

CONTEMPORARY PATTERNS OF SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION – THE CASE OF AALBORG

By Annick Prieur, in cooperation with Lennart Rosenlund.

Project description including plan for one guest researcher and for two Ph.D.-scholarships.

Introduction: Background and general aims

The background for this project is on one hand a society that has undergone radical changes over the last generations: continued urbanisation, de-industrialisation, decrease in blue-collar sector and a simultaneous increase in white-collar sector, growth in public sector, increased level of education, entry of many women into the labour market, new immigrant population etc. On the other hand there is an evolution in theoretical sociology, where some persist to claim that social class still is an important differentiating factor, while a number of other analysts claim this factor has been replaced by new patterns of differentiation, and others again claim a new individualism has rendered all ideas about such patterns obsolete.

The overall aim of this project is to enhance the knowledge of social differentiation as a multidimensional phenomenon and analyse its consequences in contemporary society through a thorough empirical study of one city - Aalborg in Denmark – based on a multifaceted methodological approach: a survey, an analysis of register data and qualitative interviews. Further, the aim is to craft improved tools for such analyses. Based on data gathered through different sources, current patterns of social differentiation will be uncovered, as well as patterns of socio-geographical segregation. At a theoretical level, the findings from the project will be used to contribute to ongoing debates on social differentiation (see for instance the debate in *Acta Sociologica* 2002 no. 3). The project has, however, a point of departure within Pierre Bourdieu's sociology, and will seek to explore the potentials and limitations of his model of social differentiation. Two of Bourdieu's books are of particular interest in this respect: *Distinction* (1984 [1979]) and *The Weight of the World* (1993 [*La Misère du monde* 1993]).

The project matches two of the priorities announced by the SSF: First the Welfare Research Programme, as knowledge about the differentiating patterns of distribution, consumption, values and opinions is necessary for an understanding of the integrating and the disintegrating forces of a society, and thus of the basis for the solidarity the welfare state resides on. Findings from the project may provide an improved understanding of some patterns of sympathies, antipathies and conflicts between groups of the population. Second, the priority given to “young research leaders”, as the project will be headed by Annick Prieur, born 1959, an associate professor holding a declaration of competence as a full professor (obtained at the University of Copenhagen in 2000). The team will be composed of guest researcher Lennart Rosenlund and two Ph.D.-students.

The case of Aalborg

The proposed project has as its temporal and spatial focus the current development of a city that has undergone huge transformations in the post-war period. The municipality of Aalborg is actually composed of two cities, Aalborg and Nørresundby, and some more rural areas that earlier were independent municipalities. Limfjorden has always represented a social division of the city, where earlier a large part of the workers lived in Nørresundby, while most of the industry was situated at the Aalborg side of the fjord. The most bourgeois part of the city, Hasseris, has also been a

municipality of its own. The unification of the small municipalities took place in 1970, and the borders have not changed since then. The population is now of 162 620 inhabitants.

In the first half of the 20th century, the economy was to a very strong degree based on traditional industry and on commerce. The commerce was linked to the port, but due to a difficult access that did not permit the arrival of the new and bigger ships, the decline of the port activity started already in the first part of the century. The decline of the relative importance of industry and craftsmanship started in the middle of the century, all while administrative, service and liberal occupations increased their share (Christensen & Topholm 1990: 338). The composition of the industry in Aalborg was rather narrow, with a dominance of agro-alimentary industry (a tobacco factory being the biggest workplace in the city in the beginning of this period) and production of construction materials (particularly cement). Due to structural rationalisation on a national level, the agro-alimentary part decreased (and the tobacco factory closed down), while the cement industry kept on growing, for a while together with the shipbuilding yard, which in 1972 was the second workplace in the city. The biggest was now, and ever since, the municipality of Aalborg.

The categories of the official statistics have changed, as well as the borders of the municipality. This makes comparison over time difficult. We have, however) a few indicators of the profound changes in the city's class composition. The work force in Aalborg was in 1960 composed of 38 353 persons, out of whom (57 %) were classified as workers (Statistisk Årbog for Aalborg 1965, p. 40). In 1989 the work force included 85 493 persons, out of whom 25 722 (30 %) were classified as workers (Statistisk Årbog for Aalborg 1991 p. 17). The big increase in the work force is due to the enlargement of the municipality, to immigration and demographic factors, and to female labour. In 1989, the sectors of financing, education and research, health and social affairs, public administration and other service occupations employed exactly 50 % of the working population (op.cit.: 18).

