu and Foucault are implicitly described in Bourdieu's Homo Academicus as members of the 'consecrated avant-garde', but as a group the professors at the Collège scarcely fit this label. Many lectures were given in front of a very small number of students and colleagues, and a large number of the professors were rather conservative: Marc Fumaroli, elected at 54 as professor of literature, more closely approximates the classical right-wing intellectual described in Bourdieu's work, and was certainly more representative of the majority of professors in the humanities and even the social sciences. At the Collége, then and now, the social sciences are dominated by the classical humanities, conventional treatises and 'rational choice' theory; the sciences by big laboratory leaders, today closer to the field of economics.

The first part of this article considers Bourdieu's and Foucault's trajectories in detail, analyzing particularly their relations with the intellectual and political fields after May 68 and before May 81[3] as these 13 years are fundamental to understand the differences between both trajectories. The article then analyzes what happened between May 81 and June 84, paying special attention to the intellectual field. In a final section, the focus is on Bourdieu's evolution after Foucault's death, showing how this implies a likely revision of his opinions on Foucault, and on Neoliberalism, after 1995.

Two profiles of symbolic capital accumulation
Besides the differences already pointed out (Bourdieu was a sort of 'younger brother' in academic terms, and represented a dominated discipline in the academic field, especially at Collège de France). The main social differences between Bourdieu and Foucault relate to their two distinct profiles of symbolic capital accumulation in the intellectual world. From this perspective, Foucault can be considered to be an intermediary (historically, but also sociologically) between Sartre and Bourdieu. He clearly developed a 'strategy of succession' to Sartre's

eminence in the intellectual field (Bourdieu 1992) and Bourdieu, in a sense, did the same in relation to Foucault in the 1980s.

Under the shadow of Jean-Paul Sartre

After May 68, Sartre struggled to maintain his domination over the French intellectual field that he had profoundly shaped since the 'revolutionary moment' of 1945 (Boschetti 1985). A 'total intellectual' (as Bourdieu would write in 1980), Sartre was not only publishing articles and books (philosophical, literary and political) for his peers and for a larger public but, now, was also politically hyper-active: signing petitions, going to demonstrations, in discussion with activists, participating in actions, and engaging in political discourse in the media.

His close connection with the Maoist group Gauche Prolétarienne (GP, the 'Proletarian Left') and in particular with their leader Benny Lévy (then named 'Pierre Victor' for security reasons) enabled him to remain at the center of public focus for a few years after May 1968. He contributed financially to the creation of a daily newspaper called Libération, which was from the outset situated on the extreme-left of the political space, and was involved in various kinds of more or less visible radical symbolic actions, especially around GP's journal La cause du Peuple. Sartre's strong and practical commitment, physically limited to a half-time militancy,[4] lasted at least until 1974 and the publication of the collective book On a raison de se révolter (written with Philippe Gavi and Pierre Victor). It ended around 1975, at the same moment when the last period of his life was strongly shaped by his blindness (see for example, Beauvoir, 1983).

In its new post-68 form, the social role of the 'intellectual' was not limited to his/her field of expertise or technical knowledge. Intellectuals tried to connect to a large set of social forces, including political radical groups, the extreme-left, feminists, lesbian, gay, trans and queer (LGBTQ), environmental activists, etc. Their aim was to change the world, and they no longer considered themselves to be at the centre of this change.

Foucault: Sartre's number one challenger in the first half of the 1970s

After May 68 Foucault was clearly one of most pro-eminent of Sartre's challengers, on the basis of his position in the French philosophical field, dating from the 1960s (Pinto 1987). Another serious challenger was the Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, but although the Althusserians were at that time well-represented in the Academy, they were not particularly visible in the public sphere except through some debates inside the Communist Party (they evolved a lot afterwards).

Foucault was rapidly gaining a public image as a radical intellectual, first in connection with the Gauche Prolétarienne (essentially following Sartre) then, more specifically, with other groups, especially the Groupe d'information sur les prisons (GIP, Group of information on prisons) and the Comité Djelali. Foucault was actually more visible through his commitment with the GIP, and various actions around the conditions of prisoners and immigrants, than he was with the Maoists (Eribon 2011). A significant number of his writings during the '70s were political

by nature. He justified this by claiming that there is no limit to the realm of 'politics', especially no separation between the private and the public life, between individual commitment and collective action, between academic writing and political mobilization, etc. The topics of his lectures at Collège de France closely followed his activism: they were first centered on law, prison and justice, then broadened to become a critical analysis of scientific discourse in various fields (biology, medicine, psychiatry, etc.). His most radical period was illustrated by Surveiller et punir and, above all, by La volonté de savoir (Foucault 1976).

During the 1970s, Foucault was involved in a large number of political causes, and he actively followed the collective destiny of some of the post-Sartrian companions, especially – and in a sense curiously – some of the most 'mediatic' figures among the post-68 intellectuals, like Yves Montand (singer and actor) or Simone Signoret (movie actress). After 1975, he became relatively close to the 'new philosophers', a group who took the intellectual lead in the media in the second half of the 1970s, actively promoting a collective conversion to anti-totalitarianism (see for example Hocquenghem, 2005). This movement, launched by former Maoists of the GP (like André Glucksmann), began with support for soviet dissidents and the denunciation of Gulag,[5] then championed the cause of the Vietnamese boat people, becoming unequivocally critical of the consequences of revolutions as tragically illustrated by the red Khmer genocide. Sartre showed no public affiliation to this shift of focus but he had in-depth philosophical exchanges with Benny Lévy, who was part of this movement of conversion,[6] and with whom he was in close contact at the time.

As a pro-eminent academic – well-known since the 1960s to the broader intellectual public, (the Collège de France being first and foremost a major elite institution) – Foucault occupied a dominant position among the 'post-Sartrian' candidates for the succession at the end of the 1970s. This is one of the reasons why all of his causes had the potential for high impact. In 1978, his support at the start of the Iranian revolution was considered to be particularly polemical, as was his critical stand on Marx and Marxism. In 1979 he accompanied the collective mobilization for the boat people led by his friend Bernard Kouchner to which Sartre participated, though physically diminished.

By 1981 Foucault was very well-known as a philosopher of knowledge and power, and could be seen as the main successor to Sartre. He pursued a clear 'strategy of succession' since he occupied a similar public space, close to social movements and politics, and developed a strong media presence (in *Le nouvel observateur* for example), discussing general issues like history and neoliberalism, and intervening regularly in daily affairs.

Bourdieu: the choice of scientific symbolic capital accumulation
Bourdieu, in contrast, took little part in public activism after May 68. At this time he headed a very cohesive, even charismatic, group of scholars at the Centre de sociologie européenne (which, until May 68, was led by Aron), prior to establishing his own Centre de sociologie de l'éducation et de la culture (CSEC). In May 68 he

asked the members of his group to create and disseminate their sociological analyses on cultural and educational inequalities (see Bourdieu 2002). During the 1970s, he focused on collective empirical work – which would be published under the titles *La distinction* (1979), *Homo Academicus* (1984), and *State Nobility* (1989). He wrote theoretical articles and books,[7] and focused on the launch of his scientific journal *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* with a group of young scholars. This journal was clearly conceived as an avant-garde journal, but it was also clearly situated at the scientific – and not the political – pole in the intellectual avant-garde space. Only a few issues directly connected with immediate political issues. Examples include the article which Bourdieu wrote with Luc Boltanski about dominant ideology in 1978 (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1978), and a few years later (but already during the Collège de France period) about Afghanistan ("Et si on parlait de l'Afghanistan ?"). Bourdieu rarely engaged in the classical practice of petition signing, except in his commitment to the Coluche candidacy in 1980-81,[8] an act which does not qualify clearly his orientations, merely showing a certain 'libertarian' and 'provocative' mood right after Sartre's death.

It is clear that Bourdieu had not yet completely entered into the intellectual field as such (especially what we have coined as the 'Sartre's succession' stake). Bourdieu had accumulated scientific capital, created a school and a journal, and, when he was elected to the Collège de France, with the support of Foucault, he was already clearly recognized as a major figure of sociology in the world. But he was not really visible as politically committed, though he had actually been present earlier in the field. He had committed himself through his work on Algeria when he criticized the idealization of the revolutionary strength of the peasant class by intellectuals like Sartre and Fanon, but also through his work on social inequality and higher education with Jean-Claude Passeron (Bourdieu & Passeron 1964), and his writings on Flaubert which were first published in Sartre's *Les temps modernes* (Bourdieu 1966). Both works presented challenges to Sartre indicating that Bourdieu, was staging what one could call an early 'strategy of subversion' against Sartre during the 1960s. This could not triumph, of course, but it demonstrated a strong, indirect, and complex relation to the director of *Les temps modernes*.

'To work with' 1981-1984
Bourdieu's election at the Collège de France was almost coincident with two big historical events: the death of Sartre, who had dominated the French intellectual field since 1945, in April 1980; and the victory of the left in the presidential and parliamentary elections in May-June 1981 (the election of François Mitterrand from the Socialist Party (SP) in alliance with the Communist Party).

Foucault wrote very supportive texts after Mitterrand's election and seemed to be very pleased, at least for a few months, by the success of the Socialist Party. This was clearly a rather important political shift away from his radical commitment in the first half of the 1970s. It clearly followed his disassociation from Marx and Marxism, his tough anticommunism, and his criticism of revolutionary totali-tarianism. But his enthusiasm for this political change, and for an active role in the

new ruling party, may also be seen to contradict his theoretical critique of classical conceptions of power. At this point, it is necessary to recall that Foucault came from a bourgeois background and was attracted by civil service positions on various occasions. Unlike Sartre, he was generally very flexible in his relations with the institutions of power rather than consistently in opposition.

Bourdieu clearly began to have stronger 'desires' to act politically, and to go further into this direction after his appointment to the Collège de France. This is very apparent following the Polish 'normalization' led by General Jaruzelski in December 1981, less than one year after Mitterrand's victory. As Didier Eribon wrote in his biography of Foucault (Eribon 2011), Bourdieu rang Foucault after the French ministry of foreign affairs declared the affair an 'internal issue'. Bourdieu had found an occasion to intervene alongside Foucault, to appear in a sort of public duo with him, and, as Eribon mentions a little ironically, to share in his symbolic capital. They spoke against the united left (Socialist Party-Communist Party) government on an international (East-West) matter. This very clearly adopted the classical Sartrian manner of the 'total intellectual', albeit on the side of western countries rather than the soviet bloc or third world nations (but Sartre was also very critical of the Soviet Union on various occasions, especially in 1956 and 1968). In a sense, both remained Sartrian in their style of practicing intellectual intervention at that time, but had shifted away from his customary orientation, in the new 'anti-totalitarian' context.

This intervention is also interesting because it reveals the nature of the political network around Foucault at that time to be composed of personalities who mobilized and then widely publicized their views (through signatures, demonstration, etc.). Eribon lists Marguerite Duras, Bernard Kouchner, Simone Signoret and Yves Montand among his immediate circle of 'co-petitioners': a media-active, even theatrical 'post-Sartrian' group (with many ex-communists) but without the historical 'Sartrians' (for example, Simone de Beauvoir or Claude Lanzmann) and without the most famous 'new philosophers' (André Glucksmann, Bernard-Henry Lévy, etc.), who were nevertheless very close to them.

These actors were far removed from the universities (even if some well-known scientists and professors would sign the petition later), and very close to journalism and the media. They had taken a strong anti-communist stand during the second half of the 70s, a period in which they had highly contributed to the success of the 'new philosophers'. The petition was published in Libération, the newspaper with Maoist origins created by Sartre, but now described as 'liberal-libertarian' under the lead of Serge July, undergoing re-alignment in 1978 (see Hocquenghem 2003).

This shift to the right was complete by 1981 as the network exhibited a pro-government orientation that was clearly anti-Marxist and anti-communist, and supportive of the right-wing modernist fraction of the Socialist Party, around Michel Rocard and Jacques Delors. Jeannine Verdès-Leroux, at that time very close to Bourdieu, presented her address for the reception of the signatures.[9]

We should consider how Foucault and Bourdieu fit the more specific intellectual and theoretical positions prevalent within French society? Behind them, there was

the shadow of Sartre. Foucault and Bourdieu both commented on Sartre's death in rather critical terms. Foucault attacked the 'intellectual terrorism' of *Les temps modernes*, saying he oriented himself against it in the 1950-60s (in a conversation reported by Eribon), and Bourdieu criticized Sartre's conception of 'total intellectual' preferring a more scientific and modest conception based on autonomous expert-knowledge. Both were admirers and pupils of Georges Canguilhem, and theoretically poles apart from Sartre's existentialism, phenomenology and Freudo-Marxism. Their practice revealed a tension between their proximity to Sartre's model and the necessity of distancing themselves from this, on the basis of a discourse of 'scientific expertise' (Bourdieu) or 'thematic' (Foucault) specificity.

Foucault and Bourdieu also commented critically on Marx and Marxism from the second half of the 1970s. In a lately published text written by Bourdieu about Foucault (in the most recent edition of Eribon's book), Bourdieu sums up Foucault's usage and knowledge of Marx, comparing this to the use of Marx by official Marxists, whom he describes as priests. He classically insists on a critique of economic reductionism and the notion of 'exploitation', in favor of Foucault's widely broadcast micro-conception of 'power' and 'knowledge'. Interestingly, he leaves aside the issue of the relevance of (at least part) of Marxist political economy.

After the Polish episode, Bourdieu and Foucault started to collaborate with ('work with') intellectuals and leaders of the French Democratic Confederation of Workers (CFDT). This was a union which had undergone a similar political trajectory, from radical leftism after May 68 ('autogestion' – independence) to very clear 'modernist', 'reformist' and 'anti-partisan' positions after 1978 ('recentrage' – refocusing – under Edmond Maire, in 1978). Foucault went much further in that direction than Bourdieu; he even published interviews with unionists (including the leader, Edmond Maire), for example about social security. In these he does not closely espouse the Neoliberal spirit of the time (this is more evident in the discourse of his interlocutor) but maintains an original dialectical approach flexibly promoting political discussion. After Foucault's death the CFDT published a book with a chapter by Bourdieu.

Foucault rapidly cut his connections with the government, except Michel Rocard who had become the leader of the right fraction of the Party, after the Polish episode. His objective during this period was to write a collective 'white book' about political issues, but the project was never realized. He was insisting on a 'new way to govern' and on a radical critique of political parties. Together with a group of friends including André Glucksmann, he would only go on producing discourses on international issues using the byline 'académie Tarnier'.

Bourdieu himself became politically close to Rocard and remained so until the first half of the 1990s, but he moved further from the CFDT, which was close to Alain Touraine and to a journal (Esprit) that had violently criticized La distinction (and provoked a quite violent reaction: see Bourdieu, 2002). Bourdieu was rather irritated by the way a small group of intellectuals had taken over the movement concerned about the situation in Poland.

In the first semester of 1984, the ideological evolution accelerated (as shown by the programme 'Vive la crise!' in which Yves Montand explained that everybody should create her/his own company to solve the problem of unemployment, and should abandon the Keynesian dreams of full employment). Tensions between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party were very intense after1982/1983 and the transformation of economic policy with the government abandoning Keynesian policies of fiscal stimulus in favour of monetary and budget orthodoxy, in line with Germany and with arguments about 'external constraints'.[10] In July 1984, the Communist Party finally abandoned the government which took a stronger Neo-liberal turn under the lead of Laurent Fabius. This was an ideological triumph for Rocard but he failed to be appointed prime minister; this did not happen until 1988. Foucault, however, died in June 1984. His last lectures were a continuation of his project on the history of sexuality.

Bourdieu after 1984
Now alone as an avant-garde thinker at the Collège, Bourdieu continued to try to be influential in the public space, through his connections with leaders of the SP. He became the promoter of an original intervention with the launch of a commission of reflection on the educational system, under his own impulse in 1984 at Collège de France. This was a role that corresponded more closely to his conception of the intellectual as a specialized and autonomous scientist, and also to Foucault's notion of the 'specific intellectual' (one who focuses on a professional area rather than on universal problems). His first years of lectures at Collège de France were devoted to his sociological theory, including his critical analysis of political representation, which can also be read as a critique of working-class traditional organizations. Then, from 1987 to 1992, he made a significant move toward an analysis of the State, in relation with surveys about the bureaucratic field.

The period of the 1984-85 commission has been investigated in his PhD thesis by Pierre Clément (Clément, 2013), who shows how Bourdieu tried to navigate between the views of his colleagues and the reactions of his smaller 'group' of co-workers. En masse, the colleagues were mostly directors of laboratories and big scientific entrepreneurs and tended to support a soft neoliberal reform of the French educational system (more competition, more 'autonomy' for schools and universities…). In contrast, members of his own scientific group (Merllié, Lenoir and others) were much more critical and left-oriented and refused the anti-unionist rhetoric pushed by some of the professors. The result is a political synthesis, "beyond the opposition between liberalism and statism", where competition had to be more present in the educational system, but also regulated in order to avoid a rise in inequality (see Bourdieu 2002). Beyond this, the report presented many ideas coming directly from Bourdieu's research especially with regard to social inequality, cultural pluralism (against the heavy cultural hierarchy prevailing in the French system), and what was called rational pedagogy in the 1960s. The report was published in March 1985, one year before the parliamentary election in which

the right came back into power, so its recommendations were never applied and remained purely programmatic.

In 1988, Bourdieu strongly supported the appointment of Michel Rocard as prime minister to Mitterrand, especially through a pro-Rocard text in Le Monde about his action in New Caledonia (Bourdieu 1988). Bourdieu again became involved in a political endeavour with the Collège de France, leading to the Bourdieu-Gros report (1989), which was again rather lightweight politically, recommending reform. As Eribon notes, 1988 marks the reconciliation with the socialist government under Rocard, and Bernard Kouchner, the 'French doctor', finally became a minister.

Eribon describes this experience as very disappointing for Bourdieu. In the same period, at least since 1986, he had become gradually more critical of Neoliberalism (not yet referred to as such) and the French Socialist Party. In November-December 1986, he supported a student movement against a rise in registration fees, and criticized the ideological choices of the governing right and the earlier liberal conversion of the left. In 1989, in State Nobility, he criticized the resurgence of 'grandes écoles' as they represented a renewed domination of the intellectual pole by institutions of power (for example, the Ecole Nationale d'Administration and the business schools). But Bourdieu clearly appeared as a left-wing critic of the ruling socialist party in 1993 with La misère du monde, in which he analysed the social impact of the economic reforms. After this book, he became a more radical critic of Neoliberalism, and worked to promote a collective intellectual resistance and an independent 'European social movement' orientation up to his death in 2002.

The cold war was over, and Neoliberal globalization had altered the World economic system, the position of France (a declining empire), and Europe (now clearly dominated by a reunified Germany and Ordoliberalismus). The dominant economic and financial forces were constantly challenging autonomous fields: inside the State, the traditional conservative and Neoliberal forces were becoming more and more pro-eminent. New alliances were becoming necessary between intellectuals and social forces. The creation of a 'collective intellectual', which was an ideal pursued by both Bourdieu and Foucault, was again on the agenda. It would take various forms during the 1990s (a collective for Algerian intellectuals, another about higher education, the Raisons d'agir group and collection) but the critique of political parties remained central.

At the end of the 1990s, Bourdieu was asked to write about Foucault and to prevent an ideological reinterpretation by those scholars who wanted to present him as a Neoliberal 'thinker of risk'. In 2000 Didier Eribon, a close intellectual associate of Bourdieu, organized a conference on the "Infréquentable' Michel Foucault", a phrase that translates as 'disreputable'. The aim was to show that Foucault never identified with the radical Neoliberal ideology but developed a personalized form of resistance – a perspective which is still a matter for debate.

The historical account demonstrates that the situation was rather more ambiguous and ambivalent. Foucault and Bourdieu were, for a short period, allied to a political, mediatic and unionist network of actors that slid from radical leftism

to a libertarian-type proto-neoliberalism in the 1980s before making an even more radical U-turn in the 1980s and 1990s. Foucault and Bourdieu in different ways and with differing levels of commitment, resisted these realignments, trying to maintain after 1981 what Foucault termed a 'logic of the left' ('logique de gauche'). However, by 1992 Bourdieu understood that this left-wing logic had been largely abandoned by the majority of the Socialist Party, its technocratic-modernist ruling group and their close intellectual supporters. Everything needed to be reconstructed, and no politi-cal organization was really in a position to achieve this. This left a void to be filled, paving the way for the emergence of what would become the alterglobalist movement.

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Notes

[1] Pierre Bourdieu is cited around 420.000 times according to "google scholar" (October 2015), and Michel Foucault 579.243 times. By comparison, Joseph Stiglitz, still living, is cited 191.109 times.

[2] For a study of the characteristics of professors during the first half of the 20th century, see Charle, 1988.

[3] May 1981 is the date of the victory of François Mitterrand and the left at the presidential election. We base our analysis on a set of fundamental studies, such as the book of Louis Pinto, Les philosophes entre le lycée et l'avant-garde. Les metamorphoses de la philosophie dans la France d'aujourd'hui, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1987 and various following articles and books by the same author. About Bourdieu and Aron, Marc Joly provides material and interpretation in his *Devenir Norbert Elias. Histoire croisée d'un processus de reconnaissance scientifique: la réception française*, Paris, Fayard, 2012. We have also used the thesis of Pierre Clément about the reforms of "college" and the role of the Collège de France (Clément, 2013). Discussions with Pierre Bourdieu, Didier Eribon, Johan Heilbron, and various actors at the Centre de sociologie européenne have allowed to add various elements to the data material.

[4] He was also writing his "Flaubert" during the other part of the day. See Gerassi, 2011.

[5] *L'Archipel du Goulag* from A.Soljenitsyne was at the center of a very intense mediatic mobilization.

