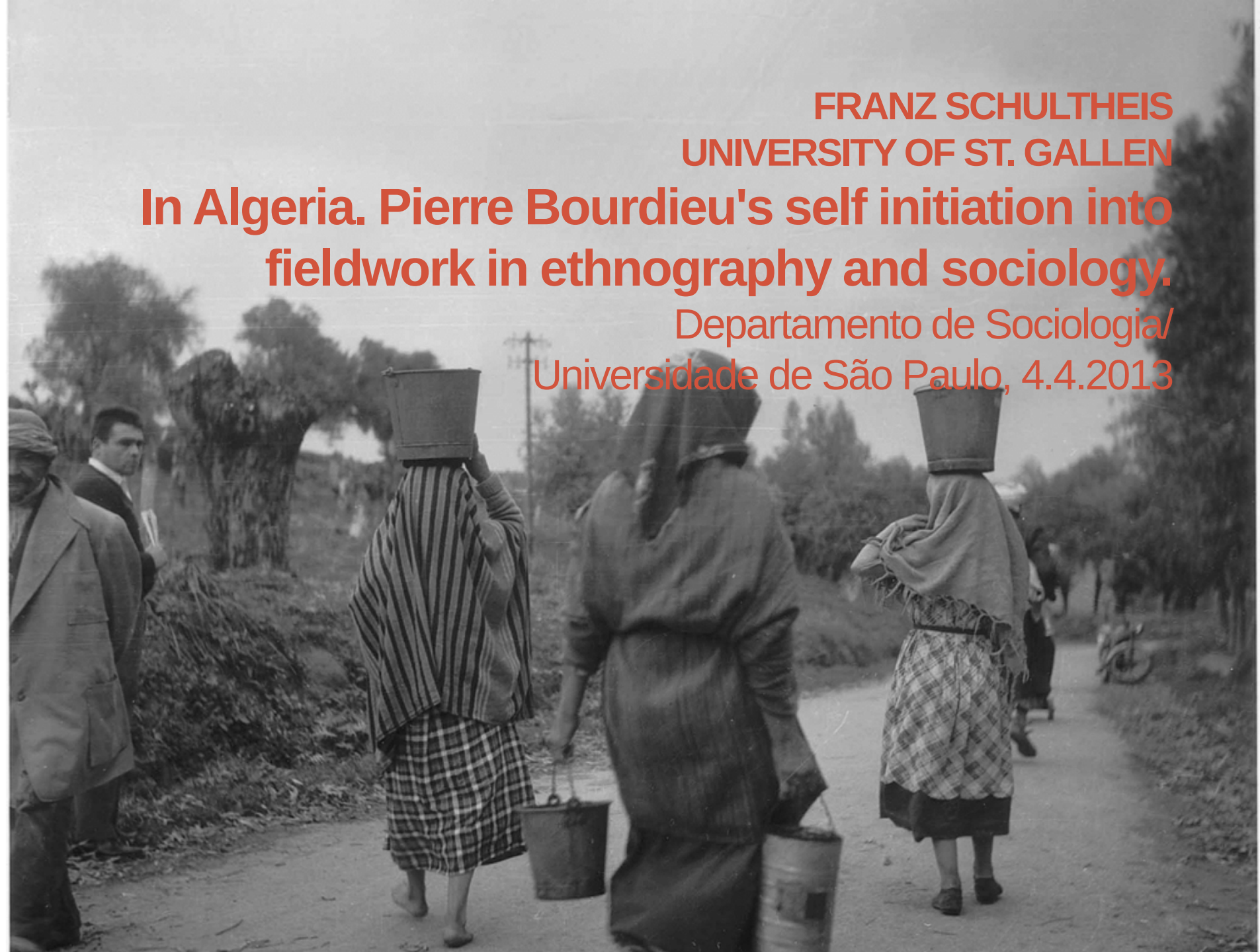


FRANZ SCHULTHEIS
UNIVERSITY OF ST. GALLEN

In Algeria. Pierre Bourdieu's self initiation into fieldwork in ethnography and sociology.

Departamento de Sociologia/
Universidade de São Paulo, 4.4.2013



The Algerian Experience

- „During my years in Algeria I could accumulate a capital of sociological questions that nourished my work during the rest of my life....“
 - P. Bourdieu

„Could we say your specific way of looking on the social world was already largely present at your beginnings in Algeria

„Yes you can,
absolutely!“

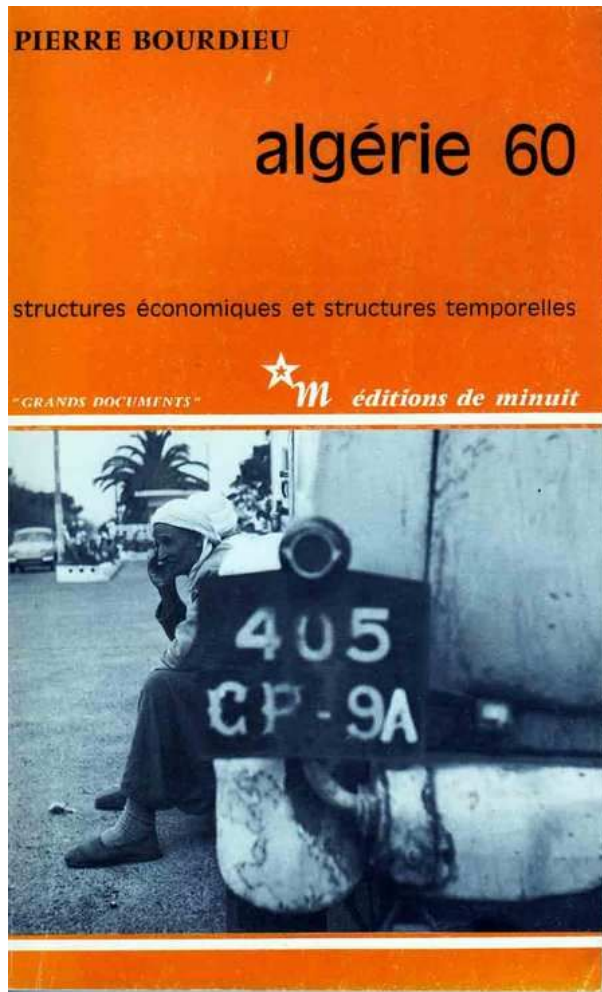
Recurrence and reflexivity: Bourdieu's circular thinking and its visual supports: the example of „male domination“



