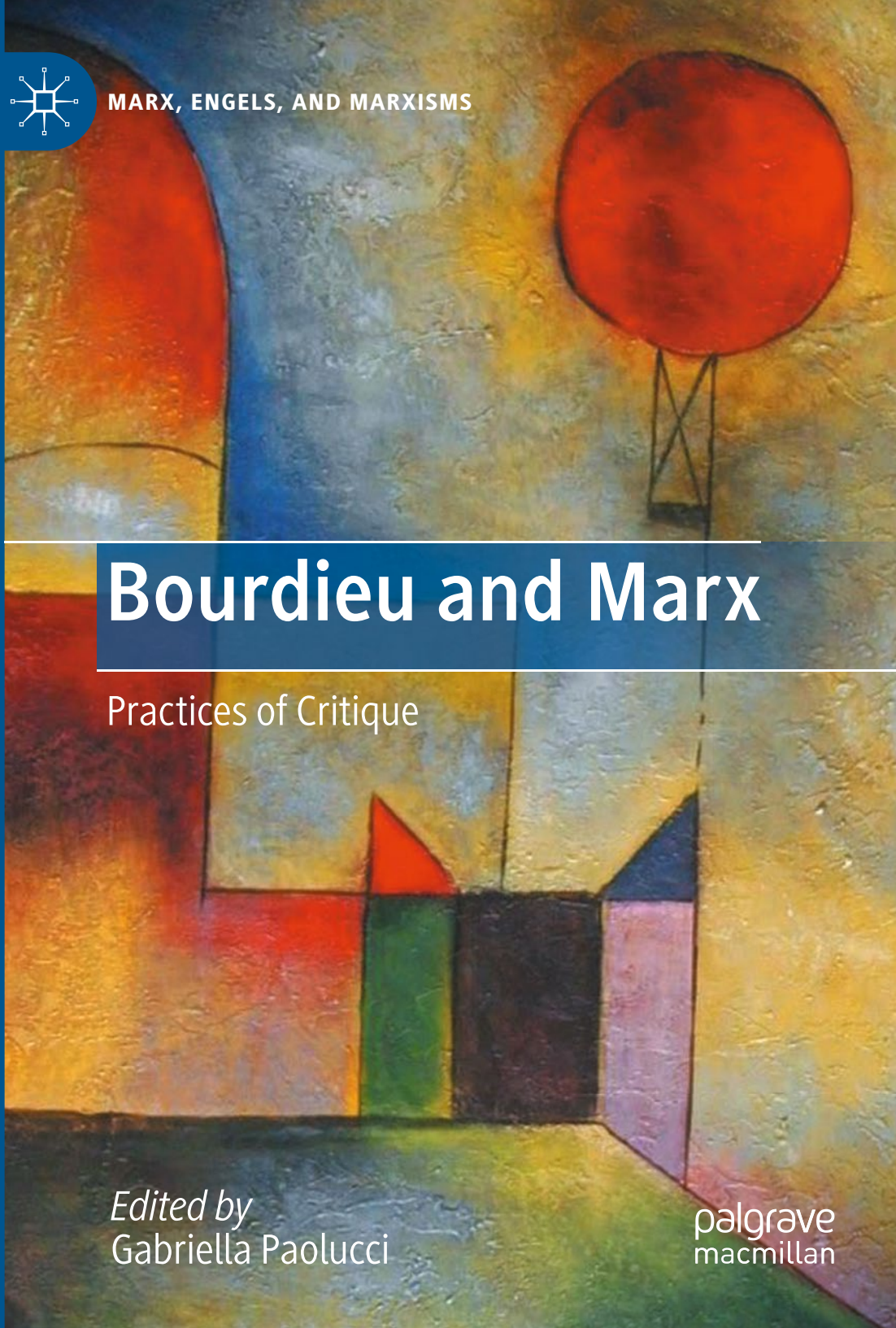
MARX, ENGELS, AND MARXISMS
Bourdieu and Marx
Practices of Critique
Edited by
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Gabriella Paolucci
Editor

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To Arianna, Filippo and any other grandchildren, as yet unborn,
with the hope that you will always be able to practice the critique of «the present state of things».

