

PRACTICAL SENSE

NEWSLETTER OF THE PIERRE BOURDIEU FOUNDATION

ALGERIAN INQUIRIES



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Pierre Bourdieu, Retour de la fontaine (Kabylie), Images d'Algérie, 1957 – 1961. Archive No. R_037.
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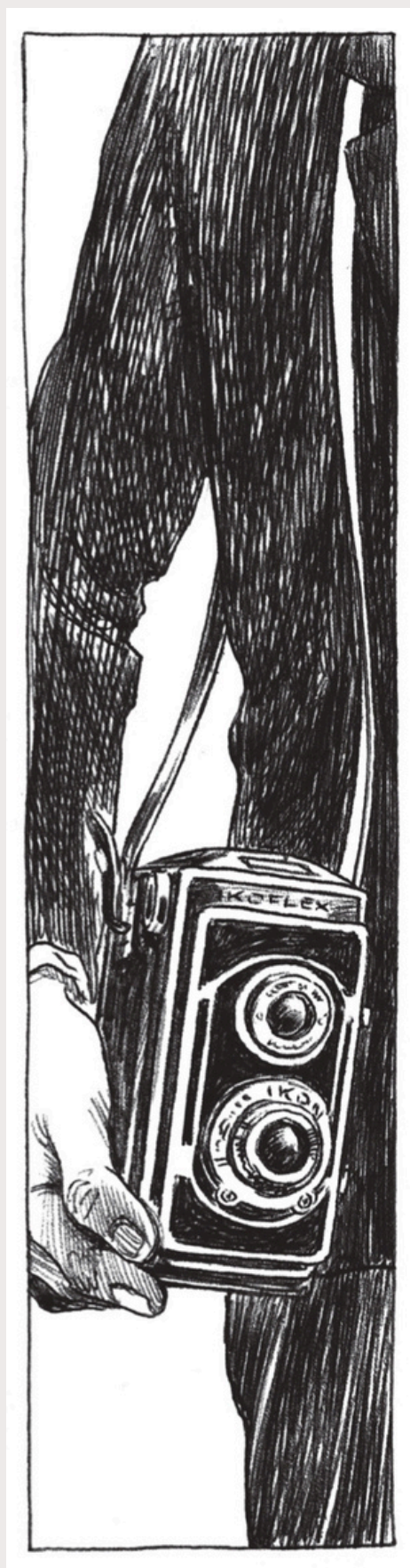
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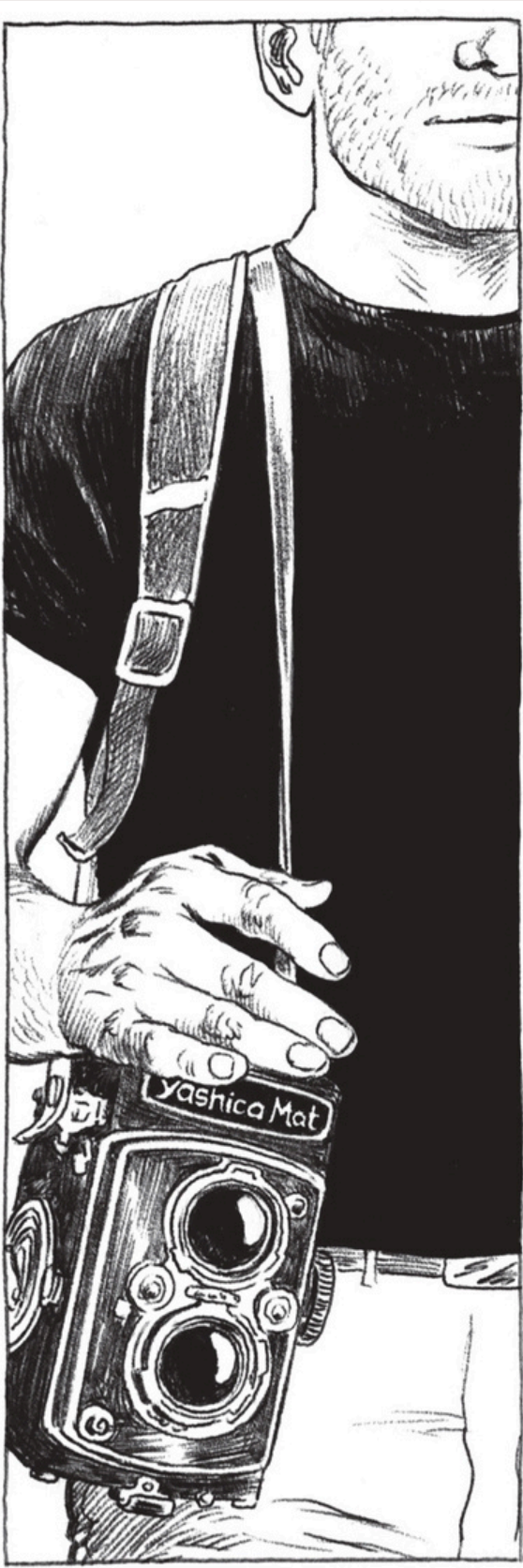
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EDITORIAL



EDITORIAL

On the occasion of the exhibition of Pierre Bourdieu's Algerian photographs at the *Centre Pompidou Museum* in Paris, from October 2024 to March 2025, the Pierre Bourdieu Foundation is launching an international newsletter published twice a year. The Foundation was created for coordinating international research projects and managing the collection of Bourdieu's Algerian photographs.

The principal aim of the newsletter is to inform a global readership about publications, conferences, workshops and discussions, which in a variety of ways build on Bourdieu's sociology and put it to work in novel domains. The sheer impossibility of keeping up with activities in a plurality of research areas in ever more countries makes it relevant to bring at least some of this information together. By doing so, we hope to counter intellectual fragmentation, stimulate interdisciplinary exchanges and foster collaboration across geographic boundaries, and thus contribute to better informed, and more reflexive research and teaching practices.

Rather than promoting theoretical exegesis or erudite commentary, the newsletter will report, very broadly, on research putting Bourdieu's theories to work across the social and human sciences. It is committed to avoiding hero-worship and interpretative disputes disconnected from empirical inquiry.

Although the contents and style of *Practical Sense* are a collective effort in progress, we intend to publish short, hitherto untranslated texts as well as archival pieces by Bourdieu himself (in collaboration with the Bourdieu Archives), call attention to lesser known aspects of his oeuvre, report about ongoing research in different areas, and, explore questions of international circulation, transnational comparisons, and the formation and functioning of global fields.

In addition, *Practical Sense* will publish short articles and a range of more vivid and accessible papers: interviews, critical reflections, conference reports, bibliographical and other information. In the highly bureaucratized research environments of today, with its scientific hierarchies and layers of power relations, we will use the editorial and stylistic flexibility of a newsletter to stimulate undervalued genres of publishing, raise critical questions about the state of social science research, and contribute to its advancement and flowering. We welcome contributions from around the world to fill these various rubrics (they should be sent to the editors at newsletter@fondationbourdieu.net).

The newsletter is published in English, as it is the most widely used language in international scholarly communication, but at a later stage other language editions may be considered. Contributions written in languages other than English, can be published on the newsletter's website in their original language (see <https://practicalsense.net>).

Each issue of *Practical Sense* will have a thematic section and an open section. The thematic part of the first issue takes up Bourdieu's Algerian studies, including his photographs, as a starting point for a better understanding of how this lesser-known part of his work came about, its position and implications in contemporary debates about postcolonialism and the efforts at decolonizing the canon and the curriculum. It also discusses recent publications about Bourdieu's early work and their intellectual and material conditions.

The next two issues will appear in 2025. Among the topics we're considering for the thematic part are questions of transnationalism, reflexivity (arguably the single most important feature of Bourdieu's sociological practice), and, leveraging the 50 year's anniversary of the journal *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* (founded by Bourdieu in 1975), scholarly publishing, past and present.

The open part of the newsletter is flexible, but it will contain regular rubrics (reports about workshops and conferences, short book reviews, bibliographical information, etc.).

In the coming years, *Practical Sense* will be edited by a small international group of younger scholars, supervised by a scientific board. Editorship is temporary and will rotate regularly. In addition to the editors and board members, we will try to build up a more permanent network of correspondents, who can inform the editors about significant debates, events, and publications in their country or region of origin.

To subscribe to *Practical Sense*, simply enter your email address here: <https://practicalsense.net>. The sale of Bourdieu's photographs to the fund of the Pompidou Museum will make possible the functioning of the newsletter during its first few years. Its continuation, however, will depend on the reception and the interest it generates, as well as on donations, subsidies or institutional support. We are very grateful for all suggestions about the content and organization of *Practical Sense* as well as for suggestions regarding material support (please write to newsletter@fondationbourdieu.net).

The editorial team

SPECIAL EDITION: ALGERIAN INQUIRIES

"Liberating history, liberating social science, especially that of the most intensely colonized and most recently decolonized countries, means first of all liberating them from their social unconscious by undertaking a social science of 'colonial science' as well as the legacy it has left behind."

Translated from: Sayad, A. (2002) *Histoire et recherche identitaire*. Saint-Denis: Éditions Bouchène, p. 28



A GRAPHIC NOVEL ON PIERRE BOURDIEU'S ALGERIA

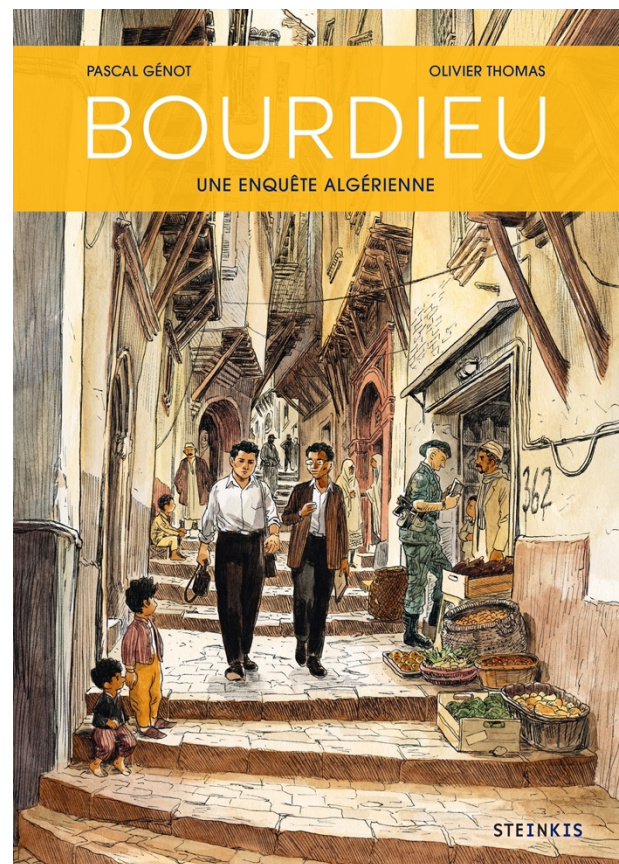
Pascal Génot

Bourdieu. Une enquête algérienne by Pascal Génot and Olivier Thomas (2023) is a graphic novel about Pierre Bourdieu's Algeria. Pascal Génot, a screenwriter who holds a PhD in information and communication sciences, discusses the creation of this book.

It All Started with an Image

Starting in 2011, I had the opportunity to teach screenwriting at the International Comic Strip Festival in Algiers. Around the same time, after working on two fiction graphic novels (2005-2008; 2014) with Olivier Thomas, an illustrator, and Bruno Pradelle, a colorist and screenwriter, I wanted to move toward documentary work. The idea of a graphic novel about Bourdieu's experience in Algeria from 1956 to 1960, during the colonial war – first as a soldier, then as a sociologist – came to me from a photo published in the proceedings of a colloquium on the writer Mouloud

Feraoun (2010). This photo, taken in Algiers in 1958-1959, shows Feraoun and Bourdieu. At the time, Bourdieu was teaching sociology in Algiers. He had just completed his military service and published *Sociologie de l'Algérie* (1958). This image made me realize the significance of Algeria in his career.



Bourdieu. Une enquête algérienne, Pascal Génot and Olivier Thomas. Steinkis, 2023. All rights reserved.

I was mostly familiar with Bourdieu's sociology of culture and knew little about his work based on his Algerian field research. I read his articles compiled by Tassadit Yacine in *Esquisses algériennes* (Bourdieu, 2008), Enrique Martin-

Criado's critical essay *Les deux Algéries de Pierre Bourdieu* (2008), and *Images d'Algérie*, the catalog of the exhibition of Bourdieu's photos at the *Institut du Monde Arabe* (2003). There was a fascinating subject here for a documentary graphic novel. Olivier Thomas, who viewed Bourdieu as a strong and endearing figure, a committed intellectual from a rural and modest background, was also interested in the project.

Between Reportage and Historical Reenactment

I had in mind the work of Joe Sacco, a pioneer of reportage graphic novels. *Footnotes in Gaza: A Graphic Novel* (2009) served as my model. In this book, where he attempts to reconstruct a massacre committed in Gaza in 1956, Sacco incorporates elements of docudrama: a reportage on the site of the “story,” interviews, archives, and the reenactment of the event. In film, reportage and reenactment do not follow the same process. “Documentary” and “fiction” are semiotically “framed” separately. However, in a graphic novel, reportage and historical reenactment stem from a single process. Sacco does not distinguish graphically between reportage and reenactment, suggesting an equivalence in their relationship to reality. Both are “false” but aim to approach the same truth.