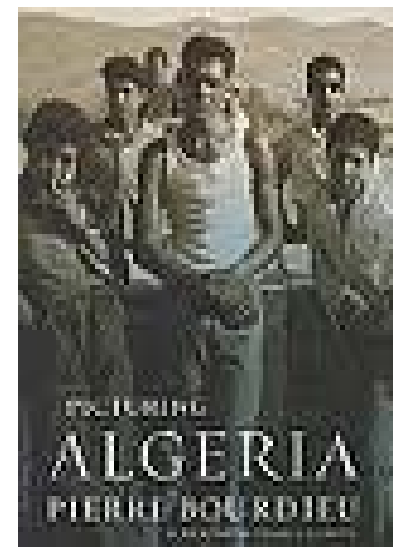
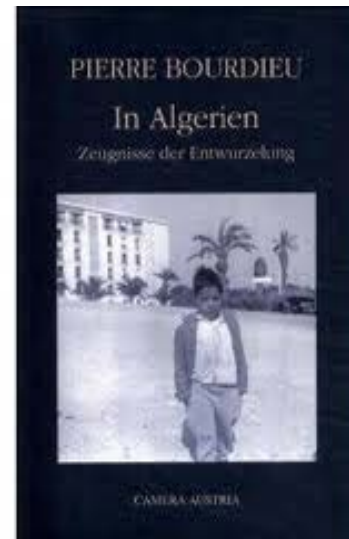
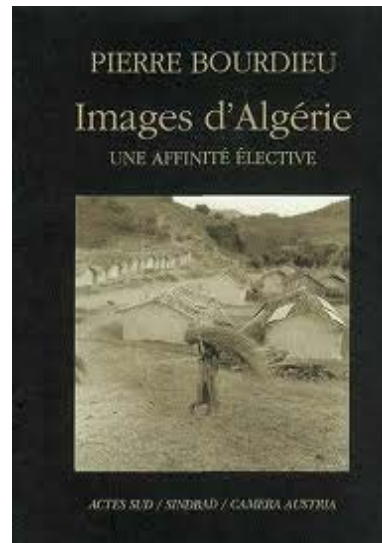
Conversions

- From phenomenology of time structures of the affective life (Husserl tradition)
to sociology of time structures of economic life

Reconstructing Pierre Bourdieu's conversion from philosophy to sociology: 1999-2001



- Preparing the German edition of Bourdieu's „Algérie 60“
- Several interviews with Pierre Bourdieu on his Algerian experiences
- Preparing the German (original) edition of Bourdieu's “Sketch of a self analysis”
- Discovering the photographic archive of P.B. in Algeria



Why and how the journey to Algeria could play that sort of key-role in Bourdieu's life and oeuvre?

Algeria was for Bourdieu a kind of „giant sociological laboratory“ inviting him to a permanent self-training in field work and theoretical work, transforming , as he told, metaphysical into empirical founded scientific problems

Bourdieu' s beginnings:

1954: degree in philosophy from the prestigious Parisian *École Normale Supérieure*

1955 – 1956: college-teacher in a small French town

1955 : drafted for military services and sent to Algeria as simple soldier

1955-1956: position of a second-class clerk in one of the offices

1956: investigations on Algerian history, society and culture

1957: resignation from the military

1957: post as assistant in philosophy at the University of Algier.

1958: publication of *Sociologie de l'Algérie*

1958-1960: empirical studies together with statisticians and demographers from the *Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques* (INSEE)

1958-1960: fieldwork in militarily surveilled *centres de regroupement* concerning the phenomenon of uprooting of 2.000.000 Algerians

Trajectoire d'un corps, mouvement d'une pensée. Bourdieu en Algérie

- En Algérie
- En France
- Publications

Octobre 1955

Arrivée en tant que militaire dans la vallée de la rivière Chélif

Mars 1956

Déménagement à Alger auprès du service de documentation et information du Gouvernement général

Automne 1957

Fin du service militaire et début des cours à l'Université de Alger

1958 - 1959

Déroulement de la plupart de l'enquête sur les centres urbains

1958

Sociologie de l'Algérie

1959

Début de l'enquête sur les centres de regroupement

1959

La logique interne de la civilisation algérienne traditionnelle ; Le choc des civilisations

Fin 1959

B. quitte l'Algérie

Début 1960

Assistant de Aron à la Sorbonne et co-directeur du Centre de Sociologie Européenne

Juin-Septembre 1960

En Algérie pour poursuivre l'enquête sur les centres de regroupement

1960

Guerre et mutation sociale en Algérie

1961

Deuxième édition de *Sociologie de l'Algérie ; Révolution dans la Révolution*



D. Ingiusto, M. Pino et A. Rapini, 2012

Été 1961

1962

Bourdieu' s early writings on Algeria:

Sociologie de l'Algérie (Sociology of Algeria, 1961)

Travail et travailleurs en Algérie (Labour and Labourers in Algeria, 1963)

Le Déracinement, la crise de l'agriculture traditionnelle en Algérie (Loss of Roots: Crisis of Traditional Agriculture in Algeria, 1964)

Algérie 60, structures économiques et structures temporelles (Algeria 60: Economic and Temporal Structures, 1977)

Algeria as a giant sociological laboratory, full of historical contradictions and cultural lags (I):



- A country full of profound contradictions and tensions
- A pre-capitalist system (pre-market logic) and its „anti-economist ethics of economy“ have to face the brutal enforcement of capitalist, profoundly foreign, economic principles.

Algeria as a giant sociological laboratory, full of historical contradictions and cultural lags (II):



- A traditional society and a pre-modern habitus meet with a new mode of economic commerce and logic of action that is inconsistent with all social rules that have been valid for generations (“ethics of brotherly love“, reciprocity of gifts ...).