Foreword

The chapters in this book explore the intellectual encounter between Pierre Bourdieu and Karl Marx, which has taken on a new urgency in the structural global crises of the early twenty-first century. Taken together, the essays here provide wonderful philosophical and theoretical elaborations of Bourdieu's engagement with Marx, and more particularly the subtle ways in which Bourdieu keeps his distance from Marx whilst also invoking his critical purpose. Contributors differ in their assessments of how successful Bourdieu is in settling his accounts with Marx, which offers readers the opportunity to come to their own considered evaluations. In short, this book is a hugely welcome contribution to the expansive literature which testify to the ongoing relevance of Bourdieu's thinking not only in its own terms, but also in its potential to cross-fertilise with other currents of work.

I can attest from my own experience that Marxists can doubt the value of Bourdieusian-inflected approaches to class, which they see as drawing attention away from the fundamental divide between capital and labour.[1] However, it is pleasing to see all the contributors to this book, even those who ultimately doubt that Bourdieu adds intellectual and political benefit to Marxism, take a deeply respectful approach to Bourdieu's writing.

[1] The debate on the Great British Class Survey (Savage et al. 2013, 2015), which used a Bourdieusian capital-based approach to diagnose the dynamics of twenty-first-century class relations, illustrates this well. See, for instance, the critiques by Toscano and Woodcock (2014) or Skeggs (2014). It is striking how little engagement there still is with Bourdieu's thinking from within political economy.

Indeed, specifically on the issue of class analysis, Bidet's chapter offers an excellently balanced discussion of their respective views. In fact all the chapters in this collection are testimony to the value of open scholarly discussion.

This book strikes a very strong chord to me as someone who has sought to synthesise aspects of Marx's and Bourdieu's thinking in my own studies of inequality: indeed, my own *The Return of Inequality: Social Change and the Weight of the Past* (2021) addresses this debate head on. Since I see Bourdieu as working within the spirit, if not always the letter, of a Marxist perspective on inequality and social change, I am therefore delighted to welcome this collection. As a sociologist with strong historical leanings, I lack the philosophical and/or legal expertise that many contributors bring to their chapters, and I have therefore learnt much from reflecting on their careful textual exegeses and reflections on these two thinkers. In this preface I do not seek to match this erudition and only seek to offer a few provocations and reflections of my own.

My preface begins by firstly sketching out why, historically, the debate between Bourdieu and Marx has become so important, before in the second section introducing my own thoughts about the importance of Bourdieu's rapier-like use of concepts. Finally, in reflecting on my own argument in *The Return of Inequality*, I return to the enduring affiliation between Marx and Bourdieu which is associated with the overarching concern with time and history in their thinking.

Why Does Bourdieu's Relation to Marx Matter Today?

Why do we need to better understand the relationship between Bourdieu's thinking and that of Marx, given their very different lineages and affiliations? To be sure, there are the usual scholarly games to be had in comparing the work of different influential theorists, in exposing weaknesses and absences, and in ultimately coming to some kind of balanced evaluation. But this kind of academic point scoring is inconsistent with both Marx and Bourdieu's deeper intellectual and political aims, as Gabriella Paolucci brings out in her reflections on the commitment of both of them to the "practice of critique".

It is important to ponder why Bourdieu's work still resonates so strongly, even twenty years after he died. His undoubtedly influential diagnoses of cultural capital and distinction (most famously, Bourdieu 1984)

are easy to criticise for their Eurocentrism and for their dependency on a 1960s' French-oriented vision of culture, economy and society. His evocation of the Kantian aesthetic as the template of cultural capital might appear to hark back to a world of highbrow intellectuals which were disappearing even at the time he wrote and has now been largely supplanted. He has little to say explicitly about the significance of gender, ethnicity, race and age divisions which were profound at the time that he wrote, and which have only become more evident as the twenty-first century has progressed. On the face of it therefore, his writing might not seem a promising stepping-off point to reflect on the corporate, digitally mediated, globalised and hybridised arenas of culture and consumption which abound today.[2]

And yet, we don't have to search very far to understand exactly why this exchange matters, since as economists Thomas Piketty and Gabriel Zucman pithily state, in the twenty-first century, 'capital is back.' In this spirit, it is not incidental that many contributors to this volume make the discussion of the concept of capital central to their reflections.