[6] In Benny Lévy's case, the conversion is to be understood literally since Lévy abandons Marxism for Judaism around 1977. His last interview with Sartre is at the origin of a polemic in the Sartrian group, with Lévy being accused of attempting to convert Sartre to Judaism (see Beauvoir, 1983).

[7] The 1970s are Bourdieu's 'theoretical' period, with two important theoretical articles on Max Weber and *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Outline of a theory of practice) in 1972, *Le sens pratique* (Practical sense) in 1979.

8   Coluche was a comedian who began to campaign for the presidential election with the support of intellectuals like Bourdieu.

9   In the 1980s and 1990s, most of the members of the group have explicitly taken up conservative orientations, including tough neoliberal and pro-US views, namely: Yves Montand, who promoted Alain Minc's ideas in the TV-program "Vive la crise!" ; Bernard Kouchner, the humanitarian doctor of the 'boat people', has become a minister under Sarkozy and resigned from the Socialist Party… Most of them move towards pro-NATO and aggressive pro-war positions, toward Afghanistan to Libya and Syria.

10   This 1982-83 shift was presented at the beginning as a parenthesis.

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Foucault's Concept of Dispositif

Staf Callewaert

This article focus on the concept of Foucault's substantive *dispositif,* often translated into 'apparatus', 'deployment' or 'dispositive' in English. These terms contained different meaning in the trend of philosophy in France at the time of the development of the term dispositive. Dispositif is only meaningful in relation to something. Therefore, one also have to ask: A dispositif of what, for what purpose? Bourdieu states that Foucault analyzes history as *opus operatum*, not as *modus operandi*; the question is if Foucault analyzes practices in terms of their discursive and non-discursive genealogy at all – rather, he is interested in and equipped to analyze the thoughts incarnating a problematization. Human action is habitual, has a habitual basis, it is not a pure creation. This concerns not only the conditions of possibility of an action, but the action itself; you are not admitted to do definite things, if you are not a legitimate member of the social category at stake. Foucault's history of thought means to analyze how and why certain behavior, object of social regulation, gets thought of as a problem as a consequence of the answer certain individuals give to a certain state of things in the world.

Keywords: Foucault, dispositif, Bourdieu, Veyne, theory, epistemology, praxeology

Introduction and practical remarks

I use the French term *dispositif,* even in English, because I feel the usual translations such as 'apparatus' or 'deployment' are misleading when used in connection with Foucault's texts. These terms contained different meaning in the trend of philosophy in France at the time of the development of the term dipositif.[1] The Penguin edition of *The Will to Knowledge* (Foucault 1998), often translates dispositif with 'deployment', perhaps suggested by the use of dispositif in a military context, as in the dispositif of troops before the battle. Others translate the term as mechanism, device etc.

Raffsnøe, writing in English in a working paper from before 2014 "What is a dispositive?" (Raffsnøe et al. 2014), translates the French substantive *dispositif* into 'dispositive' in English, inspired by the adjective in "Qu'est-ce qu'un dispositif?" (Raffnsøe 2008).

In a way it does not make sense to write a paper on the concept of dispositive, in the writings of Foucault, in isolation; dispositif is only meaningful in relation to something. Therefore, one also have to ask: a dispositif of what, for what purpose?

I myself have finally understood the concept of dispositif in Foucault's lectures and writing as: a certain physical, non-discursive or intellectual, discursive way of ordering, having ordered things in a certain domain, which makes a certain action/understanding in that domain possible. As such, the dispositif is a condition of possibility, not a cause.

Foucault underscores that the points of interest are:

1. The network holding together the elements of the dispositive
2. The very nature of that network, in the case under consideration

One could thus also say: a dispositif is an intellectual network assembling different thoughts together in a way making a certain understanding/action possible.

That is to say: the significance of the expression 'dispositif' in scientific writing is highly dependent on the everyday significance of the concept in French: an ordering of things in a certain domain, making a course of action possible in that domain. More specifically in a technical context: the final judgment of a court, the deployment of an army before the battle or the device for repairing the bridge over the river or the summer house in the garden. It may be an instrument making a change in thinking and/or doing possible, like the dispositif published by the government making it legal to hold a shop open on Sunday.

Today the expression is common place, easily repeated twenty times within half an hour at a TV5 French Evening News Broadcasting, for example.

My personal background
Before we start our analysis, I want to say something about my own background, to situate my understanding of Foucault, and relation to the Praxeology research group and the Master in Health Sciences – Nursing, Department of Global Public Health and Primary Care, Faculty of Medicine and Dentistry, University of Bergen, Norway.

From 1950 to 1968 I was a member of the Order of Dominicans in Belgium,[2] studying at first in Louvain. From 1959 to 1962 I was preparing my doctoral dissertation at the Theological Faculty of Le Saulchoir, situated at the village of Etiolles in the remote southern suburbs of Paris, now dominated by the new City of Evry. I also participated in social work with immigrants from the provinces, and from Southern Europe and Nord Africa in the suburbs of Kremlin-Bicêtre and Villejuif, returning to this social work for some months every year until 1990 together with my Swedish companion Inger Sjöberg (Callewaert), whom I met in Villejuif. At that time everything in these suburbs was controlled by the French Communist Party: the communal primary school was called École Karl Marx, the public swimming pool was la Piscine Youri-Gagarin, etc.

The Philosophy I had become familiar with in Louvain centered on the one hand on Aristoteles and Thomas Aquinas, and on the other hand on Husserl, Heidegger, Ricœur and Merleau-Ponty, and later on the School of Frankfurt and Habermas in

sociology. My view of society was influenced by Emmanuel Mounier and the review Esprit, and on the theoretical level by the Neo-Marxism of Althusser. But most important was my direct experience of the red under-proletarian suburb and the North African Arab immigrants.

In 1972 I started as a doctoral student in sociology at the Department of Sociology at the University of Lund in Sweden. In 1980 I defended together with my colleague Bengt A. Nilsson our doctoral thesis, a classroom observation study of a higher primary school in Sweden, with, among others Bourdieu's work as a theoretical and epistemological framework.

I had discovered Bourdieu in 1972 through the book he wrote together with J. C. Passeron: *La Réproduction* (Bourdieu & Passeron 1970). This book became the theoretical framework of my sociology of education project, the first classroom observation study with anthropological methods done in Sweden. Our work was interrupted by long journeys in West Africa, where I was training Master students in education by doing research in the countryside, while Inger lived in the forest with a Prophet Women leader of a revival movement calling Kiang-kiang, on which she would also write her thesis; *The birth of religion among the Balanta of Guinea-Bissau* (Callewaert 2000).

Some years before, Passeron had visited the Department of Sociology at the University of Lund. His seminars with the doctoral students made deep impressions on the important local empirical work in sociology of education under the direction of Professor Bengt Gesser.

I was appointed as professor at the Department of Education of Copenhagen University 1980, at that time the only institute for so-called 'theoretical pedagogy', that is to say a department that was not a Teacher Training College. I started a Bourdieu seminar for Masters and Ph.D students in Sociology of Education. Prof. Karin Anna Petersen became at first my informal assistant and with her came an important number of nurses wanting to perform a Masters or a Ph. D. in nursing science, which at that time did not exist in Denmark. I opened up for that possibility and after a while we had a huge number of dissertations by people from very different disciplines and places inspired either by the work of Bourdieu, Foucault or the Frankfurt-school with Habermas.

In 2009 Karin Anna Petersen was appointed professor of nursing science at the University of Bergen, successor of Prof. Kari Martinsen. Because of her sharp competence in Bourdieu studies, Bergen got a new research seminar on Bourdieu for master and doctoral students in nursing science; Callewaert participated sporadically (Petersen & Callewaert 2013).

In this environment, the assistant of Karin Anna Petersen, assoc. prof. Jeanne Boge became associated, bringing along the doctoral and masters students she was directing to Foucault and his concept of dispositif in their theoretical and empirical work. These research projects addressed problems such as why did Norwegian nurses get imposed specific rules for patients' hygienic comfort, for parents' presence/absence at the Clinic where their small children were treated, and why nurses

writing about patients' progress in the patient medical journal were suddenly no longer allowed to write in their own words, but only by filling in pre-ordered schemes on their computer.

Prof. Karin Anna Petersen felt that the use of Foucault concepts alone, instead of the concepts of Bourdieu, was not without problems for the praxeology paradigm, and that was also my first impression. We thought also that the concept of dispositif was vague, and less apt to express the understanding and explanation of nursing practices we were looking for. Later on, the reference to the dispositif concept was discarded, but Foucault was kept by some students as the main or exclusive focus for their work in nursery science.

Therefore, some of us started studying Foucault again, specifically the texts related to the concept of dispositif. We also studied the Scandinavian researchers who used the concept, such as the philosopher prof. Raffsnøe at Copenhagen Business School. As a guest lecturer I started a comprehensive study of Foucault's use of the concept. As a result, articles for scientific review are published (Boge et al. 2016).

I had published a book with some chapters on Foucault's *Les Mots et les Choses* (Foucault 1966) and an article on "Bourdieu's Critic of Foucault" (Callewaert 2006); I had held lectures on *The Birth of the Clinic* (Foucault 1963) as a possible inspiration for the understanding of the birth of a Nursing Science at Uppsala, see Callewaert 2003.

To work with Foucault was not new to us, and it had also been part of Kari Martinsen's research and lecturing e.g. *Modernitet, avfortrylling og skam. En måte å lese vestens medisin på i det moderne* (Martinsen 2008: 423-439).

Bourdieu and Passeron, Passeron and Foucault, Bourdieu against Foucault?
Because of my personal research-curriculum, I always have Bourdieu as a reference when reading Foucault; I cannot avoid it. Therefore, I am interested in contributions which help to clarify or objectify the impact of that situation. Reading the book *Lectures de Bourdieu* (Lebaron & Mauger 2012), with a contribution of José Luis Moreno Pestaña: "Pierre Bourdieu & Jean-Claude Passeron" (ibid.: 353-372). I noticed the following:

> …the scientific collaboration (between Passeron and Bourdieu) ended 1972 and their institutional context becomes different. From 1968 and 1977 Passeron did work with Foucault, within the framework of the experimental university of Vincennes.[3]

It is not obvious what is meant. Foucault left Vincennes in 1970, after two years. After an affiliation with the Conseil National de la Recherche Scientifique CNRS between 1977 and 1981, Passeron went to the Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, EHESS, and moved to the Marseille department of the EHESS. In 1986 he published his master work "Le raisonement sociologique" (1991) discussing his own very personal epistemology and methodology. After Bourdieu had passed

away 2002, Passeron again participated with the other researchers from the "mouvance Bourdieu" in commemorative and follow-up activities.

Passeron went to work with Foucault at Vincennes; Foucault at the Department of Philosophy, Passeron at the Department of Sociology. Passeron left Bourdieu because of differences stemming from *The craft of sociology* (1991), finally made explicit in his "Le raisonement sociologique", but without engaging in any long discussion with Bourdieu as such. My focus was on Foucault's dispositif concept, so I did not follow up the implicit Bourdieu-Passeron discussion, being only interested in possible Foucault-Passeron links in relation to the concept of "dispositif". Alas, the concept appears only on in the trivial sense of the "dispositif multidimensional de recherches…" (Passeron 1991:76).

When I published my article "Bourdieu Critic of Foucault: The Case of Empirical Social Science against Double-Game-Philosophy" (Callewaert 2006: 73-98) in the English Review *Theory, Culture and Society*. I had become more aware of the fact that Bourdieu criticized Foucault in many instances, mainly because of what Bourdieu considered to be an attempt to destroy the very possibility to do sociology, while conserving classic philosophy intact and borrowing themes and problems from sociology, without submitting to its scientific methods. Foucault, however never developed a critique of Bourdieu.

Paul Veyne explains how Foucault and Passeron already at the Ecole Normale Supérieure were associated to the same group, to which Bourdieu were not affiliated (2008). Veyne was, just like Bourdieu and Foucault, at that same period a student at the Ecole Normale Supérieure.

Paul Veyne, who became a historian, specializing in Greek and Roman Antiquity and also a close friend of Foucault, tells in his autobiography that Foucault never said a word on sociology while extensively discussing other social sciences like psychology or education. Veyne states in an ironic way that there were two bodies Foucault never consulted: the conservative newspaper Le Figaro and the works of Bourdieu! But Veyne still feels that many of the main theses of Foucault have a kinship to Bourdieu's work (Veyne 2008:155). Both Veyne and Foucault are said to prefer to follow Passeron when it comes to the philosophy and methodology of sociology. I myself have always considered Foucault to be typically a philosopher pretending to be a historian of systems of thought, which was also the name of the chair he got at the Collège de France. Today, I would not follow Habermas in his critique of Foucault as a radical relativist, as I did in my first publication *Om Foucault og Postmodernisme-diskussionen* (Callewaert 1987). I accept the complex explanations offered by Veyne in his intellectual biography of Foucault (2008) concerning Foucault's epistemology and method. Veyne is naturally aware of a basic difference between Bourdieu and Foucault, related to their social origin poor peasant/petty civil servant on one side, high bourgeois medicine professor at the Clinic of Poitiers on the other side. The rather aristocratic origin of Foucault and his colleagues, expressed itself during the sixties in the fact that Foucault, Passeron, Veyne and other well-to-do students at the École Normale Supérieure were all members of

the local Cell of the French Communist Party! They constituted at the same time a sort of club of well-to-do friends who lived apart at the École. As for Bourdieu, Veyne writes: "Quant au célèbre Pierre Bourdieu, qui n'était pas membre du parti, il mangeait à une autre table, plus sérieuse que la nôtre" (Veyne 2008: 66), translation: "As far as the famous Bourdieu was concerned, who was not member of the communist party, he took his meal at another table, more serious than ours". Bourdieu did not have to break with the Party, but instead was to leave his social class.

Passeron understands the sharp difference between himself and Bourdieu as related to, among other things, the fact that Bourdieu should have been a Durkheimian to the bitter end, Passeron himself being inspired rather by Weber: The contrast being between "to consider human actions like things" and "sociology is about meaningful action".

Passeron worked together with Foucault at Vincennes, according to Pestana or Veyne, describes a small group of friends, all members of the FCP cell, at the ENS, among them Foucault, Veyne and Passeron, while Althusser was their intellectual mentor and model. He states that one cannot understand the epistemology of Passeron without relating it to that of Veyne and Foucault, who both were extremely critical of sociology. Foucault was at that time already an assistant in psychology at the Ecole Normale Supérieure. Like Foucault, Passeron chose psychology as empirical science special, in addition to philosophy. Like Bourdieu, he participated with the French Army in the Algerian war of independence and like Bourdieu he became attached to the sociological institute directed by Raymond Aron. May 1968 saw the departure of Aron and the nomination of Bourdieu as director. Bourdieu and Passeron wrote *The Craft of sociology* (1968) and *La Réproduction* (1970) together. Passeron's book (1991) has discussions with Bourdieu, and only one single line to typify Foucault.

All these hints are interesting, but certainly too simple, if we really shall understand, for example, the background of "le jeu de Michel Foucault" (The game of Michel Foucault), referring to the explanation Foucault gives to the Lacan researchers from the review "Ornicar" concerning the origin/genealogy of the "Dispositif of Sexuality" concept (Gordon 1980). He explains how, one day, it came to his mind that he could, as a sort of a game, turn the relation between sex and sexuality upside-down, to see what happens if we suppose that it is not sex that produces sexuality, but sexuality that produces sex. It is the deployment of sexuality, the infinite thinking, talking and intervening about sex, that is the condition of the possibility to have sex, to think of sex, to experience sex, as we have it today, and not the other way around. Foucault pretends that he was convinced in his idea to inverse the relation between sexuality and sex as a game, from the inspiration Freud got from a remark of Charcot at the end of a session exposing hysterical women at the amphitheater of the Salpétrière Clinic, where Charcot provoked the rise and decline of violent "symptoms" by putting his hand or a wooden baton on the ovaries of the so called hysteric women. Freud heard Charcot murmur: "it's all sexual". This lead Foucault to the conclusion: Freud is not responsible for the final breakthrough in

the modern history of sexuality, he had it from Charcot, which is to say from psychiatry. Freud's radical new contribution was, contrarily, the discovery of the "unconscious" as the explanation, rather than sexuality as such.

Paul Veyne on the concept of dispositif
Before looking at Foucault´s different texts which offer a sort of definition of the dispositif concept, let us have a look at what Veyne has to say on dispositif in his biographical monography on Foucault and his work. Paul Veyne has contributed to the clarification of what Foucault meant by the concept of dispositif in three chapters of his book concerning the person and the thinking of Foucault (Veyne 2008):[4]

> To the contrary, for Foucault nothing is the reflection of an ideal; all politics are only the product of a concatenation of causes; it has no totality outside its disposition, it does not express anything more elevated than itself, even if we drown its singularity under noble generalities.
> [Foucault] makes it impossible to be like Sartre or Bourdieu, a generalist intellectual, who takes a stand on the basis of an idealistic view for the society, or of the sense of history. Foucault wants to be a specialist intellectual. (Veyne 2008: 115).

A very strange, erroneous comment, since Bourdieu has constructed his work as a social science specialist in opposition to Sartre's model. Bourdieu has demonstrated how social sciences shall not be based on an idealistic view of society or of the sense of history. Veyne again:

> … science is maintaining itself and persists, without the help of a heaven of ideas, which doesn't exist, because science is elaborated under the constraint of an institution, the university based research, and under the rule of conformity with a program of rigor; science is based upon a dispositif which is composed of rules, traditions, teaching, special buildings, institutions, powers etc. … This dispositif forms at the same time the object "science" and the individuals …, forms the role of scientist; they interiorize this role. The genealogy of a science is nothing else than this mutual genesis of the subject and the object of science; the dispositif consists of the interface of subject and object. The scientist makes science and science returns it well. … the social role of being a scientist is produced by the dispositive ….

> Why is Foucault adding this subjectivation to the objectivation …in order to make an end to the illusion that the subject exists prior to its roles …the scientist and the dispositif exert power on each other, and science exerts power on society …what is taken for granted in a dispositif has the power to be obeyed …it is true that you are obliged to obey your prince … these truths are true … because they are immanent within institutional, traditional, didactic, legal dispositifs. These

truths are in a circular way bounded to systems of power which are producing and maintaining them (Veyne 2008:133-136).

I wonder where an old fox like Veyne has this incredible naive view of universities and science from, but let that be.

> Politics and economics are neither things that exist, nor are they errors, or illusions or ideologies. They are something which does not exist and nevertheless is inscribed in the real, depending of a truth regime which distinguish truth from error (Veyne 2008:139).

The mutual implication of power and knowledge is the simple basis of social life: "Il est de fait que, sans qu'aucune violence soit exercée sur eux, les gens se conforment à des règles, suivent des coutumes qui leur semblent évidentes". Translation: "It is a plain fact that people conform their behavior to rules, follow the customs which are evident for them, without being exposed to violence" (Veyne 2008: 141).

The unavoidable question for a historian is: "What is the truth concerning this or that object of study?" The question has become sharp because of the Foucault concept of "discourses", and even more because of his "dispositifs"; through these dispositifs, what we call society prescribes in a given place and at a given time, what is true and what is false speech. The work of Foucault aims to prove how every idea which one believes in is an eternal idea, is in fact an idea which has a history" (Veyne 2008: 164).

We may recall here Canguilhem's idea that "the history of truth" is sort of a contradictio in terminis. Either the assertion is true, and then it has no history, or it has a history, and then what you believed yesterday was in fact false. That something like the history of science has a history of breaks, is not self-evident. Hence the innovative aspect of the so called "French Historical Epistemology":

> And what about power? Power is the capacity to conduct the conduct of people without physical violence …power is transported by a hair fine web so well stricken together, so one may wonder if there is power at all involved …liberty is based upon more or less resistance …liberty can oppose the dispositif of the moment, but what liberty is opposing then is the mental and social dispositif. One cannot demand that Antiquity's Christendom was thinking of abolishing slavery. The dispositif is less a determinism than the obstacle against which thought and liberty react or do not react; they are activated because the dispositive is itself active (Veyne 2008: 144).

Veynes explanation is de-mystifying the concept, in comparison of many of Foucault's own texts on the subject, or many of others´ writings about it. It is about what at a given moment in a given place is already realized as the external material shape of social reality and the personal incorporation of it, realized by a power as

pacific as possible, against which its subjects are resisting. Veyne, unfortunately, compares this dispositive idea with the Anglo-Saxon theories of roles or of socialization, a comparison which kills the originality of Foucault. But both Veyne and Foucault are here hopelessly naive; Bourdieu will express some doubts about the efficiency of such a "hair fine web stricken so well together …".

Where shall we then find the analogy between Bourdieu's habitus/field theory and Foucault's dispositif theory? That is: Between an unconscious or rather preconscious, implicit orientation of thoughts, words and deeds on the side of Bourdieu's habitus, that is to say disposition that is the product of taking part in a position, and Foucault's truth which turns around a dispositif and the resistance against it.

> Sociologies profess the same doctrine in their own way; no individual exist, unless he is socialized. Subjectivation in the sense of Foucault occupies the same place in society as with Bourdieu the notion of habitus, this couple of conversion between the social and the individual (Veyne, 2008: 144)

In fact, that is not true. Bourdieu does not teach the same doctrine as Foucault. Veyne cannot imagine Foucault as sociologist; he is, has decided to be himself, a philosopher, not only a professor of philosophy, a philosophical specialist of systems of thought, but also a philosopher and historian. Bourdieu did not want to be a philosopher, he went through a break with philosophy as his 'special' and started again to do sociology and anthropology. I also think that Foucault's obsession with causal explanations ends up in a sort of mist where sometimes all cats are grey. But for me the problem with Foucault is that he at the end has so many reservations and restrictions in what he can accept as interpretation of people's thoughts, because what they are doing seems to be less important, at least it is not comprehended by what is left of the theory concerning systems of thought.