Algeria as a giant sociological laboratory, full of historical contradictions and cultural lags (III):

- This kind of brutal economic change meant that
”... there is no longer any such thing as ‘dishonour’, no longer a fear of abandoning the land or selling it to strangers, no longer a feeling of shame at abandoning a father or a mother in poverty. Now there is no hesitation before taking up any expedient, any ruse, in order to live ... There is no longer any obstacle to the individualism that is part and parcel of the modern economy: within large groupings, or large masses of isolated individuals, each is protected by his or her anonymity. Each feels responsible for himself or herself, but for himself or herself alone.”

(Pierre Bourdieu and Abdelmalek Sayad, *Le Déracinement*, 1964: 86)

Algeria as a giant sociological laboratory, full of historical contradictions and cultural lags (IV):



- A country concerned by a rapid decline of traditional agricultural production methods
- And by economic precarisation and social uprooting as fate of wide sections of the population
- The emergence of a new sub-proletariat
- And forms of social suffering accompanying this state of social uprooting and anomie

A lot of Key-concepts of Bourdieu's theory of the social world have been developed in an empirically based way during fieldwork in Algeria

for ex: habitus, social reproduction, family strategies of reproduction, capital of honour (symbolic capital)

Self training in sociology: the passage from observation to sociological objectification

,.... I jumped into the water, as it is for children, thrown into the water, they learn to swim ... Okay, but what I did not know was exactly what I was making exactly of the credit analysis, or the analysis of the gift, for example the analysis of the gift is something that I found early, the temporal structure of the gift, all these good things, I knew I was doing something, but, you know, the same method that I used, I would not have been able to develop and in particular the role of the particular case‘

(Pierre Bourdieu in conversation with Franz Schultheis, Paris 2001)

Strategies and instruments of research: methodological expeditions in the field (I)

Observation, description,
analysis and theoretical
framing of social realities
like ...

- social representations of work
- sexual division of labour
- body techniques (hexis)



Methodological expeditions in the field (II)

- elementary forms of exchange (the ethics of gift exchange and reciprocity)
- structures of time in agrarian society
- rituals of sociability
- vestimentary codes



Methodological expeditions in the field (III)

- family strategies of social reproduction
- structures of kinship and genealogical order
- social inequalities in housing
- household and time budget analysis



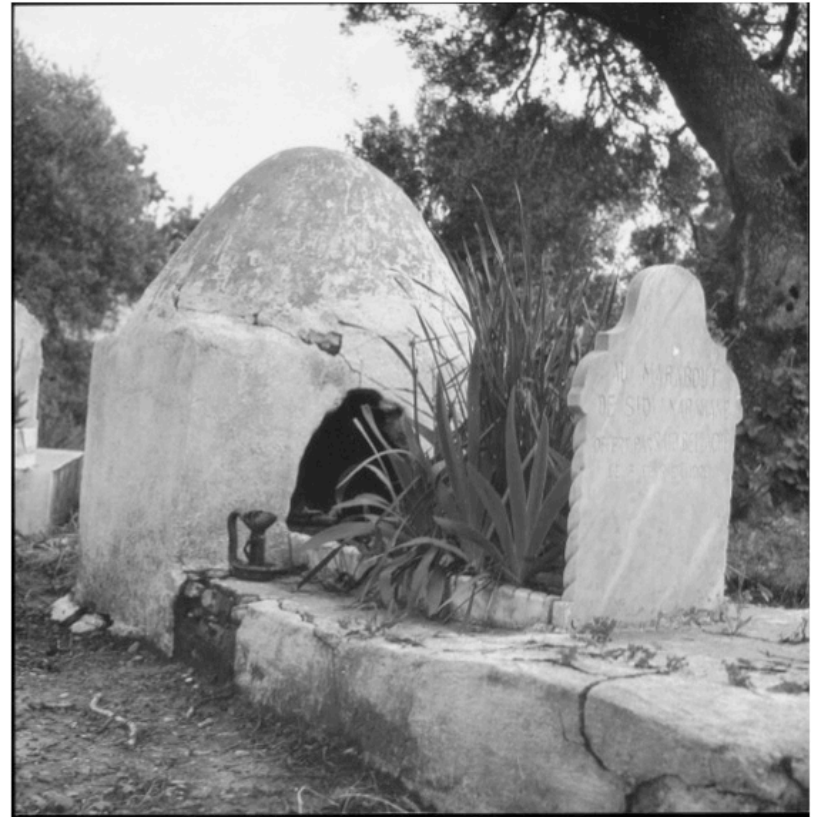
Methodological expeditions in the field (IV)

- socio-analysis based on oral testimonies
- photographic visualization of social structures
- qualitative interviews
- surveys on consumption and life style and statistical analysis



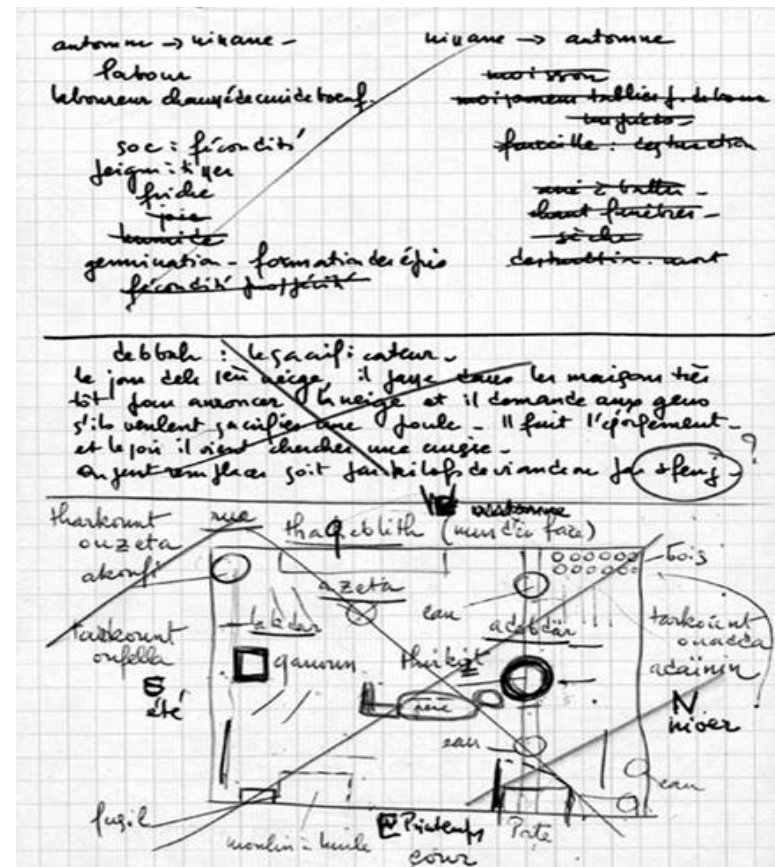
Methodological expeditions in the field (V)