For *Bourdieu. Une enquête algérienne*, the goal was to be precise about what

science allows us to say about Algerian society, the Algerian War, etc., while also engaging with the relationship between the graphic novel and reality. Like Sacco, I wanted to combine reportage and historical reenactment. For the reenactment scenes, the fictional techniques are clear, particularly in the alternation between a neutral narrative point of view and a focus on Bourdieu's character. The reportage scenes, where I also appear as a character, are, of course, an artifice. But the semiotic framing “indicates” that what is narrated happened as it is told. The presence of the author-narrator as an investigator character places this part of the narrative within the framework of autobiography. Should I remain faithful to this framework? Or diverge from it?

From Documentary Investigation to Finding a Publisher

In 2015, I conducted an investigation in Algeria. I wasn't looking for new facts about Bourdieu's experiences — I relied on Amín Pérez's thesis (2022). Instead, I was searching for documentary material: interviews with sociologists and witnesses, and photos of places where Bourdieu conducted research with Abdelmalek Sayad. I kept a journal because the investigation would form a thread for the script. I carried out this work with the help of a friend, Saadi Chikhi, who was my fixer and is represented as a character in the graphic novel. A grant from the *Institut Français*

covered half of this stay, and I funded the rest.

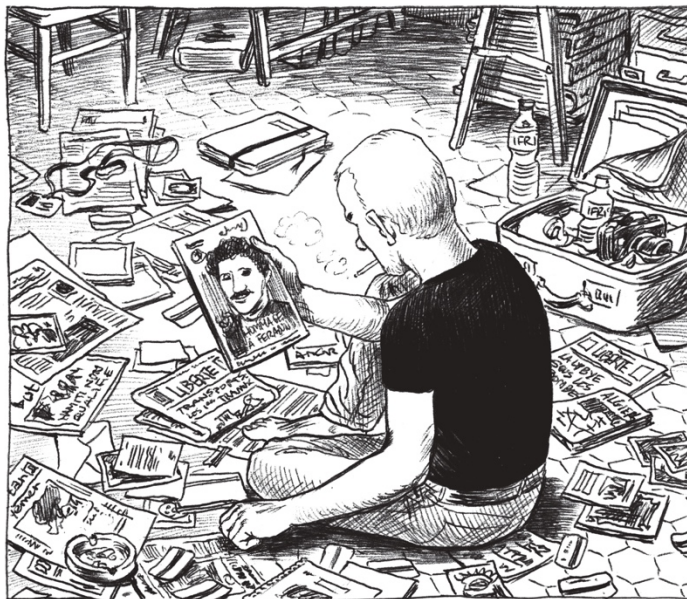
At the same time, I read Bourdieu's and Sayad's works on Algeria, books on the Algerian War, and articles, especially those by the sociologists I interviewed (Saïd Belguidoum, Kamel Chachoua, Nadji Safir, Rachid Sidi Boumedine, Tassadit Yacine...). A central theme emerged: precarity. For Bourdieu, the precarity imposed on Algeria by colonialism echoed the precarity imposed later by neoliberalism. This theme gradually asserted itself in the script.

In September 2015, I was hosted in residence by the *Agence algérienne pour le rayonnement culturel*. I wrote a synopsis and sequences that Olivier Thomas illustrated for the proposal to publishers. We first received a favorable response from a well-known publisher but were asked to remove the reportage element. It was Steinkis Editions that accepted the project as conceived. We also received a rejection from a major publishing group, who argued that there was “no market space” for this book. That turned out to be false. *Bourdieu. Une enquête algérienne* has already been reprinted four times, exceeding 10,000 copies. It is a commercial success. Publishers underestimated the fact that in France, there is a graphic novel readership, particularly among secondary and higher education teachers, who are also

“left-wing” and for whom Bourdieu matters.

Writing and Drawing

The writing and drawing took five years because the economics of creating this book didn't allow us to make a living from it. We worked on it between other projects, during holidays... Even without that, the process would have been long, with many rewrites. It was essential that the content be both rich and accurate, and also accessible to a readership unfamiliar with the Algerian War, sociology, etc. The book is dense but relatively short considering the subjects covered. The result seems successful: I've heard that some teachers recommend the book to students. However, I don't believe this graphic novel serves as an introduction to Bourdieu. I think it is less intimidating to approach “Bourdieu” when you see him evolve as a character in a graphic novel. For the script, in addition to alternating between reportage and biopic, I played with correspondences within the narrative. Some sequences respond to each other formally, like the one where Bourdieu takes photos in Algiers and the one where I do the same today. Other correspondences are thematic: for instance, the theme of borders recurs regularly. The link between the narrative and reality is clarified by a dialogue



UN JOUR, CHEZ MOI À MARSEILLE, EN FARFOUILLANT DANS DES DOCUMENTS RAPPORTÉS DE SÉJOURS EN SÉJOURS, JE SUIS TOMBÉ SUR UN RECUEIL D'HOMMAGES À MOULOUD FERAOUN* L'UN DES PREMIERS ÉCRIVAINS ALGÉRIENS DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE. L'UN DE CEUX QUI, AU DÉBUT DES ANNÉES 1950, AVANT MÊME QUE LE F.L.N. NE DÉCLENCHÉ L'INSURRECTION, S'APPROPRIÈRENT LA LANGUE DU COLONISATEUR POUR SIGNER L'ACTE DE NAISSANCE LITTÉRAIRE DE L'ALGÉRIE ALGÉRIENNE.

UN PERSONNAGE TRAGIQUE, AUSSI... AMI D'ALBERT CAMUS, FAVORABLE À UNE INDÉPENDANCE OUVERTE AUX EUROPÉENS, FERAOUN A ÉTÉ ABATTU PAR L'O.A.S. EN MARS 1962, TROIS JOURS À PEINE AVANT LA SIGNATURE DES ACCORDS D'ÉVIAN QUI ALLAIENT METTRE FIN À LA GUERRE.

UNE ILLUSTRATION M'A SAUTÉ AUX YEUX. ON Y VOIT FERAOUN, PHOTOGRAPHIÉ À ALGER EN COMPAGNIE DE PIERRE BOURDIEU, DANS L'ÉCOLE QUE L'ÉCRIVAIN, INSTITUTEUR DE MÉTIER, DIRIGEAIT DE 1957 À 1960.



* HOMMAGE À FERAOUN. ACTES DU COLLOQUE TENU AU FESTIVAL DU FILM AMAZIGH, TIZI-OUZOU, 2010.



LE CLICHÉ DONNE LE SENTIMENT DE DEUX HOMMES QUI S'APPRECIENT, AVEC CE GESTE D'ALLUMER LA CIGARETTE DE L'AUTRE, TYPIQUE D'UNE FORME DE CONVIVIALITÉ MASCULINE. MAIS JE NE COMPRENAIS PAS... BOURDIEU, LE SOCIOLOGUE LE PLUS CITÉ AU MONDE, L'UN DES DERNIERS GRANDS INTELLECTUELS FRANÇAIS ?? QU'EST-CE QU'IL FICHAIT LÀ ?

where I explain that the narration of the investigation anonymizes people as in ethnography, and that I create fictional characters to represent ideal types. The reportage scenes are ultimately auto-fictional. The goal was to present a narrative while explaining the conditions that made this narrative possible and to suggest a critical reflection on the very status of this narrative. This ties into the importance of reflexivity for Bourdieu. Olivier Thomas's drawing also found a balance with reality. It's a "realistic" style, but in black and white with a "loose" line to speed up the process and avoid overloading the image with too many details. Olivier paid particular attention to the backgrounds to ensure they conveyed a "living" image.

A Reception Focused on Content

The reception of the book, at least in the press and through discussions with readers, made me realize that the subject of "Bourdieu" and the "documentary" framework limited interpretation. The possibility of reading this graphic novel on multiple levels does not seem to align with the public's expectations. Perhaps because documentary graphic novels are often viewed primarily as vehicles of information rather than artistic expressions. At a time when the social sciences are exploring graphic novels as "alternative writing," I fear that this approach may reach an impasse. If the goal is to disseminate knowledge to the

widest audience, a successful graphic novel is still less effective than a video podcast. However, as a space for experimenting with representations of the world, graphic novels and social sciences can engage in dialogue. But this requires both artistic and scientific rigor. Therefore, it demands a creative economy that matches the stakes. Like science, graphic novels require time.

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ALGERIAN INQUIRIES AND COLONIAL SOCIOLOGY

*A Joint Interview with Amín Pérez and
George Steinmetz*

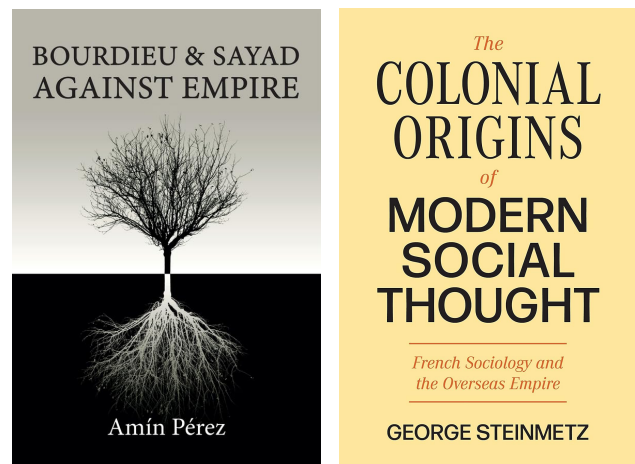
Johan Heilbron

Two recently published and thoroughly researched books shed new light on the significance of Pierre Bourdieu's Algerian studies. In *Bourdieu and Sayad Against Empire: Forging Sociology in Anticolonial Struggle* (2024), Amín Pérez presents an in-depth account of the collaboration between Bourdieu and Sayad. Drawing on unpublished correspondence and other archival material, he vividly details their collaborative efforts, showing how their unlikely encounter produced a new way of practicing sociology.

The Colonial Origins of Modern Social Theory. French Sociology and the Overseas Empire (2023) by George Steinmetz offers a broadly conceived historical sociology of "colonial sociology" in France. Reconstructing this largely forgotten and repressed disciplinary "subfield" from roughly 1910 to

1960, the last part of the book portrays some of its most eminent figures: Raymond Aron, Georges Balandier, Jacques Berque and Pierre Bourdieu.

Beyond the specific cases they study, both books raise broader questions about conducting field work, colonialism, social science, and, more generally, about the relationship between scholarship and commitment. Since both studies complement each other quite well, we conducted a joint interview with both authors via email exchanges.



Amín Pérez is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Quebec in Montreal. George Steinmetz is Charles Tilly Collegiate Professor of Sociology in the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan.

Q: Both of your books are the result of many years of extensive research, including archival work, interviews, and detailed text analysis. Could you tell us how your books came about?

Amin Pérez (AP): I began this research with an interest in the work and trajectory of Abdelmalek Sayad. While consulting his personal papers, I was struck by the significance of his early research during the colonial era and the importance of his collaboration with Pierre Bourdieu. Gradually, I focused on this period, during which the two young men engaged with sociology to understand the social, economic, and political violence of colonialism and to uncover possible paths to decolonization.

On the one hand, my objective was to revisit this period through a biographical analysis of both actors and a socio-historical study of the academic, intellectual, and political context before, during and after the war. This perspective offered me a unique lens to unveil the sociological reasons that drew them to sociology during the anticolonial struggle. There is an elective affinity between their atypical trajectories and sociology, viewed as a marginal, heretical, and critical science of colonialism. This approach also allowed me to uncover the social origins that led them to craft a form of political intervention based on sociological studies. This stood in opposition to the ethnocentric framework of “government intellectuals” who legitimized the unequal organization of colonial society, minimized the political mechanisms at the heart of the material and symbolic disarray of the colonized, and proposed reforms that did not

challenge the colonial order. Additionally, their approach remained vigilant against the false illusions of some anticolonial narratives expressed by “total intellectuals” regarding the means to transcend colonial domination.

On the other hand, the book is not an essay on their work. I don't limit myself to analyzing what they have published. Drawing on the personal papers of Bourdieu and Sayad, including their correspondence (1958-1964), research notebooks, drafts of articles, reports of the different field studies and unpublished manuscripts, my book shifts attention to what they did to actualize a politics of social science in the age of decolonization. So, my goal was to restore the practices (choice of subjects, hypotheses, methods, field studies, etc.) that made their work possible in the anticolonial struggle. The interest of this archival study was to unveil the practice of this theory while it was in the making: through questionings, impasses, indignations, encounters, convictions, readings, field studies, and intimate and intellectual collaborations, all of which culminated in establishing a new way of doing social science.

By revisiting this moment, which Bourdieu and Sayad considered to be their most important research experience, yet remains their least known work, I sought to contribute to the understanding of the sociology they later

extended to the study of multiple fields in the postcolonial and neoliberal era.

George Steinmetz (GS): My book is the result of two long-term projects that converged in writing the history of French sociology and social science carried out in colonial contexts. The first project was a historical sociology of modern colonialism and its policy-making, which I started working on around 1990, just as I was finishing my first book on the origins of the German welfare state. In *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa and Southwest Africa* (2007), I explained the ongoing formation of different native policies in three different German colonies. My explanation focused on two key causal factors: cultural representations of the colonized and the field structure of the colonial state.