The concept of dispositif in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1975)
The final pages of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* containing the model of socialization invented by and for the prison, which he calls the carcel and which he considers has pervaded the whole society, is different from his lectures on conduct of conduct as the exercise of power by governmentality etc., which appear later on.

Foucault takes the agricultural and penal colony of Mettray, near the city of Tours, for children and adolescent transgressors of the Law, opened in 1840 and closed in 1937, as a typical example of the 'new penal policy of the body' using coercive technologies of conduct (Foucault 1975: 300). This colony is interesting to Foucault's purpose, because it unites the characteristics of family life, service in the army, school education, and work place rules, each time with a specific form of power, direction, rules, and punishments of deviant conduct. The principal punishment consists of the isolation in a cell, being the most efficient way to influence the moral of the children: "God sees you". The staff incarnates all these specific, special

competences, but in an applied form: Engineer of conduct, orthopedist of individu-
ality, presidents at the bath, for example e.g. (Boge 2008; Boge 2011; Boge e.a.
2013; Boge e.a. 2016). They have to produce bodies which are at the same time
submissive and capable (Foucault 1975: 301). The application of these techniques
result in knowledge of the soul and maintenance of subjection. The taming com-
bines with other forms of control based upon medicine, education, religion, and
administration, apparently totally different from the discipline. The staff were sub-
mitted to the same discipline as they had to impose on the children. Foucault calls
Mettray the first "école normale".[5] Foucault pretends that the normalization prac-
tice of undisciplined people by force can itself become normalized by technical
elaboration and rational reflexivity. The disciplinary technique can become a 'dis-
cipline' (=science?) of its own school école normale! Ironic use of the label.

Foucault considers these efforts parts of the origin of scientific psychology, as-
sisted by elements of physiology, medicine, and psychiatry, leading to a "reflexive
technique of control of the norms" for these practices.

Foucault (1975: 305) uses the term dispositif in order to say: this model of the
carcel will by a number of dispositifs be transferred to the whole society and its
relations and mechanisms. Not the carcel in the compact form it has within the
prison, but some of its mechanisms for example in the way the system of social
houses for workers' families is organized, which is still marked by the fact that the
model comes from the carcel; dispositifs disciplinaires for the poor are disseminated
all over the society. They will gradually become dispositifs for the 'population'.

Foucault suggests that the delinquent population is created by the disciplinary
dispositifs, aside from the Law. Because it becomes natural to punish not only by
the Law and the juridical order, but by all the 'disciplines' (ibid.: 308).

After the revolution and the dissolution of the feudal order, a new right to punish
was installed. The interesting question is not "on which juridical basis", but rather
how did one get people to accept the power to punish or to be punished that way.
The answer is that the creation of a complete network of discipline dispositifs made
it 'normal' to be punished for all 'abnormal' conduct. It is no longer the Law that
creates the right to punish and the acceptance of punishment by the punished, but a
whole new world of pedagogic, medical, and psychiatric expertise and institutions
removed from the Law, for the betterment of the abnormal, but soon of everybody.
We have the teacher-judge, the medical doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the social
worker-judge etc.: All of them exercising the power to normalize (ibid.: 311). With
them comes an enormous activity of scrutinizing behavior, which opens up for the
development of the so called 'sciences of man'. One does not say that the sciences
of man are born in the carcel, but that the episteme underlying them is borrowed
from a new modality of exercising power: by politics of the body, making bodies
docile and utile.

> The carcelar network is one of the frames of this power-knowledge which made
> the human sciences historically possible. What can be known about man (soul,

individuality, conscience, behavior, you name it) is the result-object of this ana-lytic investment, of this domination-observation (Foucault 1975: 312).

With the result that there arises a graduated parallelism between the transgres-sion and the punishment. We have to do not with a misdeed, or a prejudice of the common good, but we have to do with a difference, an anomaly. We have long series of punishments parallel to series of abnormal behavior (Foucault 1975: 311).

Because the carcelar system is hidden in the midst of dispositifs and strategies of power, it can resist against whoever would want to change it, a big capacity of inertia (Foucault 1975: 312).

The prison is not alone to occupy a central position, it is bounded to other 'carce-lar' dispositifs, which appear to be of well distinguished nature, since they are intended to relieve, to recure, to help, but which tend in the same way as the prison to exercise a normalization power. These dispositifs are not applied on transgressions of the Law, but around the production apparatus (trade and indus-try) on a multiplicity of transgressions with their diversity of nature and origin. …So that the notion of repressive institution …is not adequate to describe at the Centre of the carcelar Town, things like …techniques, and at the end 'sciences', (always within brackets! they are not really sciences for Foucault), which allow for the fabrication of the disciplined individual …bodies and forces subjugated under many forms of dispositifs of 'incarceration', objects for discourses which are themselves elements of this strategy (Foucault 1975: 315; the last sentence of the book).

I think it is very important to recognize the immense contribution of Foucault re-garding this definition of a historical, qualitative difference in the societal order: we pass from ethics or morals to techniques. But I would say that at the same time Foucault and his followers have for a long time obscured and hidden what was hap-pening, because this understanding/explanation of the technical/qualitative change has not been related to the underlying economic, social and cultural structural changes. Macro changes in social history are presented as 'technical' changes ex-isting by themselves. The fear of appearing as another variation of the Marxism of that period, tainted by the ideology of the mass communist parties, combined with the "the craft of philosophy", led Foucault to the creation of a new type of discourse, more ethetic than ethic.[6]

Foucault will at the end talk of an 'éthétisation' (not esthétisation) of one's way of life (Foucault 1984). The concept is a transposition of the Greek word/concept of ethos, which means in French usage, coutume, moeurs.

The history of Sexuality 1: The will to know (1976; 1981)

It is not possible to find a new short definition of the concept of dispositive in this book, since it is omnipresent, and structuring the book. This small book is sort of a presentation of a lifelong research project for Foucault and for others who want to contribute.

Part one describes our common understanding of ourselves as formed by Queen Victoria's prudery.

Part two develops two aspects of the counter-hypothesis, countering the hypothesis that we have all lived in a culture which was repressive of sex:

1. The constant incitement to develop discourses about sex.
2. The implantation of sexual perversities by constantly talking about them.

Part three explains how instead of developing an "ars erotica" we developed a "scientia sexualis", the procedures of the coming "sciences of man", that is to say the sciences based upon the interrogation and confession of people, and the interpretation (hermeneutics) of what is said and what is done. The model is concerned, among other things, with the Christian ritual of individualized confession in relation to the interrogation, questioning, examination, inquiry, and interview by the priest, and soon by parents, police, the medical.

Part four develops the different aspects of the 'Dispositif of sexuality'. The basic idea is to offer a guideline for and an invitation to collaborate in a common enterprise of researching the following aspects for all periods and countries:

1. What is at stake?
2. What is the method?
3. What is the domain?
4. The periods of its development

Foucault characterizes this call to move to start inquiring, with the formula used by Virgil in the Book VI of the Aeneid, attributed to the goddess Juno saying "flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo " ("If I cannot deflect the will of Heaven, I shall move Hell"), a formula also used by Freud as motto of his "The interpretation of Dreams" figuring Acheron (river) as the psychological underworld beneath the conscious mind: "There is the truth: go and find it there by surprise" is the transposition by Foucault to our time's question, "why sex is so secret" (Foucault 1976: 103).

Part five explains the relation between sexuality and the right of paternal powers to dispose of 'life or death', today transformed into the care of 'the population' as a central part of government, and hence the care of the interconnection of alliance/family and sexuality in a broad sense. This makes for 75 pages on the "dispositive of sexuality", i.g. how does sexuality create/manage sex and how can we manage the dispositif(s) of sexuality.

Philippe Ariès has a wonderful article in the *Review L'Arc* no 70 (1977: 27-32), "A Propos de 'La volonté de savoir'", where he responds to the proposition of Foucault and gives his own 'dream' of the history of the dispositif of sexuality and its relation to sex.

The Confession of the Flesh or The game of Foucault
Next text is taken from a meeting with the disciples of Lacan. It goes under the original heading "le jeu de Foucault/the game of Foucault", or, in the English translation: "The confession of the flesh" (Foucault 1975).

We can find the definition of the concept of dispositif a bit more formalized in this review article of the Lacan-inspired psychoanalytic research in Paris (*Ornicar* nr 10: 1977: 62-93). The article is the transcription of a meeting between Foucault and the members of the Direction of the Review, which Foucault himself had asked for after *Discipline and Punish* had been published in 1975 and a new research program had been announced in "The History of Sexuality 1. The Will to Knowledge" in 1976/1978/1998, wherin the concept of dispositif is used extensively. Foucault´s objective is to get comments from friendly-minded researchers on these two books, and to get help on how to proceed in the further implementation of this research project, also concerning other domains to be clarified with the help of the concept of dispositif. The psychoanalytic sparring partners are somewhat confused by Foucault's series of central concepts over the years: dispositif of sexuality is neither taken from biology, from the history of the sciences, from the history of ideas or morals, or from the history of sexual practices. It deals with the 'dispositif de sexualité'. What then is the methodological function of the concept of 'dispositif'? Foucault answers with one definition and a multitude of explanations.

The English translation is published in Colin Gordon (1980: 194-228). Some lines of the introduction to the text by Foucault are mysteriously omitted in the English translation published in Colin Gordon (1980), and the heading is changed, without explanation.

The concept of 'the flesh' is what Foucault at first believed the first generations of Christian thinkers/writers used to name the human body as it, after the Fall of Adam and Eve, had become the cause of immorality. Later it was called "the original sin" affecting body and soul. This idea was, in fact, invented by Tertullianus among others, in order to be able to defend the application of baptism, communicating the remission of all sins and salvation by the life and death of Jesus Christ. The application of baptism gives priority to children, who cannot have sinned personally, but are not innocent either and need to be baptized soon, to find a new innocence, since through their origin in their own parents they inherited from the first parents the original sin of Adam and Eve.

This has to do with how Tertulianus conceived man. When a child was conceived/born, it was supposed to be constituted half by its father's and half by its mother's body and soul. As a result, both the child's soul and body were affected

by the sin of their parents, and should be baptized in order to participate in the salvation constituted by the life and death of Jesus. Tertullianus was a North African Berber living 160-225, son of an officer of the Roman army stationed at Carthago, and a Christian mother with a classical education. At first he become a jurisconsult, later working as a theologian writer, developing the doctrine of the official Christian Church, principally by his writings. Later he passed to the Montanist group, but his writings were an inspiration to all later Latin theologians like Augustinus, Cyprianus etc., principally in their polemics with Gnosticism. The principal competitor of the Christian churches to replace the Roman official state organization around a sort of ancestor cult with deities borrowed from the Greeks.

Foucault would, according to his original plan, publish a second volume of the History of Sexuality with the title: Les aveux de la chair (The confessions of the flesh). He did not, however, succeed in publishing any additional volumes before he passed away from HIV/AIDS. He did, meanwhile, finish the two volumes *The Use of Pleasure* (Foucault 1984a) and *The Care of the Self* (Foucault 1984b) according to the Greek and Roman Classic and Christian Antiquity *l'Usage des plaisirs* (Foucault 1984) and *Le souci de soi* (Foucault 1984), stating once that the Classic and Christian view of sexuality and marriage were basically the same, not antagonistic as he at first believed.

Most importantly still for Foucault was to identify the 'confession of sin' as the first form of 'confession', necessitating a corresponding scrutinizing of the mind, which slowly was transformed from being a collective ritual of the community before participating in the memorial of the Last Supper in the Holy Mass, into a preparation for the individual confession in relation to the interrogation by the priest. Foucault would follow the development of 'the will to know' into the complex of 'sexuality' concerning sex. The confession with its basis in the scrutinizing of one's mind would become a theme Foucault developed in all his courses at the Collège de France, from Tertullianus to Freud sitting behind his patient laying on the coach.

After the publication of *Discipline and Punish* and *The History of Sexuality 1. The will to Knowledge*, Foucault was thus invited to a conversation with the members of the Lacan-inspired psychoanalysis review *Ornicar* for a discussion. Together with them, he was on a common ground, so to speak, concerning the question of sex and sexuality.

The conversation started with the attempt by Foucault to present a clear definition of the central concept of both books, the concept of dispositif, in this case the dispositif of sexuality. Later the board published the transcription of the conversion under the heading "The game of Foucault", because Foucault attributed the use of the concept and the whole plan to write the history of sexuality, which from the start was meant as a game in the hope to learn from a change of perspective that turns things upside down. Instead of expecting that sexuality is born from sex, Foucault (Foucault 1980) tries out the idea that, to the contrary, sex is born from the never ending problematization of sex in sexuality:

Then I turned the whole thing upside down. That was only a game, because I wasn't sure … . Couldn't it be that sex… be something which to the contrary is produced by the apparatus (=dispositif) of sexuality? What the discourse of sexuality was initially applied to wasn't sex but the body, the sexual organs, pleasures, kinship relations, interpersonal relations, and so forth …(ibid. 210)

I am saying let's try to shift the scenery and take as our starting point something else which is just as manifest as the 'break', provided one changes the points of reference. One then finds this formidable mechanism emerging – the machinery of the confession, within which in fact psychoanalysis and Freud figure as episodes (211) …Not a delusive appearance, but a fabrication (ibid. 212).

…I would say in the same way that from the day it was said to man 'You shall not merely make yourself pleasure with your sex, you will make yourself truth, and that truth will be your truth, from the day Tertullian began saying to the Christians, 'Where your chastity is concerned …'

I was only joking there… (ibid. 213)

Foucault tells his colleagues that some readers of his first draft were not satisfied with it, leading him to the idea to inverse as a game the terms of the relation changing the points of reference: changing the idea that it was sex that was at the origin of sexuality, into the idea that it was sexuality that was at the origin of sex. That appeared to be the right way.

When Colin Gordon (1980) published the English translation of the Ornicar text, he gave the text the heading of "the confession of the flesh" understanding the text in terms of the Christian confession of one's sins to the priest in the individual confession taking place at least once a year, on the basis of one's own examination of oneself and responding to the scrutinizing of the priest. Foucault feels confirmed in his idea that it is the complexity of thoughts and regulations developed around sexual behavior in what we call sexuality, more precisely the dispositif of sexuality, that constitutes sex as an entity, and not the other way around. Foucault invites his readers to think the inversed relation to experience that it is the true way of thinking.

But the Ornicar people is more interested of what is meant by dispositif, which is new in these two books. It is a new historical object 'sexuality' and 'dispositive of sexuality'. It is not a sort of botanist or biologist discourse, not traditional history of ideas or customs; it does not speak of sexual practices; we speak of a dispositif of sexuality:

1. The elements of the dispositif is a heterogeneous ensemble of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, philanthropic propositions, the said and the unsaid.

2. The dispositive itself is the relation between the elements. The question is to know the nature of this connection, what it is meant to justify, to mask, to reinterpret that which is creating a new form of rationality.
3. The dispositif responds to an urgent need at a given moment in the community.
4. It was the dispositif that took slowly the control of madness, mental illness and neuroses.

The genesis of the dispositif by

- The prevalent influence of the strategic objective.
- The impact of a strategic re-elaboration of the getting and holding together of the elements.

Nevertheless, installing the carceral system in prisons, for example, totally failed, without any ruse of any transhistoric subject; the result was the constitution of a criminal/delinquent milieu very different from the 18th century's illegalist practices. From 1830 and on, the delinquent milieu was re-utilized so to say, example the extraction of profit of pleasure through the organization of prostitution.

Somebody asks the delicate question: are you now working in your research and practical application with the contemporary struggles that are to be fought, the world that has to be changed rather than interpreted?

Foucault answers by suggesting that he may be at cross purposes; being unsure how to make sure that the dispositif can maintain its strategic orientation, maintaining the articulation of forces and knowledge. Episteme is a discursive dispositif, the dispositif must be both discursive and non-discursive; the idea is to get further to a non-discursive effect. It is not a question of ideas, but of forces supporting ideas.

Three texts from the round table
[1] A text that is a part of Foucault's answers to the questions of the historians at the conference, organized to discuss his book on the new penal regime symbolized by the new carcels. This text is reproduced in JD Faubion (ed): *Michel Foucault. Power* (Faubion 1994; French original 1980: 223-238).

This presentation of the text in the most important early volume of texts in English under the label of 'method' is very misleading, because the idea of 'method' as a standardized official working method of a given 'science' is not to be found in the works of Foucault. But it will nevertheless be attributed to Foucault.

I will concentrate on the part quoted by Boge/Storum and Sandal in their first outline (Boge et al 2016). In that text the concept of dispositif does not occur, well in the next quote. In this first text Foucault answers the question: "why did you write a book precisely on the prison".

[2] Why select the Prison as theme (Foucault 1980: 230-232). The concept of dispositif appears first in the next answer, where Foucault explains that his approach is not just the same as Weber's 'ideal type', the reforms being 'programs' (Foucault 1980: 232 = The French dispositif is translated by 'apparatus', which is very misleading).

[3] The third text is also from the discussions with the historians. It insists upon the idea that the whole complex of ideas, practices, etc. must be understood as 'events'. Cfr Power: Questions of method. Eventualisation. (Foucault 1980: 230).

   The volume Sécurité, Territoire, Population Course 1977-1978. Sueil Gallimard (2004). "Redacteurs: Francois Ewald & Alessandro Fontana".

   In this volume of the transcription of the course, we will find (according to the index: 417): Dispositif(s)

   - diplomatico-militaire
   - military
   - of politics enter states
   - of polity policy
   - of European equilibrium
   - of discipline
   - of power
   - of security
   - of sovereignty

Remark how the use of the concept follows the different meanings of the word in everyday or technical French language: dispositif means an assemblage/deployment of different elements operative in a juridical, military or technical context. The important point is the net which holds its different parts together.

   The next important point is that this net of assembled elements lies open for an intervention which inserts one more element, transforming the capacity of the whole dispositif. In everyday language: the final decision of the court, the way the army is deployed before the final attack, the instrument to repair the motor of the car. The world as it lies open for an intervention which will change the order of things. The world as it is just before an intervention changes everything. The aptitude of the world to receive and let the intervention work. The world as it is well-disposed, well-arranged and of good will to let something work, the world which offers the conditions of possibility of the capacity to direct and order the field at stake concerning domains that can be very different.

Is Foucault's 'dispositif' the same as Bourdieu's 'habitus' (disposition)?
The answer is NO, unlike what Veyne (2008, 2010) is suggesting. The error starts already with the association of 'dispositif' and 'disposition', which is exactly the concept Bourdieu tries to avoid, by introducing habitus instead of disposition, but

he has himself re-introduced it because of his love of games with words. His theory of 'habitus/field' is about the connection of 'position/dispositions/positionings'. Dispositif is not the same as disposition; these two concepts are basically not aiming at the same complex.

Where, then, would the analogy with Bourdieu's habitus to operate in a field lie? The analogy of Foucault's dispositif with Bourdieu's unconscious, implicit disposition which orients thoughts, words and actions in a field, the practical sense, the sense of the game in a definite field with its stakes? For Foucault, the idea of a dispositif of thinking and handling the social world guided by the way it is disposed, implies that the so disposed world has already become problematic and problematized, it can and will move either the one or the other way. For instance, the way one has sex, thinks of sex, talks about sex, internalizes orientations about sex, all that sort of practices are what the dispositif turns around. Disposition with Bourdieu aims at an explanation, in principal a causal explanation, something Foucault wants to avoid at all costs.

Fearless Speech at Berkeley 1983
Foucault says in his Berkeley lecture 1983 on the "frankness of speaking the truth":

> The history of thought is the analysis of the way an unproblematic field of experience becomes a problem, raises discussions and debate, incite new reactions and induces crisis in the previously silent behavior, habits, practices and institutions. It is the history of the way people become anxious, for example about madness, about crime, about themselves or about truth (Foucault 2001).

> …what I intended to analyze in most of my work was neither past people's behavior (…) nor ideas in their representative values, (but) how and why certain things (behavior, phenomena, processes) became a problem (Ibid:171) …some real existent in the world which was the target of social regulation… How and why were very different things in the world gathered together… and treated as, for example, mental illness.

> I have tried to show that the new problematization of illness of physical disease at the end of the 18th century was very directly linked to certain practices …, to a new social reaction to diseases ... .

> The problematization is an 'answer' to a concrete situation which is real …a given problematization is not an effect or consequence of a historical context or situation, but is an answer given by definite individuals (…at a certain point an answer may become so general that it also becomes anonymous). (ibid:172).

Compare his answer at the meeting with the historians.

These answers are not collective ones from any sort of collective unconscious, …nor an effect of a situation …(it is) always a kind of creation … in the sense that, given a certain situation, you cannot infer that this kind of problematization will follow …you can only understand why this kind of answer appears as a reply to some concrete and specific aspect of the world …the original, specific and singular answer of thought – to a certain situation …it is this kind of specific relation between truth and reality which I have tried to analyze in the various problematizations of parrhesia (Foucault 2001: 173).

In a way it is very simple if we compare with Bourdieu's chapter "Understanding" in *The Weight of the World* (Bourdieu 1999), talking about the social scientist's understanding of the behavior and the thoughts of specific people by listening to their answers to definite questions in an interview combined with observation of behavior.

Foucault is not interviewing people, he is interpreting the texts people have left behind who were governing/conducting people to govern/conduct themselves. Because he is not interested in the factual implementation of peoples' thoughts in practices, does not want to know if they are acting upon their thoughts, doing what they taught one should do; because he is primarily interested in the thoughts inspiring plans of action that have been implemented in the case of the prison and the carcelar society for instance, with the opposite effect: the establishment of a criminal environment.

Bourdieu states that Foucault analyzes history as opus operatum, not as modus operandi; the question is if Foucault at all analyzes practices in terms of their discursive and non-discursive genealogy, rather he is interested in and equipped to analyze the thoughts incarnating a problematization.