- oral history, popular poetics and beliefs
- structures of social space (public places, cemeteries etc.)
- codes of honour and the logic of symbolic capital



Methodological expeditions in the field (VI)

- relationships between religion and economic ethics
- architecture as a mirror of cosmological order
- visualization of social structures (drawings)



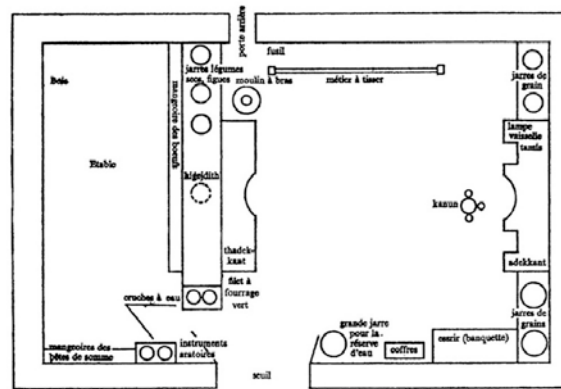
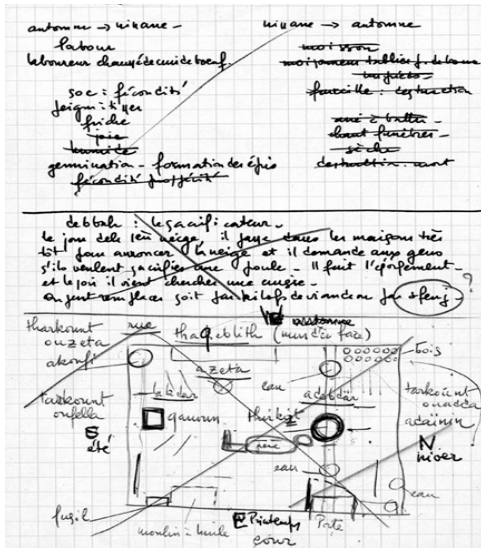
Seeing structures: The example of „The Kabyle House“ (I)



Seeing structures: The Kabyle House and the rehabilitation of the denied „Algerian culture“ (II)



SEEING STRUCTURES: THE KABYLE HOUSE (II)



Travaux masculins - travaux féminins

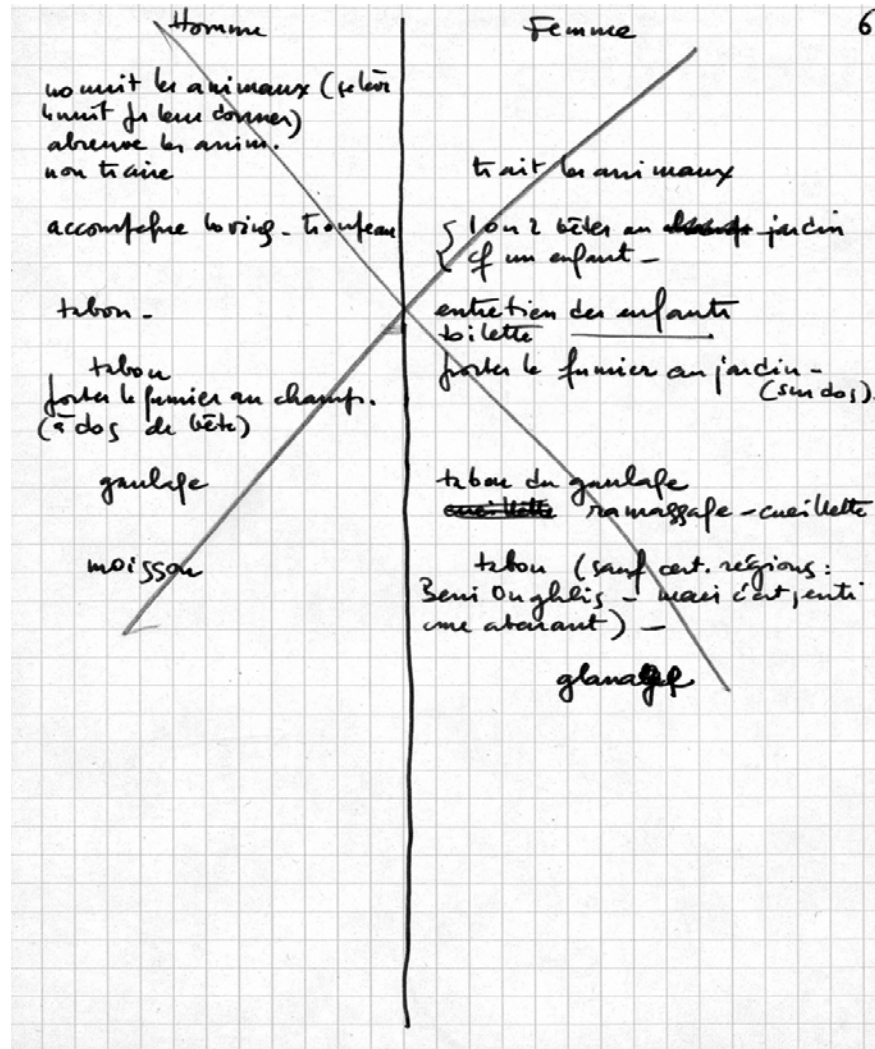
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garçon se définit par opposition à "garçon des filles" -
 combattif - "Mokanda des mâles" - "mâles g'émanas" (Pili de la guerre)
 frères et sœurs ne jouent pas ensemble - jeux entre
 garçons et entre filles.
 jeux : dans des maisons des clans entre villages -
 on joue le jeu du conflit entre villages. Parfois gens
 indiens jouaient encore -