My second project was a historical sociology of sociology itself. I initially imagined this project as a form of self-reflexivity, a reconstruction of the field struggles and settlements that had given rise to the microcosm of American sociology in which I was participating. My first efforts focused on social scientific methods and epistemologies, as these seemed like the most powerful forces structuring US sociology's explicit conflicts and implicit doxa. However, I also realized that many American socio-

logists of the post-1945 era had been deeply involved in foreign policymaking efforts that were informed by Modernization Theory. In my contributions to the edited volume *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences: Positivism and its Epistemological Others* (2005), I began to thematize these relations between sociologists and US imperial policies.

In my research on colonial history, I also noticed the increasing presence of academic scholars in the overseas colonies before 1914. But there were no professional sociologists involved in colonial policymaking during this era of "high imperialism." I became curious about this absence and began to scour the writings of classical sociologists for discussions of empire and colonialism. My first publication in this area was "The Imperial Entanglements of Sociology in the United States, Britain, and France since the 19th Century," which appeared in the history journal *Ab Imperio* in 2009. My most extended effort to date is the book, *The Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought*, which you mentioned.¹ I chose to focus on French sociology for the first volume in this series, because it was the most deeply and broadly involved in colonial research among the national fields. I also wanted to provide the background for understanding the sociological origins of Bourdieu's work on Algeria, which, in some respects, is the

¹ The book is forthcoming in French with *Raisons d'Agir*.

most important product of these decades of sociological research in French colonies. While other historians have focused on the philosophical sources of Bourdieu's ideas, my work shows that his ideas also emerged from a protofield of colonial sociology and social science, as well as from the Algerian colonial context.

Q: George, you situate Bourdieu's Algerian inquiries within the tradition of "colonial sociology." Could you elaborate on what you have uncovered about this "colonial sociology" and how Bourdieu relates to this tradition?

GS: By the time Bourdieu arrived on the scene, colonial sociology and social science more broadly had already made several significant discoveries and contributions. First and foremost were the traditions of Durkheim, Durkheimian sociology, and Maussian fieldwork. Durkheim had called attention to colonialism's anomie and amorality. Some of the interwar students and followers of Mauss, such as Maurice Leenhardt, Charles Le Cœur, Roger Bastide, Jacques Berque, Michel Leiris, and Jacques Soustelle, criticized anthropology for bracketing the effects of colonialism and for avoiding colonized cultures that had been clearly stamped by European

influence. Leading ethnologists at the time showed a revulsion for "mixed" or "métis" cultures and a preference for "pure" natives, that is for "the unaltered fact, miraculously preserved in its primitive state."² In contrast, Leiris, Soustelle, Bastide, Berque, Le Cœur, and others examined the varied effects of colonialism and the new forms of cultural hybridity that resulted from colonial situations. After 1945, several new generations of sociologists took advantage of the research and employment opportunities in the overseas empire and further elaborated on themes of cultural crisis and mixing. They also continued Durkheim's practice of turning the imperial or colonial gaze back on the metropole.³ Georges Balandier directed several research organizations in Africa, focusing researchers' attention on the dramatic and ongoing processes of cultural re- and de-articulation resulting from colonial situations. Balandier coined the term "colonial situation" in his 1951 article to highlight these issues.

Bourdieu relied heavily on this legacy of colonial sociological research, although he credited anthropologists such as Germaine Tillion more prominently. He cited Balandier's article on the colonial situation in the first edition of his *Sociologie de l'Algérie*. This book is

² The original quote is: "du fait inaltéré et conservé miraculeusement dans sa primitivité." (Balandier, 1951, p. 45).

³ I provide several examples of this gesture of reversing the colonial gaze in Durkheim's writing

in Steinmetz (forthcoming). Durkheim's vision is the direct opposite of an "imperial gaze," *pace* Connell (1997, 1523); similarly Julian Go, (2016, p. 4).

unique insofar as its final chapter develops a succinct theory of the colony and the colonial state. However, this was not an entirely original move, as Balandier had been involved in a similar project. Bourdieu and Sayad argued that “the models of behavior and the economic ethos imported by colonization coexist, in each subject’s mind, with the models and ethos inherited from ancestral tradition” (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964, p. 163).

Bourdieu also described the Algerian colony as a divided and culturally hybrid space — central themes in French colonial social science since the 1930s. He argued that a “Gestalt switch” was necessary for the observer to perceive the empirical colonial social situation, due to the “doubling” of social reality and the fact that “the models of behavior and the economic ethos imported by colonization coexist, in each subject’s mind, with the models and ethos inherited from ancestral tradition.”⁴ Although it is correct to view this as one of the origins of Bourdieu’s mature theory of the *cleft habitus*, it is also clear that themes of cultural splitting and division were already widespread in writings on colonialism.

Bourdieu’s focus on the reflexive agency of Algerian workers in *Travail et travailleurs en Algérie* (1963) resonated with the work of Balandier and Mercier

(1952) and others who had made similar arguments about Africans faced with external cultural incursions.

Bourdieu argued further that Arab tribal names constituted a resource that conferred “an ascendancy” on the group, an “immense prestige,” contributing to the accumulation of a “*capital of combined power and prestige*.”⁵ (Bourdieu, 1962, p. 88) This discussion directly echoes Berque’s 1954 article “*Qu’est-ce qu’une tribu nord-africaine?*,” which studied tribal names as “signs, regulated by their own laws.” (1954, p. 263) Bourdieu later credited Berque with providing him “countless starting points and invaluable points of reference.” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 3)

I could provide other examples of how Bourdieu drew on extant forms of colonial sociology in his early work. What is equally important is that Bourdieu represents, in many ways, the *culmination* of this form of sociology and its transformation into something post-colonial, in the sense that it draws on colonial origins but returns them to general sociology. This does not imply that Bourdieu’s work requires some sort of “decolonization,” however, since the work he relied on was already quite autonomous from the colonial political context.

Q: Amin, in your study, you not only highlight the collaboration between

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Emphasis added.

Bourdieu and Sayad in their early years, but also emphasize its importance for the actual insights they produced and the ways they transformed the practice of anthropology and sociology.

AP: I sought to trace the elements that made their unorthodox practices possible. Field studies were already conducted in colonial situations by administrators, ethnologists, and sociologists. However, doing it in wartime and on war, I mean on directly political themes instead of following the cultural topics of colonial science; doing it alongside colonized writers, poets, activists, and intellectuals; producing knowledge from subaltern experience, and combining statistics, ethnography, historical archives, photography and other methods, all this was something quite different from existing practices.

My interest was in restoring the results of this unlikely collaboration between Bourdieu and Sayad within the context of extreme racial segregation and social stratification in this settler colony. As George states, their book *Uprooting* (orig. 1964, Eng. translation 2020) is “the first instance of co-authored sociological work on colonialism by a metropolitan citizen and a former colonial ‘subject’” (Steinmetz, 2023, p. 330).

It was a synergy in which each was nourished by their particular and common perspectives. Before meeting Sayad, Bourdieu worked directly with Algerian writers, poets, and intellectuals engaged

in the anti-colonial cause. The collaboration with Sayad and other actors from the Association for Demographic, Economic, and Social Research (ARDES) contributed to the formulation of a reflexive and committed sociology. Indeed, this work amid the war forced them to be constantly vigilant about the conditions of their field studies. They had to break with the categories used in metropolitan questionnaires that did not correspond to the realities of colonial society, question the scientific representations imposed on the colonial world, and be cautious with the ordinary discourses of the populations. In my book, I show how these reflections led them to apply different methodologies, such as forming mixed teams of European and Algerian interviewers to provide a way out of the national framework (both “Eurocentric” and local”). Also, their different, at once intimate and distanced perspectives on the crisis of peasantry in their respective hometowns – Bourdieu in Béarn, France and Sayad in Aghbala, Algeria – were decisive in breaking away from an ethnology that emphasized the differences between “modern” and “primitive worlds,” and in breaking with ethnocentric and essentialist views of the peasant world.

The collaboration between the young philosopher (Bourdieu) and the anti-colonial activist (Sayad) also shaped a way of politically intervening based on sociological knowledge. As Bourdieu

pointed out during the neoliberal era, there was a need to go beyond idealism and sociology and “propose sociologically grounded utopias” (Bourdieu, 2000). This form of intellectual intervention has its roots in this colonial moment. It was a sociology forged as far from “conservative intellectuals” and their academism as from some of the “total intellectuals” who not only spoke in the name of the colonized but were also disconnected from the reality they intended to change.

Sayad once insisted that, beyond learning the sociological craft from Bourdieu, he discovered through him that sociology could write differently about politics – that it could “account for, explain and provide a deeper understanding of social reality” (Sayad, 2002, p. 65). Their field studies on the historical dispossession and pauperization of the colonized produced by colonial capitalism – accelerated by the war and the forced resettlement camps – were crucial in portraying the concrete conditions of existence of the Algerian masses. This was also essential for understanding the means necessary for the anticolonial liberation and social emancipation of the colonized.

Q: The debates about colonialism today tend to be dominated by “postcolonial studies” and the widespread call to

“decolonize” the social sciences. How would you situate your respective books vis-à-vis these debates?

GS: Calls for “decolonizing” sociology and revising its theoretical canons have become extremely rancorous. It is more urgent than ever to clarify the stakes in this ongoing struggle and to carefully re-examine the works of “canonical” theorists as well as those being proposed as alternatives. This is one of the aims of *The Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought*, which, like my previous work, integrates postcolonial and Bourdieusian theory.

As the language of postcolonial theory has taken root in sociology, the ideas and evolution of the original theorists have been largely ignored. Indeed, some of the most compelling arguments against displacing thinkers such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Bourdieu from sociology’s “canon” are provided by the very postcolonial theorists invoked as authorities for canon revision.⁶ In its original formulations, postcolonial theory focused on literary texts, cultural works, and forms of subjectivity in colonial contexts. It emerged in the humanities during a period of intense theoretical discussion characterized by careful and generally nonreductive readings of literary texts. Poststructuralism and psychoanalysis were central to it. Many postcolonial

⁶ My first uses of postcolonial theory in sociology were in Steinmetz (2002). When I turned to “decolonizing” sociology, however, I first fell into

the “logic of the trial” (Loïc Wacquant). I now regret that I had not yet taken Bourdieu’s advice (1976); see Steinmetz (2006).

interventions foregrounded the hybridity and undecidability of colonial discourse or called attention to the ways in which some colonial-era writers pushed against dominant Eurocentric tropes and scientific frames.

Edward Said's *Orientalism*, for example, is often cited for its apodictic statements about the homogeneity of orientalist discourse and its "absolute unanimity" with empire. Yet Said's thinking is much less Manichean. He singles out Jacques Berque and Maxime Rodinson as scholars "trained in the traditional Orientalist disciplines" who were "perfectly capable of freeing themselves from the old ideological straitjacket" (Said, 1978, p. 326). In his lectures on Freud from 2003, Said distinguished between texts that remain "inertly of their time" and those, like Freud's, that "brush up unstintingly against historical constraints." Texts like Freud's, Said concluded, are the ones that we "keep with us, generation after generation" (Said, 2003, p. 26-27). Jacqueline Rose, in her commentary on Said's Freud lecture, argued that "you read a historic writer not for what they failed to see, not for the ideological blind spots of their writing but for the as-yet-unlived, still-shaping history which their vision partially, tentatively, foresees and provokes" (Rose, 2003, p. 67). Said and Rose call attention to the ways in which historical writers and theorists some-

times break with the dominant assumptions of their milieu and develop new ideas about colonialism and empire.

Along different, psychoanalytic lines, Homi Bhabha, in *The Location of Culture* (1994), emphasized the inherent "ambivalence" of colonial discourse, the "hybridity" of forms of subjectivity generated in colonial situations, and "the circulation of desire around the scene of oppression."

It is also revealing to follow the development of the thinking of Gayatri Spivak, another key figure in postcolonial criticism who is often invoked in the ongoing sociological canon struggles. Spivak seems to have become increasingly wary of uses of her ideas that minimize the unsettled and contradictory meanings of texts. In *Critique of Postcolonial Reason* from 1999, Spivak characterizes some of her earlier readings as having been based on a too "simple invocation of race and gender, with no bridle of auto-critique" (1999, p. 121).⁷ She also came to regret her coinage "*strategic essentialism*" and eventually stopped using the term (Mounk, 2023, p. 75). In February 2024, she condemned the gesture of dismissing "great thinkers like Kant and learning nothing from them" (Spivak 2024). In sum, the textual exegeses by Said, Spivak, and Bhabha urge us to resist arguments that all

⁷ For similar concerns about the configuring the West entirely as an "Other to be exorcised," see

Zakia Pathak, Saswati Sengupta and Sharmila Purkayastha (1991, p. 196).

discourses produced in colonial contexts are “Manichean” in their simplicity.⁸

As for the idea of *decolonizing* the social sciences, it is crucial to distinguish between texts that remain “inertly of their time” and those that “brush up unstintingly against historical constraints.” This requires close, careful, and contextual reading practices that pay close attention to ruptures, ambiguities, slippages, and lesser-known texts. A genuine sociology of knowledge has to follow these sorts of “best practices.” Such care has been lacking in some recent interventions in this area, for example among writers who argue that Durkheim ignored colonialism or applied an “imperial gaze” to the non-Western world. It would be a radical loss and radically anti-intellectual to exclude thinkers like Durkheim (or Bourdieu) from sociology’s reading lists (or “canon”). Indeed, the philosopher Olúfẹmi Táíwò has recently argued, “by shutting the door to the possibility of learning from our conquerors, the ideas of some of our most profound thinkers, including Senghor, are cut off from the coming generations” (Táíwò 2022, p. 137).