This evolution from blue to white collar has continued into the 21st century. The industrial sector has diminished not only in relative figures, but also in absolute figures. Aalborg has experienced an economic boom in the last years, with a 3 % increase in the number of work positions from 1997 to 2001 (www.aalborg.dk). The expansion concerns salaried personnel on the middle and higher levels; all while the number of salaried persons on lowest level has decreased. The fastest increasing sectors in these tables are "social work" and the "business service etc.". The decreasing sectors are agriculture, industry (particularly "iron and metal industry"), and public administration. The ongoing changes of the structure of differentiation may, however, not be read out of these statistics in any detail, as the categorisations they use are outdated; they express the logic of industrial society and not the educational differentiation of contemporary society. A special analysis of the sector of information and communication technology given us by the bureau for statistics and analyses in the municipality reveals the fast growth, from 5 714 persons working within this sector in 1993 to 9 095 in 1999, a 59 % increase, compared to a 16,5 % increase at a national level, and a 40 % increase at a regional level.

The University has been a core actor in the development of the city. The University, which received its first students in 1974, has today 11 000 students and 1 500 employees. Many joint ventures involving the university and private companies have taken place in recent time, and especially led to growth within communication technology and currently also medical technology (with a coming establishment of a university hospital).

The proportion of foreign citizens in the population is only given in recent statistics. In 2001 they make up 4,5 % of the population in Aalborg (Statistisk Årbog for Aalborg kommune 2001), and about 2/3 of them are of other origins than the Nordic or the EU-countries. The number of naturalised persons of foreign origin is not given. Even with these persons included, the number of perceived foreigners would still be small in Aalborg, compared to most other European cities and

even to the other big cities in Denmark. But they are also in Aalborg, where they are seen, noticed, counted and commented upon. They have their own profile when it comes to residence and employment patterns, and are therefore important to cover in this research project.

The description above traces out some of the profound changes this society has witnessed over a generation: urbanisation, de-industrialisation, decrease in blue-collar sector, increase in white-collar sector, growth in public sector, expansion of the educational system with an increased level of schooling among its population as a consequence, entry of many women into the labour market, new immigrant population etc. This makes Aalborg a perfect case to explore transformations in patterns of social differentiation: *If class as stratification loses importance (at an objective and/or a subjective level) due to de-industrialisation and the so-called new knowledge-based society – we will see it in Aalborg. If new patterns of social differentiation other than those related to class emerge – we will find them in Aalborg.*

A community study approach

The work will be in the vein of research labelled “community studies” (Newby & Bell 1974). By limiting its focus to the community level characterized by smaller-scale social formations and less complex sets of social structures and changes, the project may avoid potential pitfalls involved with attempts to chart and understand society as a whole. Moreover, this strategy makes it sensitive to other aspects of social reality that tends to be overlooked in more macro-level approaches.

A community perspective imposes on the sociological analysis an awareness of the locality. As members of different classes and class fractions, social agents appropriate the city, and make differentiated ‘social use’ of the various physical objects in the production of lifestyles. Thus these physical objects are transformed into ‘social objects’; immersed with connotations and meanings. In so doing, these “structured” physical structures are themselves contributing and sustaining the mechanisms of differentiation to which they are connected. Shops, cafeterias, restaurants, parks, houses, residential and recreational areas all become marked. Social characteristics of the inhabitants of various residential areas are related to patterns of perception of the same areas. The various universes of located social objects become hierarchically arranged, differentiated, internally homogeneous and segregated from each other. Physical space mirrors social space, and is structured according to forms and amounts of capital – divided into zones which concentrate certain types or several types of capitals and zones characterised by lack of all forms of capital. The physical structure of urban life may be viewed as symbolic battlegrounds; territories that are fought over; a struggle going on to appropriate space (Bourdieu et. al 1999: 123 ff.) This is a perspective on localities that coincides with the ideas of Norbert Elias (1974), who considered localities as subjected to social force, as becoming structured in the same way as society itself is structured, thus reflecting power relations. The perspective contrasts, however, with the Chicago school’s perspective on physical structures as having an independent capacity of influencing human conduct. *An aim of the project is to give a sociogeographical description of this structuring of the city of Aalborg – to chart out the social meanings attributed to the local space.*