The economic aspects of the 'return of capital' are now descriptively well known. Economists, drawing on granular taxation data as well as survey evidence from across the globe, have shown that not only has there been a striking rise in top earnings across many nations, but there has also been a remarkable accumulation of private capital—in the form of tradeable assets—which has entailed the astonishingly rapid and dramatic build-up of wealth. This phenomenon began on a significant scale in the 1980s as part of the neo-liberal shift towards market provision which reversed the mid-twentieth-century pattern in which high taxation and interventionist states brought about the striking decline of private wealth (Piketty 2014, 2020). It has continued, with variations across the globe, ever since. We should not be distracted by Piketty's dry and empiricist tones from failing to register the astonishing trends that he unravels. 'The market value of private property (real estate, professional and financial assets, net of debt) was close to six to eight years of national income in Western Europe from

[2] I do not have the scope here to explicate the vast sociological literature on the ongoing relevance of Bourdieu's diagnoses of cultural capital. I refer interested readers to Bennett et al. (2009), the most rigorous attempt to replicate Bourdieu's Distinction studies in the UK; to Savage et al. (2013, 2015), which attempts to reflect on how Bourdieu's thinking can inform our analyses of social class divisions; and Savage (2021), which attempts to sociologically draw out how Bourdieu's thinking can best inform our analyses of 'the return of inequality'. I draw on elements from each of these works, especially the last, in this preface.

1870 to 1914, before collapsing in the period 1914–1950, and stabilizing at two to three years of national income 1950–1970, then rising again to five to six years in 2000–2010' (Piketty 2020, Fig. 10.8, p 430).

The motif of the 'return of capital' makes us aware that contemporary social change involves the build-up of historical privilege as wealth accumulates. When recognising the astonishing expansion of private capital stocks we therefore need to question the widespread refrain that we live in a turbo-charged, information-revolution dynamic capitalism, as trumpeted by entrepreneurs across the globe. Rather, our world has returned to that familiar to Karl Marx, as he sat in the British Museum reading rooms reflecting on the dramatic rise to prominence of private capital during the nineteenth century. Just like Marx, we are now surrounded by hugely wealthy people, proclaiming themselves to be the bearers of progress and enlightenment, whilst living standards for the majority of the world's population, including in the richer part of the world, are marked by insecurity and precarity, even where a degree of economic security may have been achieved.

And yet, in another sense, we are also in a very different world to that of Marx, and in understanding this, Bourdieu's thinking becomes inescapable. One of the problems of Piketty's unravelling of inequality trends is his invocation that if we can only summon up the political will, we can reassert the power of a 'participatory socialism' which proved so powerful during the early decades of the twentieth century and—whether in their communist revolutionary modalities, or in the social democratic reformist tradition—did indeed lead to a sustained reduction of inequality across many richer nations. Because Piketty renders social change largely in terms of shifting relativities of income and wealth, he does not register how qualitative social changes which have taken place over the past hundred years means that even if we now are back to nineteenth-century economic distributions, culturally we live in a profoundly different world (see Savage 2014; Savage and Waitkus 2021). It is precisely for these reasons that the concept of cultural capital becomes so important, as it permits a debate with the Marxist tradition whilst also insisting on the fundamentally different ways that cultural capital operates compared to the forces of economic capital that Marx himself highlighted.

Bourdieu's diagnoses of cultural capital are premised on his awareness that during the twentieth century, the hold of cultural capital has become completely inescapable, and this now sets us apart from the capitalist world that Marx critiqued during the nineteenth century. Educational provision

has expanded dramatically, and as economic prosperity has risen, not only in the global north but also unevenly across the global south, so the expansion of opportunities for commodified consumption has come to the fore. The fact that—just before the COVID pandemic—for the first time in world history, half of the world's population could experience holidays away from home is a remarkable statistic to ponder.

Let us be clear about the significance of Bourdieu's thinking here. As archaeologists, anthropologists and historians have emphasised, social life is always culturally mediated—this is not a new phenomenon of the later twentieth century. What Bourdieu brought out was the increasing prominence of routes to inheritance and the accumulation of privilege through the command and mastery of cultural institutions, codes and capacities—especially those associated with educational attainment. In Marx's day, routes to upward social mobility through educational attainment hardly existed in any form.[3] In Bourdieu's day, and even more so since he and Passeron first coined the concept of cultural capital in the 1960s, the hold of advanced formal education as a lever for social mobility has become hegemonic across the world.[4] We cannot view contemporary capitalism as if it is analogous to the version that Marx diagnosed in the nineteenth century, even though its economic drivers remain fully capitalist.