Bourdieu’s theory represents a very different approach to decolonizing knowledge, closer to the sociology of knowledge tradition. Bourdieu was one of the first sociologists to call for a

“decolonization of sociology” in his lecture titled “For a Sociology of Sociologists” (1976). The subtitle of that essay, “colonial sociology and the decolonization of sociology,” is omitted in the English translation, which may be one reason Bourdieu has not yet made a significant impact on the Anglophone debate on sociological canon revision. In the 1976 lecture, Bourdieu outlines an approach to the decolonization of sociology. It is a classic illustration of his historical field-analytic approach and his approach to reflexivity. Bourdieu argues for a careful reconstruction of “the specific properties” of the “relatively autonomous scientific field” in which “‘colonial’ ‘science’ was carried out.” The sociologist, he says, should trace the relations between the academic and scientific institutions in the colony, the “metropolitan science of the day,” and the state. The researcher would have to reconstruct the pertinent social properties of the participants in the colonial scientific field, as well as the polarizations and forms of habitus characterizing that scientific space. Bourdieu did not carry out this field study himself, but he showed people how to study colonial knowledge and its aftereffects on post-colonial knowledge. Like Said, Bourdieu also suggests that a key question is intellectual agency within structural

⁸ For a counter example which insists on a simplifying reading of these texts, see Abdul R. JanMohamed (1985, p. 61).

constraints. Bourdieu points to several ways in which some thinkers may be able to partially transcend these constraints resources rooted in habitus, field position, strategy, and reflexivity. My book is therefore directly related to these calls to decolonize the social sciences and to postcolonial theory.

AP: This question is particularly important. I say this because while the social and political past conditions the present, the questions of the present also determine a particular reading of the past. This happens with some current “postcolonial” critiques. The reflexive sociology developed by Bourdieu and Sayad allows us to answer some questions of the present and to dispel false debates. As George’s book shows, the call for decolonizing the social sciences is not new. Bourdieu had already made it explicit in the 1970s and put it into practice in his early works published since the late 1950s.

The reflexive sociology developed by Bourdieu and Sayad is as distant from the colonial unconscious of science as it is vigilant with respect to the “good will” of anti-colonial intellectuals. This approach is fundamental if we are not to fall into what Julian Go calls the “geopistemic essentialism” (2023) of an identity critique that tends to homogenize worlds between “North and South,” to disqualify one in advance and unconditionally vindicate the other, thereby losing sight of domination in all its forms.

Bourdieu and Sayad’s situated and historical sociology of power relations unveils the complex and dynamic realities of the colonial world. Their fine-grained and long-term analytical perspective not only provides insight into the brutality of colonial domination but also offers an understanding of the effects of symbolic violence that make this unequal system work. It also makes visible the possible margins of freedom that could break with colonial domination.

Bourdieu and Sayad’s empirically grounded theory also goes beyond a certain ideology of resistance prominent in our current debates. Their position was not based on making radical statements based on generalities, nor on imposing their desires as scientific truth. Instead, they aimed to grasp the conditions that make resistance possible. In that sense, combining ethnographic, statistical, and historical field studies contributed to clarifying the strategic possibilities of survival, political consciousness, and subversion in these contexts of extreme domination and exploitation.

My book aligns with recent efforts made by different scholars to bring post-colonial critique to the sociological arena (Go, 2016). This was precisely at the root of Bourdieu and Sayad’s sociological imagination: to understand political questions sociologically and to propose alternative politics informed by sociological knowledge.

Q: *Are you following up on your books in your current work?*

AP: Yes, I extend this work in different directions. On the one hand, I am interested in deepening some aspects of this collective fieldwork during wartime, in studying the role of Algerian literature in Bourdieu's work before he conducted fieldwork, and in concretely restituting the relations between the Algerian research experience and Bourdieu's earliest work in France. This contribution aligns with other works that aim to uncover the impact of methodologies and reflections developed in the colony within the context of the metropolis (Duval, Heilbron and Issenhuth, 2022). On the other hand, I seek to analyze the aftermath of this anti-colonial sociology in the later work of both Bourdieu and Sayad.

I am also applying the potentialities of Bourdieu and Sayad's approaches to my own fieldwork on migrant workers in a post-plantation world in the Caribbean. My goal is to put this sociology of the colonial state into work to understand the violence of the neoliberal state.

GS: I am currently completing a second volume on sociologists in the British empire during the same period – 1930s to 1960s. Following that, I will work on German sociologists in occupied Poland and Eastern Europe during the Nazi period. These “imperial” sociologists had an important impact on postwar West

German historical and developmental sociology as well as on social history.

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The Collective Dimension of Intellectual Work

“I have two important things to teach: 1° the strategies of collective work organization needed to conquer the autonomy that is the condition of scientific practice; 2° the rational management of intellectual work. Many researchers believe that they must lead their lives as artists, in accordance with a whole mythology. However, the researcher is much more comparable to a top-level athlete who needs to rationalize. There is a sporting hygiene to intellectual work, which includes collective management, collective work, collective organization, collective equipment.”

Translated from: Bourdieu, P. (2015) “Secouez un peu vos structures!” in Dubois, Durand and Winkin (eds.) *Le Symbolique et le social. La réception internationale de la pensée de Pierre Bourdieu*. Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, p. 336-337



Pierre Bourdieu, Ain Aghbel (Collo), Images d'Algérie, 1957 – 1961. Archive No. A_001f.
© Fondation Pierre Bourdieu / Courtesy: Camera Austria, Graz, Austria.

THE PIERRE BOURDIEU PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE

*A Joint Interview with Christine Frisinghelli
and Franz Schultheis*

Matthias Fringant and J essica Ronconi

Pierre Bourdieu's influence on the international social sciences is widely acknowledged. Less recognized, however, is his pioneering work in visual sociology, achieved through the systematic and intensive use of photography during his research in Algeria. For Bourdieu, photography was not only a methodological tool but also a crucial element of his sociological perspective. This approach is echoed in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, the journal he founded, which places particular emphasis on iconography.

These photographs, stored for decades in cardboard boxes, were occasionally used as illustrations, primarily for book

covers. In 2001, Bourdieu agreed to use them to reconstruct the development of his vision of the social world. This project, based largely on oral history and intended to involve Bourdieu actively, was unfortunately cut short by his death in January 2002.

Franz Schultheis and Christine Frisinghelli subsequently took up the project, striving to fulfill Bourdieu's vision by creating an exhibition and a book featuring a selection of photographs paired with text excerpts from his Algerian studies. Since 2001, the photographic archive has been preserved, edited, structured, digitized, and published by the *Fondation Pierre Bourdieu* and the contemporary art institution *Camera Austria*.¹ Since 2003, the exhibition has traveled to 20 international venues.² The book, *Images d'Alg erie* (Bourdieu, 2003a), has been translated into six languages³ and was recently reissued (Bourdieu, 2024). Both the exhibition and the book situate these photographs as integral to Bourdieu's scientific work, while also underscoring their importance as a visually compelling documentary record of life in the 1950s and 1960s.

Thanks to 20 years of dedicated work by the *Fondation Pierre Bourdieu* and *Camera Austria*, we now have a

¹ For a comprehensive description of the photographic archive, see [Camera Austria](#) and [Archive Description](#).

² For a list of the exhibition venues, see [here](#).

³ *Images d'Alg erie* has been translated to German (2003b), Spanish (2011), English (2012a), Italian (2012b), Arab (2013) and Greek (2017).

structured archive available for future research in both social sciences and visual studies. The *Centre Pompidou's* commitment to stewarding this archive, building on the groundwork already laid, presents an exceptional opportunity to expand the reach and visibility of this collection while fostering new and innovative projects.

Christine Frisinghelli and Franz Schultheis have accepted to answer our questions related to their work on the photographic archive. The interview was conducted by email exchanges in English, French and German. Christine Frisinghelli's part was translated by Richard Watts.

Christine Frisinghelli was born in 1949 in Graz, Austria. She studied in Austria and France. From 1975 to 1997 she worked at *Forum Stadtpark*, Graz's main artistic center, with a focus on photography. During these years she also founded a photography journal named *Camera Austria International* that first issued in 1980. From 1996 to 1999 she became director of the Austrian interdisciplinary festival for contemporary art *Steirischer Herbst*. *Camera Austria* then became an exhibition space located in Graz's *Kunsthau*s. Until 2010 Christine Frisinghelli led both the magazine and the exhibition space. During her career, she has also taught in various European universities and institutions in Vienna, Zurich, Graz and Modena.

Franz Schultheis was born in 1953 in Bendorf, Germany. He studied sociology in Germany and France. He obtained a PhD in sociology at University of Konstanz in 1986 and a *habilitation* at *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* in 1993. He taught sociology in various German and Swiss universities, including Konstanz from 1979 to 1992, Geneva from 1994 to 1998, Neuchâtel from 1998 to 2007, St-Gallen from 2007 to 2019 and Zeppelin in Friedrichschafen from 2019 to present.

Q: The history of the photographs is not easy to understand. Between 1957 and 1961, Pierre Bourdieu roughly took 3,000 pictures in Algeria. At the end of the 1990s Pierre Bourdieu decided to give the remaining pictures under different forms (negatives, contact sheets and prints) to you, Franz Schultheis. From what we understand, some other pictures were discovered in 2017. Could you tell us a bit more about the history of these photographs? For instance, how did you discover additional pictures in 2017?

Franz Schultheis (FS): Pierre Bourdieu entrusted me with his photographic archive exactly 25 years ago, after I had already been working as an associated researcher at the *Centre de Sociologie Européenne* since 1986, publishing many of his works in German and supervising the German-language edition of *Liber*.

My first contact with Pierre Bourdieu's photography goes back to a conversation

I had with him at the *Collège de France* in Paris on September 26, 1999. It was about the German language edition of *Algérie 60* (Bourdieu, 1977), which I was preparing at the time. Pierre Bourdieu asked me during the discussion: “By the way, did you look at the interview in *Travail et travailleurs [en Algérie]* (Bourdieu, 1963)? It could easily belong in *La Misère du monde* (Bourdieu (ed.), 1993). There are even photos from the time. Yes, it wouldn't be a bad idea to use some of the photos, they're over in Rosine's [Christin] office.” I asked: “Can I see some?” Pierre Bourdieu told me: “Yes, but I'll prepare them for you. I was still thinking this morning: people keep saying that sociology is an abstract universe, and then they suggest that the Chicago School with its photographic work is something completely different. So, I'll give you these photos... Well, I should have the courage to sort it all out, but I was so attached to it, I had 3,000 photos, I looked at them again and again, and it always hurt my soul so much that... I haven't found the courage to throw myself into it yet.”

Two weeks later, at another meeting, Pierre Bourdieu gave me several photo albums with the prints he had made himself and around 600 negatives – the rest of the 3,000 photos, he told me, had probably been lost in various moves. Fortunately, many years later I was able to track down another 400 photos in the Pierre Bourdieu archives at the *Campus*

Condorcet and added them to the collection.

During the informal handover, after which I left with a bulging suitcase and drove back to Neuchâtel, Switzerland, where I worked as a sociology professor at the university, we agreed that I would attempt to organize an exhibition and that we would reconstruct the context of his work in the form of an oral history. Pierre Bourdieu insisted that his photography should be presented solely as an instrument, method, and means of knowledge for his empirical research, always contextualized with corresponding texts from his Algerian studies. We took this wish very seriously over the following two decades.

A first attempt of such a presentation at the *Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel* did not materialize, but the following year we found an ideal partnership for the realization of this project with *Camera Austria* and its director Christine Frisinghelli. She, as an expert in photography, and I, as a sociologist and connoisseur of Bourdieu's work, were perfectly complementary and this proved to be very productive over the course of the more than 20 years that followed. By a stroke of luck, 2003 was celebrated in France as *L'année de l'Algérie*. With Pierre Bourdieu's approval, I went to the French museum *Institut du Monde Arabe* and met with Farouk Mardam-Bey, one of the people in charge of the Institute. He responded enthu-

siastically to the idea of an exhibition of the photographic archive. Coincidentally, he was also publishing the Sindbad series with *Actes Sud*, and it was decided to produce a publication for the exhibition that could also serve as its catalog. Unfortunately, Pierre Bourdieu passed away far too soon and we had to complete this project without him, as faithfully as possible to his original studies.

Q: *Christine Frisinghelli, in the late 1990s you were running the magazine Camera Austria International and the exhibition space Camera Austria while Franz Schultheis was teaching sociology in Neuchâtel and translating Pierre Bourdieu's book Algérie 60 from French to German. Could you please start by explaining how you met, how you started working with Pierre Bourdieu, and how the later decided to entrust his photographs to Camera Austria with the intention of publicly showing them for the first time thanks to a book and an exhibition?*

Christine Frisinghelli (CF): The collaboration between Pierre Bourdieu and *Camera Austria* began in 2000 in entirely different circumstances to those which would later lead to the initiation of the exhibition and book project *Images d'Algérie* (Bourdieu, 2003a). For us as “cultural workers” living in Austria, the

year 2000 marked what was a political watershed: with the Austrian Freedom Party (*FPÖ*) entering a coalition government, a xenophobic and anti-intellectual consensus appeared to have become hegemonic in Austria. Statements made by various conservative and right-wing populist politicians seemed to justify concerns that a reduction of complexity could well become the guiding theme of a new (cultural) policy agenda in Austria.⁴ The question was: how could we tackle this dilemma with and in our work?

