

POST-FORDISM AND INCORPORATED DISPOSITIONS. FROM A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS, TO A STRUCTURAL- CONSTRUCTIVIST THEORY

Simone Michelangelo Muzzioli, PhD student
University of Verona, Italy

Abstract

What we propose is to build a social analysis in order to bring out those structured and structuring dispositions culturally embedded in individual habitus through those distinction devices objectified by the conditional and selective policies of labour market and welfare state. These dispositions can be read as symbolic and cultural obstacles to the idea of an unconditional and universal basic income.

So, we suppose that the typical conditional and selective fordism-matrix of welfare and labour policies contributes strongly to the generation of individual narrow-minded and depending habitus, in the bourdieusian sense, which are today in open contradiction with the new flexible and open-minded post-Fordist habitus. A contradiction manifested by nowadays socio-economic problems and welfare hardship.

Thus, starting from the findings of a previous Situational Analysis, we acknowledge the paradigmatic changes occurred in our capitalist system. In turn, this acknowledgement has led us toward a critical review of welfare policies marketization, which is more and more grounded on the principles of conditionality and selectivity. So we suggest to undertake a research in which the operationalization of the heuristic concept of a universal and unconditional basic income will take place through the breaking of social actors' mental and dispositional frameworks. Indeed, actors will be analytically classified according to their own configuration of capitals, social and axiological position.

Moreover, thanks to an integrated qualitative/quantitative approach, the intent is to show how the mainstream architecture of contemporary welfare state and labour policies, based on the principles of selectivity and conditionality, contributes paradoxically to the generation of those social distinctions and problems that instead wants to oppose (excessive state aid, dependency, emancipatory constraints, exclusion, stigmatization, profiteering etc.).

Keywords: Structural-constructivism, post-fordism, basic income, welfare

Introduction:

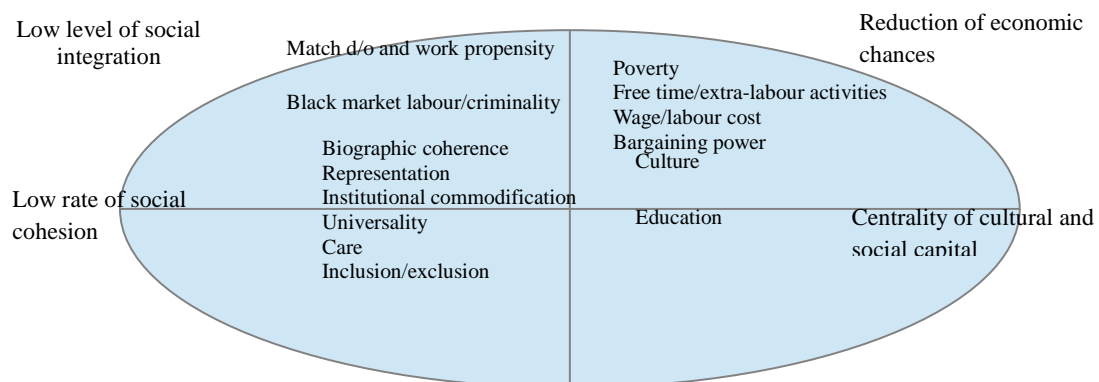
This article is a theoretical *a posteriori* reflection on an exploratory research based on the principles of the Grounded Theory, in order to provide a possible interpretation of the evidences emerged. Evidences researched starting from the need to identify new analytical ways to address the changing world of labour and the related welfare state crisis. In fact, we made a situational analysis (SA) to investigate the post-fordist socio-economic dynamics of welfare and labour fields in the provinces of Modena and Reggio Emilia. By using the heuristic potential of Basic Income concept (BI), we focused on a complex macro-social situation seen through the interpretation of some privileged observers belonging to the fields of employment and welfare. Such a situation can be roughly summarized as follows: we are in a state of transition, more and more rapid, from an economic model based on labour-intensive manufacturing, able to allow a social and institutional commitment towards full employment, to a model made up of highly skilled labour and low manpower intensity; where production follows increasingly the demand and the value of sense (symbolic) is exceeding the value of use. Therefore, we are in an economy where cultural, relational and affective elements play a

fundamental role in the new processes of wealth production and accumulation. This paradigmatic shift has even challenged the institutionalized structures for risks and social needs management, that were calibrated on the previous production model. Today, in fact, we are facing new risks and needs that are struggling to find effective responses. All this has been narrated in a polyphonic choir by our witnesses and condensed in the interpretative code <hindrance of knowledge economy>.

