

CRESC News

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Putting Pierre Bourdieu to Work

Gayna Davey

CRESC's working conference on Bourdieu at the end of May attracted some 100 delegates from Europe, Scandinavia and the United States. From doctoral students to internationally-recognised academics, they all shared a common desire to engage with the work of Pierre Bourdieu. There was diversity both in terms of subject matter and methodological approach as the organisers had been offered a wide variety of topics from researchers keen to rehearse ideas and findings at such a well-attended forum. The programme they put together was coherent and an exciting opportunity for those at the beginning of their academic career to collectively explore the value of Bourdieu's work.

I came to this workshop as a 3rd year PhD student from the University of Southampton, carrying out a small-scale ethnographic study of young people's journeys from sixth-form to university. My interest is in the articulation of classed practices through narratives of educational decision-making, and I am using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field to take us beyond class as occupationally-defined. This workshop was an opportunity for me to see how others have put these concepts to practical use.

Presentations were clustered, with the first day divided into the three broad themes: 'class, culture and consumption'; 'fields: visual arts and media'; and 'gender and household'. Day two began with presentations themed around 'body, habit and desire in everyday life', and concluded with studies of 'politics, the state and neo-liberalism'. Approaches ranged from large scale survey data to more detailed ethnographic study. Presentation clusters were followed by an opportunity for discussion, which seemed to me, as a 'first-timer,' to be carried out in a spirit of generosity and encouragement. Rather than offering a prescription of 'how to do Bourdieusian research', the workshop offered me an opportunity to think about new ways of looking at my own research questions. Indeed, by the end of the conference I had even more questions and ideas for future research projects.

The two days were modelled on three previous doctoral workshops held in the United States, and delegates were undeniably excited by the prospect of Loic Wacquant's attendance. In the preface to 'An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology', Bourdieu describes him as 'always equally demanding and penetrating'. Wacquant endeavoured to foster a similarly rigorous intellectual engagement in the Manchester workshop where his contributions were supportive and



insightful. However his advice to us was also unequivocally a caution to those who in Valerie Hey's phrase use Bourdieu as 'intellectual hairspray'. If, after removing references to Bourdieusian concepts, our paper remains intact, then we have failed to really work with Bourdieu.

It is difficult to single out highlights from a packed agenda. I was fascinated by the very different approach to exploring classed practices and tastes employed in the paper presented by Mike Savage and Alan Warde. The use of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) enabled an investigation into the relationship between class and culture, with their findings providing evidence for the retracing of class boundaries through the interplay of cultural and economic capital. Their research generated considerable interest, and I am sure this visually-striking tool will become more widely adopted.

The subject of class was looked at through a very different lens by Lisa McKenzie, who used Bourdieu's concept of the 'symbolic economy' to explore the lives of working class mothers in Nottingham. Lisa's presentation made a strong contribution to the afternoon's session. This was a sensitive and keenly-observed analysis of class and gender,

and in particular the way in which women use and exchange capital. Moreover, Lisa reminded us of the need to work with Bourdieu's tools relationally rather than as stand-alone concepts.

Whilst I have chosen to highlight those sessions that echo with my own research interests, all were impressed by Professor Loic Wacquant's superb lecture. This was on the one hand an engaging presentation of his work in Chicago. Yet it was far more than that. With boundless energy and enthusiasm he gave us a lesson in how to construct the object of research according to the principles advocated by Bourdieu. The questions could have continued far longer than time (and the caretaker's patience!) allowed.

In thinking back to who, and what, had brought us together for those two days, I wondered what Bourdieu would have made of our endeavours. I hope he would have been reassured that our diverse interests were fostered by a sociological imagination, a desire to think the unthinkable, challenge convention and ask the awkward questions. There was certainly no shortage of those difficult questions, and if future conferences offered the opportunity for smaller group-based work, than I believe the sessions would open up more in-depth discussion.

As it was, the conference ended with a promise of further workshops and other opportunities through which the debates might continue. Professor Mike Savage's proposal to establish networks for those interested in either multiple correspondence analysis or ethnographic research was enthusiastically received. Although I left Manchester with more questions than answers, I did have gained renewed enthusiasm to tackle the next chapter of my thesis.