That is to say: the old Greek unproblematic answer to sex, where gender is not an issue per se, but only per modalities, feminization of young man is not allowed, man must conserve the dominant role.

Working per *opus operatum* exposes you to the scholastic error, projecting into the mind of the agent as the origin/explanation of the action the explicit concept of the action, not taking into account the unconscious/preconscious impetus and orientation of the habitus. Human action is habitual, has a habitual basis, it is not a pure creation. This concerns not only the conditions of possibility of an action, but the action itself; you are not admitted to do definite things, if you are not a legitimate member of the social category at stake (Bourdieu 1996a). You are not capable to perpetrate the action at stake, because you lack the adequate ability, lacking the unconscious disposition inclining to act, and to act the right way.

The question is if the dispositive of Foucault is the same as the disposition of Bourdieu. Some writings on Foucault, using the language of 'disposition', speaking of the 'dispositional' create this confusion. My impression is that Foucault himself avoids this ambiguity.

But if we take it from the start, we can state that a Foucault's history of thought means to analyze how and why certain behavior, object of social regulation, gets thought of as a problem as a consequence of the answer certain individuals give to a certain state of things in the world. It is not, however, possible to infer this answer from the state of things in the world, to infer, that is to say, by reasoning, because the same sort, the similar gathering together of certain elements is not experienced as a problem, does not create a new phenomenon like madness, illness, sexuality, a carcelare society; it has always something of a creation.

Sexuality = the use of sex = only between a man and a women who are married in order to procreate offspring with moderate experience of pleasure, inspired by stoic philosophy; is different from the old Greek 'sexuality' which did not included a stipulation against same sex.

In the Ornicar dialogue, Foucault insists very much on the non-discursive character of the dispositif. That is: people are married in this way, live in this way, without it being problematized, and this facilitates the regulating task of the ruling power, because the majority live in the countryside in circumstances that form the conditions of possibility of the model. But the fit between the conditions of possibility and the model gets progressively worse as one moves from the cities in the provinces to Rome.

Foucault and Bourdieu according to the *Bourdieu Handbuch*

The excellent German *Bourdieu Handbuch* edited by Gerhard Frölich & Boike Rehbein (Frölich & Rehbein 2009) has a first part on the intellectual biography of Bourdieu and the main currents which influenced him. There is a chapter on Foucault, who was an Assistant-Lecturer at the École Normale Supérieure when Bourdieu arrived. Foucault was four years older than Bourdieu, which means a lot at that age. Foucault was also a member of a very influential group of well-to-do students, all members of the local cell of the French Communist Party, among them also the historian Veyne, specialist of Greek and Roman History, who later became a personal friend of Foucault, and wrote a book on his personality and work (Veyne 2008; 2010); he was also Foucault's consultant on Antiquity's Greek and Roman text interpretations.

Hilmar Schäfer, the author of the five columns, explains how Foucault recommended Bourdieu at different occasions, how they were both involved in political manifestations, how they both were exposed to the same initiation to the same intellectual objects and methods in philosophy and the humanities, but never during their lifetime publicly confronted their very different personal ideas. Their education at the ENS was strongly influenced by the existentialist phenomenology and by structuralism, but both would define themselves against these currents, on different grounds. Both were positively influenced by the so called French Historical Epistemology, conducted by Bachelard and Canguilhem. Bourdieu mentions in his auto-socio-analysis Foucault's bourgeois origin, homosexuality, and will to posit

himself as a 'philosopher' as factors leading to their very different intellectual works.

Their common ground is their interest in the understanding of the regularity of social practices, which are related to fundamental social orders of knowledge. As 'discourse', 'episteme' or as 'habitus', these orders are structured and structuring. Historically differentiated specific social structures produce a 'space of what is possible' in thinking and acting, a concept Bourdieu borrows from Foucault (the reference is to a text of Bourdieu I cannot verify at the moment). Both Foucault's social history and Bourdieu's analysis of the structures of a field and the dispositions of and habitus, insist upon the historical discontinuity, upon thinking in relations instead of in terms of substances.

My article, "Bourdieu Critic of Foucault" (Callewaert 2006) explains how Bourdieu's main criticism concerns the fact that Foucault, and many other philosophers at that time, rejected the new sciences like sociology and anthropology, but at the same time 'borrowed' the already elaborated 'objects' of these sciences, but working with them in a philosophical way, bypassing the necessary competences in empirical methods. Foucault's interest in power and politics for example was first aroused at the events of May 1968 which he experienced at the University of Tunis.

Bourdieu develops his discussion with Foucault also in his work: *The rules of art* (Bourdieu 1992; 1996b). Borrowing the notion of 'field of strategic possibilities' (ibid. 197) from Foucault. Bourdieu refuses to accept Foucault's 'internalist' interpretation of the concept, considering arising differences in the history of thought only as internal differences from within the cultural field under consideration, rejecting all efforts to relate the differences to factors like personal or social origin, living conditions, or external developments of the society and culture. Foucault conceives of this strategic field of possibilities as absolutely autonomous, like Saussure thinking of 'language' as absolutely autonomous vis-à-vis speech, using language. 'Chat' in French is 'katt' in Swedish, but inversed phonologically as 'tak' it means roof in Swedish, but 'toit' in French, in this case the difference of meaning follows the difference in sound. The phonological construction is totally independent from the meaning in speech, what is needed is sufficient 'speaking' differences of sound, between 'Tak and Kat', 'Toit and Chat', which are the same in this case, because both derived from the same Germanic origin. It is the same with the relation of discourse and social conditions, discourse should express differences, but as understanding it is not caused by the phenomena it names.

Schäfer states that when Bourdieu discusses this theme again in *Pascalian Meditations* (Bourdieu 1997; 2000) he moves more towards the position of Foucault in this question, underscoring that power is not only forcing people by corporeal and other violence, or by manipulating living conditions, to submit to the rules imposed etc., but to the contrary he underscores how socialization results in people's submission, becoming themselves the actors of their own submission. But Bourdieu thinks Foucault still situates 'discipline' on the institutional level (school, army, prison).

Notes

[1] See for example 'appareils' in Althusser's texts.
[2] Dominican brothers are called Black Friars in Great Britain.
[3] Translated from French into English by the author.
[4] Veyne's text are quoted from the original French edition 2008 and translated by the author.
[5] Institute of education of the teachers of the primary school.
[6] Ethetic: immediate object of attention, different from esthetic, beauty or ethic, morals.

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Social Boundaries and
Family Upbringing

Mihaï Dinu Gheorghiu, Denis Merklen & Monique de Saint Martin

Social groups, life spaces, exchange places as well as segregation places are separated by more or less visible social boundaries; those boundaries cross everyday family life. How could we grasp these boundaries? It's education both given and received in families, its continuities and its discontinuities that allows us to trace them; permanently reinvented, education contributes now less to replicate boundaries and more to create new ones. In a world where social advancement promised by the education system is hypothetical, people try hard to achieve education outside the system and accommodate with the boundaries; the boundaries are sometimes respected, sometimes retraced and sometimes looked for. How are these boundary games played in different contexts? The comparison between France, Romania, Sweden and Brazil highlights for each country the dynamic processes affecting the middle classes.

Keywords: social boundaries, family education, middle classes, collective identities.

The concept of the social boundary generally enables one to grasp social space with its divisions, segmentations and hierarchisations.[1] It also helps highlight the investment, often involving considerable energy, made by families for maintaining or abolishing these divisions. In a radically transforming world, the heterogeneity of individual trajectories and instability are rising, and differences within the same group are increasing, which affects certain markers of identity. Families have to face these changes in the context of this intergenerational transmission. They teach their children to master and be familiar with a social space that they know is not homogeneous and is often criss-crossed by new boundaries. The efforts that families invest in upbringing thus have as goal, among others, learning of possible social mobility, collective adhesion, constraints and opportunities offered by a sound mastery of the dynamics of social space.[2]

It must be specified, to begin with, that social boundaries help constitute social order: they separate and organise contacts between categories, groups or classes. At the same time, they are mechanisms participating in the construction of the identity of these groups or classes as they objectify and "naturalise" their distinctive properties, engraved in the symbolical order. Located between the "upper" and the "lower", between the members of a group and the excluded, boundaries

fix hierarchies, differentiate between the "best" and the "not-so-good".

It must be kept in mind that social boundaries are not "transmitted" through the intermediary of a kind of cultural unconscious. At stake in struggles, they are constructed and are subject to social conflicts. Movements of transgression or protection of borders are frequent, and may question the existence of groups and/or social belonging of the transgressing individual.

Social boundaries play a twofold role. On the one hand, they constitute means of domination, discipline, segregation, and distancing. Thus, various behaviours are forbidden in certain places, the barriers made insurmountable. Some youths from working-class neighbourhoods, for instance, are forced to exercise control on their body in numerous institutions, such as schools and libraries. This discipline, imposed at the very moment one crosses a threshold ("Please remove your cap and earphones here"), can turn out to be against certain forms of identity or collective belonging (like a group of friends) and have "desocialising" effects. On the other hand, these boundaries represent ways of social protection, guarding a territory, maintaining of a common identity. Teachers and librarians must maintain some degree of order in institutions where they work for simply being able to do their job and protect their identity and their social position, too. Most institutions and social groups chalk out boundaries likely to organise legitimate behaviours and practices in space and time. Thus, although social boundaries are often "already there", they are subject to much antagonism and even give lead to conferring a form on social conflicts. The role of social boundaries lies in both the maintenance of order and the articulation of conflicts.

The notion of boundary thus becomes essential for understanding social groups and decoding social space. On the one hand, the boundaries define the contours of various groups (some, like "suburban youth", are identified with their place of residence) and establish the separation from the others. On the other hand, the boundaries open spaces for discussion and meeting so that the groups may communicate amongst themselves. Boundaries establish conditions under which "those from here" are ready to discuss and communicate with "those from there". Fredrik Barth had emphasised that boundaries separate and make discussions possible between two units that mutually recognise each other as being different (Barth 1969). Thus regarded, the idea of the boundary constitutes a particularly pertinent tool for deliberating on the forms and modalities of social relations between groups belonging to societies affected by more or less strong processes of change and social recomposition.

The place of social boundaries in a society in deep transformation raises several questions to which this research tries to respond. How do boundaries themselves participate in these processes of transformation? To what extent do they contribute to the unequal distribution of the effects of these changes? Do they help in settling the actors in an established position, an assured trajectory, or do they, on the contrary, create mobility, destabilisation, marginalisation and lead to a more risky path?

What this article sets out to understand, more than a mere description of the

reality, form and functions of social boundaries, is the process of how they are shaped and updated. How do social separations and segregations come about? And how do these separations organise communication between individuals belonging to different social groups? It is also pertinent to understand how various boundaries are edified within different groups and families through the double work of bringing children up and the attempt to control their insertion in the social space.

Without aiming to retrace the complete genealogy of the concept of boundary in this article – although it is necessary - and without pretending to elaborate on the vast body of research conducted in this area,[3] it would succinctly present the works that guided it most directly in this research, during which it was decided that the effects of the experience of family upbringing on the construction and redefinition of boundaries between social groups would be studied in different contexts.

Boundaries within contemporary societies

Fredrik Barth was the first to change the approach to ethnic groups by making the process of categorial attribution and interaction that enable these groups to maintain their boundaries, the focal point of his research. Boundaries must not be confused with borders (limits) as the representation of the communication between two parties in a divided space is central to it: boundaries are not watertight, are never occlusive, but are more or less fluid, mobile and porous (Barth 1969). Barth concluded that the line of demarcation separating the members from non-members of a group ("us" and "them") is defining for their identity as it regulates their interactions through a series of "dos" and "donts". These prescriptions help define belonging to a group and its contours. The boundary is thus, first and foremost, a means of discriminating, which makes inclusion and exclusion from the group possible. But it also determines the modalities for communication between social groups. The latter never appear in isolation but always in relation to each other and are formed mutually in relations of both communication and exclusion. This is an essential point as exchanges between groups within the same society are also conducted in the form of conflicts. While being unevenly stable, boundaries have the ability to be long-lasting, irrespective of the changes that may occur within each group. If the individuals are in a position to cross or "play" with these boundaries, it does not challenge their social pertinence.

The extremely general character of the concept of the boundary has rendered it applicable to all kinds of collective identities whenever one must delineate a limit between two entities or between two territories. It draws its force from the fact that it enables one to better understand the functioning of social groups, classes or categories. This concept helps, for example, to approach social mobility in its twofold aspect: spatial or geographical, and temporal or historic. The "mobile" transgress or "open up" boundaries, and close others behind them. This mobility is also inter-generational and raises the question of passing down the cultural representations or categories between generations, the functioning of one "mental card"

and the production or reproduction of these boundaries between "them" and "us".

If, to begin with, the concept of the boundary helps understand both the separation and the communication between distinct ethnic entities (with the effects of the boundary on the constitution of each ethnic group), this research sets out to explore the multiple lines of demarcation that separates the groups and the social categories belonging to the same society. This research chooses to focus on the study of often symbolical, internal boundaries, without, of course, omitting the existence of external, often physical, borders, which constitute the limits of a national territory, or more often, a supranational territory (as in the case of the European Union, for instance)[4]. In this research, the external borders are particularly felt in the case of immigrant families often from humble backgrounds, whereas their effects are less perceptible in the case of expatriate families. Nonetheless, currently, the concept is frequently used to understand the internal divisions within contemporary societies.

Thus, for Charles Tilly, boundaries are social mechanisms[5] capable of explaining mobility and change, first and foremost (Tilly 2005; Tilly 2004). Social boundaries separate us from them and "interrupt, divide, circumscribe, or segregate distributions of population or activity within social fields." We can define "a social boundary minimally as any contiguous zone of contrasting density, rapid transition, or separation between internally connected clusters of population and/or activity" (Tilly 2004: 214). Boundaries help identify the characteristics that define those who are on either side of the separating line. However, social boundaries are often difficult to locate, being mobile, fluctuating and subject to major conflicts on tracing them.

Thought of as a social mechanism, the definitions of boundaries are linked to issues of change. Tilly thus pursues Barth's reflection, while giving the greatest attention to mobility and change of political identities subsequent to economic exploitation, categorial discrimination or democratisation. "Boundary change figures importantly in a wide variety of phenomena, including the activation or deactivation of political identities, economic exploitation, categorial discrimination, democratisation" (Tilly 2004: 215). Two sets of mechanisms influence the process specific to the forming of boundaries: "1) those that cause boundary change and 2) those that constitute boundary change and produce its direct effects." (Tilly 2004: 215). Tilly also distinguishes between the transactions that take place within boundaries from those that take place beyond them: the former concern assistance and sociability, the latter, exploitation and discredit – often tolerated by immigrants.

Michèle Lamont draws on this concept in her empirical and comparative works on social classes (worker and middle classes) in North America and France by constructing a class-wise and country-wise typology of boundaries (Lamont 1994; Lamont 2002). For her, boundaries appear, above all, to be moral markers produced from the "mental maps" of the members of different social classes, depending on their "evaluation codes" for other classes or groups. Ethnic minorities and the ethnic aspect of social boundaries are given an important place. By recon-

structing the internal coherence of the conception of the world of workers and taking into consideration the cultural and material contexts in which they live, Lamont concludes that in North America, as in France, "morality constitutes the fundamental principle based on which workers […] assess the others", which contrasts with "socio-economic status, the criterion to which the middle classes give greater importance" (Lamont 2002). The working class is more concerned than the executives by the maintenance of moral order (especially the need to protect and provide) as the environment in which they live exposes them more to danger and offers them less security and economic stability. The moral qualities that are greatly valued by workers are those of the "protection of the family" and "being a provider"; the family is considered to be an immediate source of pleasure. This contrasts with the morals of the executives, who would dissociate self-achievement much more from family life. When the latter consider the family, they valorise "assistance for children's personal development and financing their higher education" (Lamont 2002).

If till now, French sociology and ethnology have made little effort to use the concept of social boundary explicitly in their analyses, it is still possible to trace it in various researches focusing on social classes, professional relations, and reproduction or reconversion strategies. This is borne out in the case of Pierre Bourdieu's works. Thus, by analysing the morphological transformations of social classes and their effects on the institution of the school during 1954-1975, Bourdieu observed the passage of a system characterised by "strongly etched boundaries", "sharp divides", which separate students of lower primary and upper primary school from those of secondary school to a "system of vague and confused classification", in which the exclusion of working class children is denied, but is often prevalent. This system is characterised by the jumbling of hierarchies and boundaries between the elect and the excluded, the real and fake degrees (Bourdieu 1979; Bourdieu 1984). The transformations of the relations between the different social classes and the education system are behind the intensification of the rat race for academic certificates, the fight against a fall in social standing and the invention of new professions, in which cultural capital may be valued higher than degrees. If Bourdieu mostly examines the border that separates the dominating and the dominated, he also pays considerable attention to the divisions specific to the spheres of power: dominating-dominating and dominating-dominated.

"Ethnologist of the present", Gérard Althabe has explored the mechanisms that divide the world of the working class, microsocial mechanisms through which boundaries separating the middle class from the working class are produced, the latter from the fraction closest to situations of social exclusion. In a substantial study conducted in a group of working class neighbourhoods of the Nantes region, Althabe has formulated a precise description of the boundaries that define, at the level of the city, an economy of symbolic exchanges between the different categories that make up the working classes (Althabe 1993). On the one hand, there is the effort of upbringing within the family; on the other hand, families wage intense battles, in their exchanges, aimed at showing that their conduct matches the

norm of the group, defending themselves from attacks that could lead to loss of social standing, and, finally, finding a chink in the armour of others' behaviour that could lower them in or relegate them to the margins of the social space. The space of the working classes is often found marked with a series of boundaries that separate the "respectable" part from stigmatised or disqualified categories of the working class world. These boundaries lead to subjecting each other to "reciprocal trials" between individuals and between families, wherein everyone attempts to push his/her rival to the "negative" side of the boundary.

These reciprocal processes are probably not a monopoly of the working classes; nevertheless, the forms and modalities of these singular processes vary from group to group. Thus, among the bourgeoisie, irrevocable classifications and condemnations are legion. One lapse or one mistake in expression, presentation, dress are quickly noticed and stigmatised by the members of the bourgeoisie, guardians of the old order, swift to accuse new arrivals. Those who have long been comfortably ensconced in their established position may, in turn, be condemned or accused by the more upwardly mobile new bourgeois. The new managers – consultants, engineers and commercial directors, who work in the sectors of new technologies and the new economy – in particular, often scoff at the "elitist" and even "selfish" values and behaviours of the traditional bourgeoisie (Gombert 2008).

Social boundaries are sometimes physical in nature (such as when a street separates an area of low-rise council housing estate), and are sometimes instituted (as in the case of differing rights, incomes, ranks and abilities indicated by a status or a degree). They can sometimes be distorted when they reveal differences in abilities or performance, differences that stem, in fact, from social or cultural causes. All of these are often the result of practices, ways of behaving or speaking that individuals adopt when they are aware of being within a specific social space. Most of the time, groups produce boundaries by training individuals to master the differences of behaviour and practices (Wimmer 2008)[6].

Fields of the study: "Disaster seekers" and delineation of boundaries
Attempting to grasp the processes of building boundaries and the effects of family upbringing on these processes, the study in France was conducted in various places, more or less far geographically, but sharing common properties: that of urban spaces marked by major mobility of people, as well as visible divisions between "old" and "new" cities, "fashionable districts" (Pinçon, Pinçon-Charlot 1989) and "suburbs", prestigious places and disreputable places, often stigmatised (Lepoutre, 1997, Sennett, 2002). The study was conducted in Paris and various localities of the Parisian region (Noisy-le-Grand, Gennevilliers, Sarcelles) and provincial France (Le Havre, Strasbourg). The "old" districts, generally inhabited by established people of the middle class, are different from the new districts, often called "new cities", which have a more or less considerable immigrant population of diverse origin; these are places of exclusion but also fields for social action to fight this exclusion.

An intense study was carried out for almost three years, from 2005 to 2007.

Using mediators between families and researchers helped establish relationships of trust and conduct lengthy, partially guided and deep interviews with families, single parents, or couples when possible; a child was also interviewed in each family[7]. Three main criteria guided the choice of families: social class, stability or instability of the position held, and the presence of at least one child in the age group of 12 and 21 years in the family. Family upbringing and daily experiences were the main themes of these interviews that aimed at reconstructing the family's social history through the educational and professional experiences of the interviewees, both parents and children. It was thus that the study revealed biographical elements that helped understand the conditions of "stability or "instability" that each family had faced. From this angle, continuities or breaks in schooling trajectories from one generation to the next as well as for socio-professional mobility were noticed. Similarly, success and failure models, the schooling strategies of families, the choice of academic and non-academic institutions contributing or having contributed to the education of the different family members, as well as the family plans (implicit or explicit) were identified.

The study was received very differently, depending on the place and the group. The parents who welcomed the researchers at their residence, without any problem, were those willing to let their interior be observed; for them, the interview was no different from other forms of "natural" sociability. Such was the case with the bourgeois families in transit in Strasbourg, or in several middle-class and working-class families, who easily consented to an interview; the request for interview would often be made via the recommendation of a known person. The conformity of their living conditions to social norms, to the extent of the opportunity of highlighting a certain form of individual or collective distinction, brushes aside all suspicion of intrusion or surveillance.

This was, however, not uniformly the case everywhere. The researchers were often regarded with a suspicious eye in working-class milieus where people sometimes find it difficult to open the door to their privacy and daily life. This was what happened in "Pavé Neuf", a rather stigmatised neighbourhood of the town of Noisy-le-Grand, in the suburbs of Paris. The reservations with regard to this study were due to the negative portrayal of this type of neighbourhood by journalists or researchers who worked on "the suburbs". While the residents make considerable efforts to counter the bad reputation of their neighbourhood, journalists and researchers dwell on misery, delinquency, drug trafficking, violence, and so on. Thus, at Pavé Neuf, researchers and journalists are called "disaster seekers" or "disaster tourists" as they gather data and take photographs presenting a miserabilist image of the area. Photographing people is perceived as an open aggression. The researchers are considered to be a "voyeur" and his/her intentions associated with symbolic violence. In the past as in recent times, several Pavé Neuf residents have been photographed without their consent and the photos shown at art exhibitions or posted on the Internet. "They [researchers and journalists] come here on safaris. They photograph us as though we were animals."