Travaux masculins - travaux féminins	
Hommes	Femmes
intérieur	extérieur
feu de veillée (st veillée entre h.) café (reduction luxé des hommes) sort le café - coupe le bois, débrite le bois - (s'il n'y a pas jam, c'est fini il est une) tabou du balais - h. fait cuire (antich. d'h. seul faisait) C'est l'h. qui connaît robe de sa f. - Mnt cond par drogue linge - directives de l'h.	cuisine feu de cuisine ramasser du bois - de couper les brindilles - balayage - f. balai l'air - l'arbre - veille par repas -

aiguille = masculin

Travaux masculins - travaux féminins

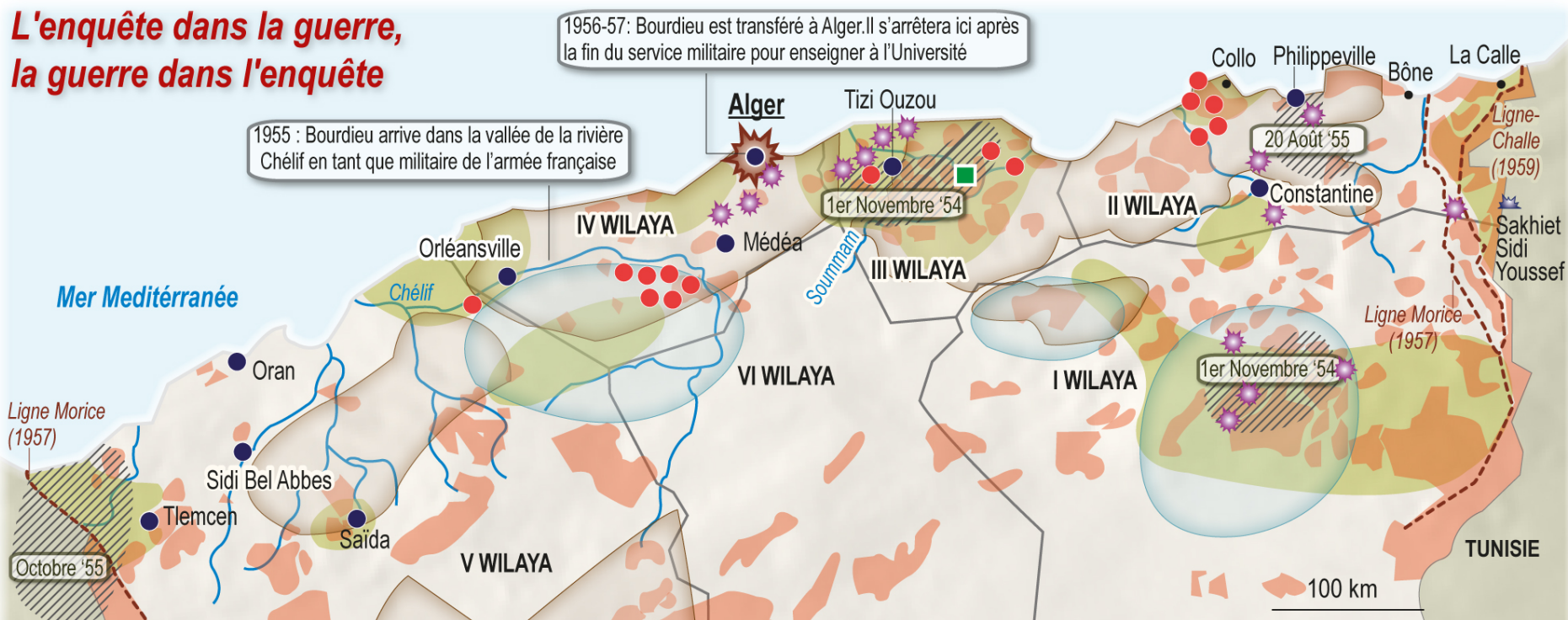


Seeing structures: colonial violence and the „centres de regroupement“ (I)



„For example, there is another series of photos, that are not particularly aesthetic, that I took in a place called Aïn Aghbel and in another place called Kerkera. ...

L'enquête dans la guerre, la guerre dans l'enquête



Les lieux de l'enquête de Bourdieu (1958-63)