Bourdieu’s model of social differentiation

Bourdieu’s theoretical and research production has yielded a massive body of knowledge about the forms and functions of class systems, symbolic violence, education, language, gender, media and a host of other issues central to social life. Most of the social scientists that use Bourdieu, however, focus on the theoretical and philosophical implications of Bourdieu’s ideas, and how his approach

may apply to a diversity of areas (sport, fashion, masculinity, television, education, etc.), and tend to overlook the potentialities in his work for analysing structures and dynamics of change in contemporary society, and have little to say about the overall (methodological and theoretical) approach of Bourdieu.

Bourdieu's book *Distinction* (1979, English ed. 1984) contains his contribution to the study of the dynamics of social divisions in contemporary society and its interrelationship with formation and divisions of lifestyles. The book explores the relationship between the objective structure of social positions on the one hand (economic and educational assets), and on the other hand lifestyles, i.e. patterns of consumption and preferences in cultural, moral and political matters. There is, on the one hand, an objective system of social positions in which each and all of us have positions, which have bearings on the way we form our lives. On the other hand, there is social practice, or human symbolic activities. These two separate universes of social reality have been conceptualised into two interconnected space constructs: *the space of social positions* (for short *the social space*), and the *space of lifestyles*. The construction of them has been undertaken by the help of *correspondence analysis*, which is a statistical aid that enables the analyst to unveil and display visually, underlying basic structures in a large and amorphous dataset. The "raw material" for the construction is based on an analysis of principally two forms of capital: economic and cultural. Economic capital consists of access to money or assets that may be transposed into money. Cultural capital (or "informational capital") exists in an embodied state (i.e. cultural competence, *habitus*), an objectified state (i.e. books, art etc.) and an institutionalised state (i.e. through educational certificates etc.), and is mainly acquired in the family and in school (Bourdieu 1986).

Bourdieu charts in *Distinction* the variation of positions and of lifestyles, and interprets the axes: The first dimension, the one that accounts for the largest part of the variation, is interpreted as the total volume of capital – how "rich" the social agents are in both economic and cultural capital. The second axis is interpreted as a dimension of capital composition, which refers to the relative amount of the two main forms of capital (and accounts for the differences in lifestyles between for instance teachers and business men). The third dimension, by order of importance (but not presented in a two-dimensional diagram), is a time-dimension referring to the trajectory: the social agents' history of stability or mobility in a social position (which for instance may explain that newcomers in the economic bourgeoisie may have other consumption patterns than those who have inherited their positions). Bourdieu goes on to depict the different main classes, and within these, the different fractions of the classes: groups with about the same social position and common lifestyles. The analysis is sustained by various other data sources: interviews and observations, photographs, newspaper readings, a series of other surveys and opinion polls etc.

Bourdieu underlined that his model was based on a study of one case (France) among all socially possible cases. He was careful not to generalize findings from this analysis to other societies, but regarded his model as a generative model, and explicitly encouraged researchers in other societies to see if the model could serve for constructing other social spaces than the French (Bourdieu 1998). Few have taken up the challenge. Lennart Rosenlund's (2000) study of Stavanger is internationally the closest one may come to an application of the "analytic tool-box" from *Distinction* in systematic empirical research. Other applications of this model have either a much more limited scope - Blasius & Winkler (1989), Koch (1996), Hjellbrekke (2000) - or are very superficial – Dahl (1997).

What emerges from Rosenlund's study, is basically a confirmation of Bourdieu's model. It appears that the very same social forces Bourdieu identified in France in the 1960s and 1970s have their counterparts in the community of Stavanger in the middle of the 1990s. An ongoing analysis by Rosenlund of nationwide data indicates that this also holds for social divisions and the formation of lifestyles at the national level. This does not mean, however, that Norway

resembles France, neither that Stavanger is a “typical” Norwegian city. The point is that, albeit all the differences, the structuring dimensions of these societies are basically the same. But, for instance, cultural capital did not have the same role in the Norwegian social space as in the French (or more precisely; it has a more recent role), the relative size of the different class fractions are not the same, and their taste, consumption patterns opinions and preferences are not the same at all; they are just structured according to a similar logic.