These vignettes reveal all too clearly why the thinking of both Marx and Bourdieu is needed to grasp the challenges of contemporary inequality. And yet, as numerous contributors show, the style of thinking deployed by these two writers is different, and even though some concepts—notably that of 'capital'—are central to both writers, it can be hard to square them up together. Furthermore, Bourdieu insists that his work is not Marxist in any direct way. Thus as Swartz in his chapter points out (and as other contributors also echo) Bourdieu insists that his writing is formed as part of a

[3] See Andrew Miles (1993), who demonstrates that it was nearly impossible for the children of manual workers to move into business, professional or managerial ranks during the nineteenth century.

[4] Such is the irritating hold of glib liberal discourses of the rise of meritocracy that it is possible to overlook the astonishing and dramatic rise of formal education in the past century. 'Our World in Data' draws on comparative data from the International Institute of Applied System Analysis, which is widely used by the United Nations. In 1970 only 19% of the world's population had experienced secondary or post-secondary education, and by 2020 this had risen to 49%. If those under 15 (who will thereby not have had the opportunity to have finished their education) are excluded from the population figures, the shift is even more striking, from 31% to 65%. See Projections of Future Education—Our World in Data.

scholarly dialogue with numerous academic forbears, including Durkheim and Weber, and he refuses any direct Marxist lineage. Indeed, as Burawoy and Paolucci point out (in somewhat different terms), Bourdieu's wariness towards the 'theory effect', in which bodies of scholarly thinking themselves shape social change in a way that has only become more manifest after Marx's death, is bound to distance him from the way that the Marxist tradition became instantiated in totalitarian regimes during the twentieth century. As Brindisi and Raimondi reflect, we need to place Bourdieu's relationship to Marx also in the context of his objections to the 'actually existing Marxism' of Althusser, which was of more immediate concern in the period and place where he was writing. The implication, as Alciati brings out, is that once we look at Bourdieu's wider resonances with Marx, such as in Marx's critique of religion, it is easier to find affinities.

Even where Bourdieu appears to genuflect to the same concepts as Marx, Bourdieu always treats them with suspicion, mindful of how Marx's own concepts, precisely because of the historical force they came to play during the twentieth century, can perform their own 'symbolic violence'. This comes out very clearly in the differing relationship that Marx and Bourdieu had to the concept of class. Neither writer spoke extensively about class as such, yet class was central to Marx's account of historical change, and as Lebaron and Corcuff, and Bidet, show, an awareness of class is embedded in Bourdieu's writing. As Burawoy brings out, because Bourdieu was mindful of the way that the mobilisation of 'actual' classes had itself demonstrated the problematic 'theory effect', he wanted to offer alternative modalities for championing progressive politics, and hence was highly suspicious of the vocabulary of class, even though many of his followers have been keener to elaborate a Bourdieusian class analysis.[5]

The difficulties of the concept of class are symptomatic of a wider issue: it has proven largely intractable to find conceptual tools to inter-relate 'culture' to 'economy'. There continues to be an endemic tendency in contemporary social science to generate silos which handle these separately—often using different methods (quantitative vs qualitative); housed in different disciplines (economics, international relations and politics vs anthropology and sociology); and using conceptual vocabularies which

[5] It is somewhat ironic that, especially in European sociology, Bourdieu is sometimes seen to be something of a class determinist even though he made very little use of the concept in his work, and he largely sought to find other frameworks to analyse inequality and division.

demarcate rather than inter-relate (consider the appeal of Fraser's (1995) distinction between the politics of redistribution vs that of recognition). Piketty's (2020) critique of 'identitarian politics' as somehow distracting socialists from economic redistribution is a recent example of how this tension can continue to generate schism rather than alliance. But this siloing is ultimately deeply limiting, and here Bourdieu continues to offer an inspiring insistence that we always need to put concepts into tension with others, not treat them as standalone systems. This is why Bourdieu offers the best, even if contentious, platform to conceptually reflect on how the cultural and economic can be inter-related, and how a multidimensional concept of capital is preferable to a purely economistic one.