- Centre urbain
- Centre de regroupement

Les événements principaux de la guerre d'indépendance algérienne

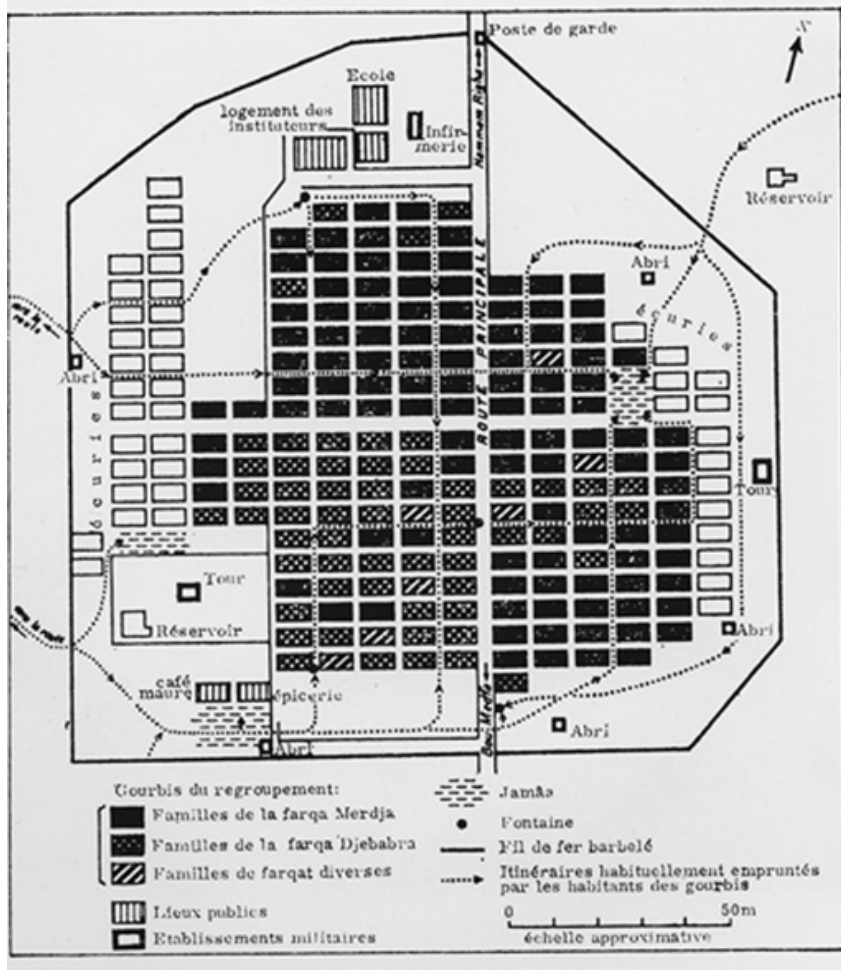
L'offensive algérienne

- 1er Novembre '54 Date de l'éclatement de l'insurrection
- Les attaques principales du 1er novembre 1954
- Les foyers principaux de l'insurrection du FLN et de l'ALN (1954-1955)
- Congrès de la Soummam (1956)
- Limites approximatives des wilayas : zones militaires du FLN
- Bataille d'Alger (1957)
- Zones de majeure activité du FLN

La contre-offensive française

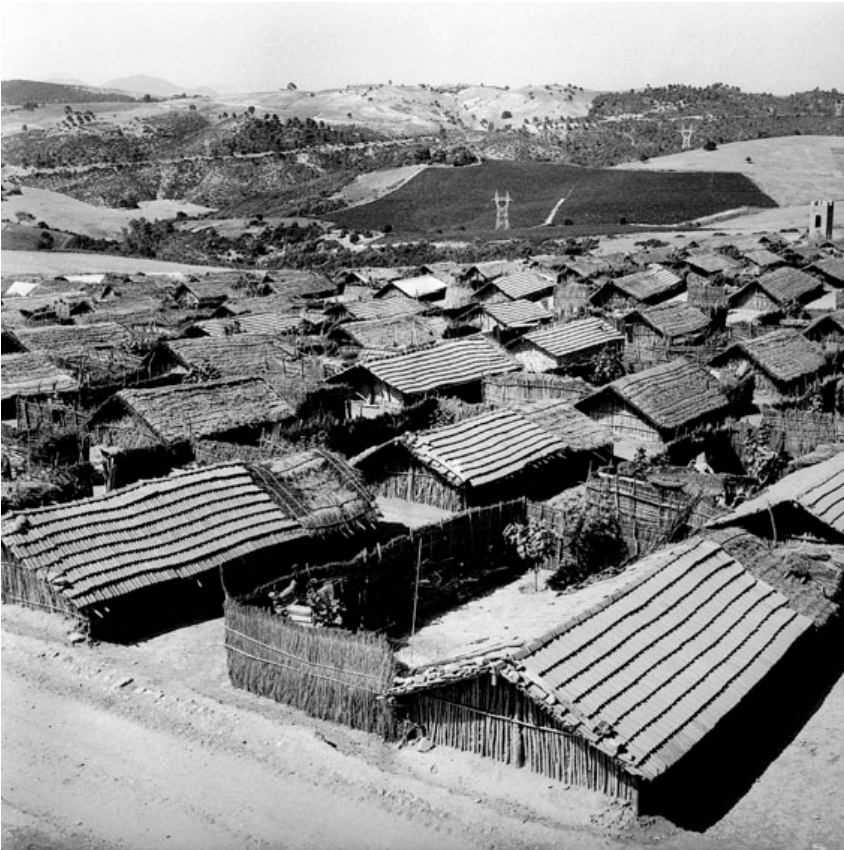
- Lignes fortifiées
- Bombardements de Sakhiet Sidi Youssef (Tunisie) en réponse aux attaques du FLN (1958)
- Opérations militaires débutées en 1959
- Zones interdites instituées par l'armée française (situation au 1er juillet 1959)
- Opérations militaires débutées en 1960

Seeing structures: centres de regroupement (II)



... The military had herded people together who had previously been living scattered around the mountains and resettled them in a kind of terraced houses styled on a Roman *castrum*. ...

Seeing structures: centres de regroupement (III)



... Against the advice of my friends, I had set out into the mountains on foot to look at the destroyed villages, and I found houses that had had their roof taken off to force people to leave. (...)

Seeing structures: photography as memory aid and as testimony



... And although the situation was so sad, I was happy to be able to take photographs – it was all so contradictory. I was only able to take photos of these houses and immovables because they had no roofs any more ...”

(Pierre Bourdieu in conversation with Franz Schultheis, Paris 2001)

The postcolonial configuration: traces and testimonies, 45 years later (I)