In fact, thanks to the adoption of an holistic approach, it has emerged how the <hindrance of knowledge economy> is generated by a low level of social and functional integration. In particular, our significant witnesses have brought to the surface the systemic productive and re-productive difficulties in cooperation and coordination, as well as the troubling issues of social exclusion. They also have acknowledged a constant and inexorable reduction of the disposable income and its uneven distribution among the various social groups. Our witnesses have then read in all that a significant lowering of social cohesion, in terms of identity and material recognition. Therefore, respondents considered, each from their own position and their own interests, that the phenomenon encoded as <hindrance of knowledge economy> can necessarily be countered by enhancing cultural capital, *objectified and incorporated*, and social capital. Finally, the plot of the interview has made come to light two opposite, but very significant, anthropological approaches: one that looks at the empirical manifestations treated in a humanist perspective, for which individuals are seen as ontologically capable of acting without the impulse of heteronomous forces (*humanists*), while the other reads a prevalent materialistic rationality in human behaviour, so that human action would in the end be moved by need or opportunistic calculation (*materialists*).

After crossing the tale built through SA with the variables identified by the witnesses about the changes that could be produced by a Basic Income provision (see Figure I), it was possible to obtain a series of sociological hypotheses of research.

Figure I - CROSSING BETWEEN GRAPHIC VARIABLES AND RESULTS OF SA



CHAPTER II

The hypothesis emerged and the interpretive paradigm

Among the most significant assumptions, we can report the followings: What would be the impact of BI on the propensity to work of social actors and, therefore, on the match between demand and supply of labour? What would be the relationship between BI and the crime rate? What could be the rebounds of BI on black market labour dynamics? What kind of role could play BI in the reconfiguration of an effective and efficient welfare system? How could be re-shaped the role of social services with BI, avoiding them from improper cares? And, therefore, what about the impact on relative and absolute poverty rates? What could be the effect on the wage system? And, above all, would it affirm once for all the power/right to the 'choice' of labour? If yes, what kind of outcomes could it bring about on industrial relations negotiations and on the union representation rates? Will the presence of BI facilitate the construction of more consistent and less precarious biographies? What can be its

quantitative and qualitative impact on self-care? And on social relations? Could BI encourage a greater social actors' inclusion? And how would it impact on their formal and informal cultural practices?

However, the question that comes up at a similar stage of investigation is: are these hypotheses testable? Can the relationship between the identified variables be verified by studying a case or by producing one artificially? In this sense, we place the search for answers inside the neo-positivist scientific paradigm, which examines reality through hypothetical-deductive inferences, or creates artificial experiments in order to study the significant changes compared to a control group. However, it should be noted that pure Basic Income, universal and unconditional, does not exist. Moreover, if we admit that such a provision would be quite difficult to be reproduced in laboratory, we have to ask: what can we do now? The exploratory research conducted so far seems to have brought us to a dead end, in a deafening absence of empirical verifiability that forces the results produced to remain at a merely discursive level. Well, this is true as long as we remain within the neo-positivist paradigm.

Looking at the hypotheses emerged from a socially *pragmatic* angle, we can read our hypothetical relationships between variables as "*social problems*". The problem of social exclusion, of unemployment, of inoccupation, of moral-hazard etc. Therefore, we abandon the hypothetical-deductive perspective to embrace the pragmatist one: '[...] *those who don't want to give up to place before epistemological categories at the basis of the research, and argues for a foundational paradigm in support of the mix quality/quantity [adopt the] traditional anti-metaphysical position of the school of philosophical pragmatist like Peirce, James, Dewey (Menand, 2001). Who refers to this position does not start so much by any doctrinal a-priori, but rather from the problem.*'¹⁴⁰ Whoever in social science speaks about *pragmatism* enters into the chaotic field of micro-interactionist and interpretative sociology. This sociology: '[...] *looks at the human subject and regards the world as a social construction of human consciousness. It opposes both the harsh structural image of the society proposed by the Durkheimians, and the materialism of conflict theory. The rigid predictability of science contrasts with the fluidity and the richness of meaning of humanism.*'¹⁴¹ The phenomenology of symbolic interactionism allows us to adopt a neo-constructionist theoretical perspective (Randall, 1996 Niero, 2008). A broad theoretical tradition, which runs from Peirce to Mead, from Garfinkel to Goffman, passing through Schütz, Berger and Luckmann, just to mention some authors. A tradition so vast, that leaves us ample room for intellectual and heuristics manoeuvre. Therefore, looking at the assumptions identified from a *pragmatic* angle, we can rather ask: *how* do people construct their own reality, *which* is the set of symbols and meanings that bestow sense to their interactions, and *what* are the consequences of these constructions?