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Consumer Debt and Financialization

Johnna Montgomerie, Theme 1

As the Cultural Economy (theme one) research fellow my research investigates many of the dynamics of financialization, primarily in the US and the UK. I came to CRESC in May 2007, after completing my PhD in International Relations (specializing in International Political Economy) in December 2006 from the University of Sussex. My PhD research evaluated rising consumer debt levels in the US, the UK and Canada through a macroeconomic framework. Using National Accounts data, I argue that historically specific economic factors ("the perfect calm") from 2000-2007, contributed to rising consumer debt levels in all three countries. Moreover, I examine how this process was promoted through macroeconomic governance priorities of high growth and low inflation, which increased households' scope for borrowing. Rather than putting forward a single causal relationship, I analyze rising consumer debt levels as a product of the cumulative effects of economic changes and socio-cultural factors. In particular, I look at how financial innovation, specifically asset-backed securitization (ABS), in the consumer credit industry created an increase supply of credit available for lending and a dependence on a growing pool of revolving debtors. Moreover, I assess how stagnant incomes for wage-earners facilitated a growing demand for consumer credit. Finally, I analyze how the socio-cultural prominence of consumerism in these societies provided impetus for continued consumption despite the limits of income.

M My hope is that my perspective can contribute to a wider debate about financialization both within theme one as well as engaging with the larger academic and policy community. Since coming to CRESC I have engaged in areas of research around escalating household indebtedness. More specifically, the scope of my research has changed to include a deeper engagement with cultural economy perspectives and cautiousness in using epochal assumptions about the scope of socio-economic and political change. Moreover, I have become aware of the importance of complementing macroeconomic analysis with microeconomic evidence of all varieties.

To this end I have organized a special issue of *Contemporary Politics* which engages with the parallel literatures of Global Finance in International Political Economy and Financialization by exploring new geopolitical case studies of financialization. Also, I have submitted a funding application to examine the organizational dynamics of asset-backed securitization (ABS) of credit cards. This project tries to move beyond an examination of ABS simply as a financial product into an analysis of ABS as a process of financial innovation. Adopting critical issues raised by my theme one colleagues, I will use micro-case studies to critically engage with key meso-level assumption made throughout the literature on innovation in financial services.

Alongside my own research interests I have been involved in other work in theme one. This past March I was given the opportunity to organize the second annual International Working Group on Financialization (IWGF)

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workshop: *Credit and Debt in Present day Capitalism*. This workshop was a great success with speakers from North America, Europe and the UK and a very enthusiastic group of participants. Recent events in global financial markets, namely the sub-prime mortgage crisis and global credit crunch, contributed to lively debate and serious reflection on the future of financialization. We are currently planning a special issue in *Competition and Change* for June 2009.

In addition, I have been working with other theme one colleagues on a project involving a detailed study of the UK's Private Equity industry. I am currently working on an article with PhD student Adriana Velilla Nilsson and theme one member Adam Leaver which investigates how the Private Equity industry engages in political representation strategies and what this tells us about the changing dynamics between business and politics in the time of financialization. Also, I have been working on the planning phases of a new theme one project "Ethnography of The City". I am very excited about learning the various aspects of the ethnographic method, but also about the important contribution such an approach will have on the existing literature.

Finally, I also hope to expand beyond theme one through a proposed research project (submitted under the ESRC First-Grant Scheme) investigating household surveys of the household balance sheet. This project will be a comparative analysis of the various survey techniques and objectives of the US Survey of Consumer Finances, Canada's Survey of Financial Security and the proposed UK Assets and Wealth Survey. Firstly, it will examine the assumptions behind the construction of the household balance sheet such as how income, savings and debt are categorized. Secondly, it will ask to what degree can administrative data sources be used, in conjunction with the standard survey method, to improve the scope and accuracy of data produced from household survey. Finally, it aims to explore how policy-makers' objectives intertwine with survey objectives and methodology and how data derived from household surveys are used in the policy making process.