The idea of this project is to confront Bourdieu’s theoretical framework and methodological approach with a Danish social reality, and thereby provide an arena for testing the applicability of his model. Are the processes of social differentiation in this community meaningfully described with Bourdieu’s concepts of overall volume of capital and composition of capital (the relative amount of economic and cultural capital)? Are these two principles responsible for the production and maintenance of inequalities and social distances in an advanced and differentiated society? And do the principles found to apply in France 25 years ago for explaining the differentiation in formation and articulations of perceptions, classifications and other expressions of lifestyle apply also in this society? We will in the next section show that there are many good reasons to believe that the answers will be “No” to these questions, or at least that a considerable modification of the model will prove necessary.

The overall aim of our project is to obtain knowledge about current patterns of social differentiation in a Danish context, and an understanding of the structuring forces behind these patterns. This means that we do not wish to carry out a simple replica of Distinction, but an application of its model in order to challenge it and elaborate it according to our empirical findings, and according to a series of theoretically based critical points.

Some theoretical discussions to be further developed in the project

The researchers involved in the project will obtain a common set of data, but the analysis of this may go in different directions. Each of the two Ph.D.-students will have their own, theoretically based research questions, to develop for a thesis. The following four research questions, deduced from the problematique outlined above, will be pursued in the project, either by the Ph.D.-students in their theses or by the senior researchers – or both. We do not want to define too strictly the foci of each Ph.D.-project at this stage, before the students are recruited and without knowing their specific competence and interests. But a suggestion would be to keep the following questions 1 and 2 together for one thesis, and the questions 3 and 4 for the other thesis.

1. The first question regards *the problem of time and change*. Bourdieu has been accused of advocating a deterministic view of social action, particularly with his theories of the habitus, considered by many to be inappropriate to tackling the problem of social change. He is criticized for using circular arguments and for leaving little room for change (see for instance Calhoun et.al. 1993, Jenkins 1992, Menger 1997, and Bourdieu’s response on this issue in Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 79ff.). But in his application of the model from *Distinction* on Stavanger, Rosenlund (2000) found it very well suited to account for the changes observed. Actually, a massive metamorphosis of the whole system of social positions was uncovered. Two main traits of this change process were identified: First, a reduction in relative size of the working classes had occurred, together with a corresponding growth of the intermediate and dominant classes. Simultaneously, the capital composition (relationship between economic and cultural capital) principle of social differentiation emerged to become a major dimension of social structuring.

Turning to the case of Aalborg, we must assume that the social space of this city has its specific history of transformation, which will be made comprehensible by examining it in

historical and empirical detail. An analysis of register data from different points in time is planned. In turn, this analysis may provide a basis for a critical, empirically based evaluation of the theoretical critiques concerning the aptitude of Bourdieu's model for explaining change.

Related to transformation of the social space is the question of mobility patterns. EJ Hansen's (1995) study of a Danish generation (those who were 14 years in 1968), showed that a certain mobility had occurred, in the sense that many obtained higher education and higher ranking positions than their fathers. The initial differences were nevertheless maintained, only at a higher level ("the elevator effect"). The more recent data analysed by Bonke and Munk (2002: 22) show, however, that even if there still is a rather strong tendency to reproduce hierarchical differences, the picture seems to be somewhat more blurred. We know that the gender differences in access to higher education revealed by Hansen do not hold today (albeit they may have been replaced by a vertical segregation of genders within higher education). There may be other changes going on concerning the mobility patterns. Rosenlund's (2000) study showed for instance that a major part of certain fractions of the dominant class – i.e. the economic elite – had experienced upward mobility, while parts of the cultural elite had followed a corresponding downwards social trajectory. These changes were related to the expansion of the oil industry in Stavanger. Such changes may occur also in Aalborg, due to the major transformations of its economic structure, but related to other sectors.