At this point, the apparent absence of a strong theoretical answer *ready to use* transports us into another way of looking at the issues arisen. In fact, our analysis has at a first moment placed us in front of some hypothetical regularities overshadowed by the desire for immediate answers from empirical world. Instead, the regularities emerged are sub-cortical in respect to the complex social universe of meanings. The instances ensued, the arguments made, and the experiential considerations listed actually ask us to understand (the Weberian *Verstehen*) the sense of actions, the contexts in which they are produced and the phenomena observed. To fulfill this, the pragmatic way proves itself to be a necessary path in the absence of any empirical referents to be studied empirically. Moreover, *to start from the problem* reflects that aptitudes and values change called '*post-modernity*'. Thus, not only the creator of SA, Adele Clarke, tells us that is necessary to consider the situation in its relational complexity to understand the heterogeneity of the social world, but many authors note that we

¹⁴⁰ Niero, M., *Il mix fra qualità e quantità nella ricerca sociale*, QuiEdit, Verona, 2008, pg. 47 All the translations have been made by the writer

¹⁴¹ Randall, C., *Quattro tradizioni sociologiche*, Zanichelli, Bologna, 1996

are faced with a profound change of social life that shows us: *'How modern was characterized by many myths [...] so the post-modern is fragmented, denying the myths of the past as an absolute value [...] It come therefore to be emphasized aspects such as subjectivism, life everyday life-worlds, common sense, etc.'*¹⁴²

Now, in order to read and to understand the complexity of post-modernity (Morin in Portera, 2006 Clarke, 2005), it is perhaps required more than ever the recognition of the researcher's contribution. He must be conceptually equipped to understand the empirical and cognitive magma which lies ahead of him. At this point, the exploratory analysis we conducted led us to some interpretative regularities that need a strong theoretical apparatus to be studied. In fact, we need a mighty theoretical equipment in order to know *how* and *where* to look at the complexity of reality. If the final goal of the SA was to lead us toward a theorization, this has been done indirectly, prompting in the writer a different glance towards the issues addressed. This new requirement of a strong conceptual baggage has been satisfied through the use of the theoretical model built by Pierre Bourdieu. Clearly, this is only one of the possible heuristic solutions that can be taken. However, the writer has found it more relevant to the investigation paradigmatic assumptions and to his theoretical position, believing that the *subject/object* dichotomy must be overcome in order to grasp the true essence of social reality: its intrinsic *relationality* (Bourdieu, 2005). As an example, just let think about that anthropological-ontological polarization emerged during the SA, which has split the group of our observers in two parts and which could be read as a possible indicator of the contrast between subjective social values and structural values. It remotely recalls also the paradigmatic fracture of sociology, divided between the dominance of external forces and the need to comprehend a sense-*provided* subject. However, it is a dichotomy that will be crucial for the future development of the present research.

So, without going too much into the description of the bourdieusian theoretical framework, it is enough to recall that for the great French sociologist, the reality is relational and social action is always situated in a complex balance between subjective characteristics, capital allocations and dispositions and objective situations, which are the fields of social action (Bourdieu, 2003). Difficult to place within any academic classifications or schools of thought, Bourdieu defines himself as a structural-constructivist. In fact, Bourdieu's theoretical thought is condensed at best in the analytical formula (habitus*capital) + field= practices (Bourdieu, 1983). In one of his greatest works, *The Distinction*, Bourdieu explains how social space is always the first and last reality, what then determines our representations. That's why the notions of habitus, capital and field can not be separated one each other. In this sense, the real is relational: *'To the relationship a bit naive between individual and society, Bourdieu replaces the relationship between habitus, field and capital, to use his own words "between the history incarnated in bodies" as a "system of dispositions," and "the history objectified in things," in the form of systems of positions.'*¹⁴³ And it is precisely by looking at the habitus, the capitals, the fields, the dispositions and positions that we will try to analyse the changing world of labour and the crisis of the welfare state described by the reports of the SA's significant witnesses.