Djebabra 1961, 2006: inertia of a non-place

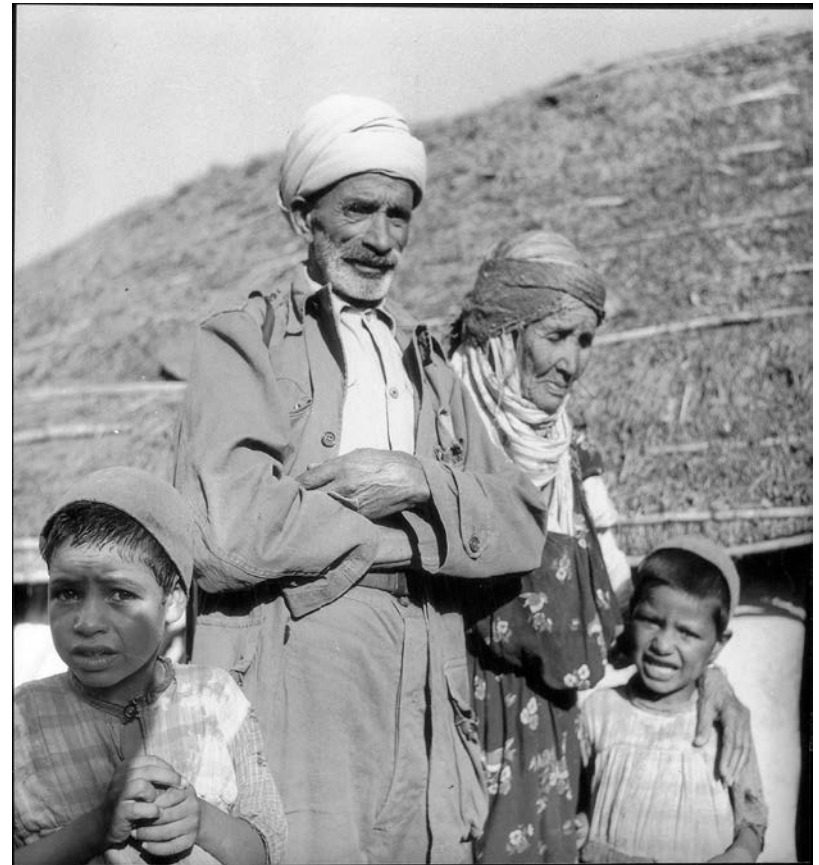
The postcolonial configuration: traces and testimonies, 45 years later (II)



Djebabra 2006, 1961

The postcolonial configuration: traces and testimonies, 45 years later (III)

- Children of a family from Djebabra, photographed by Bourdieu in 1961; relocated in Djebabra in 2006



Photography in fieldwork: Pierre Bourdieu talking about the conversion of his look on social world, the others and himself

“Photography, that I first began doing in Algeria and then in Béarn, definitely contributed a great deal to this conversion of my perspective that required a genuine change of my senses – which is no exaggeration. Photography, you see, is a manifestation of the distance of the observer, who collects his data and is always aware that he is collecting data (...), but at the same time photography also assumes the complete proximity of the familiar, of attention, and a sensitivity with regard to even the least perceptible of details, details that the observer can only understand and interpret thanks to his familiarity (and do we not say that someone who behaves well, is ‘attentive’?), a sensitivity for the infinitely small detail of an act that even the most attentive of ethnologists generally fails to notice. But photography is equally interwoven with the relationship that I have had to my subject at any particular time, and not for a moment did I forget that my subject is people, human beings whom I have encountered from a perspective that – at the risk of sounding ridiculous – I would refer to as caring, often touched.”

Photography as a way of looking

“I took this thing very seriously, I started notebooks, sticking the negatives in them, and I had shoeboxes that I sorted the film material into ... But I had a problem: should I keep all the film material? I tended to keep a lot because the material had two functions: a documentary function on the one hand. Sometimes I would take photos for the simple reason of being able to remember something, later to be able to describe it, or I would photograph objects that I couldn't take with me. But there was something else, too: photography was – how can I put it – a way of looking.”

(Pierre Bourdieu in conversation with Franz Schultheis, Paris 2001)

Photography as a way of testifying and reflecting on the conditions found



„There are a number of photos that I took in the Collo region, in a pretty dramatic situation. I was in the hands of people who had the power over life or death – my life, but also the lives of the people who were with me. It is a series of pictures of people sitting, discussing and drinking coffee under a big olive tree. In this case, taking photos was a way of saying to them, ‘I’m interested in you, I’m on your side, I’ll listen to you, I’ll testify to what you’re going through’.”

(Pierre Bourdieu in conversation with Franz Schultheis, Paris 2001)

Photography as a way of objectifying a 'devastating reality'

“The conditions were dramatic, but not as dramatic as was often claimed. And I was there and I saw it all, and it was all so complicated and went far beyond my means! When they told me things, it would sometimes take me two or three days to understand it all, complicated names of places or tribes, numbers of lost cattle, and other lost commodities, and I was totally overcome by it all; in this respect any help was good, and photography was really a way of trying to come to terms with the shock of this devastating reality.”

(Pierre Bourdieu in conversation with Franz Schultheis, Paris 2001)

Photography as a way of portraying conditions and circumstances

“There is a photo that is very typical of this that I used for the cover of ‘Travail et travailleurs en Algérie’. It’s a picture of farm workers on the Mitidja plain nearby Algiers. They are working in line, spraying sulphate that is being pumped through a hose linking them to a machine transporting the sulphate. Five or six of them are moving forward, perhaps more. The picture is a very good portrayal of the circumstances of these people and, at the same time, you see the industrialisation of farm work on these big colonial farms that, compared to the French farming industry, were very advanced. I spoke briefly with some of these people, who earned a pittance as farm workers and who worked their own little plot of land on the edge of the big estates ...”