In Gennevilliers, too – another "working-class" district in a Parisian suburb – a

member of the research team had to face similar reluctance. She was suspected of "investigating" the academic failure of children. Many of her requests for interview were refused. Revealing faltering education could push the parents and the entire family to the other side of a boundary where they would be associated with those suspected to be "bad parents". Much is at stake for those who try to prove their exemplary behaviour through the education they provide to their children: they thus show that their "working-class" condition is solely due to being victims of economic destiny. It is thus that the boundary separating those who are subject to poverty and those who "deserve" it, is collectively produced and identified, as they bear the stamp of being "working class". Their poverty then becomes the result of their bad behaviour. The latter experience reveals the kind of dynamics that working-class families attempt to avoid at all costs: a lawsuit filed against them (Althabe 1993).

A sociological investigation can thus be, for some, an opportunity to show their ability to distinguish themselves socially, dissociating their family history from that of the group. For others, on the other hand, this constitutes the risk of being discredited. With the sociologist's presence in the observation field, it was possible for the authors to see how they could themselves be instrumentalised by their own studies in the strategy of their positioning with reference to social boundaries. Individuals and families often control the effects of the publication of a survey on their world more often than what we could assume, though unequally, depending on groups or classes. Sociologists are precisely positioned as most of the time they have had to cross social boundaries for reaching their field.

Social hierarchies and the instability of positions

After having noted, through interviews and observations, the social trajectories and common experiences – which crystallised into a number of "objective" boundaries between classes and groups – and by being attentive to debates on the pertinence of the concept of social class in the analysis of French society, the authors decided to divide the families they met during the study into four broad groups: immigrant families, working classes, middle classes, bourgeoisies. This classification is not solely inspired by sociological hypotheses. Sometimes, the actors themselves use these terms to define their milieu, the groups they contrast themselves with, the hopes of consolidation or upward social mobility that they nurture for their children. What is typical of social boundaries is that they represent recognised (and therefore "objective") lines of demarcation. When each subject constitutes the map representing his/her world or that of others, they can mobilise these boundaries.

Boundaries thus separate classes but can also work within each of them according to national, political or religious differences, or even according to whether one belongs to "respectable" or "disreputable" groups, "established" and "settled" groups or those that are "mobile" and "unstable"[8]. The divisions between the classes themselves, especially between more *established* or *settled* groups and more *mobile* or *unstable* groups have hence become central to this study. However, the-

se differences are probably less pronounced between stable and unstable individuals than between different degrees and different types of instability. This study therefore gives greater importance to a "processual" approach of shifting boundaries, which has revealed the statutory instability of many of the families surveyed, whether linked to geographic mobility or not. Mobility and instability, which have very different significance in different social groups, are often determined by a certain discrepancy between the resources possessed by an individual (or a family) and the social standing enjoyed or to which he/she lays claim. The scarcity or resources can, in turn, be linked to the precariousness of the position occupied or its recentness, and the low recognition that it implies.

Due to their borderline situation, many families, particularly between the working and middle classes, could not be easily classified in a typical context of working or middle classes, and therefore constitute intermediate categories. It was not easy either to distinguish between stable and unstable within the different classes the researchers worked on. Many of the interviewees had, in fact, traversed alternately stable and unstable phases. The unstable-stables – as the authors called them – refer to such persons who could be in the course of "stabilization", or who could be living in quite relative stability. Such, for instance, is the case of working-class immigrant families of North African origin, living in France for the past twenty-odd years, who have been granted French nationality and own housing of extremely modest proportions. The various borderline situations, whether in the case of intermediate categories or unstable-stables, led the researchers to conduct an analysis that helped free the study of an individual's social status from often very rigid categories.

If the rise of uncertainty is widely observed, the consequences of the process of growing insecurity and destabilization affecting the entire social structure are not uniform and are not experienced in the same way by all the groups and all the actors (Castel 2009). If some have the necessary resources for "playing" with the uncertain and making an asset of it (especially among the transiting bourgeoisie), for others, instability stands for nothing but constraints (particularly for the working class).

Mobility and strategies with boundaries
Each boundary crossed leaves its mark on family histories, in a positive direction (promotion) for some, in a negative direction (drop in social standing) for others. The boundaries represent lines that the members of each family have crossed, together or individually, in their journey through social space. They also indicate the lines that should not be crossed and condemn them to remain on this side of the barrier.

This game of voluntary or induced movements in social space helps better understand certain collective strategies. Thus, the boundary sometimes stands for a trench to leap over in the quest for an egress, a social ascension or salvation – as is often the case with the middle class as well as immigrant families. However, social boundary sometimes looms up like a rampart providing protecting from risks,

as in the case of the old and established bourgeoisie; this is also frequent in other groups as when one distinguishes between the space for men and that for women, the place of children from that of adults, or that of the rights of citizens of a country from those who do not have them. A code of conduct helps distinguish between families whose "kids loiter in the streets" from those who "keep their children under control". Sometimes, these are almost walls that surround and imprison. This is particularly so among the working class, for whom these social boundaries acquire a singular force, such as when it is mandatory to have perfect mastery over the written language for gaining entry into certain "grandes écoles". In the working class world, families often attempt to strengthen educational investment in order to overcome territorial or ethnic boundaries that immure them in the neighbourhood by processes of disqualification and, sometimes, even stigmatisation.

Spatial and social mobility of individuals and families help observe social boundaries. In fact, it is when they narrate their life stories that individuals describe social space, the boundaries they were compelled to respect and those that they surmounted or tried to surmount. A complex play was then observed: the individuals, depending on the resources that they possess, often try to bypass the social boundaries lived under or protect themselves from possible loss of social standing by confirming the boundaries that help maintain it. The boundaries can be questioned, moved and, sometimes, transgressed and reconstructed. This often happens in periods of crisis and great uncertainty, unless they emerge strengthened from this situation.

Boundaries as the subject and vector of conflicts: Violence and protection
Whether the oppositions and conflicts are longstanding and latent, or recent and active, they are constantly linked to the rupture that boundaries produce in a continuous space. The theme of violence is recurrent in the works of Charles Tilly and Michèle Lamont, discussed earlier.

The fieldwork for this paper also revealed an important link between social boundaries and violence. Family violence and social violence meet in the educational experiences and life stories of the families met in the course of this research. Direct testimonies are rare from the well-heeled classes, whose members often enjoy a greater degree of both family and social cohesion, along with resources for protection, particularly economic ones, which often help avoid terrible and traumatising experiences. This is also, possibly, the effect of having control over mise en scène mechanisms for individual and collective representations of the self. As for the middle class, it is the lesson of personal success, triumphing over adversities, which shape the discourse on family histories: violence is mostly mentioned when "the worst" has been averted, and the "bad times" are mostly a thing of the past. These families must use greater means than others to defend the inferior boundaries of their social standing – through the choice of their place of residence, their children's schools or the company they keep. Several interviews record authoritarian schooling experiences, liberating breaks in their youth, and

anxiety over the rise of urban violence and security policies gone astray. These testimonies often echo not only political discourse but also sociological ones on the "decline" of the middle class (Chauvel 2006; Lojkine 2005).

For the working class, violence can also be a taboo insofar as it is seen as a stigma, an expression of what is considered to be a "culture of violence" or an "environment" specific to "sensitive" zones that mark persons socially identified with their place of residence (Merklen 2008). Hence, it is remarkable that the passage of the figure of the *worker* to that of *inhabitant* as the centre of representations of the working class has drastically modified the boundaries with which the contours of the working class were defined[9]. The divides and the separators between social groups have become territorialised, which confers greater analytical force on the concept of social boundary.

Violence is often objectivised by the action of public authorities, including social services, which aim at separating the "authors" of violence from their "victims", naturalising the separation between what is legal (considered as legitimate) and what is not and is thus disqualified. These actions or interventions can be disputed and be condemned, in turn, as being "violent": "institutional violence", "judiciarisation" of protection and aid measures, and "victimisation" of deprived classes. This game of qualifying and disqualifying behaviour according to what is "violent" constitutes a good indicator of boundaries between social classes and strategies of distinction within the same class. Due to this, it is often difficult to gather accounts on experiences of violence. This is partly due to the defence strategies of those who are most exposed to the discourse of denunciation. On the other hand, boundaries that should not be crossed, behavioural modes that one should not have developed are explicitly presented as forms of "protection" given the risk of disqualification and loss of social standing. Exposed daily to violence, the working class is extremely attentive to the use of symbols of violence. They always run the risk of having a case slapped on them on accusations of being "violent".

During an ongoing survey on the violence perpetrated in local libraries, the researchers found that the act of burning books (in France, local libraries are often targeted during urban riots) remains incomprehensible to librarians and social workers. The boundary that separates "them" (*the neighbourhood youths*, taken to be authors of these attacks and various forms of violence perpetrated against schools or libraries) from "us" (the social workers, librarians and teachers) is thus reinforced by incomprehension and rejection of the former's behaviour by the latter. Such protests, thus described as "senseless", contribute to the re-emergence of the old boundary (in a new form) that separated the working classes from the written culture and a political culture identified with the written word (Merklen and Murard 2008).

Boundaries traced out in space
Drawing up social boundaries has often been studied in urban sociology, beginning with the works of the Chicago school, particularly through the concept of

"moral province" advanced by Robert Park or Roderick McKenzie (McKenzie 1921) for describing city zones as spheres of differentiated social representation, or through the concept of the "ghetto" developed by Louis Wirth (Wirth 1928) as a symbolic boundary that encloses a social group within a circumscribed territory of the city, a concept that was later used to describe the situation of black people in the great cities of the United States. In France, the idea of the spatial confinement of a fraction of the working classes, composed of people descended from immigrants of former colonies, in State-built districts (or "cité") is gaining ground (Lapeyronnie 2008).

Today's big city is often fragmented into isolated residential areas, those of the poor as also those of the rich. This phenomenon is particularly pronounced on the American continents – from the "gated communities" of Los Angeles to the "condominios fechados" of Rio de Janeiro, and the "torres con servicios" of Buenos Aires – but, increasingly, it also seems to concern major European cities in which there is a growing interest in the issue of "divisions of the city" (Topalov 2005; Oberti, Preteceille 2004). The focus on such divisions has helped understand that things are not exactly as they are sometimes portrayed. As others, these spatial boundaries separate – in their case, often brutally – and at the same time organise communication and to-and-fro movements.

If observed on a small scale, one notices that mobility is often the ruling norm in working class spaces as well as that of the middle- and the well-heeled classes. The residents are found to live in "ghettos" following a residential trajectory that is often neglected as a study (and which could lead them elsewhere) and continue to circulate in the urban space, sometimes intensely. In fact, the gates of urban "ghettos" are not firmly closed and those within its confines often get out. Further, a large number of people work in the premises of the wealthy, come and go during the day or at night, and establish a kind of link between the most closed residences of the big city, including the poorest neighbourhoods, even if they are not in a position to bring the boundaries or walls tumbling down. It would be pertinent to study and describe the formation, porosity, and shifting of urban boundaries with a fresh approach that would involve making a major change in scale.

Today, many agree that in both mobility and local rooting that there is a growing "territorialisation" of social divisions in France. The communities, classes and groups occupy their own spaces in cities, neighbourhoods, contiguous spaces with variable degrees of density or homogeneity, with sometimes precise and sometimes less tangible demarcations. It is necessary to understand how spatial boundaries develop, are superposed or compete with other forms of dividing social space. The divisions of the city are composed of elements that are as much material (from a heterogeneous distribution of provision of goods and services over space) as moral (since moral codes often require territories to "work") and social (from the differential rooting of different groups and activities in space). But these urban boundaries need to be studied simultaneously with other forms of social division. And this intertwining of city divisions with other social boundaries is carried out practically in the discourse and practices of individuals and families.

The analysis that Jean-Charles Depaule and Christian Topalov have made of the relation existing between space and words referring to this space is worthy of being recalled (Depaule, Topalov 1996). Urban space is indirectly described by the way one speaks in the city, and directly by words naming it at the various scales on which one apprehends it through analysis or daily use. The boundaries that sanction the division of urban space help distinguish between and set different types of behaviour. Individuals "know" that their behaviour must be adjusted to the place they are in, and each person is capable of infallibly locating the exact point at which the code of conduct changes.

The distance separating the "fashionable districts" and the "cités" of Parisian suburbs is not solely given by the difference of facades or marks of urban planning, the prestigiousness of the place, the social status of the families, the academic qualifications or professions of its members. The place that these different locations occupy in people's trajectories also marks distances. The same boundaries can sometimes take different directions, depending on the role they would have played or are playing in individual trajectories. Sometimes, greater importance is given to stability, whereas in other cases, individuals highlight their ability of having surmounted barriers.

The comparison between the trajectories of two working class families is extremely significant. Pascale and André's family value stability and rooting in a locality, whereas Joëlle's family is marked by spatial mobility signifying social progress for her. Pascale and André continue to live today in their childhood neighbourhood in Le Havre, with their three children, in the building opposite the one in which lives Pascale's mother. Territorial position and stability are one of the major symbolic sources of their social standing. However, Joëlle, born in a Parisian suburb and having led an extremely unstable life, regards the crossing of the ring road and possession of housing in Paris – where she now lives with her three children – as a passage to her present life from her instability of the past.

The families met during the survey have undergone various experiences by way of geographic mobility. Few still live in their place of birth, but some still reside close to where they hail from. Others have traversed long distances and the ties with the place of birth have slackened, if not been completely cut off. The crossing of geographic boundaries – which are also political and social ones – boundaries between States and boundaries between social classes, takes place over rather long periods of time that define the trajectory of these persons. However, daily trajectories relating to professional or domestic activities, usually observed in terms of living conditions, modes of transport and commute time involved ("wasted") edify the fact that the family as a group works within the same class (or community) and "cross-border" contacts, maintained outside of their own positions.

Temporal boundaries and trajectories
German sociologists working on mobility term the division of the stages of a biography as "the stations of life", which can be identified by spotting the events

that separate them ("scansions", as other sociologists specialising in life histories and narratives[10]). There are classifications by age, temporal units linked to studies (schoolings), professional activities, life as a couple, children, or moving house. This research has attempted to analyse what contributes to the similarities and the differences of various trajectories within a class; distinguish those who have followed the most intermittent ones from those who have been more constant over a long period of time, and who may have some amount of control over their future.

This presupposes the vision of a trajectory that has already been narrated (as the result of a sociological interview) and therefore a certain reflexivity through which the individual refers to his/her own biography by including social boundaries in his/her narrative. Instability and stability are not merely sociological categories imposed upon individuals – based on job insecurity statistics, for instance – but are incorporated in biographical narratives. This perspective in which the individual himself/herself identifies the social boundaries that he/she inserts in the course of his/her life is all the more important as in our days, individuals are increasingly subjected to a "de-standardisation of life" (Bessin 1993). The institutions contributing with growing difficulty to producing standardised thresholds of age (at what age does one stop being young? At what age does one become a senior citizen?), social boundaries can serve as landmarks for locating oneself in time ("I became an adult once I left provincial France"). However, a social boundary that one may wish to cross sometimes obliges one to remain at a particular biographical status: "I can't have children until I finish my studies".

The introduction of social boundaries in biographical paths also reveals the way in which the story of the interviewee mingles with that of his/her family: placing oneself with reference to successive generations (grandparents, parents, siblings) and judging the significance of family ties. Those who locate themselves in a social, cultural or symbolical continuity, in reproducing family heritage, at a point where the boundaries crossed appear to be faintly traced or are completely erased, stand out from those who have experienced a break in the trajectory of their own family, sometimes even with regard to their own siblings. Thereafter, the boundaries separating the generations have been analysed by distinguishing between "education received" and "education given", continuity and discontinuity, and different types of relation to education.

The identification of temporal scansions also helps understand the meaning of constructing boundaries as these are built over time and with time; they, too, have a history, they create history, and, above all, they enable individuals and families to consider life as a story that is both common and distinct from that of others, to make a narrative of it[11].

A historical and biographical approach to boundaries helps present them in movement. It has been possible, during biographical interviews, to compare the trajectories of individuals or family groups, "ascending" or "descending" trajectories, gain perspectives on future trajectories – that of children and youths. Temporal boundaries separating the significant stages of these trajectories have also been identified. In terms of relations to boundaries, what appears to be particularly

significant is the distance covered from the departure point, the boundaries crossed (class, group, etc.), regressions, ties maintained or not with those who have remained in their old positions (in the family, among friends, colleagues, neighbours); the assets acquired due to this mobility, the benefits of mobility and the effects of eventual stabilisation of the current position have also been taken into consideration.

The experience of frontiers within a trajectory, seen in retrospect, also includes the symbolic tagging of the course followed: "upstart", "déclassé", "success", etc. This is especially true for those who have been particularly mobile and, above all, the "middle class".

Another effect of the biographical experience of boundaries appears in interviews under terms of "open" or "close", which characterises a family or an individual with regard to others. Thus, those characterised as bearing an "open mind", "available", "communicative", differ from those who are "shut", "isolated", do not cooperate or are "marginals", etc. A double discourse can be used for the leisured class: an open mind, geographic opening or being "open to others" does not exclude the bourgeoisie from remaining relatively shut socially.

Three types of biographical events, behind the change of boundaries, were observed during this survey: socio-professional mobility, residential mobility and migration proper (which also often implies socio-professional changes). It was also observed that the educational experience of families formed part of these mechanisms capable of defining change, either directly, as in the cases of the family over-investing in upbringing, or indirectly, in cases in which the task of rearing was delegated to qualified educationists or associations, which Is the underlying reason for generation gap and discontinuity.

The degree of activation of a boundary

Boundaries have several "states" of development and functioning. According to Charles Tilly, the spectrum can range from what is related to problems of life and death (as during a war) to what appears to be ignored or forgotten. The extent to which a boundary is active constitutes the main distinction for identifying the degree of its elaboration or "solidity", which is structural in nature and amounts to being cyclical, "old" and "recent", and helps deliberate on the connection that may exist between different types of boundaries. The boundaries crossed by someone who has experienced a meteoric social rise or a rapid decline open and dissolve behind him/her, while others close or become rigid.

A "well-established" boundary is one associated with a sacred value, a strong belief that may not be transgressed without questioning moral or social order. Questioning a well-established boundary is usually regarded as an acute crisis, generating conflict.

A boundary "under construction" is one that aims at protecting an acquired position and (social) benefits, fulfils the function of protection, legitimisation, separation between what is permitted and what is prohibited; it presupposes an ongoing battle, a fight engaged in, whether avant-garde or rearguard; building a

boundary may mostly very simply mean moving it, getting recognition for a new, shared social space.

The "abolished" boundary is one which one can transgress without having to pay (entrance or exit) for it, one that retains a symbolic value or that of memory; it can thus have a strong presence during an interview – for instance, those who present change of social category as being the achievement of their life, having passed, for instance, from the working class to the middle class, without, however, erecting a boundary between them and the original category; this boundary exists but is regularly crossed.

The "hidden" boundaries" are concealed by contradictions between public policy and practice of discrimination and, at the individual level, in interviews, by Freudian slips, feelings of shame; they are felt as a stigma, especially when there is a perceptible gap between the often-unstable position currently occupied and skills or values.

Parenting and activation of boundaries
The role of parenting is central to the ceaseless effort of producing social boundaries. Education may produce, activate or fight many boundaries. This is why this study gives prime importance to what it implies in daily family life as well as associations (cultural, coaching classes). Education, as it is imparted and received in the family, outside the school system, is undoubtedly the major vector for learning. It constitutes the connecting thread through which it has been possible to follow the tracing of social boundaries, understand how a child learns to recognise them, how the sense of possible and forbidden boundary shifts is acquired. It is through family upbringing that one learns the social codes with which individuals deal with social relations imposed on him/her. This training helps to be integrated not only in a global society (as an individual) but also in a particular group and the differentiation with other groups. By learning about social boundaries, individuals are prepared for participation in the social game, competition and cooperation, as also in conflicts between the members of different groups. Each identifies his/her viewpoint as a shared one and learns to position himself/ herself in the social space.

Education cannot be reduced to schooling or the process of socialisation. It is the result of collective construction efforts wherein the reflexivity of the actors comprises a key element. The family environment is at the heart of the educational experience as it is within it that the relation to oneself and others is felt, along with the flexibility or the rigidity of social boundaries. The unity of action is never a given. Social experience is not simply "lived through" or "felt"; it demands activity on the part of individuals. It is the construction of one's experience, which necessitates the ability to be critical and maintain a distance with regard to oneself[12]. Individual and collective practices cannot be reduced to merely stepping into pre-established roles, or to the pursuit of strategic interests; individuals have to piece together the meaning of their practices. The notion of educational experience places interactions around upbringing and the horizon of meaning that results

from these, at the centre of this research, while simultaneously taking into account the conditions and constraints within which they have taken place. This also helps understand the confrontation between institutional realities and the experiences of parents, children, peer groups, teachers, and all actors involved in education[13].

Educational experience and makeshift arrangements
Educational experiences undergo transformations linked to larger social "metamorphoses", particularly the disintegration of the wage society, the erosion of social protection and the increasing vulnerability of social status (Castel 1995). Although they undoubtedly present a great social risk for the greatest number, these changes can sometimes be considered to be positive when they lead to the creation of new leeway for singularisation and individual liberty. Also, these experiences do impact the construction and redefinition of boundaries between individuals and social groups.