CHAPTER III

The structural-constructivist approach to post-fordist welfare and labour

Taking a step back, Bourdieu showed us how to *'[...] exist in a space, being a point, an individual in space, means to stand out, be different [because] what we commonly call distinction, a certain quality usually held innate, [...] in reality is difference, scrap, distinctive feature, a relational property that exists only in relationship with other properties and thanks*

¹⁴² Niero, M., *'Il mix fra qualità e quantità nella ricerca sociale'*, op.cit, pg. 64

¹⁴³ Paolucci, G., *'Pierre Bourdieu. Strutturalismo costruttivista e sguardo relazionale'*, Op. Cit., pg.12

to them'.¹⁴⁴ And given that: *'The social space is constructed so that agents or groups will distribute themselves according to their position in the statistical distributions following the two principles of difference unquestionably more efficient in advanced societies [...]: the economic capital and cultural capital.'*¹⁴⁵ So, it appears clear how differences in positional space produce different social dispositions, which in turn lead to different practices and position-takings (Bourdieu, 1983, 1995, 2005). In this sense, *'the habitus is the generating and the unifying principle which translates the intrinsic and relational features of a position in an unitary lifestyle, that is a unified whole of choices, practices, and goods. As the positions which are produced by, the habitus are differentiated, but also differentiating. Separated, distinguished, they are also operators of distinction [...].'*¹⁴⁶

So, how suggested in *The Distinction*, positional differences, practices, material endowments, opinions and values, they all can be read as a language, that is, as symbolic differences constituted exactly by the fact that we distinguishes ourselves. Our diversities, willy-nilly, are communicated and read by those around us as distinctive signs, which unconsciously form in turn a symbolic system informing social interaction (Bourdieu 1995, 1983). A symbolic and praxeological system that determines the representations of social reality, reproducing itself through the habitus dialectic between incorporation and externalization of social structures (Bourdieu, 1983). To be understood, however, this reproduction need the application of the "principle of distinction": *'[to] seize structures and mechanisms [the researcher] can identify the real differences that separate structures and dispositions (habitus), whose principle must be sought not in the singularity of natures [...] but in the particularities of different collective stories.'*¹⁴⁷ How can we identify the differences, avoiding ideological traps and interpretative distinctions, that is, not to confuse the things of logic for the logic of the things (Bourdieu, 1995)? It is precisely at this point that the bourdieusian constructivist approach can be blended with the interactionist tradition. This means that it will be important to scrutinize actors' symbolic language of practices and positions within their social space.

In fact, if we try to read the social space identified with the situational maps through the bourdieusian theoretical framework, that is, by applying the formula $practice = (habitus * capital) + field$, it is possible to interpret the various fields of labour and social protection as one large single structure, within which move and interact different habitus in terms of position and capital equipment. Thus, the social space outlined opens up in front of our eyes as an intricate set of Fordist and post-Fordist practices and position-takings. Which, in turn, we can imagine that they reproduce themselves thanks also to the incorporation in the habitus of the dispositions implemented by the institutional structure of production and welfare. Thus, what are the differences between the risks and needs that the contemporary post-Fordist social space produces in respect to the risks and needs belonging to the past Fordist society? That is, what are the significant differences in the social space that today we are not able to fill? If we recognize that our welfare systems, in particular the mechanisms of income protection, still respond to the risks and needs of today post-Fordist practices with logic and tools created in another era, we can note how we are facing a social space torn by opposites conflicting clutches. For this reason, today many post-Fordist economic and social practices contrasts with an anachronistic institutional structure of social protection.

In this way, it is conceivable that many habitus, especially those post-Fordist, come to find themselves in a condition of internal dyscrasia, being forced to incorporate, on one hand, the structural and structuring Fordist dispositions in the relationship with social institutions