Aside from my immediate research, I would like to say that I really enjoy my time at CRESC. I have received a great deal of guidance and support from many of my theme one colleagues, especially Julie Froud, Ismail Erturk, Adam Leaver and Sarah Green. Also, the mentoring I have received from Karel Williams and Mike Savage helped focus my research, allowing me to move past my post-PhD blues. Working at Waterloo Place is a real delight, the PhDs and fellow Post-Docs really make every day enjoyable and the administrative staff, Josine and Bussie, are great because they are helpful and fun (especially the monthly pot-luck!). I believe with such a positive and helpful work environment I will surely be able to achieve my long-term goal of writing a book on rising indebtedness and its economic and social implications.

Johnna Montgomerie is a CRESC Research Fellow for Theme 1. If any one is interested in any of the topics or issues she is researching, please feel free to contact her at j.montgomerie@manchester.ac.uk

Picturing the Storm: Talking Race Online in the Aftermath of Hurricane Katrina

Farida Vis, Theme 2

This research inquiry essentially started when I saw two images, using different language to describe two different groups of victims - one described as 'looting' and the other 'finding' belongings - circulated on the internet in the days after Hurricane Katrina had made landfall in the summer of 2005 (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/triciawang/38922728/>). Having previously done extensive work on how perpetrators and victims within the Israel/Palestine conflict have been portrayed in the print media, I was drawn to explore similar issues in the Hurricane coverage, focusing here on the victims.

Following a set of initial explorations a clear project containing three distinctive strands has now emerged and become a significant CRESC project. The first strand is concerned with better understanding how these two images can be read and interpreted and how they function within a culture. Essentially: what do they reveal and what it is that they want? The second, which is closely linked to the first looks again at these two images, but from the point of reception: how did different audiences receive and engage with them? In particular I am interested in what online audiences - who have on a series of online message boards, extensively discussed these images as well as the larger media depiction of the storm - imagine is at stake with these types of representation. Moreover, I am interested in exploring what type of public space these online forums open up for citizens to discuss issues and to engage politically, and in particular how they compare to those available within the mainstream media, such as letters to the editor. Finally, the last project strand is concerned with better understanding how citizen journalists reported the aftermath of the hurricane. Here, I am focusing on one internet news site, looking at whether *Wikinews*, a news service that is open to contributions from 'everyone', offered an alternative to the dominant media representations - and specifically what kind of alternative this offered vis-à-vis the mainstream media.

The 'looting' / 'finding' controversy, which initiated this research inquiry, broke out in the wake of the online publication of two wire photographs, originating from different news agencies and reproduced on *Yahoo!* news, an online service that repackages news from other sources. The *Associated Press* image depicting a black man in the floodwater with his goods, described him as 'looting' them in the caption. The *Associated French Press* photograph of a seemingly

similar situation - this time depicting a white couple - captioned them as 'finding' their goods. The images, and their captions in particular, were immediately criticized by eagle-eyed bloggers, who most often displayed the pictures alongside each other. A lively debate surrounding the images was found on the picture sharing site *flickr.com*, where on the page of one *flickr* member more than 230 messages were posted in short succession. The owner of the page, Tricia Wang, states that she posted the images because she 'thought it was an opportunity to examine why certain words were chosen and to question if skin color played any role'. While the majority of the debate regarding the images took place online, the mainstream media picked up on it and *The New York Times* commented that, 'The contrast of the two photo captions, which to many indicated a double standard at work, generated widespread anger toward the news media that quickly spread beyond the Web' (September 5, 2005). One of the more surprising ways this controversy made its way into the mainstream media is that it gained an unlikely spokesperson in the form of African-American rap star Kanye West. While co-presenting a Katrina fundraiser, he ignored his autoucue whilst live on network television and lambasted President George Bush, making direct references to the online controversy stating: 'I hate the way they portray us in the media. You see a black family, it says, "They're looting." You see a white family, it says, "They're looking for food."' West ended his impromptu speech with the simple summary: 'George Bush does not care about Black people!', echoing the way in which many African-Americans in particular had experienced both the government's reaction to and the media's treatment of the disaster.