This is particularly true for the current situation, which is often uncertain, in which families find it difficult to develop parenting strategies for their children. Without actually giving up on planning, they take often recourse to makeshift arrangements and regulated improvisations, which have, anyway, always existed but were less obvious.

These makeshift arrangements, requiring each to seize opportunity by the forelock and dispose the "residue of events" (Lévi-Strauss 1962), are taken by a considerable number of families when they are daily faced with the implementation of rules for controlling their children's use of the television and the internet, the people they frequent or their outings. In an uncertain world, in which the upward social mobility promised by the education system is highly doubtful, families and individuals "cobble" up the upbringing they give, based on the upbringing they themselves received and probably also on that given by close relatives, what they read in books and magazines, what they watch on television or the internet, what they hear on the radio and in conversations. They have to invent or reinvent a different upbringing for each child, based not only on the relationship built with him/her and how they perceive him/her, but also on the idea that they have of the society to which they belong (potentials and obstacles). This form of makeshift can encourage open parenting strategies oriented towards the future. The upbringing given and constantly reinvented, contributes to producing boundaries.

Another role of family upbringing is thus discovered: helping individuals to discern the bollards that mark social space. It is, in fact, within the family that they develop their strategies and position themselves in the face of boundaries. And upbringing plays a role in "constructing" (in the sense that psychoanalysis says that we "construct" a loss or mourning) life experiences resulting from the imposition of social boundaries. For example, if a student fails in school, he/she knows that a social boundary will loom over this path, which would be closed. He/she would then need to use the cognitive tools that his family would have given him/her for ascribing a reason for his failure. He/She might perhaps tell himself/herself, "Studies aren't for me", but might also say, "School's not for people

like us."

Conclusion

The concept of the "social boundary" was coined in the ethnological works on the role that this demarcation line played both in the separation and the communication between distinct social groups. These works highlighted the way in which the relation to the boundary contributes to the internal organisation of each group. Since, the concept of the social boundary has migrated towards sociology and, generally, studies of contemporary societies. It is therefore necessary to observe mainly the internal boundaries and the role they play in the divisions crisscrossing the same society. Social boundaries fulfil several roles: they serve the purposes of distinction and communication between social groups and classes, and from this perspective, are a constituent of social order. Yet, they are equally constituents of social conflict, which means that the boundaries are not a "given" but can generate conflicts.

From the individual, and not societal angle, it has been observed how individuals use and play with social boundaries to position themselves in social space and perceive, conceive and make their movements visible, whether these assume the form of social progress, decline or loss of standing. From the individual's standpoint, social boundaries are thus powerful cognitive tools that help, for instance, compose biographical narratives. This study has also endeavoured to show that boundaries serve as a landmark for individuals, enabling them to identify themselves with a social category, even as they distinguish themselves from categories considered to be more or less undesirable.

A major contribution of the work that served as the basis of this article comes from the link that has been highlighted between "upbringing" and "social boundaries". By examining family upbringing and not formal schooling, the researchers were able to observe how parents use social boundaries daily for "bringing up" their children, that is to say, giving them tools for orientating themselves in social space. The boundaries constitute, for some, a perimeter not to be crossed, and for others, a goal to be attained. Thus regarded, the concept of the social boundary has been a precious tool for the authors to understand better the forms assumed by parenting in contemporary societies. It became evident that, while bringing up their children as "individuals", and by assigning greater value to their autonomy, parents teach them to conceive their strategies and tactics in the context of a social space that is often uncertain, but divided and structured, where the clearly observed demarcations enable some, at least, to locate themselves on the "right" side.

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Notes

[1] A first version of this text was published in University of Delhi, Working Paper Series, 2011/IV, www.europeanstudiesgroupdu.org

[2] This article is based on the analyses and results of a collective research conducted over three years in France by several researchers and students of the Centre d'étude des mouvements sociaux (EHESS-CNRS) in Paris: Barbara Bauchat, Mihaï Dinu Gheorghiu, Pascale Gruson, Mariana Heredia, Lucette Labache, Denis Merklen, Daniella Rocha, Monique de Saint Martin, and Judit Vari. Conducted from a comparative angle, the research was also carried on in Campinas, Brazil, where it was coordinated by Ana Maria Almeida (Focus/UNICAMP), in Romania, where it was supervised by Mihaï Dinu Gheorghiu (University of Iasi) and in Sweden, where it was conducted by Élisabeth Hultqvist (University of Stockholm). The collective results of this study led to a final report in 2007, several articles in Brazil and Romania, a book (Gheorghiu, Saint Martin Eds., 2010). Although the slant of the research was comparative, this article will focus on the research conducted in France.

[3] An early summary of the works on boundaries can be found in Lamont and Molnar 2002.

[4] On the distinction between internal boundaries and external borders and as they are reflected in French society, cf. the recent work edited by Didier Fassin (Fassin 2010: 5-24).

[5] Charles Tilly adopts the epistemological perspective formulated by Mario Bunge (Tilly 2005).

[6] Andreas Wimmer thus observes the twofold aspect of the concept of boundary: categorial and behaviourial. The former includes the acts of social classification and collective representation; the second concerns the daily network of relations, which is the result of individual acts of contact and detachment. At the individual level, the categorial and behaviourial aspects appear as two cognitive patterns. The former divides the social sphere between social groups, between "us" and "them", whereas the latter suggests action plans: how to relate to individuals classified as "us" and "them" in certain given circumstances. According to Wimmer, social boundaries are established only when the two patterns coincide, when the ways of apprehending the world matches with the modes of action in the world (Wimmer 2008).

[7] Twenty-eight families agreed to be interviewed, sometimes twice or three times: thirty-eight parents and thirty children were interviewed. The study was conducted with the aim of crossing the data obtained through interviews with the observations and the statistical survey conducted in 2003 by Insee on "Education and Family".

[8] Cf. the analyses of Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson 1965.

[9] The reorientation of public policies for the working classes was also observed throughout France (Madec 2002).

[10] Battagliola, Bertaux-Viame, Ferrand, Imbert 1993, for instance.

[11] There is the issue of heritage, transmission, reproduction. The more stable boundaries – those most distant temporally – attached to an objective, measurable duration, differ from the more unstable, closer or recent ones, and our relation with these is more ambivalent, of a subjective duration, which can be minimised, denied.

[12] "Experience can be considered to be the way in which the actors constitute themselves, conceive a game of identities, practices and meanings." (Dubet 2008: 36).

[13] This is how, for instance, the role of the media in producing social boundaries by creating a reservoir of more or less fleeting arguments, which are then snapped up in families for interpreting various social events and ordeals, became visible.

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Domination and Professional Dominance: Physicians at Grips with Management

Mihaï Dinu Gheorghiu & Frédéric Moatty

In research on hospital organisations, references to the concept of power can be found thematised by the sociology of organisations or the sociology of contingency. However, these sociologies do little to broach the question of domination. Domination is distinctive from power, which can be defined in terms of capacity to take action, on things or on others, using means that can be incentive or coercive. Public hospitals are characterised by the co-existence of a dual system of authority: the administrative power and the medical power, rooted in expertise. Using 70 semi-directive interviews with hospital directors, we analyse the social representations, points of resistance and appropriation of the reforms by professionals. The members of three professional groups, administrative, medical and health executive, are diverging on the recent or on-going organisational changes. In the medical profession, segmentation is increasing with new hierarchies in which the practitioners find themselves in dominated positions.

Keywords: hospital reforms in France, New Public Management, power, domination, professional dominance, managerial innovation.

Healthcare systems and the hospital as pivot institution are the focus of recurring debate in the public arena. That debate has been stoked by the recent reforms[1] instituted in the field of healthcare, in connection with the New Public Management movement, entailing billing by activity (T2A), new governance (organisation by division, …), and the 2009 HPST Act (Gheorghiu and Moatty 2013). While the domination exercised by the medical authorities long did not come up against any "counter-power", even in the hospital environment, where physicians were initially only visitors, the reforms call into question the balance between the "three powers" commonly referred to within the context of the hospital institution: the medical, the administrative and the nursing. While these powers are not placed at the same level, it is made clear to each that they have their own autonomous, if not equitable, territory within the hospital as institution. When Friedson (Friedson 1970a) introduced the concept of professional dominance, he brought analysis in terms of power or domination back to the fore. The concept lays down the ground for examining the struggle between the "economic power" and "intellectual pow-

er" in terms of shifts within professional groups, in the face of managerial innovation. While clinical physicians in large part are daunted by the prospect that their profession could decline further to a relative decrease in their autonomy, it is important to study how modes of domination and dominance are being transformed within the hospital institution.

Power, domination and professional dominance
In order to analyse the recent shifts in each of the professional groups operating in hospitals, we will mobilise three key concepts: power, domination and professional dominance.

Power and domination in the hospital environment
In research on hospital organisations, references to the concept of power can be found thematised by the sociology of organisations (Crozier 1963) or the sociology of contingency (Mintzberg 1982). However, these sociologies as well as the common sense discourse on hospitals do little to broach the question of domination. Domination is distinctive from power, which can be defined in terms of capacity to take action, on things or on others, using means that can be incentive or coercive. According to Max Weber (Weber 1995 [1921]), relationships of domination go beyond mere power relationships insofar as they are based on processes designed to legitimise social order and thereby enable the construction of consent. In this sense, the power of physicians is not so much the result of their holding any form of hierarchical authority, meaning a subordinating power that would confer their official administrative status on them, but the cognitive authority conferred upon them by their expertise in the medical field. It is important to distinguish institutional authority, which results from status, from the enunciating authority that comes from credibility, i.e., from the fact of having recognised authority in a given field, even where these two forms of authority often maintain relationships of complementarity (Leclerc 1996). Consequently, unlike organisations where the hierarchical line is clearly unequivocal, public hospitals are characterised by the co-existence of a dual system of authority: the administrative power and the medical power, rooted in expertise (Smith 1970).

Domination and professional dominance
The importance of the cognitive authority resulting from expertise explains why the question of relations between professional powers and formal knowledge is central to Eliot Freidson's analysis regarding medical power (Freidson 1986). His work marked a turning point toward the end of the last century, attesting to the transformations in both the profession and the hospital as institution. The professional dominance of physicians casts attention back on the fact that the profession is able to establish and maintain the structurally asymmetrical nature of physician-patient relations over time due to the knowledge gap between the professional and the layman (Freidson 1970a). Freidson had observed that legitimate deviance (subject to condition) of disease[2] made mandatory familiarity with the conditions

of that legitimation, the status and the actions of those vested with power of legitimation, as well as with their action's institutional setting. He was not endeavouring to set out a theory of professional domination, but to analyse the institutions that support professions, which at that time had received little attention from the sociology of medicine (Freidson 2006). He also made use of the concept of domination in order to discuss the dependency of nurses and assistant care-providers with respect to physicians (Freidson 1970:79-80). The concept of professional dominance extends from that of domination. He deals not only with the profession's structurally dominant place in the division of labour with paramedics, but also explores control over clients, the social definition of disease and the conditions of professional practice. This concept refers back to a specific form of domination that proves indeed appropriate in addressing the power relationships between professional groups in the hospital setting.

The criticism which Freidson voices in the early 1970s regarding the conditions under which physicians were able to exercise their professional dominance – their authority in passing judgement being subject to no external supervision whatsoever – was premised on the assertion that they have an alienating effect on both the patients and the professionals caring for them. The asymmetry in knowledge and uncertainties affecting both diagnosis and prognosis made it impossible for the parties involved to share knowledge. The nurses and other paramedics were able to share knowledge to a certain extent, but continued to be deprived of an all-encompassing view. These were described as the profession's structural limits and imperfections, and not limits or imperfections of an individual nature. Freidson's conclusions (Freidson 1970) and proposals for reform included significant curbing of physicians' professional autonomy and their structural dominance. They suggested that physicians should be required to report administratively on all action undertaken, that they should be held accountable before their patients, and lastly, that competition should be encouraged between certain professional groups or segments.

In France, it is the hospital physicians that hold the dominant positions in the medical field, and that domination "is a factor preserving the field's autonomy" (Pinell 2009). Using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of fields as his model for analysis, Patrice Pinell has looked at the conditions under which an autonomous medical field emerged (since 1795), with differentiated spaces and distinct institutions.

Shifts in medical dominance
The issue of professional dominance, in its incipient stages, was addressed solely within the lines of division of labour in health systems, rather than in the social realm more broadly speaking, despite the fact that the ties between the two appear self-evident. The profession's standing has changed considerably, however, since Freidson's first research.

Within health systems, the current period is marked by receding professional dominance to the benefit of the managerial system (Dingwall 2006). Hospital administration (whether in the United States, in Great Britain or in France) has been

transformed, turning into a managerial power, through the adoption of "Fordist" methods (Dingwall 2006), at an historical point in time, just as Fordism was going into crisis, stirring criticism and being reshaped all at once. The reforms enacted would not have been able to succeed, however, had segments of the medical profession not participated.[3]

Similarly, in France, it was the objective alliance between hospital directors and a fraction of the modernist medical corps, in particular, biologist physicians, that spawned a radical transformation in the hospital as institution, to promote the role of physicians in hospitals (Schweyer 2006). The 1958 Government Orders, influenced by Director of Paediatrics Robert Debré, gave new life to the public hospital sector, by founding the University Hospital Complexes and full-time hospital service. The effects of this reform were felt most of all from the 1970s on. From 1970 to 19M91, the legislative movement reflected the public authorities' determination to refocus hospitals on their technical capabilities, at the expense of their mission as hospice, while the decision to limit healthcare spending drove them to do away with the day-services rate which at the time connected medical activities with the hospital budget.

Hospitals maintained their dominant position during the modernisation of medicine, a position that has grown stronger since the 1958 reforms (Pinell 2008). The effects of the most recent reforms appear contradictory: on the one hand, the institutions and professional groups in the medical community have mushroomed as the status of both physicians and the relationship between care provider and patient was transformed; yet on the other, the economic rationalisation carried out places pressure on working conditions, which threaten the field's autonomy, yet without impinging on the dominant position of the hospital elite (Pinell 2008).

The emergence of directors as professional group
When the concept of financing by comprehensive endowment was introduced in 1983, directors found themselves in a key position, as budget intercessors, and power shifted over to the support organisation, which turned into a leading body (Holcman 2007). From that point on, directors had hold of the resources, while patient recruitment remained in the hands of the physicians. Hospital directors cited their growing responsibilities as grounds for forming a professional group and consolidating their status. At the end of a process during which they momentarily laid claim to their managerial identity, they remained "public sector folk" with their integration into senior civil service in 2001 (Schweyer 2006).

Professional rationale and bureaucratic rationale
Relations between physicians and managers have undergone significant transformations. Freidson had observed, at the start of his research, the tensions that existed between "the experts" and the administrative authority. Once again following Parsons and his critical analysis of bureaucracy, Freidson had noted how, where hospitals were concerned, the tension was alleviated by separating administrative decision-making from professional decision-making. The collegial organisation

mode specific to expert collectives such as physicians, a remnant of the corporative formations of yesteryear, had trouble co-existing with the mighty administrative agencies. That tension was relieved by resorting to a division of labour, through the presence of different subordinate groups, occupying buffer zones between the two main bodies of professional powers. It gradually become recognised that, by promoting a hospital community and forming an organisational culture with shared patient-related values, an institutional identity could be established for both these powers. Medicine remained in the prime position, both culturally and structurally speaking, in its places of exercise (Dingwall 2006).

Furthermore, as medicine became integrated into the hospital environment, the medical profession stratified, rather than declined (Freidson 2001). The world of medicine was, from that point on, structured around three poles: a scientific elite in charge, most prominently, of developing best practices; a new managing elite, established at the interface between the clinic and management; and the practitioner base engaged solely in clinical activity.

Hospital reforms in France and their implications for the profession
Out of the reforms that have reshaped the hospital system in recent times, two are generally recognised as having a major impact by players: "I think that the most important one is the pricing reform, and the governance reform is completely tied in with the first" (Director General, UHC, province). Hospital financing changed radically with the shift from single-endowment financing to pricing by procedure (T2A), in addition to which hospitals' internal and external governance were profoundly reshaped.

Survey methodology
Using two survey campaigns, resulting in 70 semi-directive interviews with hospital directors in 2006 and 2009, we were able to analyse the social representations, points of resistance and appropriation of the reforms by professionals, in particular as regards T2A implementation (Gheorgiu and Moattay 2013). The responses showed that the current reforms need to be seen within the context of a longer history, so as to pinpoint the emergence of new players such as DIMs (Directors of Medical Information) in connection with the implementation of the Information Systems Medicalisation Programme (PMSI).

Three professions – administrative, medical and health executive – are represented in the sample of the persons surveyed. The members of the professional groups differ in training, career path, position in the hierarchy, culture and professional experience, are diverging on the recent or on-going organisational changes and on the computerisation of their establishments.

In search of a new balance between the administrative power and medical power
The recent hospital reforms were intended so that public establishments would enjoy better steering, by taking down the walls between functions and fostering cooperation between three populations guided by different rationale: administra-

tion, medical and care-provision. They reflect a new way of organising and providing tools for power and the exercise thereof in the public sector, which can appropriately be referred to as the "new governance" (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2004). The creation of new managerial tools was intended to overhaul the management, coordination and supervision power held by the state elite in the "Strategic State" over hospital establishments, in line with the principles of New Public Management (Bezes 2009; Belorgey 2010). Against this backdrop, the hospital directors, a professional corps recently integrated into senior civil service, were consolidated in their role as local entrepreneurs of the hospital public service, which it was their responsibility to restructure, given limited resources (Schweyer 2006).

The "new governance" in hospitals was reflected in the 2005 Mattei Orders, which established an "executive board" and clinical and medical-technical "hubs". The executive board is a joint management body involving administrative staff and physicians, alongside management. The activity hubs, which place the former wards under the responsibility of a physician, the hub director, were designed to form medical-economic units with the adequate critical mass.[4] These changes in governance were intended to place responsibility in the hands of hospital directors through a shared medical-economic culture and steering tools. They were supposed to facilitate adaptation of activities and the organisation made necessary by the shift to T2A.

While the objectives set out by the Mattei reform were clear, the evolution of hospital governance includes many twists and turns, reflecting professional battles from the political standpoint. In 2009, the HPST Act replaced the Executive Boards, which balanced out powers between administrative personnel and physicians with "Governing Boards", thus concentrating decision-making power in the hands of the Directors. The Governing Board is a strategic steering body dedicated to discussion and decision, chaired by the Director of the Establishment. It is consulted on key decisions, adopts the medical master plan and prepares the establishment's master plan. The HPST Act was decried by public opinion as instituting an entrepreneurial management mode and placing all of the power in the hands of the "managers", doing away with any joint management structure between the administrative powers and the physicians. The establishment director has the leeway to make decisions in his establishment as would a full-fledged corporate chief executive, all the while reporting to the Regional Health Agencies (ARS), coordinated by a National Steering Board (CNP). Thus, the time of shared powers gave way to a time of vertical integration for the sector, with a clear hierarchical line established and dependency on central political powers. However, this period of hierarchisation of powers is still shifting, and the aim the public authorities now is to provide the hospitals with "democratic and balanced governance", and fully restore the Establishment-Wide Medical Commissions (CME) to their previous level of power, since Marisol Touraine has been in power as Minister of Health.

Working together in the management bodies

Reflecting both the political environment and the struggles between professional groups, the implementation reform process proved very cumbersome on the ground. The new governance experienced different fates, depending on which of its two main sections were involved: the composition of its membership bodies, or the organisation of the hubs.

The changing faces of the management bodies, with the shift from the executive boards to the governing boards, shows the tensions between the administrative and medical powers, and between joint functioning and one in which the director is given a greater role. The current governing boards, chaired by the Director, are in charge of providing support and advice as to how the establishment should be managed and led. The Vice-Chairman is a physician, and Chairman of the CME. As to the members appointed by the Director, the majority must come from the medical corps, while the presence of heads of divisions intended to link up the divisions' strategy with that of the establishment. Last but not least, the Chairman of the Commission on Nursing Care is represented as a member by right of law, which was not the case in the Executive Boards.

The Governing Board is intended as a means of re-connecting the powers between themselves and the cooperation between the administrative and the medical, around a medical-economic rationale, whereas the two professional groups' rationale were separated up to that point. The reform of the management-level bodies it not but an array of power plays, and instead ushers in a new negotiated order (Strauss, 1992). The nature of the powers is changing in that the administrative and the medical find themselves required to work together on the establishment's medical-administrative steering, both from the standpoint of internal contractualisation (division contracts) and for contractualisation with the governing authorities (establishment contract): "Doctors are definitely given greater responsibilities in Management, but they are also given a real impact on the hospital as a whole... I think it is a different power". (Managing Director, UHC, Paris).

The division-based organisation

The division-based organisation implies that the teams work together to develop a shared medical project, the division project, which connects the objectives up with the resources, and which is concluded between the division Head, on the one side, and the Director and Chairman of the CME, on the other:

> We were used to thinking in terms of wards: there was the ward head, who had prerogatives, sometimes well-served and other times not quite so well. Now, though, we are going to turn into a bigger structure, and no one knows yet whether the division Coordinator will be someone with power, or a service type of person, and then we don't have enough perspective to make any overall conclusions, but what I am wondering about is whether the divisions will be buttressed by a full-fledged medical master plan" (CME Chairman, Hospital Centre, province).

Responsibility for the divisions is given to a coordinating physician, a care-provision supervisor and an administrative supervisor, who work in dialogue with management. The physicians in charge of the divisions, assisted by a Division Board, must be empowered:

> They are appointed by Executive Management and the President of the CME, and the Executive Board, subject to the agreement of the Rector, but they are appointed. All of the hospitals have arranged, for most of those applying to become division Head, sessions with a judging panel, where they are required to submit a preliminary master plan for the division, stating all of the reasons for which they feel the division will offer added benefit to the patients and to the institution. That is more or less it - to sum up, a medical master plan, a resource pooling plan, I can show you, and each division head is required to put forth a preliminary master plan. Then there is a meeting with the applicants, and at the Executive Board meeting, we decided whether they will be appointed or not. The pleasant surprise has been that the applicants are generally pretty big names, and generally very motivated people, when we were initially worried that no one would be interested (Task Group Director, UHC, province).