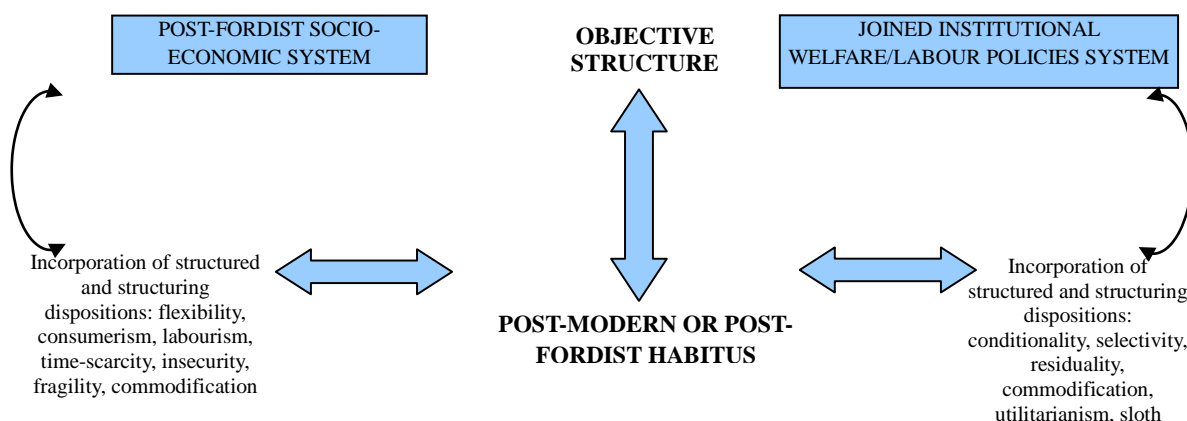
¹⁴⁴ Bourdieu, P., *'Ragioni pratiche'*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1995, pg. 18 - 21

¹⁴⁵ Ivi, pg. 19

¹⁴⁶ Ivi, pg. 20

¹⁴⁷ Ivi, pg.15

and, on the other hand, to experience post-Fordist fields of work and life. This contradiction shows itself through problematic position-takings, empirically objectified by social phenomena such as unemployment, marginalization, insecurity and so on. This discrepancy can be understood as the problem to which Bourdieu referred talking about '[...] *the genesis of mental structures and classifications, [so] the social science must question the relationship between the principles of division, and the social divisions at their ground [...]*'.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, the result is a social space in crisis, vividly narrated by our privileged observers during the SA, and characterized by fewer and fewer latent conflicts, concerning the recognition of differences and the redistribution of resources, especially with regard to the economic and cultural capital. However, as mentioned, the social space tends to reproduce constantly itself through the dialectic between structural position-takings and dispositions, which are then incorporated and reproduced *in and by* the habitus.



Therefore, we can assume that a post-Fordist system of social protection, understood as a structured and structuring structure, to heal the contradictions in which is located in respect to the social and production system, it should be able to recognize the differences between his habitus and their position-takings. This recognition, however, can not occur as it has happened so far simply by doing an operation of distinction. That is, through the institutionalization and the assignment of some *catogoremi* that transform subjects' predicates in distinguishing attributes (ex: being unemployed and being recognized as the unemployed or the idler). Attributes that in the event of unemployment, marginalization and diversity are in general always negative black marks or stigma that they '[...] *make come out the difference from the continuum of indivisible discrete units, from what is undifferentiated*'.¹⁴⁹ However, how do the institutionalized structures of welfare and labour perform these operations of distinction? Here it comes again the important role of the researcher. To understand the differences we need to see, and correctly interpret, the symbolic language made up of material equipment of capital, practices and positions.

Well, deepening the theoretical reflection, if we try to read the dichotomous pairs of attributes *universality/selectivity* and *conditionality/unconditionality* on which are based the assumptions of our welfare and labour systems as *criteria of division* that '[...] *generating concepts, they also give a shape to the groups*'.¹⁵⁰ In that moment, institutionalized and culturally rooted social divisions would become principles of division, modelling the vision of the social world and inscribing the existing social order into brains and bodies. Fordism has left us a social order marked by deep categorical divisions: *employed vs unemployed, inoccupied vs. active, excluded vs included, worker vs slacker, marginalized vs. integrated, rich vs. poor, toxic vs intact, healthy vs sick, disabled vs. able-bodied*, etc.. These divisions have slowly inscribed in the cultural DNA of our advanced society and in their institutions.

¹⁴⁸ Bourdieu, P., '*La Distinzione. Critica sociale del gusto*', Il Mulino, Bologna, 1983, pg. 458

¹⁴⁹ Ivi, pg.473

¹⁵⁰ Ibidem

However, the more the production system moves from the generation of added value through goods to the production of added value by symbolic means (and the money is the most powerful among them), that is, the more our economy de-materializes, the more crystallized social divisions with which we read and organize social reality are transformed into '[...] *incorporated limits [...] borders, with whom we come up against, and that we need to move.*'¹⁵¹ The today crisis of welfare state and the tensions in labour market can be seen as objective manifestations of this struggle and of these borders.