It was this seemingly spontaneous outburst of political debate on the Web and its spilling over into the mainstream media, that

exploring what type of public space these online forums open up for citizens to discuss issues and to engage politically

focussed my attention and made me wonder what avenues are normally available within the media to citizens who want to engage politically, but particularly for those who want to do so at moments of heightened media attention. Not everyone has the opportunity to use live television as their speech platform and this thus raises questions over news access, that as Simon Cottle has argued, 'go to the heart of current debates about the media approached as "public sphere" and its contribution to processes of public dialogue and societal communication' ('Rethinking new access', *Journalism Studies*, 1, 2002)

I am interested in these different spaces available for, as Cottle calls it, 'public dialogue', and in terms of traditional mainstream media, I am particularly drawn to letters to the editor as a site where (in principal) the public can meet and make its views heard, (which still remain one of the most popular sections of newspapers). Whilst message boards sites are undoubtedly important for better understanding alternative spaces for discussion - especially for those publics that find it hard to be heard in the traditional mass media - their democratic potential should not be overrated. They do however offer an important opportunity to study and better understand how increasingly active, content generating media audiences interact with the news.

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Freedom, Liberal Government and Crime

Francis Dodsworth, Theme 3

What does it mean to be free? How can we reconcile the claim to live in a free society with the fact that many aspects of public, and sometimes private behaviour, are highly regulated? What do we mean by freedom in this context? These have been enduring questions for political philosophers, politicians and social commentators, but they have been given added salience by recent developments in political theory and practice.

Under New Labour, there has been significant discursive emphasis on the balance between rights and responsibilities (in terms of both participation and behaviour), and on the balance between liberty and security. In policy terms these issues have been realised most obviously in such fields as Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOS), identity cards and anti-terrorism legislation - particularly detention without trial - but they are also evident in attempts to restrict trial by jury, or revision of the 'double jeopardy' law and more general issues such as citizenship education and the 'respect agenda'.

Simultaneously, in political theory and the history of political thought there has been renewed interest in questions of freedom. Historians of political thought have drawn on early modern political theory to recover a distinctive 'classical republican' definition of liberty in early modern Europe. This historical work has informed recent 'communitarian' and 'republican' political philosophy. Part of the communitarian vision of government is the notion that liberty often depends upon compelling people into public virtue (in the sense of serving the common good), while for republicans, although arbitrary interference in conduct or dependence upon the will of other individuals (or states) constrains freedom, non-arbitrary interference in conduct, carried out according to laws made with the consent of the governed, does not constrain freedom, it simply 'conditions' it. Both bodies of work have sought to establish an alternative to what is perceived to be a dominant 'liberal' mode of government, where liberty is understood as the absence of interference or coercion and is constantly balanced against security in a zero-sum game.

The nature of liberal freedom, meanwhile, has been subject to analysis from a different quarter. Drawing upon the late work of Michel Foucault on 'governmentality' a variety of scholars argue that for liberals

// seeks to trace the relationship between freedom and government through the ideology of law over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

// freedom did not function simply as a political ideal or as a trope for opposition to rule, rather it became a tool of government. The freedom of the governed was fostered in order to create a body of independent individuals capable of governing themselves without the necessity of expensive and oppressive state interference in their social and personal lives, enabling government to be conducted 'at a distance' and on a minimal, economic basis. That is not to say, of course, that people were not coerced into obeying particular social norms, which of course they were, and this is not to overlook the fact that many elements of historical liberalism were oppressive, unjust or discriminatory. But what the Foucauldian account does argue is that we need to understand freedom not in opposition to power, but as a consequence of it. From this perspective freedom is not the natural condition of individuals outside of relations of power or social networks, rather it is a practice, the nature and quality of which depends upon our capacities to respond to the social conditions and forms of power we find ourselves enmeshed within.