Concepts as Historical Rapiers

Many chapters here reflect on the different status of concepts in Bourdieu compared to Marx, and in particular the provisional and ambivalent way that Bourdieu proffers his concepts, which often seem to lack the clarity that Marx offers, and rather seem to operate as sleights of hand. Thus, Aiello relates how none of his main concepts of capital, habitus and field are original, and represent borrowings from separate and by no means compatible traditions. Desan notes that Bourdieu's concepts are not rooted in a labour theory of value and have no theory of capitalism. Numerous chapters reflect on the oddity that although Bourdieu draws on the concept of capital from Marx, he nowhere elaborates a satisfactory concept of the economic itself, leaving this as some kind of shadowy realm. On the face of it, any attempt to disinter the respective analytical pertinence of Marx and Bourdieu may lead one to favour the former, given Marx's concern to establish the conceptual coherence of his analysis of capitalism as an overarching mode of production, especially in his mature years as he wrote *Capital* in contrast to Bourdieu's different style of analysis, where he routinely sets up tensions and dissonances between concepts.

We therefore need to bring out why Bourdieu refused to use concepts in the confident and assured style of Marx. As Gutierrez, Lebaron and Streckeisen reflect, for Bourdieu to have attempted a formal definition of economic capital, or capitalism more generally, would have run the risk of isolating an autonomous economic realm which his broader conceptual framework warned against, which is why he hence invokes the looser perspective addressing the 'economy of practices'.

Bourdieu refuses to play the game of setting up an overarching conceptual system, which would perform its own kind of symbolic violence. Hence, he prefers to draw out the metaphorical appeal of concepts, leaving them incomplete and understated. Some critics have seen his use of concepts in which he largely avoids formal definitions, as a sleight of hand, as a deliberate appeal to obscurantism (Goldthorpe 2007). Actually, I think there is a deliberately strategic inclination in Bourdieu, aligned to his rejection of philosophy and his embrace of sociology, in which the practical deployment of concepts, and not their analytical purity, takes centre stage. From this perspective, the dominance of capitalist principles, and their rationalising norms, makes it important not to set up some kind of competing theoretical system (such as those which came into prominence with the structuralist Marxism of Althusser and Poulantzas), but to find an alternative, flexible, line of critique.

From this practical vantage point, as Gutierrez reflects, 'naming your enemy', in the form of an elaborated concept of capitalism or the 'economic', can be seen as an erroneous route, one which can be complicit with the elitism of the 'scholastic point of view'. For this cannot be anything other than reductive as this objectification is bound to essentialise what is a more fluid and dynamic system. However, this does not mean that 'anything goes.' It is possible to engage in a much more subtle critical engagement by taking key analytical terms, and reworking them, contesting their power.

It is in these terms that the implications of his discussion of cultural capital, most famously encapsulated in his 'Forms of Capital' essay, need to be understood. Deliberately eschewing any kind of a formal account of economic capital, he instead elaborates the thought experiment of thinking through how culture—conventionally understood from within the humanities as explicitly framed against the economic domain—might nonetheless be regarded as a form of capital. The triptych of terms he uses to unpack cultural capital—the 'institutionalised', 'embodied' and 'objectified'—is deliberately mobilised to distinguish them from the economic, even whilst apparently deploying an economistic frame of reference. Thus, it is important that economic capital is not embodied, whereas cultural capital is. A lottery winner who wins £1 million is able to spend this freely (and might even be persuaded to use the money as an investment resource to fully join the capitalists), whereas someone who inherits a Van Gogh painting but is unable to give an account of why Van Gogh is a canonical painter because they have not been exposed to the appropriate scholastic

education fails to have cultural capital (to be sure, they could sell the painting and realise the economic capital, but this is precisely Bourdieu's point). In this way cultural capital is both more invidious than economic capital because of its 'stickiness on the body', and more slippery, prone to mis-recognition, and necessarily becomes tied up with contestations over the nature of 'objectified' cultural capital. Thus, whilst several contributors skilfully bring out how Bourdieu does not have an effective theory of the economic as such, this can also be seen as Bourdieu's overarching contribution. It is also pertinent to ask why Marx does not have a theory of the cultural, other than through reductive terms such as 'base and superstructure'.

We need to understand Bourdieu's concept of habitus in a similar spirit. Taken too literally, and too mechanically, it can easily be criticised for assuming an over-socialised and over-determined conception of human agency (e.g. Croce 2016; Alexander 1995; Jenkins 1992). However, Bourdieu did not use the concept in this kind of psychologically mechanical way, as some kind of 'master explanator'. His main purpose is simply to assert, against economists and game theorists, that people come to any kind of social interaction with an inescapable historical baggage which is bound to affect how they interact, how skilled they are at improvisation, and thereby how likely they are to come out of the interaction in a stronger position. Any attempt to abstract from this historical baggage, in the form of developing formal logics of exchange, is bound not only to misconstrue how interactions necessarily work, but more than this to be a form of symbolic violence, in which only those with specific competences are able to master the interaction involved.