The criteria of *conditionality* and *universality*, these fundamentum divisionis, diacrisis or discretio to employ the bourdieusian lexicon, are the basis of welfare systems and, more broadly, of the institution-citizen relationship. They represent a sort of invisible hand through which the dominant social structure has objectified itself inside the habitus of people, in their beliefs and in their logic; determining in general their positions and practices. This does not mean that social actors are entirely forged by social institutions like automatons, but simply that over the years the action of these institutions has rooted itself in the wide culture of the society. However, as social actors are not automatons, and although the habitus consists of classification schemes unconsciously acquired, human being is ontologically something more than his habitus, or rather, it is not only that. Thus, we are also able to observe different practices and values from the those dominant.

As far as we are concerned, the purpose of the research to be undertaken will be to try to bring out some of the cultural devices at the root of social statics, those principles of reproduction which enrol in bodies and brains and, like the taste in *The Distinction*, we believe they can be represented by today's welfare state and labour challenges. In fact, if we assume that the conditional and instrumental rationality institutionalized by the systems of income protection and by the labour market has been constantly introjected and incorporated by social actors' habitus: '*The cultural obstacles can no more be ignored: the idea that any public subsidy should be linked to a direct and tangible counterpart is deeply entrenched in public opinion.*'¹⁵² So, it is plausible that this incorporation helps to create that productivist and workfarist culture, which makes us look at the changes of the production system in a purely economic perspective. In this sense, economic growth becomes a dogma, the worker is a commodity or, if expelled from the labour market becomes an unemployed person, guilty for not activating himself enough, or again the beneficiary of any type of institutional support becomes only a burden for the whole society and, in turn, welfare state comes to be seen as a mere cost to be reduced. All that, within an overall weakening of the role and meaning of the democratic state. This, according to the bourdieusian theory, we postulate that happens because *conditionality* and *selectivity* become '[...] *cognitive structures activated by the subjects to discover in the practical form social world [...]*'¹⁵³, constituting themselves as incorporated social structures.

However, in this phase of structural change of the world of work, these social structures incorporate in very different habitus. In fact, simplifying for analytical purposes, we can divide the values and the practical attitudes of post-modern social actors into two main groups, typical of all the transitional stages: *old* habitus and *new* habitus. On the one hand, we are dealing with social actors mostly characterized by Fordist habitus, anagraphically older, culturally rigid and praxeologically hierarchized or hetero-direction used. On the other hand, we can rather observe different shades of post-Fordist habitus, anagraphically younger, more culturally opened and praxeologically flexible or more willing to self-organization. So, if we were to recognize social differences even within labour market and social protection' logics, may we be able to imagine a change in the contradictions of the social space? To put it more

¹⁵¹ Ibidem

¹⁵² Ferrera, M., '*Il reddito di base incondizionato fra politica ed istituzioni*', in notizie di Politeia, 28, 105, 2012, pg. 64

¹⁵³ Bourdieu, P., '*La Distinzione. Critica sociale del gusto*', op.cit., pg. 458

schematically: If we vary the economic capital endowment within the formula *practice = (habitus*capital) + field*, could we get different position-takings and, therefore, alternative social practices? And, in turn, these changes can shed light on the structural incorporated dispositions of *conditionality* and *selectivity*? Is it possible that, ensuring a basic economic capital to all social actors, the reproduction of such contradictions interrupts? Can the duty to work and the dogmas of productivism/consumerism be reconciled with the reality of a technological productive system that generates an enormous wealth with less and less manpower, and whose productivity depends on the quality and creativity of the society as a whole (Fumagalli, 2006)? Can this reconciliation take place through a structural variation in the relationship of dispositional incorporation, that is, through the objectification of a more equal and unconditional distribution of economic capital?