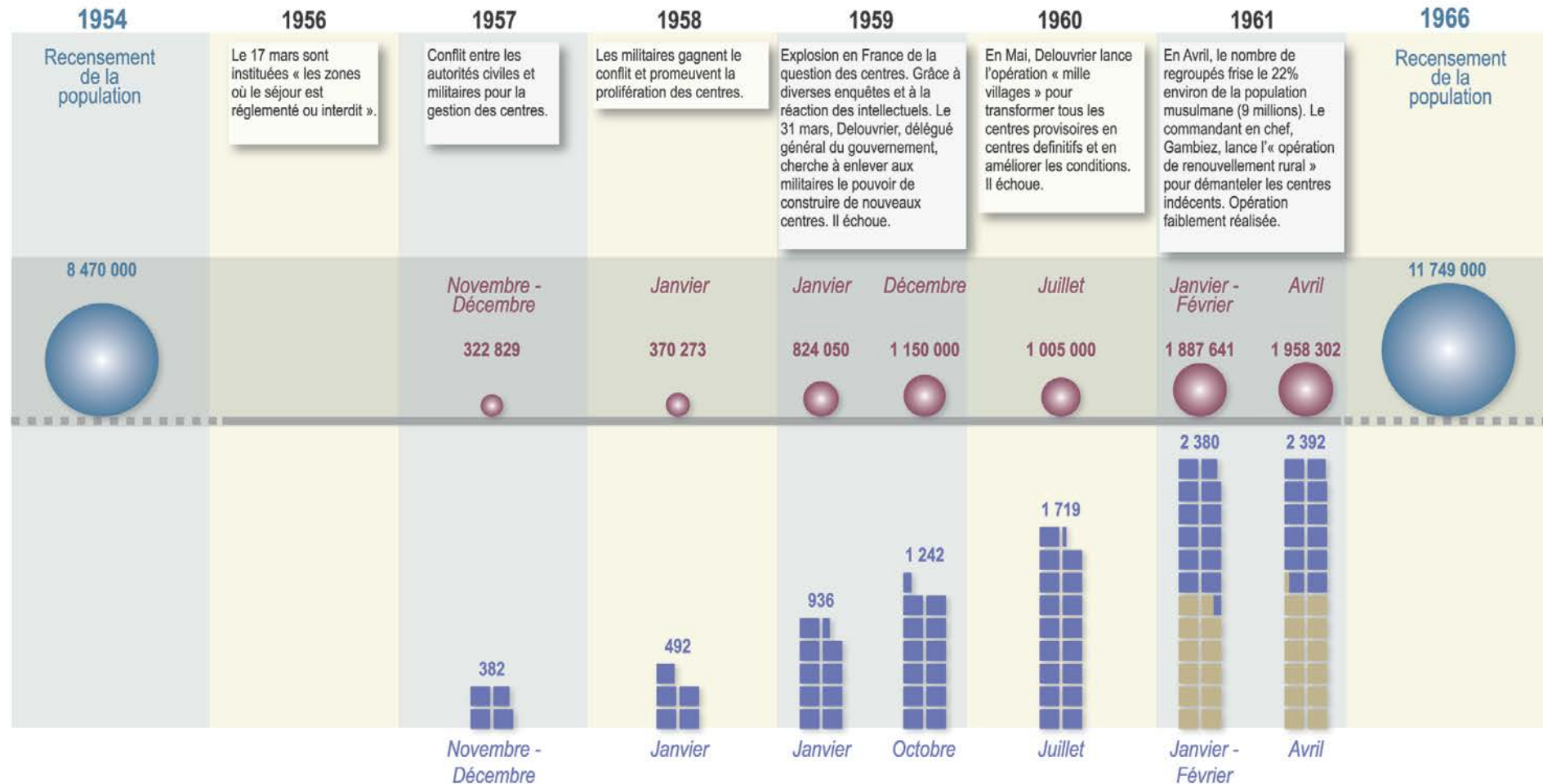
(Pierre Bourdieu in conversation with Franz Schultheis, Paris 2001)

Photography as a way of organizing recurrence and reflexivity

“The photos, that you can look at again and again at leisure, like sound recordings that you can listen to again and again (not to mention videos), allow you to discover details that escaped you at first glance or that you cannot examine at depth during an interview for reasons of discretion (during the studies for "The Weight of the World", for example, the furnishings of the metalworker of Longwy or of his Algerian neighbour).”

(Pierre Bourdieu in conversation with Franz Schultheis, Paris 2001)

Les centres de regroupement en Algérie : quantité, population et évolution



Centres de regroupement

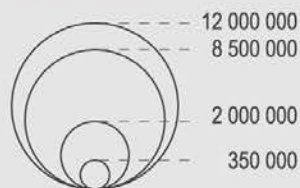
■ Totalité des centres

 Nouveaux villages

 = 100 centres

100 Nombre de centres

Population des centres de regroupement



Population « musulmane » dans les centres de regroupement

 Total de la population « musulmane »

Sources : C.-R. Ageron, *Une dimension de la guerre d'Algérie : les « regroupements » de populations*, in J.-C. Jeauffret, M. Vaisse (dir), *Militaires et Guérilla dans la guerre d'Algérie*, Complexe, Bruxelles, 2001, pp. 359-361 ; M. Cornaton, *Les camps de regroupement de la guerre d'Algérie*, L'Harmattan, Paris-Montréal, 1998 ; X. Yacono, *Les pertes algériennes de 1954 à 1962*, « Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée », n°34, 1982, pp. 119-134.

M. Pino, D. Ingiusto et al. / Rapini, 2012

Die postkoloniale Konfiguration und die Dauerhaftigkeit der Entwurzelung



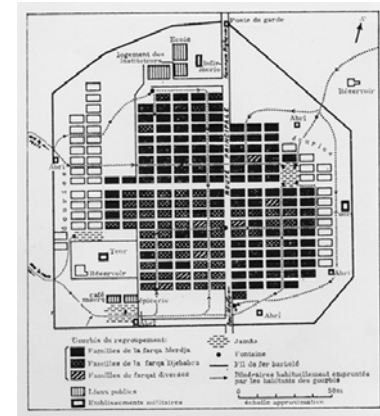
- Djebabra 1961 - 2006:
Beharrungskraft eines Nicht-Ortes

Djebabra 1961 - 2006



«et alors c'est d'un réalisme, oui le déracinement c'est un tout complètement contre intuitif, ces camps de regroupement, moi j'ai dit, les gens resteront dans les camps et quand même je risquais... voyez ! Hein, alors que ces types vous disaient « on est malheureux, on peut repartir, on repartira à tout prix, s'il n'y a rien », c'est le désert, c'est la friche, bon moi je disais, ils resteront à 90 %, et bon, qu'est-ce qui est arrivé, les villages anciens sont devenus des trucs de villégiature où ils vont pour le week-end, sous les figuiers, ils rêvent un peu.... »

Strukturelle Gewalt und oktroyierte Ordnung



- « ...il faut étudier toutes les conséquences quoi, et alors bon, par exemple on bouleverse les structures spatiales, qu'est-ce qui va en résulter ? Alors je suivais les gens dans les villages transformés et je décrivais les itinéraires... »