In historical terms therefore, Bourdieu exactly works in the spirit of Marx, seeking to expose the accumulation, inheritance, and pervasiveness of privilege and power, and the way that by being universalised and naturalised they can be made to appear de-political. In this respect, Bourdieu's analysis of cultural capital in *Distinction* is utterly consistent with Marx's rendition of commodity fetishism in *Capital*. Bourdieu grasped, therefore, that the proliferation of cultural capital in contemporary societies entail the need for a differing kind of critique which avoids proffering an alternative formal theoretical schema which could actually set up new modes of symbolic violence in their wake. Scholastic game playing is so central to the routine organisation of cultural privilege that it behoves radical scholars not to partake of it, but to find alternative modes of criticism.

We can characterise Bourdieu's approach as using concepts as rapiers, lightning fast in exposing deficiencies in the weak spots of dominant paradigms, and quickly withdrawing to avoid setting up an alternative set of orthodoxies. And, just as a skilled fencer would not want to objectify their opponent, reducing them to a fixed set of properties, so the skilled fencer will wait to expose weak spots as and when they appear, darting here and there as necessary.

This, I admit, is the 'best Bourdieu', which is fully mindful of how academics need to be cautious about how we go about our businesses in building up any kind of scholarly apparatus that can itself then come to act as a form of cultural capital. But clearly there were occasions when Bourdieu did not abide by his own best practice. Burawoy is entirely right that later in his career, as he sought to shore up his reputation and standing, he did adopt a more conventional academic perspective, notably in laying out abstract principles of field analysis, which he then worked up into a defence of scientific rationalism (notably in Bourdieu 2004). Perhaps in the context of neo-liberal incursions on critical academic autonomy during the 1980s, Bourdieu's approach was tactically adept, but nonetheless Burawoy is surely right to criticise him for ultimately exhibiting the same scholasticism as he claimed to be pitching against. Even Bourdieu fell into the same academic game playing traps which he had also critically exposed. In my view, this aspect of Bourdieu's thinking was at its most evident when he was giving his thinking its most 'spatialising' form, through his deployment of the most formal approaches to field analysis. However, although this spatial emphasis resonates strongly, for instance in recent sociological attempts to elaborate analyses of 'social space' (e.g. Savage and Silva 2013; Vandebroek 2018), it is vital to place this element of Bourdieu's thought in tension with his concerns about time, which ultimately are more productive, and also place him in a closer lineage to Marx.

History and Time

If we are to find the most productive way in which Marx and Bourdieu are in accordance, it is their privileging of history and time over space that matters. This is a point that Fowler in this volume underscores with her thoughtful account of Bourdieu's relationship also to Norbert Elias (and see also Gorski 2013). Gareth Stedman Jones (2016) has recently reminded us that Marx was not a modernist who insisted as an axiom that 'everything that is solid melts into air.' Rather, he was deeply embedded in a

classical historical scholarship which insisted that politics matters because of immanence; that we only have one world, in the here and now, which requires us to act; and that therefore that 'philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point is to change it'.

Even though Bourdieu's own concept of field deploys a strongly spatialising frame, it is his ultimate appeal to history which colours his work. It is not incidental that so many contributors reflect on his definition of capital as 'accumulated history', and although this phrase is imprecise, it ultimately underscores the importance of his work. It is not incidental that he came across the concept of cultural capital in reflecting on changing French inheritance strategies, or that the question of reproduction and transmission permeates his thinking.

It is this historical sensitivity that also explains his attraction to using rapier concepts. In his famous essay 'Science as a vocation' Max Weber laid out the tragic dilemma of modern science—that in conforming to the rationalising scholarship of modernity, scholars are bound to produce findings which will be superseded and cannot therefore ultimately ground any account of value or meaning. As a side note here, several interlocutors in this volume reflect on how Marx and Bourdieu construe value, mainly to note that Bourdieu has no concept of economic value such as derived from the labour theory of value and therefore fall short in providing an adequate grasp of economic circuits. This is true within its own terms since Bourdieu makes only general allusions to value as being 'accumulated history' and broad references to labour rather than any more precise formulation. However, since as Weber, following Nietzsche, insists, since conceptions of value ultimately require a grounding in human, historical purpose which can only be undercut within capitalist modernity, Bourdieu's approach in ultimately refusing an economistic logic has its merits.