Conclusion:

CHAPTER IV

A possible design of research

In order to recognize the internal contradictions to the post-Fordist socio-economic dynamics, it will be necessary to adopt a pragmatic approach that integrates quantitatively and qualitatively the research perspective. Therefore, it will be particularly useful to follow part of the methodological pathway traced by *The Distinction*, in which qualitative and quantitative research techniques have found a functional synthesis through a sequential-exploratory research design (Niero, 2008). In fact, as the SA previously conducted represented just a first step of a broader research, even in *The Distinction* a major quantitative survey has followed to an initial series of exploratory interviews in order to impart a sense to statistical data (Bourdieu, 1983). However, while *The Distinction* investigated the mechanisms of differentiation analysing the social actors' aesthetic tastes in the France of the late 70s, we will try to apply the bourdieusian theoretical framework and the qualitative/quantitative technical approach to the study of post-Fordism and the crisis of welfare state. This, to understand whether those social problems that now seem intractable, may instead be read as testimony of those distinctions created by social and cultural structures. In fact, could be probable that such structures, disregarding those subjective differences invoked by the post-fordist production system, inscribe in social actors' bodies exactly those values and practices that they would counteract?

To do this, we will try to apply to a factorial-typological sample of social actors belonging to the post-Fordist Emilia region (the same studied with SA) a principle of distinction, implemented by an hypothetical change of one of the fundamental mechanisms of social differentiation: *the economic capital* (Bourdieu, 1995). And, it is precisely in this regard, that will return in all its heuristic potential the concept of basic income. At an operational level, however, the sample survey will be conducted either through the administration of questionnaires, either through in-depth ethnographies aimed at reconstructing the cognitive processes undertaken by the actors. Well, since being distinctive involves being significant (Bourdieu, 1995), to determine if a change in the allocation of basic economic capital can vary the dominant dispositions, freeing drives, aspirations, values and capacities in accordance with the post-Fordist pattern, the research will build a '*social space [that] means having at the same time the possibility of building theoretical classes as homogeneous as possible from the point of view of the two main determinants of practices and of all the properties that follow from them. The principle of classification thus put in place is really explanatory: it does not merely describe the set of classified reality but [...] takes a look at crucial properties that [...] allow to predict other properties, distinguishing and combining agents as much as possible similar between them.*'¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴

Ivi, pg. 22-23

Without running the risk of theory reification, from which Bourdieu warns us, the construction of an analytical social space, dividing Fordist and post-Fordist habitus in typed classes, will enable us to build a research similar to the one of *The Distinction*, but with a design based in the analytical phase on the convergence of qualitative and quantitative tools (Niero, 2008). In *The Distinction*, Bourdieu overlaps a cartography of the tastes and cultural practices to a cartography of social positions, determined by the configuration of habitus, economic and cultural capital. Thus, he traced those lifestyles featuring certain social groups, highlighting how they might act as operators of social distinction (Bourdieu, 1983). Well, what we shall try to do in our part is to build three maps to be compared: one concerning social positions (always determined according to the configuration obtained between Fordist and post-Fordist habitus and economic and cultural capital equipments), another relating to the axiological conception of human nature (taking the significant anthropological-ontological split between humanists and materialists emerged in the SA) and, finally, one that describes the possible practices in case of a change in the economic capital tied to the axiological criteria of *unconditionality* and *universality* (BI).

Anthropological-ontological value judgments + social positions (F and PF Habitus) = culture of action (labour and welfare) → comparison with the expected social positions in presence of BI → Cultural Distinctions (values + practices) incorporated?

In this way, we will try to obtain from the correspondences analysis between the first two maps a kind of *culture of social action* (in reference to work culture and the relationship debit/credit inherent in income social security). This can then be compared with the third map, the one of expected practices in presence of BI. Perhaps, correspondences analysis can highlight how changes or stasis in our actors' practices can produce or not some variations in their culture of action. Changes which, if found, would testify as the initial axiological positions (and the related distinctions) could be rather read as the result of an external culture to that of the actors. In this sense, it will be essential to use the concept of basic income, defined as a guaranteed and unlimited money transfer, approximately equal to relative poverty line, paid by a political community to all its members on an individual basis without distinction, combined and unconditional (Van Parijs P., Vanderborght Y., 2006 *Income for all*, 2009, *The Democracy of universal income*, 1997-Tiddi Mantegna, 1999).