2. A second question concerns *the relationship between objective positions in a social space and subjective dispositions* – or, with a Marxian phrasing: the relationship between class position and class consciousness. In *Distinction*, there is a close fit between objective positions and subjective dispositions (taste, preferences, identifications ...). Everybody has "a sense of one's place" in the social room, and adapt to it or strive to move out of it. In a later work by Bourdieu, (Bourdieu et.al. 1999) the pattern of identifications is blurred, especially in the working class, where the former collectivism and solidarity are eroding. There are many signs of what Beverley Skeggs (1998) names *disidentification with class*, of a misfit between objective positions and subjective dispositions, as the ones she explored in her own study of young women from the working class in England, related to an uneasiness concerning attributed disposition (the women strived to be *respectable*, which was connoted as not being working class). In our project, we will seek to question the relationship between positions and dispositions. For this purpose, qualitative data will be of a particular importance.

3. The third question regards *the relationship between class structuring and other patterns of structuring*, where a particular focus on the interrelationship with gender and ethnicity is demanded today. One may read *The Weight of the World* as a recognition of the growing complexity of French society since the publication of *Distinction*. In the latter book, the popular classes appear as relatively homogenous, while the differences between the genders, generations, ethnic groups and rural and urban fractions of the population are striking in the former book. This may be due to a change in focus and in method (*The Weight of the World* is based on interviews), but also to a transformation of the French society, with an increased importance of a number of differences, representing a growing challenge to the society's integrating capacity. In our project, we want to open for this complexity. In the last decades, Denmark has become a more multiethnic society. Women have acquired higher levels of education, increased their work participation, and married women are probably much more independent from their husbands when it comes to consumption, values, opinions etc. than earlier, in the same way as younger generations probably are more independent from the older than earlier. This may be reflected in other patterns of cleavages than those found in *Distinction* (cf. Prieur 1998 on the relationship between class and gender).

Moreover, adding to the complexity mentioned, it will also be of relevance to include other distributions than those related to economic and cultural capital. Bourdieu points to social capital as a third form of capital, but the role of it is only indirectly explored in *Distinction*. Social capital, for Bourdieu (1986), regards networks and relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, and the contribution to economic, cultural and symbolic capital a person gets from his/her network. Besides these forms of capital, some other resources may have a strong impact on welfare, namely health, time, security and environmental qualities (noise, pollution...). Physical security is probably not a real problem in Aalborg, but feelings of security and insecurity may be unevenly distributed in the social space. Health and environmental qualities are related to each other, as well as to economy and to education. Time has probably a more complex relationship with the other resources. A survey by Jens Bonke (2002) showed a tendency towards mutual exclusivity of time and money: The richest work much more than the poorest. In this project, we want to explore the interrelatedness between different forms of capital and other welfare measures.

4. A fourth question concerns *the thesis about the death of class*. A long stream of theoreticians has claimed that class has lost importance for social stratification. A selection of some of the theories to be discussed in the project:

- Daniel Bell (1973) and his “coming of the post-industrial society”, presumed to be more meritocratic than the industrial society, with education as the route to success, and beliefs that technology would bring welfare, security, humanized work relations and more leisure time.
- Anthony Giddens’ (1991) claim that a post-traditional order has reduced the impact of structuring categories, and replaced them by an individualization of destiny through life-planning, and that lifestyles and taste are more significant markers of social differentiation than class (Giddens 1994).
- Scott Lash (1994) and his distinction between reflexive winners and losers, where a major point is made about a change from a society where life chances depended on position within the productive structures of a society, to a society where position within or access to structures of information and communication has a decisive role.
- Ulrich Beck’s (1996) quite pessimistic view on the individualization process as an individualization of risks, where, for instance, unemployment is experienced as a personal failure and not a class determined fate.
- Ernesto Laclau’s and Chantal Mouffe’s analysis of dislocation of class, in the sense that class has lost its role as determinant of other social relations, that there is no longer a ‘master category’ which shapes all social relations, but instead there is a multiplicity of centres and thereby sources of identity and of social movements (gender, ethnicity, sexuality, space ...) (Laclau 1990).
- Jean-Francois Lyotard’s (1984) declaration that all master narratives – and among them the Marxist narrative about class – are dead today, and that class in any case never has been more than a narrative effect.