It is this orientation to time as tragedy, which has its forbears in Marx and Weber, which underscores much of Bourdieu's work. As Burawoy mentions, one of Bourdieu's neglected masterpieces is 'The Bachelor's Ball' (Bourdieu 2008), which returns to his home province of Bearn to explicate the changing milieux of family farming. One of his most evocative photographs features the elderly bachelors, who as eldest sons had inherited their farms, but at the very time that rural economies were losing ground to manufacturing and the service sector based in the cities. Women now had better prospects than to marry those men still tied to their family farms, who were left to look sadly in on the dances of those on the cusp of history.

Bourdieu draws out the necessary irony of a fully historical sensibility. The inheritor bachelors, the beneficiaries of the historical accumulation of their family farms, who might be thought to be the historical victors compared to their disinherited siblings turn out, in the longer term, to be the losers, trapped by their inheritance into eking out a way of life which was losing its provenance. And so it is that the victorious inheritors can yet end up, ironically, as the losers. This refrain is a fitting contrast to Walter Benjamin's question about 'with whom the adherents of historicism actually empathise. The answer is inevitable: with the victor. And all rulers are the heirs of those who conquered before them.' But some victors, it transpires in Bourdieu's ironic vision, end up being defeated by history itself.

This ironic sensibility pervades Bourdieu's work. The great cultural masters who proffer works purported to be of universal appeal are actually playing scholastic games of cultural accumulation. Meritocracy masks the transmission of privilege even whilst proclaiming that the doors are open to all. We are all bound up in the Don Quixote effect. The starting point of *Distinction* lies in drawing out how all the young French people flocking to higher education, many being the first in their families to attend universities, and hence proudly thinking of themselves as driving epochal change in which the corridors of elite consecration are finally opened up, are actually being duped. The inflation of education credentials is devaluing their significance at the very time that increasing numbers of French people are gaining access to them.

This ultimate appeal to history is fundamental because it explicates Bourdieu's understanding of social change, in which dispossessed and marginalised elites, and not just the downtrodden proletariat, can be forces for change. Here it is certainly possible to complain that Bourdieu abandons the centrality of the class struggle as a motor of history for a more nuanced perspective alive to intra-elite struggle and the role of contestation within the 'field of power'. However, in reflecting on the fortunes of Marxist revolutionary politics during the twentieth century, Bourdieu's perspective might offer more succour to progressive politics in the twenty-first century. For continuing to work within the spirit of Marx requires us to recognise the power of cultural capital and leads us to refuse any reductive appeal to the capitalist economy alone as some kind of deus ex machina of long-term historical change.

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Notes on Contributors

Miriam Aiello received her PhD in Philosophy at Roma Tre University. She is a post-doctoral fellow at the *Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici* (Naples) and Teaching Assistant at Roma Tre University. She has worked extensively on the historical-philosophical and psychological ground of Pierre Bourdieu's economy of practice and of his concept of habitus. She is preparing a book on Bourdieu's philosophy mind and theory of action. Her research interests also include reflexivity, models of the unconscious, personal identity, self-deception and confabulation and the inter-relations between philosophy, social sciences and psychology. Her latest articles deal with Bourdieu's account of the mental and personal identity; the relationship between Leibniz's *Monadology* and the social theory of Tarde, Adorno and Bourdieu; the phenomenon of confabulation; the mind-body problem; the structures of temporal experience (Plato and Kant).

Roberto Alciati is Assistant Professor of History of Religions at the University of Florence (Italy). His research focused mainly on the history of monasticism and asceticism in late antiquity and early Middle Ages. However, over the years he has developed a growing interest in Pierre Bourdieu's thought, which he uses to study the socio-historical dynamics of the history of religions. His publications include *Norm and Exercise: Christian Asceticism Between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* (Stuttgart 2018) and *Monaci d'Occidente, secoli IV–IX* (Rome 2018). He also translated in Italian and commented on

Bourdieu's two essays on the religious field (Pierre Bourdieu, *Il campo religioso. Con due esercizi* (eds. R. Alciati and E.R. Urciuoli; Turin 2012).