When Pierre Bourdieu came to Vienna with *Raisons d'Agir* in the Fall 2000 to attend a conference, we reached out to him to ask for his support in the current debate by contributing to our medium. This led to Pierre Bourdieu publishing his first piece in our magazine, “Against the Policy of Depoliticization,” (2000) an article that was written in the course of his *Contrefeux* speeches (1998; 2001a) and that constitutes an important statement in the context of his call for a European social movement in opposition to the politics of globalization and neoliberalism.⁵ This was followed by an interview with our author Cathren Müller (2001b) that not only explored Bourdieu's self-perception as a sociologist with distinctly political intentions beyond academic navel-gazing, but

⁴ There is a certain tragic irony in the fact that, almost 25 years after this “turning point” in

Austria, we are now being forced to oppose the rise of radical right-wing groups across Europe.

⁵ For the original article, see [here](#).

which also gave him the opportunity to make a case against abandoning public support for advanced art: this, he argued, is the only way to safeguard the autonomy of the field of art – an autonomy that is being fundamentally challenged by neoliberal forces.⁶

Franz Schultheis, finally – who took on the key role of liaising on our behalf – drew our attention to the fact that, above and beyond any shared political interests that we wanted to reflect in *Camera Austria International* magazine by publishing Bourdieu's theoretical contributions, there might well exist a number of other, entirely different links to Pierre Bourdieu's work, and he introduced us to that hitherto largely unknown archive of photographs taken in the course of ethnological and sociological studies in 1960s Algeria.

This initial spontaneous curiosity soon gave rise to the project aimed at making this lesser-known facet of Bourdieu's ethnology accessible to the public in the form of a book and an exhibition – a project we were hoping to develop in close collaboration with Pierre Bourdieu and Franz Schultheis. Our first step in this direction was to publish in our magazine, along with an introductory text by Franz Schultheis, an interview with Pierre Bourdieu about his photographic work and the formative experiences of his time in Algeria; the

accompanying illustrations were selected from the archive by Pierre Bourdieu (2001c).⁷ This interview was also published later in the book *Images d'Algérie* (2003a) and has become an important primary source for interpreting the photographic archive.

Bourdieu was initially reserved about the project, as he did not wish for the artistic or aesthetic value of his photographs to be overemphasized. We too had to consider whether an institution like *Camera Austria* – whose main focus is on current artistic practices that engage with the *dispositifs* of photography and new image technologies – was an appropriate place to work on Bourdieu's documentary photographic material. These photographs represent significant primary ethnographic material which, in accordance with the principles of qualitative social research for identifying and preserving traces of an unfamiliar social world, hold as much value as sources of insight as observation records or ethnographic informants. This project thus posed a major challenge for us, albeit not only in view of Bourdieu's early theoretical exploration of the photography medium, as documented in his book *Un art moyen* (1965) and his theoretical essays analyzing the field of art and its effects on society, and vice versa. It is the relevance of Bourdieu's work, which continues to inform current debates in art theory, that made it so

⁶ For the original interview, see [here](#).

⁷ For the original interview, see [here](#).

interesting for us to analyze the photographic documents created by Bourdieu himself and to address this set of issues in close collaboration with the author. Not least, the decision by *Camera Austria* entailed engaging with this highly diverse archive of photographs and working notes, the *Fiches d'Algérie* – physically preserving and structuring the material and putting it into context with the author's writings. However, it also implied harking back to our core remit: working on photographic material and its social, political and cultural significance.

Q: As you explained, this project led to both an exhibition and a book. Could you please explain the process of selection and thematization of the pictures for the exhibition?

FS: The preparation of the exhibition and the work on the book ran in parallel and under considerable time pressure. The concept developed together with Christine envisaged that the whole thing should be based on a common structure. We began with the idea – agreed upon with Pierre Bourdieu – that a dialogue between image and sociological discourse should be established wherever possible. This approach was particularly fitting, as Bourdieu produced his ethnographic notes alongside complementary photographic evidence during his Algerian research. During a weekend in Graz, we sat at a large table covered

with more than 700 photos. We tried to group the photos according to objects and, with knowledge of Bourdieu's studies of the Algerian years, to place them in a thematic context. In the process, four large thematic blocks gradually emerged, which we gave the titles *Habitus et Habitat*, *Hommes-Femmes*, *Paysans déracinés* and *Économie de la misère*. These would form the core of the book and the exhibition. The next step was to identify relevant text passages from Bourdieu's various publications on his Algerian research to accompany the images, providing a kind of discursive framework for their presentation. The chosen method of thematic categorization, going from the photograph to the text, proved to be viable and valuable, as demonstrated by a large number of exhibitions in various countries and the translations of the study into six other languages.

CF: Sadly, Pierre Bourdieu passed away in 2002, just as we were beginning our joint venture. In close collaboration with Franz Schultheis, we consulted and structured the photographic documents, linking them to ethnographic and sociological studies undertaken at different locations in Algeria at the same time. Sometimes, the numbering of the negatives (which is unfortunately not always continuous) allowed us to retrace Pierre Bourdieu's routes and paths; other times, it also allowed us to neatly

reconstruct minor settings — situations, contexts that Bourdieu had found himself in or that had been brought about by his presence. Just by viewing the photographic material, without any well-founded sociological knowledge of Bourdieu's research interests during his time in Algeria, it was instructive for us to retrace and recognize how Bourdieu approached the object of his investigation as a photographer; how he communicated with the people of that country by using the camera and, above and beyond this aspect: the precision with which he approached things and situations, in the sense of complete photographic coverage of a situation. Often, Bourdieu would literally “circle” the objects of his research with his camera — without lapsing into a voyeuristic, exoticizing gaze. Quite the contrary: he would find the appropriate detachment, and as a result — or perhaps despite this fact — the photographs testify to Bourdieu's unconditional empathy with the circumstances and living conditions of the Algerian people. Our overall impression was that of an incorruptible, assiduous worker who wielded the tools at his disposal with great dedication, indeed passion, for the country and people: the camera served not only as a documentary device but also as a means of reflection and communication, a medium with which to connect to and establish relationship with the people in Algeria.

The exhibition and accompanying book present the historical, political, scientific, but also biographical context within which this documentation evolved. The aim was to read and understand the archive of photographs in the context of Bourdieu's studies. Taken together, these photographs and writings afford an insight into Pierre Bourdieu's efforts to carry out research in a situation of war; they demonstrate his reflexivity and his unconditional interest in gaining knowledge — no matter which tools he employed — ever guided by his affection for the people and his empathy with their circumstances and driven by a desire to understand and to render things understandable.

Q: This exhibition has been shown at 30 different locations, including Algiers. How was it received internationally and more specifically in Algeria?

FS: The launch of the exhibition at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Algiers attracted a considerable number of visitors. During the opening hours, we were able to conduct a series of interviews with visitors in the style of photographic elicitation. For some older people, the pictures brought back personal memories. They shared, “Yes, back then almost every family here, including my own, was affected in some way by these regroupings.” Among the younger people, mostly students who visited the library, we noticed again and

again that the testimonies presented, which depicted a dramatic historical reality, were largely unknown, and they told us that they had never seen any pictures of the *centres de regroupement*. It could therefore be said that Bourdieu's photographic sociology, which was brought back to Algeria, also touched on gaps in the collective memory of the Algerian population.

Q: Could you explain the process of transferring the archive to the Centre Pompidou?

FS: The photo archive later became the property of the *Fondation Pierre Bourdieu*, which was founded in Geneva in 2006 with the aim, among other things, of making Bourdieu's work as accessible to the public as possible while preserving it. After the exhibition and the accompanying book had traveled through many countries around the world for more than 20 years, the *Centre Pompidou's* interest in purchasing the archive provided an ideal end point with the opportunity to bring it back to Paris and make it permanently accessible to the public at an internationally renowned cultural institution, as well as for future research – whether scientific or artistic.

Q: You have been working with these photographs for more than 20 years. Could you please tell us how you think these pictures could be worked in different fields, mainly the sociological

and the artistic ones?

FS: Bourdieu's photographic archive presents in an exemplary way the long-neglected possibility of illustrating social science research using visual elements and demonstrating the heuristic gains that can be achieved through the use of photography as an instrument, method and means of knowledge in field research. At the same time, the archive offers those interested in Bourdieu's work the opportunity to understand Bourdieu's specific view of the social world “in action,” so to speak, to discover the close link between image and text in Bourdieu's research and to understand how his theoretical concepts, as he himself emphasized, are reflected in his photographic works.

For further information please visit: <https://camera-austria.at/en/photoarchive-pierre-bourdieu/>

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SOME COMMENTS REGARDING DEBATES ABOUT PIERRE BOURDIEU'S "THE KABYLE HOUSE"

Tassadit Yacine and Franck Poupeau

The "Kabyle house" was the subject of an initial investigation conducted by Pierre Bourdieu in Kabylia starting in 1958, after his military service, marking the young philosopher's entry into ethnology. The context in which this research was conducted is often misunderstood, leading to many misinterpretations. This research is based on materials collected during a pivotal period (1958-1964), first in a conflict situation, then at the end of the war, and finally during the early stages of independence. It draws on a wealth of ethnographic, sociological, historical, and statistical knowledge — not to mention many photographs.

Breaking with the primitivism prevalent at the University of Algiers in the 1950s, the description of the Kabyle house is rooted in a structuralist perspective¹ that engages binary systems of oppositions: the divisions of the house (*akham*), the bright and dark areas, the dry and humid zones, the spaces for humans and animals, for women and men, the inside and the outside, etc. Read and analyzed belatedly in France as a completed study, "The Kabyle House" is actually an evolving sketch aimed at highlighting the basic unit of society. To grasp the *modus operandi* of the group in preserving its integrity, Bourdieu cross-referenced the analytical categories of his time (mainly derived from structuralism) with indigenous classifications. His goal was to make visible the anthropological and sociological structures (economic rationality, symbolic and cultural dimensions, etc.) denied by the colonial system. In other words: to restore the native vision while subjecting it to critical distance. The house is both the smallest and most determinative segment on which the entire structure (social, economic, political, symbolic) is based. Thus, *akham* represents this foundation, this core (*ighs*) that underpins the social world, and it takes on this meaning because it is inscribed within a set of concentric circles evolving from the

¹ This description was published in 1970 in a tribute book to Claude Lévi-Strauss (Bourdieu, 1970), before being included in *Esquisse d'une*

théorie de la pratique (Bourdieu, 1972) and later in *Le Sens pratique* (Bourdieu, 1980).

smallest to the largest (*adrum, afrag, taxxerubt, taqbilt*, etc.) (Bourdieu, 1972). This same taxonomy refers to both the structures represented in space and the kinship structures.

Moreover, the study of the house is a work in progress that fits within an ambitious monograph project on the Ait Hichem (Bourdieu, 1972, p. 11), who belong to the At Yahia tribe. Ait Hichem is a famous location for Kabyle carpets situated in the high mountains; as early as 1882, a school was established there, and it had a weaving workshop set up by the “White Sisters” (Laoust Chantréaux, 1990). During the War of Independence, its population was not evacuated; the army took up residence there, replacing the former workshop with an administrative section. In 1958, despite the military presence, the village had retained its social integrity.² This monograph, though not an end in itself, was also intended to serve as a basis for a comparative analysis of other groups in Algeria (Djemaa n Saharidj or Aghbala): sedentary peasants in the lower mountains; semi-nomads from the Aurès and, further afield, city dwellers from the M'zab (Bourdieu, 2003). He was then concerned with studying structures on

an even larger scale: the Mediterranean countries.³

In the foreword to *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*, Bourdieu warns against a reading that would adhere to “the appearance of an undue autonomy of the symbolic order” because the analysis of the house is, according to him, “a fragment (to which, however, the homology between the house and the cosmos gives a central position) of an analysis of the structure of the mythico-ritual system.”⁴ Also in this foreword, he notes that these two early texts, “already old,” were carried out under extremely risky and particularly difficult conditions. To interpret them, it is therefore necessary to place them in the “complete system of objective relations” within which they take on their meaning. The best way to reveal the uniqueness of the study on the Kabyle house is to focus on constructing a model for understanding the relationships between symbolic structures and social structures: this “microcosm organized according to the same oppositions and homologies that order the entire universe — the house has a relationship of homology with the rest of the universe” (Bourdieu, 1972). For example, *Ikanun* is both the fire, the hearth,

² Archive drafts show the genealogies of the Ait Hichem, a sketch of the village with inhabited areas, the mosque, the fountain, and the cemetery where Bourdieu highlights the relationship to space.