In direct contrast to this are the division coordinator positions, which can be an inlet to a position in power, or be held by physicians with less-established prestige, "second fiddle", as one physician chairing his establishment's CME summed up.

The places and identities of players are redefined with the integration and involvement of the medical corps, and more specifically, the new players formed by division directors, in governance:

> You can see that a number of performance- and quality-related factors are becoming the focus of discussion for division management, when this was not necessarily the case before, under the single-endowment system that existed a few years ago... You can see the professionals stepping in with their technical approach to management, based on economic data, and in my view, it's shaping up to be something interesting, so I think that integration will come of this." (Managing Director, UHC, Paris).

The new players going by the name of division directors do belong to the medical world, but here, find themselves serving as interface between the medical and the managerial.

The formation of medical and medical-technical divisions, aimed at securing a balance between the medical specialities, remains a work in progress. To balance out powers between administrative personnel and physicians is to do more than merely address the skirmishes that can take place in the divisions themselves, and also includes working on the more lateral aspect of delegating powers to the divisions. The said delegation of power diminishes the role of the functional divisions,

which have to refocus on transversal aspects, hence the resistance they have sparked in some groups, such that they remain relatively limited to the initial intentions set out for them. The formation of medical and medical-technical divisions is, moreover, a lengthy and complex process, due to the multiple criteria used to determine groupings: some divisions are structured around organs or systemic pathologies, while others are geographical inn nature, etc. The existence of a common mindset and team spirit between wards and their directors is conducive to their being grouped and working effectively together, as is the construction of new buildings, which makes it possible to materialise them.

T2A or the procedure coding challenge

The implementation of T2A made procedural coding by physicians, with the participation of other categories of personnel, a central component of hospital management. Under this system, revenue is directly dependent on the activities conducted and the quality with which they were recorded through procedural coding.[5] The procedures carried out by the physician, which were already subject to a recording procedure under the PMSI[6] have been made the focus of interest for several wards concurrently, with descriptions and successive interventions that turn them into a collective production, while the forms of surveillance and supervision have been multiplied. These come into play at several different levels, opening practitioners up to suspicion (of deceitful reporting), possible sanctions (for having stated "too much" or "too little" when reporting on procedures), and mandatory substantiation, or in some cases, even injunctions to cut their patients' hospital stay short.

Changes have come about in professional practices and coding, whether centralised, decentralised or intermediate, as well as in cooperative relations in the workplace, in all of the operational teams in the hospital, from the management level to the care provision teams. The interconnection between medical and care-provision activities and recognition for those activities through computer coding for management purposes entails repositioning professional groups between medical information directors (DIM) and computer engineers, between DIMs and financial departments, between DIMs and physicians, etc. The aim here is to reconfigure their identities and areas of intervention, for instance, "the IT Department must align with the needs of its users and the DIM, not the opposite...". It was "very difficult to build acceptance" for the new role-sharing and clear delineation of boundaries, "but it ultimately came through" (DIM-CH).

When coding is centralised, the conflicts between the DIMs and their physician counterparts no longer pertain to the coding itself, but to the information needed to complete it. The discharge summary statements, operation reports, and information entered into the paramedical records then become instruments that help "optimise - without misrepresentation or botched procedures" activities (DIM, Hospital Centre, province). Although physicians do understand the importance of the issue at stake, the DIM's pedagogical role remains a challenge.

The process of formalising medical practice into medical-economic units, as exemplified in coding, has proved difficult to implement due to the diverging rationale driving the players involved: efforts to shorten hospital stays have been condemned as risk-taking in the name of profitability for the hospital-enterprise. For this reason, DIMs stand at the borderline between the administrative and the medical powers, and it is difficult to find applicants to fill this position. Several of those interviewed concurrently serve as DIM and CME President, which fosters their legitimacy with physicians and makes it possible to shorten the information tracking process, though in exchange giving up close relations with clinics and direct contact with physicians. When candidates have long been physicians themselves, they are able to mitigate this drawback and better hear what practitioners have to say.[7]

The DIMs have trouble positioning themselves with respect to their management: they are sometimes caught in the cross-fire between physicians and management, as the coding required for T2A uncovers the battling that continues between organisational standards and professional standards (Boussard 2005). To wit, some managers have instrumentalised the DIMs:

> I have DIM colleagues who have not been CME Presidents, and who raise problems which I never experience, making it difficult for me to take a stance with respect to Management. The DIMs are sometimes torn between the physicians and Management, so much so that some managers have all but absorbed them into their own structures." (DIM and CME President, Hospital Centre, Paris Region).

Segmentation of professional groups

The creation of divisions, and more generally speaking the new governance, has contributed to distinguishing various "professional segments" within the medical profession (Bucher and Strauss, 1961), with differentiated activities and identities. New professional segments, such as the DIM or division heads, are emerging around a function dedicated to interconnecting the professional, administrative and medical worlds. The resulting managerial elite, originating from the medical world, occupies a transitional place between Management and physicians in implementing T2A and the new governance. By diversifying the sources of legitimacy, the emergence of these players contributes to stratifying the medical profession more prominently, between a scientific elite, a new management elite and plain practitioners (Freidson 2001).

The profession is cleaved, with one segment willing to become engaged in a medical-economical management role, complete with an overhauled professional identity more integrated into the organisation and its constraints, and another more traditional segment that wishes to sustain itself solely on the profession's identity. This cleft cannot be reduced to only the stances represented, as groups can continue to assert a traditional identity, including in professions connected with revamping the organisation, as evidenced by the example of one DIM physician who is

also CME President in his establishment, and who expresses reluctance at becoming involved in management tasks which he considers foreign to him: "By creating divisions, the reform requires us to get involved in managing personnel and equipment, neither of which we have the skills nor the appetite to handle" (DIM, CME President, Hospital Centre, Paris Region).

Conclusion: Professions at grips with management

From the professions' standpoint, the relative decline in autonomy enjoyed by clinician physicians does not denote the decline of a profession which moreover boasts increasing numbers. It is a growth in segmentation in the medical profession, itself the result of internal shifts in the profession and developments resulting from reforms to the institution itself. New professional segments such as DIMs or division heads are central to the "profession's institutional integration" (Benamouzig and Pierru 2011) in that they serve as interface between the medical world and the managerial world, by integrating constraints into professional practice. Whereas the reforms are often interpreted in public debate as a violation of professional autonomy, the rise of "managerialism" and the erosion of the autonomy available to managers, rather than being in opposition, can be interpreted as strengthening the institutional integration of professionals. The slipping dominance of professionals to the benefit of the managerial system has been overestimated, in that it reflects an integration of economic constraints by the profession, in a process operated by the managing segments. These all-encompassing interpretations do not, however, do enough to describe the roles of the various professional players who have to reposition and redefine their identities during the concrete implementation of the reforms (Gheorghiu and Moatty 2013).

Where nurses are concerned, the combination of the new public policies on hospitals and managerial rationale has weakened the power of this professional group. It has put care provision managers on much the same footing as that of managers. The supervisory power they have over access to the profession or over nursing personnel management has been called into question. Senior healthcare managers are numerically in decline, when their numbers were already low. The formation of a specific identity between medical rationale and administrative rationale, as is the case with the DIMs, as well as with nursing managers, has turned out problematic. With the creation of management-based rationale, the nursing supervisors in effect craft the reform's implementation within their teams, when they generally are not in favour of them (Divay, Gadéa 2008). By becoming the vehicles to executive management, they find themselves in a conflicting role: it is difficult to substantiate the pressure and working conditions to which the teams are subject, such that their legitimacy from the teams' perspective is challenged.

In conclusion, in the medical sector, the struggle between the "economic power" and the "intellectual power" is reflected in a segmentation of the medical profession, with new hierarchies in which the practitioners find themselves, more than any other group, in dominated positions, facing off against the professional or managing elite. While the profession is maintaining its dominance, it has done

so at the expense of greater intra-professional domination, referred to in terms of loss of autonomy, "proletarianisation", and even fragmentation in the profession.

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Notes

[1] The reforms in the hospital institution, of which there have been many these past few years, have undergone contradictory developments. The pricing convergence between the public and private sectors, adopted in 2005, was discarded. When the reference to "hospital public service", initially found in the 2009 Act on Hospitals, Patients, Health and Territories was struck, many critical voices emerged. The new 2012 government and the 2015 Touraine Act, in the process of being adopted, reinstituted hospital public service, overhauling its definition at the same time. Discussants and critical voices faulted the reforms both as being market-focused and facilitating the hospital-enterprise, and as aiming to nationalise healthcare, through the stranglehold it gives the Regional Health Agencies on hospitals.

[2] Following in the footsteps of Parsons' analyses (Parsons 1951), Freidson deems disease to be legitimate deviance insofar as it is unmotivated deviance.

[3] In particular, the *evidence-based medicine* (EBM) movement, which placed such importance on scientific proof.

[4] An appraisal report drawn up by IGAS raised the question of "appropriate mass" or "critical mass" for a hub, meaning "sufficient so that responsibilities or resources can be delegated meaningfully or so that medical projects can be developed", as well as to enable personnel "to develop a sense of belonging to a hub" (Zeggar, Vallet 2010:14).

[5] The interviews reflected primarily two ways of coding medical procedures, "centralised" and "decentralised". In the first instance, the Medical Information Director (DIM), in some cases with the assistance of the Medical Information Assistant (TIM), who codes from a standard output report (RSS) provided by the physicians. "Decentralised" coding is done in principle by the authors of the medical procedures, in some cases with the assistance of the nurses, and sometimes subject to verification (by the clinic directors, division heads).

[6] The PMSI (Information System Medicalisation Programme), was introduced in France in 1982, by Jean de Kervasdoué, who was then in charge of the Directorate for Hospitals. Inspired by an equivalent American programme, Diagnosis Related Groups (DRG). It records the primary diagnoses and related diagnoses, then codes them using a regularly-revised classification system. The PMSI is the tool that made it possible, twenty years down the line, to institute the T2A in 2000.

[7] Within the population of DIM physicians, a relative majority is made up of public health physicians, without any clinical experience.

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The Romanian Nurses' Professional Group Evolution – A Model of Analysis for the Professionalization Process

Silvia Popovici

Romanian nurses' professionalization process started after 1990 under the pressure of adopting the European and international professional standards. The historical development of nursing in Romania points out the change in roles and practices, in the forms of education, in organisation and legal framework on the background of the public health system reformation. The study aims to identify the current status of the Romanian nursing professionalization process by applying 30 semi-structured interviews and participant observation to nurses and relevant health professionals. The data collected was analysed according to the five dimensions professional group evolution model from two perspectives, diachronic and synchronic. The research focused on determining the degree of internal cohesion of the nurses professional group and the factors that contribute to its strengthening or weakening and outlined the professional habitus, the capital accumulation mechanisms, the professional vision, the forms of domination, the strategies and system of relations.

Keywords: Romanian nurses' professionalization, five dimensions evolution model, cycle of change, professional habitus, forms of capital, power strategies

Romanian nurses professional group historical background
In Romania, nurses are the largest professional group in the health field, there are more than 120,000 members nationwide, divided into 41 departments, with a population of 19 million inhabitants.

Health care have been historically organized according to two directions: first, the legacy of charitable and religious institutions, second the scientific establishments - modern hospitals under medical governance. The progressive meeting of these two worlds has not yet led to the creation of an integrated care. Besides the need for recognition, nurses experience the need for professional congruence and efficiency, for a long time, especially as the external perception is often that the nursing profession is inferior and thus inconsistent with the term "profession" (Acker 1991).

The hospital institution was founded in the Middle Ages in Transylvania, when the first hospitals were set up inside monasteries to treat old monks and later, old, sick and poor laymen. Care was offered by the staff of the monasteries, the nuns or monks. According to historical records available the first hospital founded in the Romanian countries was set up in the region of Sibiu around 1292 (Bologa 1972). The first pharmacies are dated in the same period (Popovici 2010).

In the nineteenth century, general health care went through a new stage, that of secularization driven by the economic, technical and social progress. Nurses went beyond the exclusively religious patronage and the labelling of charity services. Nurses training schools began to invest in the definition and delimitation of their professional field.

The first modern hospital was built in 1704 in Bucharest under the auspices of a private foundation. Until the early twentieth century, many other hospitals, asylum medical centres, medicine universities and nursing schools were founded in the larger cities. The access of the population to medical services was still very limited, especially in villages and poor neighbourhoods (Scurtu 2008:227).

During the communist period, from 1948 to 1989, the health system underwent a considerable transformation under the influence of the Soviet model "Semashko", a system adopted by the countries of Eastern Europe, which focused on universal access to health care. Health services were highly centralized and made available to the public for free, financially fed only from the state budget, but indirectly supported by the population (Doboş 2005:44). Since the nationalization of the private hospitals in 1948, medical services were under the direct administration of the State, alternative services being non-existent until 1990.

Throughout this period, private medical services were provided "illegally", as in all other sectors of the "parallel" economy. The care "black market" was widespread and tolerated, nurses, for example, were making injections "privately".

Deprived of professional organization, nurses were professionally and administratively subordinated to the management of medical units ruled by medical doctors. The flow of information was transmitted through official channels from top (Ministry of Health) to bottom after being strictly checked and filtered by the representatives of the Security services and those of the Communist Party (Popovici 2010:336). Meetings and public debates were controlled by the political authorities, by the party or by trade union representatives. Working relationships were formal, hierarchies were strictly respected and any initiative that did not belong to the Communist Party was suppressed, the consequences might resulting in the loss of employment. These conditions made impossible the public affirmation of nurses' group cohesion and professional awareness. Few changes affected nurses' activity and development as profession.

In what concerns the vocational training, things proved to be more dynamic: new nursing schools have been created, teaching new specialties. Technical nursing

schools were organized in a centralized manner and great importance was attached to practical training in hospitals which was provided by doctors. Thus the school "trained" nurses' habitus of in the sense of submission, devotion and respect for the hierarchy as essential "dispositions".

After the fall of the communist regime, in March 1990, The Romanian Association of Nursing was founded with the support of The International Council of Nurses opening the way for many international contacts, information and professional practices sharing, aiming the synchronization with organizations and practices of the professional bodies from Western Europe.

Romanian nurses' process of professionalization started a new stage in 1994 when the first national association was founded with county branches and separated from the trade union organization having the goal to regulate the nurses' professional practice. Its prerogatives have been enforced by law, seven years later, in 2001.

A new law enacted in 2004 provided institutional autonomy and the role of supervision and professional control of the members to the professional association. It also introduced the obligation of continuous professional training and the annual renewal of the membership. It entrusted the obligation to evaluate the ethical behaviour and judge violations and malpractice cases, as well. The law also gave the opportunity to the professional association to collaborate with the Ministry of Health for all decisions regarding nurses.

From 2004, it has begun the harmonization of nursing education to the standards of the European Union, two parallel educational options being available: nursing college (3 years) and the 4 years nursing faculty at the medicine universities, which became 3 years faculty after the implementation of Bologna system. Master's degree programs for nurses became available in many specialties and the way for PhD schools has been opened.

In that context of numerous and substantial changes in legislation, policies and practices directly affecting the profession and the particular circumstances of the health systems (new scientific discoveries, the rigors of medical institutions, the economic pressure on health services, the autonomy of patients), nurses have made efforts to define their professional role and implicitly their identity as professional group.

Romanian nurses' professionalization has been a complex and long-term process influenced by many internal and contextual factors, each one characterized by its own dynamics.

Aim of the study
The research examines the main attributes that an occupation must acquire during the process of professionalization in order to become a "recognized profession" (Freidson 1988), in the attempt to identify the professionalization model adopted by the Romania nurses as a result of historical tradition, present characteristics, values and forms

of capital accumulated, forms of domination exerted on them by other professions in the health field, awareness of the need for inner structural changes and elaboration of effective strategies for professional transformation.

The five dimensions evolution model of a professional group
In order to illustrate the current state of development of the professionalization process and to analyse in detail the pillars on which it is built, as well as its directions of development, I relied on the sociology of professions and sociology of professionalization, on Pierre Bourdieu's macro theory, as well as on the model of analysis developed by Paul Pyronnet and François Roux in the book *The Power of Coherence. Put in Agreement One's Values and Action* (2005) to assess and strengthen the coherence and cohesion of work teams.

I considered the professional group a large work team in terms of dynamics of change and development cycle. The theoretic model I applied enables the recognition of the internal cohesion of a professional group and the factors that contribute to its strengthening or weakening, both from synchronic and diachronic perspective.

From a synchronic point of view, I highlighted the nurse habitus, the forms of capital nurses are in possession of and in which they invest, the way in which they appropriate and implement it in the social space, the forms of domination which they are subject within the medical field as part of their struggle for autonomy. From a diachronic perspective, I analysed the evolution of the professional group identity in relation to generational changes in order to prove how this helps them shape the medium and long term vision on the profession, highlighting the strategies implemented to achieve the status of profession.

The professional group is composed of individuals endowed with professional consciousness, which due to their cohabitation in the social-professional space, produce a different consciousness from the sum of the individual consciousness. It is also characterized by a common sense to which members aspire and which is crystallized by mutual recognition and the progressive integration of individual differences (Pyronnet and Roux 2005: 55).

Pyronnet and Roux have imagined a diagram of the components that underpin the evolution of a team, a diagram that I adapted to the dimensions of a professional group evolution, so that it can be used in the analysis of qualitative data I collected, especially on the synchronic axis of the analysis.
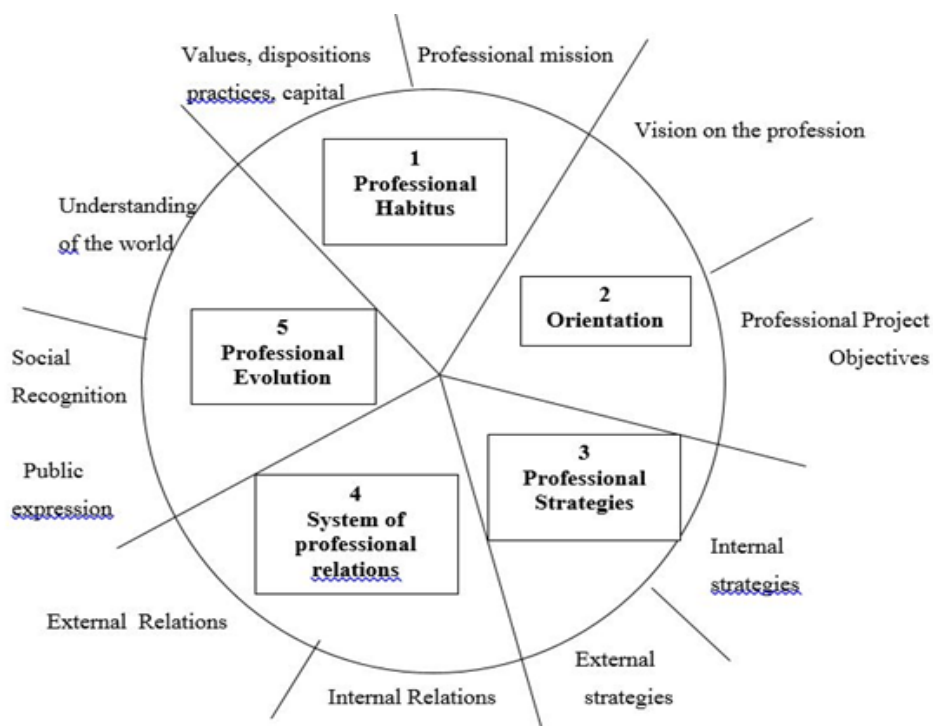
Figure 1. The five dimensions of the professional group evolution (adapted from Py-ronnet and Roux 2005: 47)

The identity of the professional group is marked both by nurses' professional habitus and the class habitus and influences all the other dimensions of their evolution. The orientation shows how the specified goals and the shared vision turn into concrete strategies both in the interior by the intervention on the organization, by the actions of its members and their interaction modality, as well as in the exterior, by the gradual acquisition of power and autonomy within the health field and in the social space. The orientation alters the actions, the organization and the system of relations of which it is part of neutralizing the domination and equalizing the power relations that prevent the progress to the desired status.

The orientation is the focal point where the fusion of the inherent difficulties in their profession corroborated with the difficulties specific to the functioning of the system, the utopian field of identity values and the mature vision created activate resources and strategies so that to break down the social barriers.

The professionalization enhances a self-reflection process within the professional group, followed by a re-evaluation of the representations of the occupation and its specific field, as well as a demolition phase of certainties that maintain the status quo and prevent changes. The construction of a new professional identity occurs during a fore aft cyclic movement, progress – withdrawal, until the evolutionary direction is internalized by the entire professional body.