The idea of a BI is a material change in the economic capital endowment and, at the same time, it condenses the criteria of unconditionality and universality; criteria opposite to those of the dominant *doxa*. For this, BI responds to the need to cause a break in the conceptual and mental habitus of the agents to be analyzed, this in order to arouse an interruption of those incorporated dispositional mechanisms that objectify the Fordist institutionalized structure of social protection and labour market management in contemporary post-Fordist habitus (*selectivity* and *conditionality*). Thus, the possible detection of changes in the expected practices and in social self-projected positions could serve to testimony the fact that the difference *exists and persists*. That is to say, the social world is complex and that even the institutionalized systems of welfare and of employment policies should recognize this complexity. For this reason, it is important to build also an adequate social space, capable of meeting the needs for reflexivity and *autopoietic-projection* required by the research. The differences detected, if one side are increasingly the lifeblood of the economic system, on the other side, remain hidden, unified or simplified at the look of social institutions appointed to combine the necessities of the social order with those of the economic order. They, ultimately, would like to demonstrate the *non-naturalness* of certain social distinctions and of certain clichés of the workfarist *doxa*, significantly exemplified by a famous verse of a popular Italian song: *who does not work, does not make love*. In addition, the adequacy of the sample will also be important to avoid some easy semantic

misunderstandings related to the expression: *basic income*. Misconceptions also emerged during the interviews with our witnesses and to be addressed in order to safeguard the reliability of the answers.

Well, in this way it will be precisely possible to test those hypotheses identified previously by our situational analysis. Clearly, as well Bourdieu reminds us, the argument itself triggers visceral ideological reactions as '[...] *the position occupied in the social space, that is in the structure of the different species of capital distribution, which are also weapons, determines the representation of that space and the position taken in the fight to conserve and transform it*'¹⁵⁵. Talking about basic income inevitably means to challenge some balances, not only materially, but culturally and of power too, that impact directly on the positions taken by social actors in their struggles within the fields of reference. In fact, in response to those who see summarily basic income as a way *to make equally between unequal* (Gorrieri, 2002), we recall that *to give* everyone equally does not necessarily mean to not recognize differences, but rather to recognize a substantial equality that allows in turn *to treat* differences in a different way (for this, the writer is convinced that basic income is only a potential tool for systemic transformation, which would have the task of strengthening the overall welfare state framework, and not to dismantle it). The fundamental difference to be recognized, morally and legally, is contained inside the dialectic between the predicates *to give* and *to treat*. A dialectic that materializes itself through institutional provisions and that, in turn, is incorporated in the habitus. A dialectic which, in writer's opinion, has until now "given" unequally (systems of social and income protection) and "treated" equally only in certain areas (healthcare and education), so generating those social differences then objectified and internalized by the habitus as distinctions (quasi-natural characteristics of individuals: unemployed, toxic, the marginalized, the idler, the profiteer, the useless, the unproductive, the stranger danger etc..) However, here reflection slides into philosophical and political fields that are not within our competence. If the intent of *The Distinction* was not to state that: '*the motive of all human behaviour is the pursuit of distinction*'¹⁵⁶, in the same way this research will not aim to demonstrate the effectiveness of basic income, or to assert that it could be a panacea to heal-all.

What will be built is rather an analytical social space, to bring out the objective differentiation mechanisms transmitted in the habitus of social actors by the social structures of labour market and welfare, through the objectification of selectivity and conditionality requirements. Criteria that can be read as symbolic and cultural obstacles to the idea of a basic income if brought back analytically to the values and dispositions of the structure. In addition, we will try to see how these structural differentiation devices generate in turn structured and structuring habitus, which are at the basis of those socio-economic issues highlighted in the situational analysis, in open contradiction with the practices of the new post-Fordist habitus. Thus, in short, through the breaking of of social actors' mental and dispositional frameworks, classified according to their capital endowments and their positions in the social space, by means of the heuristic operationalization of basic income concept, the intent will be to show how the institutional architecture of welfare state and labour market generates those distinctions that instead wants to tackle. In this sense, an integrated qualitative/quantitative design allow us, on one hand, to grasp the symbolic systems features of the objective social positions and, on the other, those of subjective dispositional systems. This will then take us, in the analytical phase, toward a Thick Analysis to interpret the deeper meaning of any observed variations. While it is true that '*societies, such as human lives, contain their own interpretation. You just have to learn how to be able to have access to it*'¹⁵⁷, the concept of basic income, combined with those of habitus, capital and field, is going to be an attempt to

¹⁵⁵ Ivi, pg. 25

¹⁵⁶ Ivi, pg. 21

¹⁵⁷ Geertz, C., '*Interpretazione di culture*', Il Mulino, Bologna, 1987, pg. 447

access this deeper meaning. A meaning that today seems to elude us, due to the insecurity and the frenzy of the socio-economic changes that are taking place.

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