Like both these bodies of literature, I engage with the question of the relationship between freedom and government in an historical manner. My initial focus was on the history of crime and policing over the period 1700-1850. Exploring advice manuals, instruction books and police orders I analysed attempts to define and mould the persona and character of the officers of the 'old' and 'new' police (the old parish constables, watchmen and new police officers) in conformity with ideals of public service and masculine virtue, common in definitions of the need for active participation in government to preserve the free state.

I followed this up with an examination of debates about crime between 1750 and 1800, drawing attention to the way in which crime was defined as a public problem requiring a new institutional solution by weaving together the tropes of the temptation of the sinner into a life of increasing vice - the rake's progress - with the Lockean idea of the imitative nature of man and the formation of character through habit, and the classical trope of the corruption of the body politic which would render the state unable to govern itself and thus unfree. In this way the progress of crime and vice was configured not only as a public problem, but one affecting the freedom of the state.

My current work in this area seeks to trace the relationship between freedom and government through the ideology of law over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. My starting point here is an analysis of legal discourses and sermons given at court in the eighteenth century, in which the nature and purpose of the law was made explicit. In these discourses liberty was defined not in opposition to interference, but licentiousness; unlimited personal freedom, license, would lead to anarchy and was argued to be as dangerous to public liberty as tyranny and oppression. These discourses were used to encourage the officers of government in the performance of their duty and were directly connected to the activities of the courts and their officers that governed public life in this period, often in a manner which the modern liberal would find quite intensive, even authoritarian. Some of these discourses drew upon the resources of the 'republican' tradition and deployed the language of freedom from slavery in order to legitimise this system of rule, suggesting that while the republican tradition might provide us with a powerful tool for the critique of some governmental practices, we need to be aware that it can also function as a means to legitimate other practices of government in the name of the ideal of liberty.

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Cultural Participation and Age - Unpacking a Complex Relationship

Simone Scherger, Cultural Statistics Laboratory

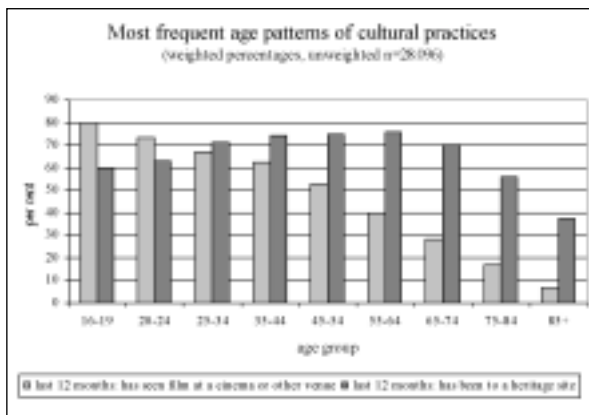
As a CRESC laboratory researcher, one of my current tasks is that of unlocking some information - contained in the "Taking Part" Data - for the CRESC themes. The "Taking-Part" Survey of England, commissioned by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport together with the Arts Council and other cultural agencies, aims at giving comprehensive information on participation and attendance in the arts, sports, heritage culture, museums, libraries, archives, and other fields.

Considerable age differences figure in most cultural practices. It is very difficult to find any activity that is not pursued differentially by age groups. Rare examples are watching TV (but different age groups normally watch different programmes) and some activities only carried out by small minorities and showing rather unsystematic age patterns (e.g. attending jazz concerts). The most frequent age pattern - this refers to the incidence of the activity in the last 12 months - is that of declining participation across age groups, which can for instance be seen in sports or going to the cinema.

The second most common pattern is that of activities respondents in middle and late middle adulthood are more often engaged in than the age groups before and after. This pattern has the shape of an inverted U and is found in many cultural practices of a more highbrow kind, for example visiting art exhibitions and heritage sites, attending theatre performances and classical music concerts, but also pastimes such as gardening, DIY and the broad category of reading for pleasure. A U-shaped pattern is very rare, i.e. the youngest and the oldest age groups have very little in common, and the only example for this is watching soaps on TV. Finally, a few activities are practised by more respondents in the oldest age groups than by those in the younger ones, thus resulting in an increasing pattern. According examples are puzzles and games, and textile crafts.