In the project, we will seek to translate ideas from the mentioned theoreticians and others into research questions to be confronted both on a theoretical and an empirical basis. The mentioned theories have actually a rather loose empirical foundation, if any at all. Quite strikingly, those researchers who work more empirically tend to reject the idea about death of classes (cf. the discussion in Milner 1999). Findings within this stream of research suggest that class still is a very powerful determinant of life-chances as well as of opinions and values. When comparing survey data from Sweden, Japan and the United States, Erik Olin Wright (1997) found an overall linkage between class location and class-consciousness, with Sweden as the most ideologically polarized. Marshall et.al. (1988) found in British data that important differences in shared beliefs and values, including voting intentions, were structured more obviously by class than by other sources of social cleavage, and John Goldthorpe and Gordon Marshall (1992: 391) concluded that “there is in fact no

reason to suppose that over recent decades, classes in Britain – the working class included – have shown any weakening in either their social cohesion or their ideological distinctiveness”. This mismatch between current analyses within the empirically and the theoretically based sociology needs to be more fully explored (cf. a debate in *Acta Sociologica* Vol. 45, 3).

Choice of methods

Our working hypothesis is that Bourdieu’s model, with certain modifications, will prove to be applicable also in Aalborg. But it is of course of utmost importance to keep an open eye for the possibility that the structuring principles of Aalborg in 2004 are not the same as they were in France 30 years earlier or in Stavanger 10 years earlier. In order to ensure the open eye, the methods chosen are basically inductive. They will give a possibility for discoveries and surprises, and thereby also for findings that will support competing theories, as the above mentioned. In the survey, questions will be included that may give a possibility for giving support to these theorists’ claims (for instance questions about class identity). There will be three main sources of data:

- *Register data* on Aalborg municipality. The aim of this part of the study is to describe and analyse the transformation of the local social space and social structure. We will try to reconstruct how this system of social positions has evolved since 1980. We will exploit the database that is being constructed by the Centre for socio-demographic research, which is under establishment at our department (Lisbeth Knudsen has submitted an application to SSF, see also appendix 4 to this application). Associate professor Ruth Emerek will work with us on this part of the project. The data needed will be indicators of the two main forms of capital, economic and cultural (household income, ownership of house, size of house, occupation, educational level with subject area etc.) together with demographic information such as sex, age, place of birth, citizenship, possibly also some health indicators. We also want data on parents’ educational and occupational level, in order to see patterns of social mobility. The study will try to unveil main patterns of how economic and cultural capital have been redistributed over the time period, how new modes of social mobility (social trajectories) have emerged, vertically and horizontally, and how gender and possibly ethnic background have changed over time as a differentiating factor. If this database is not financed now, and therefore not constructed now, Denmark’s Statistics may provide the data, but this will be more demanding, both in terms of work and money.

- *Survey data* drawn from Aalborg, see the joint proposal from SFI-Survey (appendix 3). The plan is to use a telephone-survey, the method that today is judged to have the best outreach. We will need 1000 respondents, plan to use a questionnaire with a maximum of 140 variables, which will demand a maximum of 35 minutes pr. respondent. As already mentioned, in order to grasp some possible aspects of social differentiation that Bourdieu and Rosenlund did not cover in their studies, some questions about health, time and other welfare indicators will be included in addition to those that cover economic, cultural and social capital, and social trajectories (mobility). The data will be subjected to correspondence analysis.

The space of positions will be constructed on the basis of data about economic and cultural capital, and about own, spouses’ and parents’ professions. The space of lifestyles or dispositions will be constructed on the basis of data about recreational activities, home equipment and decoration, personal style and aesthetics, competence and preferences in cultural matters (music, art), values, moral standpoints and political choices etc.

- *Interviews* with about 30 persons expected to represent different positions in the social space, selected on the basis of the findings from the quantitative sources, will be conducted. They will be

contacted mainly through informal channels, mobilizing diverse networks in order to find persons who match certain criteria (sex, age, occupation, place of residence...). The topics covered will to a certain extent be the same as in the survey, but the interviews will hopefully give “thicker descriptions” and more context-based information. They will also be better suited than the survey method for a study of possible ambiguities in the relationship between positions and dispositions. The interviews should ideally be conducted in the interviewees’ homes, in order to give the possibility to talk concretely about aesthetic choices etc. There is a risk that the interviewees will feel themselves objectified in a humiliating way, and it is therefore important to give them clear information about the purpose of the study, and invite them to intervene if they find a presentation of them not suitable for publication (cf. Bourdieu et.al. 1999 for a discussion of interview ethics, see also Prieur 2002).