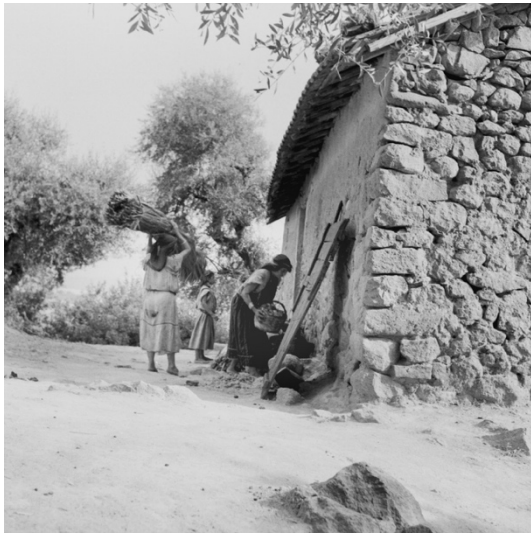
³ In 1958, Bourdieu and Germaine Tillion considered establishing a research center focused on the Mediterranean.

⁴ From this perspective, the house is comparable to the agrarian calendar “which reproduces in the transformed form of a coherent symbolic system the rhythms of the agricultural year” (work, plowing, sowing, harvests, etc.).

and the representation of the universe, and therefore destroying the hearth is to destroy the family, the house, and the cosmos.

Hence, one must have a non-anthropological reading to emphasize “the feeling of unreality” (Pouillon and Bensa, 2017, p. 155) that would emerge from the text, reducing it to a “professional exercise” when it is precisely the opposite: to reveal and make visible what was about to disappear imminently. This exercise, which would be part of the “identity toolkit of conventional ethnology,” would testify to a “nostalgic attachment to supposed intact worlds that many ethnologists of the time still cherished” (Pouillon and Bensa, 2017). This kind of critique was already formulated by Camille Lacoste-Dujardin in the 1970s: “It is precisely in the name of the dynamism of this same uprooting (research from the end of the war) that one can reproach the first two chapters of the book, *The Sense of Honor* and *The Kabyle House*, for appearing to sacrifice a now bygone past: the Kabyle society described by P. Bourdieu in these two texts is still that of a tradition that perhaps even dates back to the pre-colonial era” (1976). Silverstein's critique aims to be more contextualized, although he draws somewhat hasty conclusions from his second-hand readings (he has not been in the field and bases himself on a very limited number of testimonies from young Parisian immigrants disconnected from

the reality of their countries): “Bourdieu's presentation of the *akham* as a space of social reproduction constitutes an example of what Herzfeld called ‘structural nostalgia.’ (...) The nostalgia for the integrity of the house and the Kabyle village life was not simply a facet of Bourdieu's political critique or his own ethnographic bias but rather a direct emanation of the self-magnified presentation by his informants of a frozen image of an intact and forever lost past” (Silverstein, 2003).



From top left to bottom:

- Pierre Bourdieu, *Images d'Algérie*, 1957 - 1961. Archive No. N_092_808. © Fondation Pierre Bourdieu / Courtesy: Camera Austria, Graz, Austria.

- Pierre Bourdieu, Beni-Zmenzer (Kabylie), *Images d'Algérie*, 1957 - 1961. Archive No. R_105. © Fondation Pierre Bourdieu / Courtesy: Camera Austria, Graz, Austria.

- Pierre Bourdieu, Ain Aghbel (Collo), *Images d'Algérie*, 1957 - 1961. Archive No. N_088_786. © Fondation Pierre Bourdieu / Courtesy: Camera Austria, Graz, Austria.

- Pierre Bourdieu, Cheraia CdR, *Images d'Algérie*, 1957 - 1961. Archive No. N_025_735. © Fondation Pierre Bourdieu / Courtesy: Camera Austria, Graz, Austria.

- Pierre Bourdieu, Ain Aghbel (Collo), CdR, *Images d'Algérie*, 1957 - 1961. Archive No. N_082_705. © Fondation Pierre Bourdieu / Courtesy: Camera Austria, Graz, Austria.

Pouillon and Bensa also take up Paul Silverstein's thesis (2003) but de-historicize it even further: for example, by claiming that the Kabyle house no longer existed when Bourdieu was in Kabylia, which is a manifest falsehood, as evidenced not only by the photographs taken by Bourdieu in other villages but also by various field studies conducted well after Algeria's independence,⁵ traces of which can still be found for instance in Akfadou Bibans villages of Maritime Kabylia.⁶

The testimony of Jacques Budin, a young investigator close to Abdelmalek Sayad and Salah Bouhedja, provides further refutation: Bourdieu was taking photos on-site at the time when the population was being displaced from the mountains to the camp and was documenting the facts.⁷ The decisive transformation of a coherent peasant world structured into a fragmented and deconstructed "society"

(that of the camps) was not at all a nostalgic or "self-magnified" vision but expressed the reality of a world that was disappearing before the powerless gaze of the investigators:

"I found in Bourdieu's very beautiful book of Algerian photographs the ones he took in my presence. I witnessed something quite harsh but very interesting, which was a regrouping operation in Kerker. I saw with my own eyes (...) people who were in a small hamlet in the mountains dismantling the roof of their house, removing the tiles, taking everything down to go and settle in the Kerker regroupment camp where there were huts – it was quite terrible, and this was later described in *Uprooting* by Bourdieu and Sayad. I kept this memory of people who dismantled the roofs of their houses in the mountains – very pretty little houses with these *ikoufan* (earthen storage jars for food products) decorated

⁵ See for instance works of Michel Cornaton (1967), Ramon Basagagna and Abdelmalek Sayad (1973), Mohand Abbouda (1985) or Mohamed Dahmani (2022). Numerous theses and dissertations have been conducted on Kabyle houses in architecture and ethnology, some of which were defended at the University of Mouloud Mammeri in Tizi-Ouzou. Additionally, Kabyle associations are mobilizing to preserve the Kabyle houses still present in some villages.

⁶ For instance, Jebba in the *wilaya* of Bédjaia has been fully restored. In Abbès, At Wihdan, Boudjellil, At Sidi Braham, M'zita, Zemmoura, Guenzet, etc., the exterior architecture has been maintained. However, interior arrangements have begun to change only since the 1970s due to the decline in agriculture, the absence of animals, male emigration, and more generally, the predominance of the urban model over the rural

one, which had already been initiated in the regrouping camps.

⁷ It was by observing these roofless houses and their jars, violently destroyed by the army – jars that contained all the Kabyle and Mediterranean memory – that Bourdieu declared becoming aware, beyond the visible structures, of the importance of rituals and the entire unconscious dimension, in fact an *habitus* that is passed down from generation to generation without the intervention of agents (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 10). According to some specialists (Moreau, 1976), Kabyle craftsmanship has preserved the major symbols of antiquity. Bourdieu, aware of this relationship, had also frequented Père Devulder, a White Father and ethnologist, who lived in the Ouadhias tribe for practical knowledge of the symbols painted on the walls by women.

with snakes inside. Sayad explained to me all these symbols.” (Budin, 2022)

The dehistoricized critique of Bourdieu's Algerian studies is problematic because it offers a biased perception of the situation. It is not only false (Kabyle houses had not disappeared by the late 1950s, and they can still be found even up until the 1990s), but it also tends to obscure the specifically political rupture that these studies operated in a historical context that the sociologist had incorporated from the beginning of his work.⁸

The study of the Kabyle house was therefore not carried out based on indirect testimonies by displaced people in relocation camps, ignoring the real situation of the populations, as has been claimed.⁹

It is therefore risky to suggest that the study was conducted after the fact, meaning after the displacement when it

was actually carried out simultaneously in a village that had not been emptied of its population. It remained “standing” long after independence, just like Aghbala,¹⁰ where Bourdieu verified information¹¹ and in the group of Ouadhias, as evidenced by the numerous photographs of richly decorated interiors.¹² The field studies that allowed Bourdieu to write the articles “The Kabyle House” (1979 [1972]) and “The Sense of Honour” (1979 [1972]) even preceded those that led to *Travail et travailleurs en Algérie* (1963) and *Uprooting* (2020 [1964]). The first set of studies was of personal interest to Bourdieu, while the second was part of collective work from a public field study requiring administrative authorization. The chronology and events related to the political situation are crucial here: understanding the former allows one to make sense of the latter.

⁸ See the numerous texts on sociology in the context of colonial war (Bourdieu, 2008; Bourdieu, 2022).

⁹ Entire villages remained intact because, in these cases, it was the army that moved among the population. Bourdieu and Sayad themselves distinguished the “regrouped” from the “confined” – the latter having retained their houses. The “confined” were allowed to work in the fields under military surveillance, which was a considerable favor (Yacine, 2022).

¹⁰ The village of Sayad, where Bourdieu stayed. Sayad's house still exists and is regularly visited by students from the University of Bédjaia.

¹¹ In Ait Hichem, Bourdieu focused more on the external structures of the houses. In Aghbala, in Lower Kabylie, his attention was on the interior of the house and its symbolic dimension, which

he refers to as structural homologies. As mentioned previously, Père Devulver provided him with insights into the meanings of the symbols carved on the walls.

¹² In 1958, four years before independence, the establishment of camps was not yet widespread throughout Kabylie; it was implemented gradually. Initially, villages suspected of collaborating with the *maquisards* were grouped together. Furthermore, these camps were kept secret until 1959, and access was prohibited without administrative authorization, as Michel Rocard details (2003 [1959]). Due to his incorporation into the General Government during his service, Pierre Bourdieu was acquainted with the military practices within the country.

In reality, if Bourdieu focused on describing the “inherited” old house, the archetypal and ancestral model, it was not at all out of nostalgia but because he was witnessing a “programmed pathological change” (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964) carried out by the army, whose goal at the time was to “uproot” the peasants from their own land and erase the memory of everything that characterized the pre-colonial world. Thus, the establishment of a new form of habitation is not synonymous with progress¹³ but with social regression and, more precisely, repression imposed by the political situation. It is evident that understanding the mode of living “after” (that of the soldier, which is considered modern and comfortable)¹⁴ can only be intelligible in opposition to that of “before” (that of the peasant rooted in a collective cultural habitus). This is precisely where the bias in this controversy lies: the absence of field experience leads to imposing supposed universal theories on a specific subject at a very singular moment in its history.

In reality, it is the interpretation of “indigenous” divisions that is raised, in the sense that Bourdieu incorporates in his interpretation categories and systems of oppositions still heavily

influenced by a certain scholastic point of view: “In French colonial sociology as in contemporary anthropological theory, the Kabyle house (or *akham*) constitutes the touchstone where Algerian cultural distance (exteriority) meets the particular relations of domestic distinction (interiority)” (Silverstein, 2003). His analysis was also an epistemological rupture: it was necessary to break free from scientific stagnation, perceived as a political position by the academic world of the University of Algiers.

It is this analysis of a “unified symbolic order” that Bourdieu would later contest: because he himself found his first “structuralist” analysis of the house somewhat “naive” and because he realized that the constitutive practices of the *akham* should be considered within strategies of reproduction that do not merely obey the rules of this symbolic order. This critique of structuralism, which led him to move “from rule to strategies” (Bourdieu, 1987) was conducted during the study of matrimonial exchanges in Kabylia but also in Béarn.

¹³ Military propaganda aimed to present the camps as places of “well-being” where the population would be protected from the National Liberation Army and would experience social progress (care, schooling) with access to “modernity”.

¹⁴ Produced by military propaganda, the regrouping camps are, for some, concentration camps. Jean-Marie Robert, a fervent Gaullist and deputy in Akbou, reported very interesting testimonies about the reality of the camps (2022). See also Fabien Sacriste (2022).

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THE TRANSLATIONS OF PIERRE BOURDIEU'S BOOKS ON ALGERIA

Matthias Fringant and J essica Ronconi

As the literature on the transnational circulation of ideas suggests (Bourdieu, 2002; Casanova, 1999; Sapiro, Leperlier, and Brahim, 2018; Vauchez, 2013), a text's ability to cross national boundaries and reach other intellectual fields depends on many factors. A key factor is its capacity to be translated, which in turn is conditioned by the nature of the text, the linguistic and cultural power of its original language, and the history and position of its discipline within both the original and receiving fields, to name a few elements. This text examines the translations of Pierre Bourdieu's books on Algeria and aims to analyze their international reach.

Pierre Bourdieu began his first sociological works on Algerian society during his stay in the country from 1956 to 1961. Though this body of studies was used throughout the sociologist's career, it specifically led to four distinct books dedicated to Algeria.¹ *Sociologie de l'Alg erie*, a study on the history and social composition of Algeria, was first published in 1958. *Travail et travailleurs en Alg erie*, a collective book published in 1963, is based on statistical material examining the effects of the introduction of capitalism on economic and temporal practices. *Le D eracinement*, co-written with Abdelmalek Sayad and published in 1964, further develops the previous line of reasoning by empirically analyzing the effects of the displacement of rural populations during the war. Lastly, *Alg erie 60*, published in 1977, is quite different from the rest of this body of work as it is a version of *Travail et travailleurs en Alg erie* stripped of both its empirical and methodological material.

This text aims to describe the existing translations of these books, originally written in French, into other languages, analyzing this process as a particular case study of the transnational circulation of ideas.

¹ It could be argued that at least *Esquisse d'une th eorie de la pratique*, *Le Sens pratique*, *La Domination masculine*, *Images d'Alg erie* and *Esquisses Alg eriennes* should be included in this

body of work. But as these books have been written later in time and sometimes have a scope exceeding Algerian society, we excluded them from the study.