These patterns can be explained by the qualities of the respective practices: Whether they are done at home or somewhere else, indoors or outdoors, whether they cost something or nothing, whether they are aimed at special audiences, whether they can only be done at certain times, whether they require the participation of others, physical fitness or special abilities. All these (and many other) factors interact with the characteristics

of individual actors and lead to a more or less probable engagement in the respective activity. Many of these individual characteristics are related to age and thus form the patterns just described. But age is just a shortcut for a whole set of factors. Age denominates the individual "movement" through time and includes the physical, psychological and social processes of individual ageing, with age relating to specific points in these processes and in the socially constituted modern life course. Chronological age given in years is the attempt to summarise these processes in a socially easy manageable way.



But age and the life course are not only about individual change. They are, at the same time, a consequence and a motor of social change – social change unfolds via individual life courses. The diffusion of "new" social or cultural practices, for example, occurs not only across different social groups, starting in small precursor groups and spreading by certain patterns further across social classes. New practices also spread within cohorts – they are taken up by more and more people during their lives – and across cohorts, younger cohorts often being more susceptible to new pursuits. The difficulty for research originates in the fact that individual lives and social change unfold in the same temporal dimension and can therefore not be discerned without difficulties. Cohort and

generational effects of cultural practices must therefore be carefully discerned from effects connected (more or less directly) to individual ageing.

A fundamental explanation of individual cultural practices is one's socio-economic position. This can be linked to age respective cohort differences insofar as different cohorts have different socio-economic backgrounds originating in shifts in the structures of inequality – for instance the extension of higher education.

As the data of the "Taking Part" Survey is cross-sectional, cohort and ageing effects cannot be properly discerned. But some of the factors connected to ageing, e.g. declining health, and to cohort, e.g. the different socio-economic backgrounds of different cohorts, can be controlled for. Thus the complex phenomenon of age can be unpacked at least in part. In multivariate statistical models the age differences are reduced by controlling for health, socio-economic background and selected variables related to the life course, such as labour status. In particular the declining participation in the very oldest is in part explainable by their lower educational background and their worse health. The fact that the age differences rarely disappear, highlights how individual ageing effects, and/or other cohort effects than those related to socio-economic background, still play a big part in shaping individual cultural participation.

Against this background, the comparison of different activities also helps to say more about the concrete boundaries these activities possess, and how these relate to different age groups. This might help the lowering or removal of age-specific hurdles to certain practices, and help us to understand why some practices are more important to some age groups than to others.

A second, connected focus of my research is the relationship of mobility to cultural participation. "Taking Part" contains information on the cultural socialisation of the respondents and on the occupational status of the parents. Thus it will be possible to discern effects of concrete parental encouragement concerning certain activities and the broader effects of the social background of the parents. This is relevant to understanding, for instance, if more concrete socialisation into certain activities makes a difference within the same socio-economic stratum.

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Reusing Qualitative Data, and the Changing 'Nature' of Feminism

Niamh Moore, Qualitative Research Laboratory

My research interests encompass the role of methods in our understandings of socio-cultural change; feminist theory and politics; and the politics of 'nature', particularly as 'nature' manifests in arguments about feminist, environmental, and other politics oriented towards social and political change. In CRESC these interests are worked through two main research trajectories.

Archiving and Reusing Qualitative Data' - This programme of research relates to key CRESC concerns – the challenging of epochalist accounts of socio-cultural change through theoretically informed empirical research; research which not only relies on the generation of new data, but which examines the possibilities afforded by existing data sources. These issues dovetail with an increasing interest across the social sciences in reusing qualitative data.

Since the setting up of Qualidata (now part of the Economic and Social Data Service at the UK Data Archive, University of Essex), a service to support the archiving of social science data in 1994, and the decision by the ESRC to ask those in receipt of ESRC funding to offer data for archiving at the end of projects, what has been termed 'the reuse of qualitative data' has proved controversial. Questions have been raised about the challenges of reusing transcripts of interviews in the absence of access to further details of the 'original context' of the interview. At the same time ethical demands for anonymity and confidentiality may result in data being stripped of the kind of detail which has rendered qualitative data so rich and textured.