Organisation of the research and research network

Annick Prieur will head the project, supervise the Ph.D.-students, and be particularly involved in the qualitative part of the study, having a share of the data collection and analysis. Due to the dimensions of the project, her part of the work cannot be carried out within her ordinary research time. 60 % of her salary for two years is therefore solicited from the SSF. In addition, she will use the main part of her ordinary research time, for in all a period of 3 ½ years. This will together represent about 28 months of work.

Lennart Rosenlund will work on the project as a guest researcher. He will have a particular responsibility for the set up of the survey, and the analysis of the survey data as well as the register data. At our department, we have already a very good competence on register data (and Ruth Emerek from the Centre for socio-demographic research will be linked to the project). Rosenlund has, however, a rare competence within correspondence analysis, and will share this with the Ph.D.-students. 12 months salary is solicited from the SSF.

Due to the workload, two Ph.D.-students will be needed. The project is based on a combination of methods, and when recruiting the Ph.D.-students, we will have a preference for candidates who are able to use different methods. The plan is to provide these students with a good training in different methods and in a combination of these. The division of tasks between them will be decided in an early phase, depending on their qualifications and interests. The Ph.D.-students will be integrated in the Ph.D.-school on “Welfare and difference” that was established at our Faculty this year. The school will provide them with several courses that will be highly relevant.

In addition to these four persons, directly implicated in the research, we will draw on the competences of our colleagues, particularly within our research group *Sociologisk Laboratorium*, which organises all the teachers involved in the sociology education at Aalborg University. The project will be presented and discussed at different stages of advancement. Of particular value to this project are the competence of professor Jens Tonboe, an expert on socio-geographical and urban studies, of the associate professors Lisbeth Knudsen, expert on demography, Ruth Emerek, expert on register analysis, and Antje Gimmler, a social philosopher studying knowledge society.

Time schedule

1/10-31/12 2003. Phase of orientation and reading. The Ph.D.-students will be recruited. Rosenlund will come for a shorter visit (about one month) to Aalborg.

1st semester 2004. The questionnaire for the survey will be constructed and pre-tested. The Ph.D.-projects will be defined more in detail, with a clear division of labour between the two students. Rosenlund will have a longer stay (about two months).

2nd semester 2004. The survey will be realized. The register data will be retrieved, and the analysis of these may start. Rosenlund will have a longer stay (about two months).

1st semester 2005. The analysis of the survey data and of the register data will start. The profiles of the interviewees will be defined on the basis of the quantitative analysis. Rosenlund will have a longer stay (about two months).

2nd semester 2005. The quantitative analysis continues. The first interviews are collected. Rosenlund will have a longer stay (about two months).

1st semester 2006. The last interviews are collected. Rosenlund will have a longer stay (about two months).

2nd semester 2006. Writing and thorough supervision of the Ph.D.-students, who will be in their last term. Rosenlund will have a shorter stay (about one month).

1/1-31/3 2007. Writing and summing up of the project.

Budget specifications

For an overview of the budget, see appendix 2.

- For Annick Prieur, 60 % of her salary for two years is solicited.
- For Lennart Rosenlund, in all salary for 12 months as a guest researcher over 3 ½ years is solicited, together with expenses for 6 travels Stavanger – Aalborg, for the stay, estimated to 6 000 pr month x 12 months, and for hosting him at the university (12 x 3000 pr. month).
- For the Ph.D.-students, two scholarships are solicited, together with diverse expenses for recruiting, hosting, supervising and evaluating them.
- For transcription of the interviews a student aid is solicited (240 hours à 125).
- For diverse secretary assistance in all 120 000 is solicited.
- For the survey, 350 000 is solicited, see the offer from SFI (appendix 3).
- For software, 10 000 is solicited.
- For buying register data, 50 000 is solicited (if we can buy them from the new Centre for socio-demographic research, if not, it will become more expensive).
- For diverse expenses for the interviews (transport, soft drinks...) 5 000 is solicited.