For the diachronic analysis of the Romanian nurses' professionalization I adopted a cycle of change consisting in 12 steps and 4 stages of evolution, proposed by Pyronnet and Roux for the assessment of work teams development.
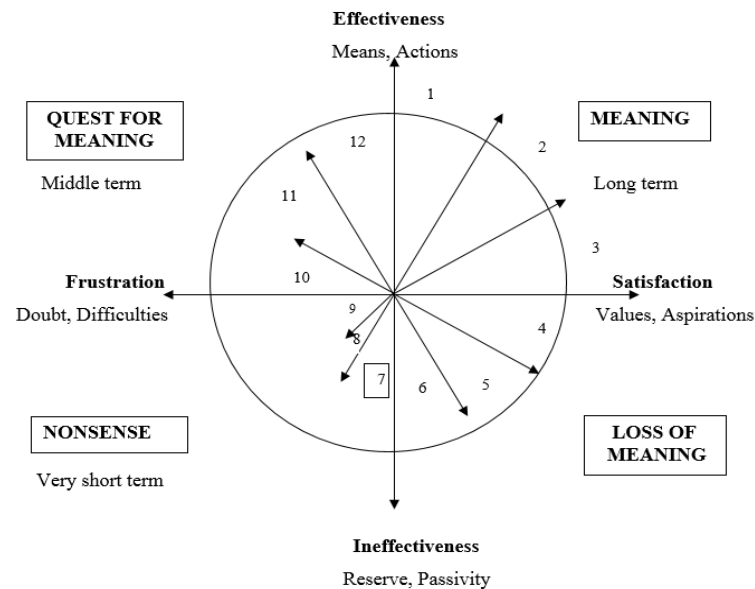

Figure 2. The cycle of change (Pyronnet and Roux 2005:121)

In order to explain their model, the mentioned authors appealed to the holographic principle developed by the biologist Karl Pribor and explained by Edgar Morin: "A hologram is an image where each point contains almost all the information on the presented object. The holographic principle means that the part is not only contained in the whole, but that everything is registered in a certain way in the part. Thus, the cell contains in it all the genetic information which makes possible the principle of cloning; the society as a whole through its culture is present in the mind of each individual" (Morin 2001:282; Pyronnet and Roux 2005:84).

Applying the holographic principle to the professional group of nurses it comes out that the individual characteristics of a nurse at a given time reflect those of the professional body and all the way around, the group being a recomposed image of the individuals that compose it. Therefore the professional group evolution corresponds in terms of phases, process and trends to that of the affiliated individuals.

The analysis of the change dynamics I propose is rooted in the historical context in which Romanian nursing developed, as well as in the social, economic and political context in which the professional group practices their profession.

For nurses, the professionalization process is the search for a new professional direction, an attempt to overcome the nostalgia for the "golden age" characterising

the older generations of nurses, as well as the young ones, in glorifying its status, power, image and social recognition. The international context of the scientific knowledge globalization, the fluidization of borders on the labour market, the internationalization of diplomas and qualifications, the different levels of nurses' professionalism around the world make professionalization even more complex and difficult to analyse.

Romanian nurses transition from the status of occupation to that of profession implies a quest for meaning that is analysed at the intersection of two axes: the axis of behaviours (vertically) and the axis of feelings (horizontally). In the figure 3, the vertical quadrants above and below represent the area of proactivity characterized by motivation, interest, responsibility and autonomy. The satisfaction and effectiveness gained through the valorisation of the proactivity area characteristics generate external recognition and increased status. The vertical quadrants on the left, up and down, correspond to the reactivity area characterized by lack of motivation, discouragement, doubt, withdrawal, dependence, passivity, sabotage and even enclosing in a logic of destruction.

The cycle of change shows how the transition of the professional group from fear and reluctance to satisfaction occurs and corresponds to the search for solutions, the construction of a new status and a new identity. But it is also illustrating the way the professional group can migrate from the other pole to the entrance into a vicious circle oriented towards problems, a chronic state of depression fuelled by frustration, lack of control and domination (Pyronnet and Roux 2005:104 -106).
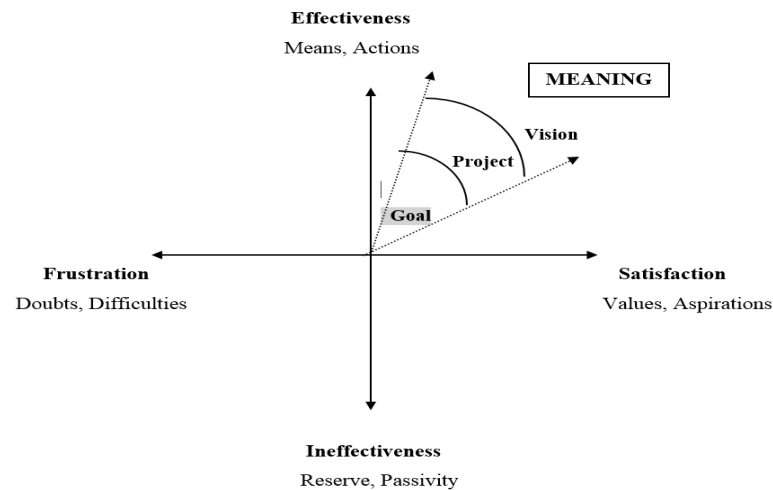

Figure 3. The two axes of the evolution process (Pyronnet and Roux 2005:109)

The success of the nursing professionalization depends on the distance between the aspirations of its members and their behaviours and practices. The level of awareness of the vision and the clarity of the formulated and internalized goal are essential to produce the desired changes. The shorter the distance is, the more the professional group will touch the proposed goal to fix another afterwards, and the cycle of change will thus continue.

When the direction of the joint action is reached, the professionalization process is finished, the group has a satisfactorily regulated activity and a high level of security of its own interests in the field. Moreover, its members are fully aware of their values and needs, they have the feeling of professional achievement and are motivated to work. The professional body is aware of its domination over other actors in the system and has gained power and influence, obtaining the recognition of professional status and implicitly the desired capital of image.
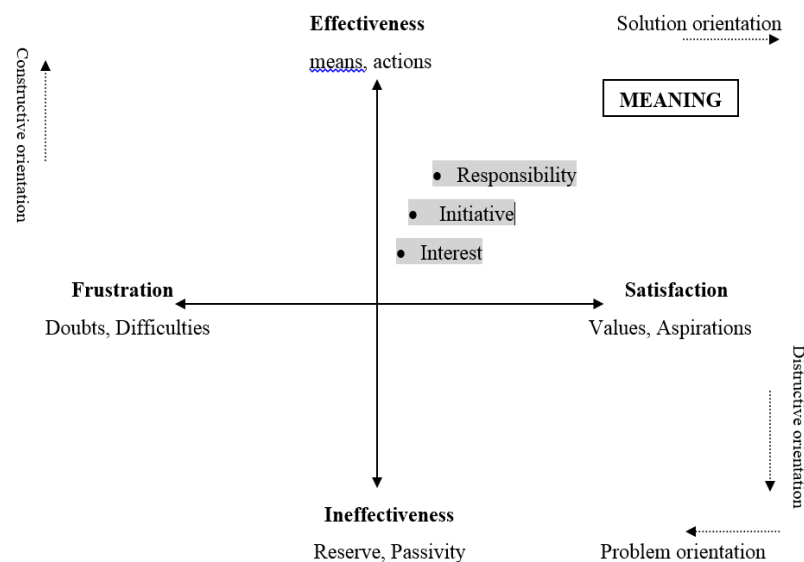
Figure 4. Confirmation of the meaning (Pyronnet and Roux 2005:109)

A professional group stage is in the phase of *nonsense* when the dominant feelings among its members are instability, dissatisfaction, pressure and inability to realize its latent resources. They perform their professional activities in a state of demotivation, indifference, discouragement, rejection of their work and of the system they are part of. They are directed towards themselves and focused exclusively on their own interests to the detriment of beneficiaries and other stakeholders. In this phase the professional group is not interested in the capital growth, change of status or self-image, because it is not able to mobilize the necessary resources. It accepts domination, often

without being aware of it, because it feels too insignificant and worthless to join the struggle for power within the field.
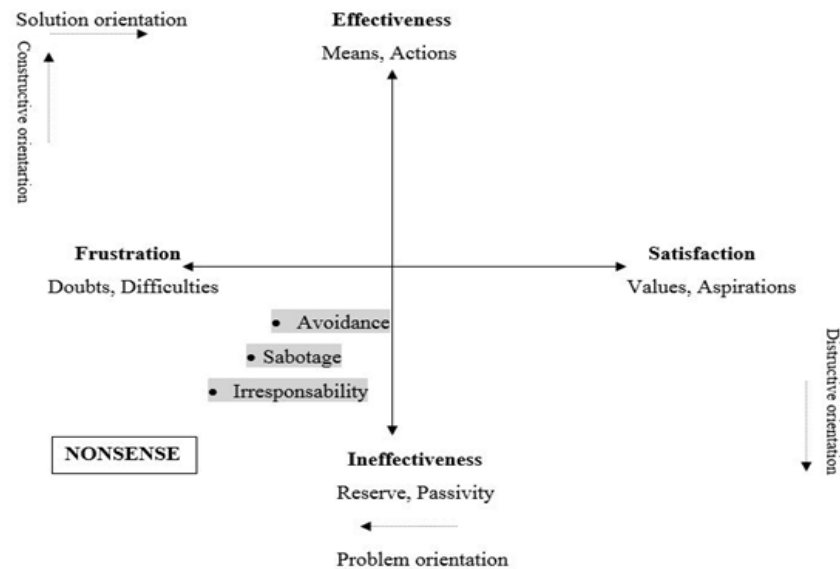

Figure 5. The Nonsense (Pyronnet and Roux 2005:110)

The stage of the *loss of meaning* occurs gradually and subsequently to the confirmation of the meaning. After the success, the professional group leaves itself invaded by demotivation, habitude, routine, and disinterest. The professional body starts to become interested in what is not working in the system, it directs it's creativity and resources to counter the adversities and not to strengthen its position in the system. The risk of decline in the capital accumulation rhythm is completed by the loss of vigilance in maintaining the power in the system. Furthermore, the professional group is deeply rooted in the beliefs and dispositions it strengthens and defends with constant efforts, neglecting to adapt to new circumstances.
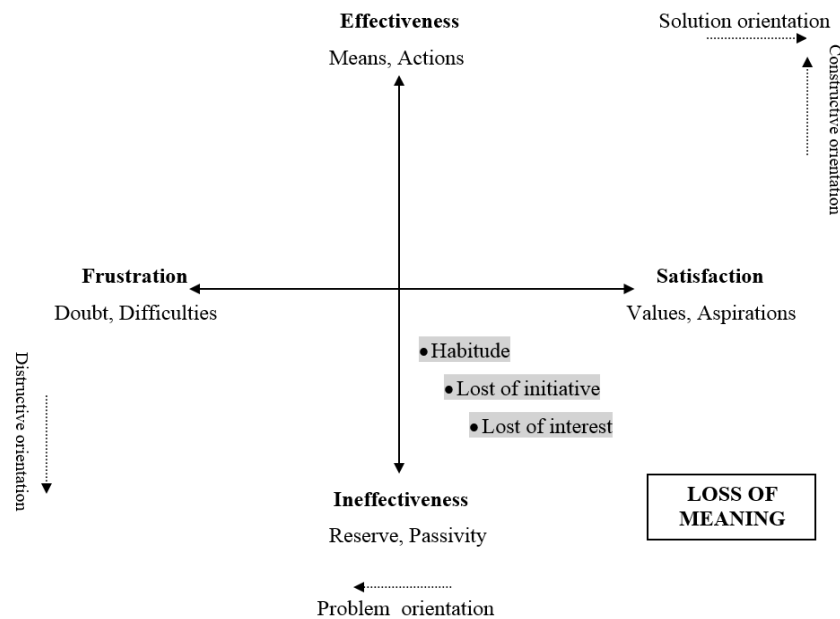
Figure 6. The loss of meaning (Pyronnet and Roux 2005:111)

The *quest of meaning* is also a long-term phase that takes place gradually, during which the professional group is struggling for survival, while dealing with organization and routine problems. It feels an acute need for outside intervention in order to boost its forces, unite them and channel them towards its shared goal. This is the phase where agents become aware of the need to express and follow their identity, capital, mission and goals, despite the fear that still paralyzes their actions. Even if the revolt and frustration is blocking the transformation process however it allows the accumulation of resources for change. This will happen slowly, with small objectives achieved systematically, by way of accumulating new forms of capital and implementing innovative solutions. The professional group is mobilized by the project of professionalization and by ascending leadership resources, the interior change enhancing the gradual redefinition of power relations and the frontiers movement within the field to other professions territory.
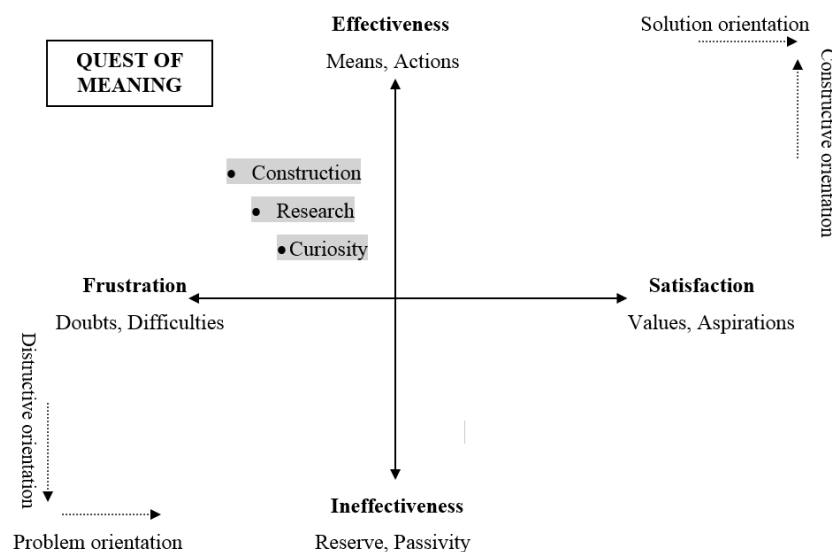
Figure 7. The quest of meaning

Research methods

The research was conducted from a qualitative approach, the methods consisting in semi- directive interviews, participant observation and study of documents. The sample involved 22 nurses and other 8 health professionals from Iasi county and from national level. The criteria of selection applied for the interviews were varied ages, educational background, specialty, professional experience and work environment. The interviewed nurses were from beginners to those with more than 20 years of clinical practice, aged between 23 and 59, some having nursing management experience or involvement in establishing nursing education to the university sector and application of European Committee directive, nurse educators. The average length of the interviews was 65 minutes.

The transcripts were organized and reduced so that to identify relevant information for the research's aims. Data was coded after the identification of initial analytic categories, themes, and patterns (Marshall and Rossman 1999). Discerning patterns, identifying potential interrelationships, detecting higher-order categories or themes and drawing conclusions had been the next steps in the analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994).

The analysis of the Romanian nurses' professional group evolution

The results of the qualitative analysis of the collected interviews corpus was analysed in the order of the 5 dimensions of the professional group evolution.

[1] *The professional habitus*. In order to identify the professional habitus of Romanian nurses, I investigated the process of professional socialization (Dubar 1998) that has contributed to its construction and the institutions and practices that have facilitated the acquisition of the "system of durable and transposable dispositions" (Bourdieu 1980: 88). The purpose was to prove in what way nurses' primary habitus, acquired from childhood had an impact on the values and motivation that determined the educational choice - nursing school or faculty.

The "altruistic" vocation and motivation, the failure to the medical university admission examination, the orientation towards a competitive qualification on the labour market in Romania or abroad or the choice of a retraining were the starting points. The nurses school trajectories were averages for those who attended the nursing school and higher for the nurses who attended university studies. Those who chose to complete their nursing school studies with a bachelor's degree in nursing and later with a master's degree felt the need to increase their cultural capital in order to transform it afterwards in economic, social or symbolic capital. They had been motivated by the need to update their knowledge and professional practices, by the higher wage or by the desire to gain access to senior levels.

The motivation for choosing the nurse profession was maintained all along the professional practice. The interviews evidenced the predominance of the intrinsic motivation both for older and younger nurses, in correlation with a better quality of schooling and a more rigorous selection on admission rather than at graduation. This is due to the proliferation of private and state schools and to the increase in the number of qualifications and specialties after 1990's.

Besides the internships in hospitals, the transfer of early-career dispositions and practices has a very important role in the professional socialization. It occurs horizontally among nurses and vertically between nurses and other professions, especially doctors. Special human and professional characters met during studies or at work often left important marks on nurses throughout their careers. The participation in professional development programs on a compulsory basis, the investment in community projects have contributed to the accumulation of cultural capital, to knowledge and practices updating, to strengthening the internal cohesion.

[2] *Mission*. The interviews emphasised three dimensions of the Romanian nurses' representation of the professional mission: dedication, availability to perform the job duties unconditionally, ability to show empathy towards patients. This proves a complex and highly qualitative management of beneficiaries including care, technical support and relational support, as well as commitment to the work ethic and patient safety.

The corpus analysis revealed a high level of convergence of the interviewed nurses with regard to their professional mission and between generations, fact proving its continuity in time.

Romanian nurses' representations of their profession are focused primarily on the problems to face (lack of personnel, complexity of cases, hard working conditions, emotional pressure, health system underfinancing) and on the means available to face them. The individual and work teams' initiatives and solutions are however characterised by a positive orientation. However, demotivation is maintained by the persistent negative media campaigns focused on the Romanian health system and its problems.

The professional project and goal. Nurses' professionalization as a professional project is shared between two opposite trends: the desire and the need for change imposed by the accumulation of structural deficiencies in their work, by many frustrations and acute need for stability, as only resource to counteract the imbalances in the health system and the lack of control over the changes in the field that are imposed on them due to the lack of representation at decisional level.

Among the important professional projects stand out: a clearer regulation of the professional role which distinguishes the group of other professions in the field, the implementation of guides and practice protocols in order to gain more objectivity and visibility at work, a higher level of skills and knowledge achieved through university education, professional continuous training and scientific research, the revival of the high recognition and social status which characterized the profession in the past by increasing the symbolic capital, through the extension of the roles and functions and the promotion of a positive public image.

[3] *The main internal strategies*. One of the internal strategies identified consisted in consolidating the theoretical knowledge and specific practices of nursing care together with the expansion of the access to knowledge by academic studies and continuous professional development programs.

Escaping the hierarchic and administrative domination and control of the medical profession was pointed out as another strategy. The foundation of the professional organization of nurses was an important step in taking control over the professional and ethical issues regarding the profession. However nurses' autonomy is limited within the medical team and the delimitations between their roles' and the doctors' or other professions' are not strictly regulated, giving place to subjective interpretations. From the same reasons, nurses' access to jobs is coordinated by doctors and administrative staff, as well as upgrading and bonuses.

The elaboration and implementation of guidelines and practice protocols in public hospitals is seen as a solution for the promotion of nurses' own image as professional group and of the care activity they perform in hospitals and medical units, providing clarification and delimitation of their role and functions and limiting the formal and informal power imposed on them by other actors.

"Migration as development", as it is categorized by the World Bank and the International Organisation for Migration since 2006, turned for Romanian nurses from an individual strategy into a collective one.

Other internal strategies emphasized in the interviews are: capitalisation of the knowledge and practices shared by migrant nurses at the level of the entire professional group, increasing the competencies of nurse educators working in the nursing schools and in the continuous education programs, raising nurses' motivation for professional continuous education programs, offering support to liberal nurses by promoting the law regulating their activity, as well as their work in individual practices, expanding nurses' role in relation to their beneficiaries, especially in preventive services and health education, improving their visibility in the public space.

In what concerns *nurses' external strategies*, they depend on their ability to identify and mobilize partners and collaborators, as well as on their ability to multiply the capital. Several external strategies became evident in among the interviewed nurses: sustained lobby in order to raise the quality of nurses' education (update the knowledge, methods and practices, strengthen the process of selection and graduation); promotion of nurses' access to the "power devices" in health field in order to participate in national and international debates on the skills and practices, to promote laws with a broader impact than the nursing profession, influence the appointment or election of decision-making people in the system (ministers, advisers, committee leaders), propose and impose the creation of new bodies (commissions, offices, working groups); supporting nurses' access to scientific research structures; strengthening the counselling service for nurses in all their work structures.

The need to produce changes in the mentality of other professional groups and in the organizational culture of hospitals and other health units with regards to a higher professional autonomy for nurses would also bring important benefits.

[4] *The analysis of nurses' internal system of relations* focused on the interactions between peers and between nurses and the professional association which is the regulatory body of the profession.

The interviews emphasized that relations between nurses are characterized by solidarity, cooperation, mutual help, a family atmosphere quite often. The dissatisfactions may arise in respect of the formal support they receive from their head nurses or nursing directors. On the contrary, the relation with the professional organization has had a positive evolution in time from hostility and rejection, in the beginning, to acceptance, interest and perception as a source of cohesion and professional development, later on.

Nurses' external relations refered to the relations with beneficiaries of care and with other professionals in the field, especially doctors and the administrative staff from the hospitals.

The difficult context in hospitals has had a negative influence on the relations with patients who manifested dissatisfaction with regard to the quality of health services in general. However patients were also understanding and supportive with regards to nurses' work and efforts to offer care despite the gaps in the system.

The relations with other health professionals are also far from being harmonious. Romanian nurses do not rely yet on the legislative and administrative support that would allow them to escape the domination of doctors. The traditional relations of dependence and the difference in skills and social prestige make nurses perpetuate the symbolic violence enforced against them without even realizing it. The access to university studies, the contact with the experiences of nurses from other countries (especially in Protestant countries), as well as young doctors' different practices and dispositions acquired could nevertheless contribute to the transformation of the control structures in cooperation structures within the work teams.

In conclusion, after analyzing the five dimensions of a professional group evolution and according to the four phases and twelve steps cycle of change, I would state that Romanian nurses' professionalization process can be situated in the "quest for meaning" phase, step ten, (see Figure 2). The professional group is placed in the phase of the search for identity, of strong structural and formal transformations. It is in a trend of rapid accumulation of capital, renewal of values, aspirations and practices and construction of the instruments and means to access the status of recognized profession. Because of doubts and difficulties, it is still in a state of hesitation and constant oscillation between the priority orientation to everyday problems and the constructive orientation towards collective solutions approved and implemented by the entire professional body.

Currently, the Romanian nurses' professional group goes through a self-seeking stage and, at the same time, a seeking of external support from different directions - political, legislative, trade unions', academic- enabling it to mobilize its resources, increase its autonomy and change the balance of power in the health field. It is also a search for representative leaders capable to strengthen the internal cohesion, boost its development and provide it increased power and social recognition.

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