Furthermore obtaining 'informed consent' when the possible future uses of data remain unknown remains a challenge. Comparisons with the reuse of quantitative data have been invoked to suggest the incommensurability of these data and hence the limited possibilities of the reuse of qualitative data. Along with other CRESC colleagues (Mike Savage and Elizabeth Silva), we have sought to reorient this debate, towards an engagement with the other social science and humanities disciplines who have more extensive engagements with archives, including history and oral history, arguing that reuse may be

more usefully understood as a process of recontextualising data. This work has included a workshop on reuse which brought together speakers from ESDS Qualidata, Essex and the Mass Observation Archive, Sussex (see www.cresc.ac.uk/events/archived/methodsworshop.html); a panel on reuse at the 2006 British Sociological Association annual conference; and a themed section in *Sociological Research Online* (www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/contents.html)

We are now extending this work to include further consideration of archives and the process of archiving. A Network for Methodological Innovation grant from the National Centre for Research Methods (www.ncrm.co.uk), has enabled us to consolidate our links with Qualidata and Mass Observation, and to develop further links with the Centre for Life Writing and Life History Research at Sussex, as well as with new and emerging archives, such as the Timescapes project based at Leeds (www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk). Together with colleagues from these institutions we are organizing a series of events under the rubric 'Archiving and Reusing Qualitative Data: Theory, Methods and Ethics across Disciplines'. The first of these workshops has now taken place, with more to follow (see www.cresc.ac.uk/events/ArchivesSeries.html).

'The Changing Nature of Feminism' - My main project here is a book which I am currently completing for the University of British Columbia Press. Drawing on my PhD research on a specific instance of ecofeminist activism, the book has opened out into an examination of debates about the contemporary status of feminism and accounts of the recent feminist past.

In recent feminist histories the 1980s and 1990s are recounted as a period of intense crisis for feminism. This period led to some

crucial reformulations of feminist projects, but also to the exclusion and disavowal of other possibilities. Certain feminisms have been relegated to the feminist past in these narratives. Ecofeminism is one of these feminisms.

Dominant narratives of the second wave understand that feminist politics, and the possibility of change, was secured through the claiming of gender as a social construction, and sex as biological determinism, as a particular version of essentialism, articulated through accounts of 'women's nature'. Thus for certain feminisms the possibilities of change are understood to be linked with the social and nature has been figured as a site of fixity, as the very impossibility of change. Hence the emergence of a specifically ecofeminist politics, and concomitant attempts to reopen the apparently closed question of 'women and nature', have been met with some suspicion by feminists. In certain feminisms, the nuanced critiques of ecofeminists and others have been caricatured as making naïve claims about women's natural affinity with nature and capacity for peaceful interaction, and have been disavowed or relegated to the past.

The emergence of ecofeminist activism in Clayoquot Sound on the West Coast of Canada in the 1990s, appears to confound narratives of the end of feminism which were prevalent at the time and since. Yet rather than being hailed as a new or further manifestation of feminist politics, ecofeminism has more commonly been disavowed because of its supposed 'essentialism'.

Drawing on ethnographic research, including oral history interviews with women environmental activists campaigning against clear-cut logging of temperate rainforest in Clayoquot Sound on the West Coast of Canada, I suggest that these activists have been engaged in a potent refiguration of the meanings of 'women' and nature' through their lives and activism. Through my account I demonstrate the limitations of reading ecofeminist activism through the tri-partite schema of essentialism, strategic essentialism or even anti-essentialism. In this way the book suggests that precisely because nature/culture dualisms, and essentialism, have been key tropes in the narration of feminism, eco/feminism, with its specific interest in 'women' and 'nature' provides a particularly useful site through which to examine narratives of the recent feminist past. In this process the book points to the importance of a critical feminist historiography, and draws attention to how nature figures in these narratives as crucial in countering narratives of the end of feminism, and in holding open the possibilities of feminist futures.