Planned publications

The main publication planned will be a monograph, co-written by the four researchers, but with Prieur as the main responsible. Hans Reitzels Forlag (represented by Hanne Salomonsen) has already expressed interest. The Ph.D.-students will write two Ph.D.-theses, and also publish articles based on their theses, alone or in co-authorship with others from the research team. Articles from the projects will be proposed to the following journals *Dansk Sociologi* (an overview article), *Acta Sociologica* (an article on the class debate), *Theory, Culture and Society* (an article on the relevance of Bourdieu's theory compared to theories on "death of class"), *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* (an overview article), *International Forum of Urban and Regional Research or Space and Culture* (on the social construction of geographical space). Depending on the findings, articles on other issues and for other journals may become relevant.

First step in a joint venture

This project is actually the first step in a joint venture aiming at strengthening the team of teachers at the sociology study at Aalborg University as a research team, within the frame of our research group *Sociologisk laboratorium*. Another aim of this venture is to give our best students a

possibility for applying for Ph.D.-grants. The subject of “*Social differentiation in late modernity*” is chosen as a common theme, also justified by the mentioned research school in “Welfare and difference”. The projects within this frame will be linked, but independent, and applying different theoretical perspectives, which hopefully will give room for lively discussions in our research group.

The following projects are planned to be presented for SSF in the fall term:

- *Ole B. Jensen, Anja Jørgensen and Jens Tonboe: The social geography of Aalborg.* Based on in depth analysis of 4 neighborhoods for ‘the new bourgeoisie’ – especially concerning the character and the spatial dimension of social networks within and outside working life - the aim of this project is to unfold the link – empirically and theoretically – of the new social and spatial differentiation in Aalborg. This involves the linking between social segments, life style, identity and territoriality with the physical milieu as an expression and a context for this, i.e. style of housing and planning, image, social activity, geography of transportation and communication (networks), materialisation as well as perception of conspicuous consumption etc., and identification of the positive and negative consequences of this for other social segments and other neighbourhoods in the municipality. Survey- and other data from the main project will be supplied with observational data and interviews, already existing geo (GIS) data from Aalborg Municipality (and our university), as well as earlier analysis of currents of resources and life style in various neighbourhoods in Aalborg. A group of 4-5 researchers from the Department of Social Relations and the Department of Planning will be established to work on this project under the guidance of Professor Jens Tonboe.

- *Antje Gimmler: Social impact on/and of wireless communication.* In recent debates in social sciences ‘knowledge society’ covers socio-economic transformations that are the result of new technologies and their interrelations/interdependencies with social structures and social relations. Increasing relevance of information (so-called Information Society), changing communications structures and changing processes of knowledge creation and utilization are comprehended as consequences of new information, communication and computation technologies (ICT’s). With the term ‘Knowledge Society’ a research focus combining social sciences, technology, economy, psychology etc. had been established that tries to understand the effects these processes have and might have in the future on everyday life, social and political institutions and systems of production. The planned project will be a cross-disciplinary project joining sociology (Antje Gimmler) and engineering (Department of Personal Communication, Prasad). The two main topics of this project will be: 1. Wireless communication and its impact on communication structures in small groups and families. 2. Social and cultural structures as drivers or constraints of knowledge creation. The second topic will concentrate on the engineering departments at Aalborg University and some global private companies in Aalborg (fx. Siemens) as multicultural social environments for knowledge production. With this research topic the project will be linked to the planned study of Priour and Rosenlund, in asking for the social and cultural capital that enables the development of technological knowledge.

- *Camilla Elg: The body aesthetics of everyday life in Aalborg.* This project will be proposed as a post.doc.-research project, and will be a study into patterns of social differentiation as they are played out in clothing, hairstyle, bodily ideals, movements and bodily practices. The focus on such ‘stylistic’ dimensions of everyday life has its force in the entailment of body culture and in the possibility of showing other dimensions of social differentiation than the ones reflected consciously

by informants. This project will use the data available from the survey in Prieur and Rosenlund's study in order to outline the styles of normality. The aim is to study the perceptions of bodily normality – and of 'normal' bodily differences - in Aalborg today. The project will be based mainly on qualitative data produced for this specific purpose in interviews, photos and observations with 30 persons.

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