Jacques Bidet is a former professor at the University of Paris-Nanterre and a founder of the journal *Actuel Marx*. Throughout his researches since the 1980s, he has been developing a theory of modern society and history known as a "metastructural theory of modernity," mainly inspired by Marx, in the light of both Althusser and Habermas. Among his books are *Exploring Marx's Capital* (2006 [1985]); *Critical Companion of Contemporary Marxism* (2007), codirection with Statis Kouvelakis); *Foucault with Marx* (2015).

Gianvito Brindisi is Associate Professor of Legal Philosophy at the 'Luigi Vanvitelli' University (Naples, Italy). He is the author of *Potere e giudizio. Giurisdizione e veridizione nella genealogia di Michel Foucault* (2010) and *Il potere come problema. Un percorso teorico* (2012). He co-edited, with Orazio Irrera, the monographic issue of the review 'Cartografie Sociali' *Bourdieu/Foucault: un rendez-vous mancato?* (2017). He is the co-editor and translator, with Gabriella Paolucci, of the Italian edition of Pierre Bourdieu's *Sociologie générale, volume 1. Cours au Collège de France (1981–1983)* (2019).

Michael Burawoy has studied industrial workplaces in different parts of the world—Zambia, Chicago, Hungary and Russia—through participant observation. In his different projects he has tried to cast light—from the standpoint of the workplace—on the nature of postcolonialism, on the organization of consent to capitalism, on the peculiar forms of working-class consciousness and work organization in state socialism, and on the dilemmas of transition from socialism to capitalism. During the 1990s he studied post-Soviet decline as "economic involution": how the Russian economy was driven by the expansion of a range of intermediary organizations operating in the sphere of exchange (trade, finance, barter, new forms of money), and how the productive economy recentred on households and especially women. No longer able to work in factories, most recently he has turned to the study of his own workplace—the university—to consider the way sociology itself is produced and then disseminated to diverse publics. Over the course of his research and teaching, he has developed theoretically driven methodologies that allow broad conclusions to be drawn from ethnographic research and case studies. These methodologies are represented in Global Ethnography, a book co-authored with nine gradu-

ate students, which shows how globalization can be studied 'from below' through participation in the lives of those who experience it. Throughout his sociological career he has engaged with Marxism, seeking to reconstruct it in the light of his research and more broadly in the light of historical challenges of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Among recent publications are "A Tale of Two Marxisms: Remembering Erik Olin Wright" (2020); "Going Public with Polanyi in the Era of Trump" (2019); "A New Sociology for Social Justice Movements," in M. Abraham (ed.) *Sociology and Social Justice* (2019).

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Mathieu Hikaru Desan is a historical sociologist with substantive interests in social theory, political sociology, cultural sociology, critical sociology, Marxism, fascism, and the history of socialist thought. He has published on these and other topics in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *Sociological Theory*, *History of the Human Sciences* and *Thesis Eleven*. He is working on a book manuscript about the practical logic of political conversion, with a special focus on the case of French "neo-socialists" who became ideologically committed Nazi collaborators during World War II.

Bridget Fowler was a founding member of the Department of Sociology in the University of Glasgow, where she is now an honorary staff member and Emeritus Professor of Sociology. She is interested in social theory, particularly with reference to Marx and Bourdieu, and, more widely, the sociology of culture, including the obituary. Her most recent books are *Pierre Bourdieu and Cultural Theory: Critical Investigations* (ed., 1997); *Reading Bourdieu on Society and Culture*,

Sociological Review Monographs (general introduction by Fowler, as well as introductions to each section, 2000); *The Obituary as Collective Memory* (2007); *Stretching the Sociological Imagination: Essays in Honour of John Eldridge* (ed. Bridget Fowler, with Matt Dawson, David Miller and Andrew Smith (2015); *Time, Science and the Critique of Technological Reason: Essays in Honour of Herminio Martins* (ed. Bridget Fowler, with J.E. Castro and L. Gomes; 2018). She has written numerous articles and book chapters of which the most cited are Pierre Bourdieu: Unorthodox Marxist? in ed. S. Susen and B.S.Turner, *The Legacy of Pierre Bourdieu* (2011) (translated into Italian pp. 361–390 in ed. Gabriella Paolucci; *Bourdieu e Marx* (2018)) (with F. Wilson); "Women Architects and Their Discontents," *Sociology*, 2004, 38 (1): 101–119 (reprinted in *Architectural Theory Review*, 2013, 17, 2–3199–215); and "Pierre Bourdieu on Social Transformation with Particular Reference to Political and Symbolic Revolutions," *Theory and Society* (2020) 49, 439–463.

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