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Centre for Research on
Socio-Cultural Change

New CRESC working papers

The following working papers have been added to the CRESC website <http://www.cresc.ac.uk/publications/papers.html>

Working Paper No.40

Class and Cultural Division in the UK

Brigitte Le Roux, Henry Rouanet, Mike Savage and Alan Warde

December 2007

Working Paper No.41

Gender Matters in the Global Outsourcing of Service Work

Debra Howcroft & Helen Richardson

December 2007

Working Paper No.42

Money's eyes: The visual preparation of financial markets

Mike Pryke

December 2007

Working Paper No.43

Financialization and consumption: An alternative account of rising consumer debt levels in Anglo-America

Johnna Montgomerie

December 2007

Working Paper No.44

Taking its toll: The private financing of roads in Spain

Basilio Acerete, Jean Shaoul and Anne Stafford

December 2007

Working Paper No.45

Watching The Big Read with Pierre Bourdieu: Forms of Heteronomy in the Contemporary Literary Field

David Wright

December 2007

Working Paper No.46

Everything for Sale: How Non-executive Directors Make a Difference

Julie Froud, Adam Leaver, Gindo Tampubolon and Karel Williams

January 2008

Working Paper No.47

The Instrumental Leisure of the 'Creative Class'

Mark Banks

January 2008

Working Paper No.48

Corporate governance and impossibilism

Ismail Erturk, Julie Froud, Sukhdev Johal.

Adam Leaver, David Shammai, Karel Williams

January 2008

Working Paper No.49

Modelling Bourdieu: An Extension of the Axelrod Cultural Diffusion Model

Andrew B. Trigg, Andrew J. Bertie, Susan F. Himmelweit

February 2008

Working Paper No.50

The Built Environment and the Formation of Liberal Elites in England and Germany around 1900

Maiken Umbach

March 2008

Working Paper No.51

Writing the Visual

Andrew Hill

March 2008

Working Paper No.52

Anthropological Assemblages: Producing Culture as a Surface of Government

Tony Bennett

March 2008

working papers

ESRC Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change Annual Conference 2008

2-5 September 2008, St Hugh's College, Oxford

Cultural Citizenship



St Hugh's College, Oxford

Plenary speakers: Mieke Bal (University of Amsterdam), Nina Glick Schiller (University of Manchester), Engin Isin (The Open University), Ghassan Hage (University of Melbourne), Barbara Kirshenblatt Gimblett (New York University), Michael Keith and Scott Lash (Goldsmiths, University of London), Mary Poovey (New York University), Nick Stevenson (University of Nottingham).

This fourth CRESC Annual Conference on Citizenship and Culture seeks to explore the inter-relationships between citizenship and culture and their contemporary social, cultural and political significance in a number of different contexts.

About 230 papers have been structured in some 60 sessions addressing the following themes:

- *Cities and Citizenship*
- *Politics and Citizenship*
- *Citizenship and the Cultural Sector*
- *Science, Technology, Biology and Citizenship*
 - *Europe and the Citizen*
- *The Relationships between Religious and Secular Concepts of Citizenship*
 - *Transnationalism and Cosmopolitanism*
 - *The Media and Citizenship*
 - *Colonialism and Post-colonialism*
 - *Sexual Citizenship*
- *Race, Ethnicity, Indigeneity and Citizenship*

Keynote speakers to date include: Mieke Bal (University of Amsterdam), Engin Isin (Open University), Nina Glick Schiller (University of Manchester), Ghassan Hage (University of Melbourne), Mary Poovey (New York University), Nick Stevenson (University of Nottingham), Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (New York University)

The conference starts with a Plenary Session and a Film screening on Tuesday 2nd September 2008 at 06.30pm and will finish around 16.00 on Friday the 5th of September 2007. The academic programme is available online at: <http://www.cresc.ac.uk/events/conference2008/programme.html>

Registration details are available from <http://www.cresc.ac.uk/events/conference2008/registration.html>

Early registration deadline is the 13th of August 2008

For more information please contact Bussie Awosanya or Josine Opmeer at CRESC@manchester.ac.uk