The Translations of Pierre Bourdieu's Books on Algeria

Table 1 provides an overview of the translations of Pierre Bourdieu's books on Algeria.

Publications in French (original and new editions)	Translations (in chronological order)
<p>Bourdieu, P. (1958) <i>Sociologie de l'Algérie</i>, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, "Que sais-je ?"</p> <p>New editions in 1961, 1963, 1970, 8th edition in 2008, "Quadrige" in 2010.</p>	<p>English: Bourdieu, P. (1962) <i>The Algerians</i>, Boston: Beacon Press (translator Alan Ross, preface by Raymond Aron)</p> <p>Spanish (Spain): Bourdieu, P. (2006) <i>Sociología de Argelia y Tres estudios de etnología cabilia</i>, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, Boletín Oficial del Estado (translator Dolores Beltrán de Felipe)</p>
<p>Bourdieu, P., Darbel, A., Rivet, J.-P., Seibel C. (1963) <i>Travail et travailleurs en Algérie</i>, Paris-La Haye: Mouton</p> <p>Abbreviated edition in 1977; new edition in 2021.</p>	
<p>Bourdieu, P., Sayad, A. (1964) <i>Le Déracinement. La crise de l'agriculture traditionnelle en Algérie</i>, Paris: Minuit, "Grands documents"</p> <p>New edition in 1996.</p>	<p>Spanish (Spain): Bourdieu, P., Sayad A. (1965) <i>Argelia entra en la historia</i>, Barcelona: Editorial Nova Terra (translator Ángel Abad)</p> <p>Spanish (Argentina): Bourdieu, P., Sayad A. (2017) <i>El Desarraigo. La violencia del capitalismo en una sociedad rural</i>, Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editore (translator Angel Abad)</p> <p>English: Bourdieu, P., Sayad, A. (2020) <i>Uprooting: The Crisis of Traditional Agriculture in Algeria</i>, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press (translator Susan Emanuel)</p>

	<p>Italian: Bourdieu, P., Sayad A. (2022) <i>Lo Sradicamento. La crisi dell'agricoltura tradizionale in Algeria</i>, Pisa: Edizioni ETS (translator Sonia Paone)</p>
<p>Bourdieu, P. (1977) <i>Algérie 60. Structures économiques et structures temporelles</i>, Paris: Minuit, “Grands documents”</p>	<p>English: Bourdieu, P. (1979) <i>Algeria 1960 : The disenchantment of the world, The sense of honour, The Kabyle house or the world reversed</i>, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press (translator Richard Nice)</p> <p>Portuguese (Brazil): Bourdieu, P. (1979) <i>O Desencantamento do Mundo. Estruturas Econômicas e Estruturas Temporais</i>, São Paulo: Perspectiva (translator Silvia Mazza). New edition in 2021.</p> <p>Japanese: Bourdieu, P. (1993), Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten (translator Tetsu Harayama)</p> <p>Korean: Bourdieu, P. (1995), Seoul: Dongmoosun Publishing Co (translator Jong Chul-Choi)</p> <p>German: Bourdieu, P. (2000) <i>Die zwei Gesichter der Arbeit. Interdependenzen von Zeit – und Wirtschaftsstrukturen am Beispiel einer Ethnologie der algerischen Übergangsgesellschaft</i>, Konstanz: UVK (translator Franz Schultheis)</p> <p>Spanish (Spain): Bourdieu, P. (2006) <i>Algeria 60. Estructuras economicas y estructuras temporales</i>, Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores (translator Ariel Dillon)</p>

Table 1: The Translation of Pierre Bourdieu's Books on Algeria. Source: Delsaut and Rivière (2022) completed by further research.

Pierre Bourdieu's books on Algeria, written in the late 1950s and early 1960s, were rarely translated after their original publication. Only *Sociologie de l'Algérie* was translated into English in 1962, and *Le Déracinement* into Spanish in 1965. In contrast, *Algérie 60*, was translated into English and Portuguese just two years after its first publication in 1977. In the 1990s, this book experienced a new phase of circulation as it was translated into Japanese and Korean, and later into German and Spanish, making it the most widely translated of Bourdieu's books on Algeria. Recently, Bourdieu's empirical works have entered another phase of translation, with *Sociologie de l'Algérie* being translated into Spanish in 2006 and *Le Déracinement* into English and Italian in 2020 and 2022, respectively.

A Theoretical and Globally Selective Translation Process

The short description of these translations lends itself to several interpretations that align with findings from other studies on the transnational circulation of ideas, particularly on Bourdieu's work (Sapiro and Bustamante, 2009). The circulation of this body of work primarily occurred through *Algérie 60*, which is the most abstract of Bourdieu's works on Algeria. This book, stripped of its empirical and methodological material from *Travail and Travailleurs en Algérie* – never translated to a foreign language to date –

underscores a key trend: the likelihood of a text's international circulation is closely linked to its content. Theoretical works tend to circulate more readily because their translation can more easily transcend the boundaries of their original object, language, and disciplinary context. In contrast, empirical studies, which require an understanding of local and regional contexts, face greater challenges in translation and dissemination (Casanova, 1999, p. 64; Sapiro, Leperlier and Brahimi, 2018, pp. 10-11).

When examining the most widely translated of Bourdieu's books on Algeria, *Algérie 60. Structures économiques et structures temporelles*, an interesting pattern emerges in title and subtitle adaptations. The original title includes an empirical reference to Algeria and an abstract subtitle, "Economic structures and temporal structures." The Spanish translation preserves the original formulation, whereas the English version maintains the empirical aspect of the title but adds "Kabyle house" to the subtitle, reinforcing the field of work, likely due to American empirical traditions in social sciences (Merkel, 2022; Pollak, 1975). The Brazilian translation takes a different approach by omitting the reference to Algeria and adopting the theoretical title "Disenchantment of the World," while keeping the abstract subtitle. The German version minimizes the empirical

element in the title but incorporates it into the subtitle, referring to the “Ethnology of the Algerian Transitional Society.” One can observe that these variations in translation are closely related to the disciplinary fields of sociology and social sciences in the respective countries of reception.

The choice to emphasize the empirical or theoretical aspects of Bourdieu’s work is also evident in the covers of his first book on Algeria, both the original and the English versions, as illustrated in Figures 1 and 2:

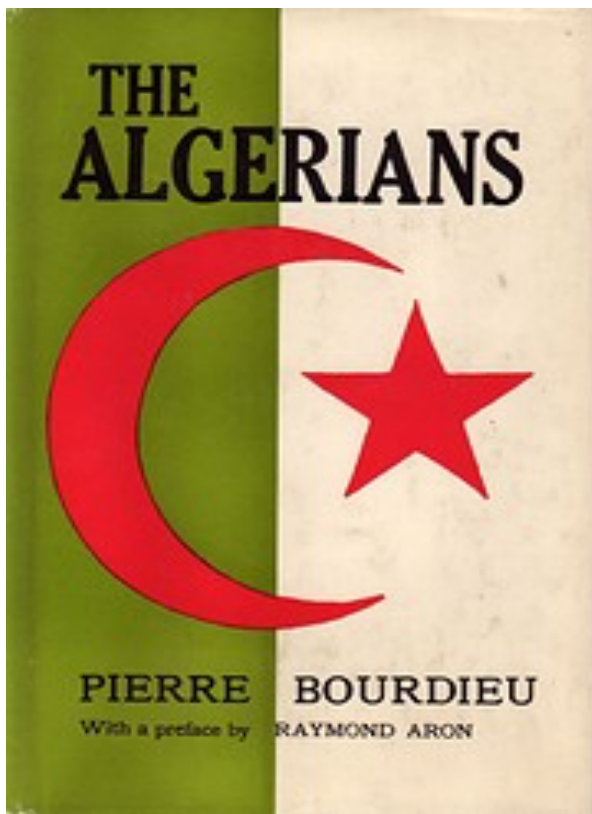


Figure 1: Cover of *The Algerians* (1962). We can see the Algerian flag by the colors, green and white, and the red star and crescent at the moment when the country gained its independence.

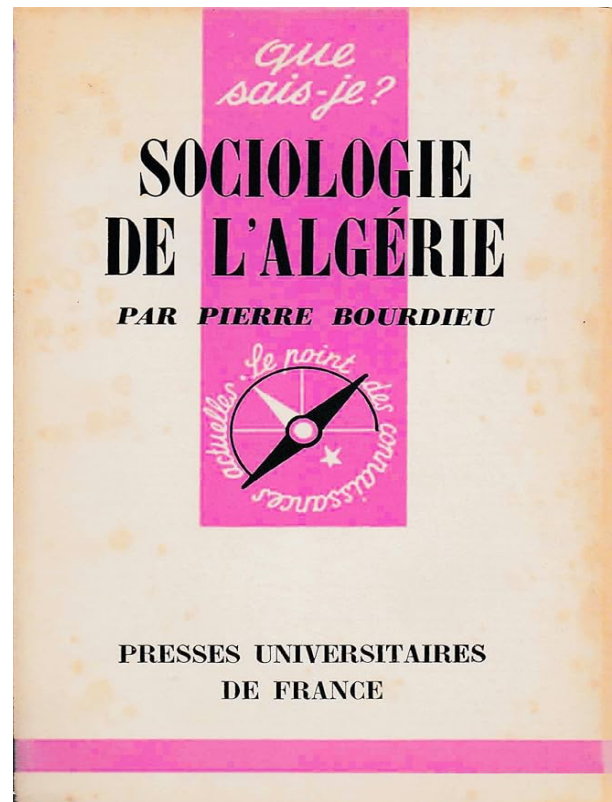


Figure 2: Cover of the first edition of *Sociologie de l'Algérie* (1958), which follows the design of the “Que sais-je?” series.

Furthermore, focusing on the languages these works have been translated into highlights the centrality of English and Spanish. These are the only languages into which most of Bourdieu’s translated books have been rendered, while none of these books – albeit dedicated to Algeria – have been translated into Arabic or Tamazight, the two official languages of Algeria.

The acceleration of these translations in the 1990s, when Bourdieu started to be recognized as a social theorist in English-speaking parts of the world, such as the United Kingdom and North America, the importance of the abstract

book, *Algérie 60*, and the centrality of the English language lead us to interpret this process as a theoretically focused and geographically limited one.

This short analysis of the translation process of Pierre Bourdieu's books on Algeria tends to confirm known results on the circulation of ideas, such as the easier dissemination of theoretical works compared to empirical studies, but it also underscores that these circulations occur within power dynamics, as evidenced by the dominant role of the English language and the selection of titles aligning with the social sciences fields in the receiving countries. However, these preliminary remarks shouldn't prevent other works from refining them. Further research, including archival work or interviews, could provide a more nuanced understanding of these dynamics.

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SECTIONS



Pierre Bourdieu, Images d'Algérie, 1957 – 1961. Archive No. N_124_1.
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Recent books



Pierre Bourdieu, Blida, Images d'Algérie, 1957 – 1961. Archive No. N_050_250_P
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BOURDIEU FOR ALL TASTES

Garcia Jr., A., Garcia-Parpet, M., Pérez, A., Poupeau, F. and Rocha, M. (eds.) (2023) *Bourdieu et les Amériques. Une internationale scientifique : genèse, pratiques et programmes de recherche*. Aubervilliers : Éditions de l'IHEAL.

Carolina Pulici

The study day held at the *Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine* in 2019 resulted in a collective work that brings together seventeen varied contributions (research articles, testimonials, interviews) to explore the transatlantic circulation of Pierre Bourdieu's ideas and his exchanges with researchers across the American continent. It aims to shed light on the social, intellectual, and political conditions that facilitated these cooperations by examining the roles played by mediators, universities, funding agencies, and publishing houses on both sides of the Atlantic.

The book shows, among other things, the diverse ways in which Bourdieu's work was integrated into the social sciences

across different American countries. For example, while Brazil's reception of Bourdieu anticipated his international recognition, *La Distinction* (1979) was not published there until 2007, even though the global impact of this book would eventually unify the reception of his work on the continent, which had previously been fragmented across fields such as anthropology, education, and culture. In Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil, *Le métier de sociologue* (1968) was the key reference during the 1970s and 1980s, as its epistemological contributions became vital in Chile after the dictatorial period (1973-1990). In Bolivia, in contrast, Bourdieu's political interventions in the 1990s attracted more attention, with the political rather than scientific impact being predominant throughout the Andes. Interestingly, in Argentina, he was considered "too Weberian" and "not Marxist enough," whereas in the USA and Canada, he was often presented as a "neo-Marxist."

The chapters also highlight the unequal influence of Bourdieu's work across North and South America. In Brazil, the discovery of his work in the 1970s and 1980s significantly reoriented research directions, albeit initially within peripheral universities. In contrast, there was no comparable "Bourdieuian turn" in English-speaking Canada, where his work remained only marginally referenced in scientific articles even by the mid-2000s.

Asymmetries between the various countries participating in this “scientific international” are another focal point of the book. The dominant position of the United States as a “scientific fortress to be conquered” is evidenced by Bourdieu's visits there and the publication of nine American authors (out of 59) in the *Le sens commun* collection. In contrast, despite his extensive and warm exchanges with Argentina and Brazil, Bourdieu never visited these countries and invited only one South American scholar — Argentine linguist Luis Jorge Prieto — to publish in the prestigious collection he directed at *Éditions de Minuit*.

Some contributors argue that Bourdieu was more focused on exporting his work rather than fostering a dynamic of shared knowledge production. However, others assert that mediators on the American continent benefited from this import, which became a subject of contention within the field of national social sciences, with the transfer of symbolic capital from Bourdieu, who was increasingly devoted to the international stage, to those who translated, selected and presented his work.

The study of the transnational networks forged by Bourdieu and the researchers at the *Centre de Sociologie Européenne* is also rich in debate on the conditions necessary for the generalization of sociological issues and the universalization of research programs. Thus, *Bourdieu et*

les Amériques goes beyond analyzing the formation of a “scientific international” around Bourdieu and his team; it also provokes broader reflections on the internationalization of the social sciences and, by the same token, the social conditions underpinning the circulation of scientific ideas in the contemporary era.

RECENT BOOKS' LIST

Inspired by/About Pierre Bourdieu's Work

2022

- Buchholz, L. (2022) *The Global Rules of Art: The Emergence and Divisions of a Cultural World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Da Mota Rocha, M. É. (2022) *Bourdieu à brasileira [Brazilian Bourdieu]*. Rio de Janeiro: Confraria do Vento.
- Gayon, V. (2022) *Épistémocratie. Enquête sur le gouvernement international du capitalisme [Epistemocracy. Investigating the International Government of Capitalism]*. Paris: Raisons d'Agir.
- Pérez, A. (2022) *Combattre en sociologues. Pierre Bourdieu et Abdelmalek Sayad dans une guerre de libération (Algérie, 1958 – 1964)*. Marseille: Agone.
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2023

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Editions/Translations of Pierre Bourdieu's Work

2022

- Bourdieu, P. (2022) *L'intérêt au désintéressement. Cours au Collège de France 1987-1989* [The Interest in Disinterestedness: Lectures at the College de France 1987-1989]. Paris: Seuil/Raisons d'Agir. Edited by Duval, J.
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- Bourdieu, P. (2022) *Principles of Vision: General Sociology, Volume 4: Lectures at the Collège de France 1984 – 85*. Cambridge: Polity. Translated to English by Collier, P.

2023

- Bourdieu, P. (2023) *Impérialismes. Circulation internationale des idées et luttes pour l'universel* [Imperialisms. International Circulation of Ideas and Struggles for the Universal]. Paris: Raisons d'Agir. Edited by Poupeau, F. and Sapiro, G.
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Events



Pierre Bourdieu, Images d'Algérie, 1957 – 1961. Archive No. N_106_385.
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1. WORKSHOP ON THE SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES (SHSHS)

International Doctoral Workshop at the University of Graz, November 16-17, 2023

Martin Strauss

Socio-historical studies of the social and human sciences are increasingly becoming a distinct field of research. Today, we find specialized journals, editorial collections, thematic networks within national and international professional associations, collective research projects, etc. However, maintaining a dialogue between the different disciplines and national traditions involved remains a challenge. In this context, the international workshop “Workshop on the Sociology and History of the Social and Human Sciences (SHSHS)” held at the University of Graz on November 16-17, 2023 aimed to create a forum for open exchange among young international researchers

from various disciplines. The goal was to contribute to the creation of an interdisciplinary and international community of individuals working in the field of the sociology and the history of the social and human sciences. In cooperation with the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS) Paris and with the participation of the research councils on history of sociology of the Austrian Sociological Association (ÖGS) and the German Sociological Association (DGS), as well as the Archives for the History of Sociology in Austria (AGSÖ) and the Society for Sociology at the University of Graz (GSU), a varied program was offered. This included seventeen contributions from participants of eleven different nationalities. During the plenary session, sociologist Gisèle Sapiro (EHESS/CNRS) – a co-organizer on the EHESS side – presented a study on the interaction between national and international professional associations in sociology. Other contributions covered a range of disciplines and national and international contexts, addressing topics such as boundary work and group formation, forms of marginality, international circulation, and the current scope of socio-historical studies of the social and human sciences. To be continued.

2. THE RELEVANCE OF *LA MISÈRE DU MONDE* THIRTY YEARS LATER

University of Pisa, April 17, 2024

Officina Bourdieu's Seminar Group

On April 17, to mark the 30th anniversary of the publication of *La Misère du monde*, the Italian Bourdieu Research Group organized a dedicated seminar at the University of Pisa. The event, held at the Department of Political Sciences, aimed to explore the relevance and significance of this seminal collective work edited by Pierre Bourdieu, from multiple perspectives. Three distinguished scholars were invited to participate

Rita Bichi from the Università di Milano – Cattolica discussed Bourdieu's methodology, drawing a comparison between the article "L'illusion biographique" and the final chapter of *La Misère du monde*, titled "Comprendre". According to Bichi, in his earlier work, Bourdieu rejected the *récits de vie* approach, emphasizing

the challenges of reconstructing the evolving dynamics of the field solely through personal life stories. However, Bichi also pointed out that in the later methodological essay, Bourdieu advocates for a more flexible approach, suggesting a reevaluation of interviews as a means to comprehend individuals' social and personal worlds. The essence of this approach, she argued, lies in extracting key elements from interviewees' words, rooted in their social context, which helps in better understanding their contingent agency. Thus, the informant's discursive status gains legitimacy through the interview process, fostering researchers' reflexivity and mitigating symbolic violence, all while respecting the interviewee.

Bichi's presentation was followed by Mirella Giannini's from the Università di Napoli – Federico II. Giannini embraced the idea of bridging the gap between micro and macro dimensions through Bourdieu's methodology. She further argued that this approach also necessitates overcoming the divide between research activities and political engagement. While Bourdieu maintained a critical distance from political activism as a sociological duty, he adjusted his position in response to the emerging neoliberal order of the early 1990s. Giannini highlighted how the authors of *La Misère du monde* examined, first, the manifestations of precariousness among interviewees, whose struggles differ

based on their habitus and local positions. Second, they revealed the uncertain and often miserable lives of individuals who cope with inequalities through self-blame and a denial of aspirations, often unaware of the structural roots of their precarity within neoliberalism.

Finally, Antonello Petrillo from the Università di Napoli – Suor Orsola Benincasa, who edited the Italian translation of Bourdieu's volume, offered insights into the book's contents and its editorial legacy, reflecting on the conditions of contemporary research. He stated that confronting and challenging misery, now standardized under neoliberalism, is essential for social researchers, particularly within the increasingly weakened public university and social spheres. Additionally, by moving away from axiological neutrality toward a more interactive relationship with interviewees, the sociological practice put forth by Bourdieu rejects fixed, "epistemocratic" solutions. Petrillo argued that sociology, as the art of questioning the social world in collaboration with interviewees, aligns with a bottom-up practice that transforms personal troubles into public issues. This principle embodies Bourdieu's intellectual legacy: research as the practice of breaking with fate, connecting the individual to broader history, and offering new prospects

based on a deep understanding of lived realities.

Following these discussions, *The Lab's Quarterly* will host a symposium to present these reflections and further contributions, building upon the valuable insights of Pierre Bourdieu, and encouraging new theoretical and methodological debates and research directions.

3. THINKING WITH BOURDIEU TODAY: INTERDISCIPLINARY AND TRANSNATIONAL APPROACHES

NYU, April 25-27, 2024

Paola Boué and Ohad Zeltzer-Zubida

The goal of this conference, hosted at NYU, was to extend Bourdieu's research program by bridging the humanities and the social sciences, exploring new applications of his concepts and theory. More specifically, the aim was to propose ways of linking intellectual history and field theory by focusing not only on the relationships between fields but also considering a comparative and transnational approach.

The first day, chaired by Camille Robcis, served as an introduction to the various upcoming panels. Drawing on the key concepts of Bourdieu's theory, Gisèle Sapiro, in her keynote, highlighted how each of them is valuable for contributing to the development of interdisciplinary studies. For instance, Sapiro considers symbolic violence as one of the most

relevant concepts to connect humanities and social sciences, as symbolic power reveals itself in linguistic exchanges, thus fostering ordinary discrimination.

The second day of the conference began with a panel titled "Literary Theory and Bourdieusian Critical Approaches", chaired by Emily Apter. John Guillory leveraged a reading of *The Great Gatsby* to discuss social capital, its relation with other forms of capital, and processes of capital conversion. Sylvaine Guyot synthesized textual and meta-textual analyses of the French literary field in the shadow of Bourdieu; mapping the dynamic influence of his ideas on the literary generation dubbed "The Children of Bourdieu". Morgane Cadieu presented arguments from her most recent book: *On Both Sides of the Tracks*. Centering on literary depictions of *class travel*, Cadieu argued that upwards social mobility can be understood as a distinct literary form in contemporary French novels and autobiographies. Tristan Leperlier provided a quantitative analysis of the Algerian literary field, its translation and its reception in the United States, highlighting the role of translators in the process of literary circulation and shedding light on the particularities of plurilingual fields and what they can teach us about transnationality.

The second panel of the day, chaired by Frédéric Viguier, raised the question of the (in)flexibility of habitus in the context

of individual mobilities. While Muriel Darmon took up the question of habitus flexibility generally, addressing the socio-genesis of dispositions and processes of continuous socialization, each of the three other panelists focused on a particular social category. Emmanuel Beaubatie reflected on movements across the social space of gender; Chantal Jaquet pushed us to move beyond the notion of *class defection* and introduced the conceptual potential of *transclass*; Mustafa Emirbayer focused on the possible transformations of racial habitus throughout the life-course.

Stefanos Geroulanos chaired the third and final panel of the day, which sought to bridge the gaps between historical sociology and intellectual history. Johan Heilbron did so by proposing a field approach to intellectual history, posing the distinctly sociological method as key to this endeavor. Stephanie Mudge, taking up this program, provided a transnational historical analysis of political consultancy as commodified democracy, dealing head on with the consequences of her findings for the concept of embeddedness. Last, Gil Eyal presented findings on trust methods among long Covid patients, framing trust as skilled action and discussing the implications for medical and scientific expertise.

The first panel of the second and final day, chaired by Gisèle Sapiro, addressed

the subject of transnational fields and comparative approaches. While Rodney Benson presented the implications of the multiplicity of heteronomy for the generation of public service news in a moment of civic crisis, Larissa Buchholz shared insights from the global field of visual arts by re-theorizing the geographic dimensions of multi-scalar global fields. The panel concluded with Jason Ferguson's methodological push from social space to fields in a multi-scalar global sociology.

The concluding panel of the conference, chaired by Thomas Dodman, took up the issue of postcolonialism and fields. George Steinmetz presented work on the history of post/de-colonial sociology, and Bourdieu's part in it, while discussing his conceptualization of the colonial state as a social field. Madeline Bedecarré introduced the sociological turn in postcolonial literary studies, while emphasizing the case of Francophone African literature and circuits of reception in the transnational literary field. Finally, j. Siguru Wahutu discussed African journalists, arguing that they form a transnational field, extending Bourdieu's theories into media studies and offering a novel case study.

4. INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL AND THE RECONFIGURATION OF EDUCATIONAL HIERARCHIES

SEC, Uppsala University – CESSP, Paris 1, June 13-14, 2024

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What picture can we draw of the current state of internationalization in education? Once viewed as an inevitable consequence of globalization, the internationalization of educational institutions and study paths may now be challenged by factors such as the COVID-19 pandemic and rising geopolitical tensions. International capital has often been described as the privilege of the elite, but is that still the case? Has competition for international resources broadened, or are they still primarily available to dominant classes? Can we speak of a generalization or, on the contrary, a decline in internationa-

lization processes within educational institutions?

This conference brings these issues into focus by using the concept of international capital and comparing the cases of Sweden and France. We analyze how internationalization contributes more broadly to the reproduction of social and educational inequalities. This conference explores the production, accumulation, and returns of international capital across educational pathways and institutions. We delve into not just the unequal distribution of this capital (and potential elite monopolization) but also the varying value placed on different international skills, practices, and identities. Key questions include: which international experiences translate most effectively into capital? How is international capital built? What strategies do individuals employ to accumulate it, and under what conditions are these strategies successful?

International experience may play a greater role as competition for educational opportunities increases. New educational policies, such as France's "Parcoursup" system, emphasize individual "educational projects" and encourage the early accumulation of cultural and linguistic capital, often through extracurricular activities. This trend coincides with the internationalization of higher education, fueling a market of private institutions offering internships, study abroad programs, and language

training, including English immersion programs even at the daycare level. This conference critically examines how these internationalized strategies function within a context of reinforcing educational inequalities.

Investigating the production of international capital requires nuanced analysis. Beyond the classic examples, there is a need to examine how borders and context influence the value of international skills. Global inequalities make certain languages and knowledge more advantageous than others. This conference moves beyond the typical focus on the English language and embraces the academic value of other languages or skills. Additionally, the potential downsides of internationalization strategies should be considered by examining cases in which international experience is a secondary or disappointing choice. Ultimately, we illuminate how international capital shapes power relations and their intersections. For example, it is interesting to explore the gendered effects of international capital beyond the classic example of the devaluation of women's careers in expatriation. Similarly, the concept of race can shed light on how these boundaries are constructed, offering new ways to define and understand the limitations of international capital.

This conference delves into key research areas currently explored by participants,

including the interplay between internationalization and secondary and higher education, socialization and educational strategies, institutionalization and transformations of social and educational hierarchies, and the mobility and accumulation of international symbolic resources.

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