

BIOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS AND MAIN IDEAS OF BERNARD LAHIRE IN THE FACE OF THE INTERVIEWS ALREADY CONDUCTED WITH THE SOCIOLOGIST: A LOOK AT THE FIELD OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION



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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to analyze interviews already conducted with the French sociologist Bernard Lahire in Brazil, considering his biographical and bibliographical trajectory, in order to highlight his main ideas in different fields of knowledge. More specifically, it seeks to describe his biographical trajectory through the interviews conducted; present a chronology of its main bibliographic productions and; analyze the main ideas of Bernard Lahire for the different fields of knowledge, especially Physical Education. This is a bibliographic study of the state of knowledge type that was developed from the analysis of 11 interviews conducted with the sociologist Bernard Lahire.

Keywords: Bernard Lahire. Biography and Bibliography. Sociology of Education.

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INTRODUCTION

As stated by Setton (2011, p. 55), Bernard Lahire, "a restless sociologist", has been well discussed, especially in the areas of Education and Sociology, since his studies have focused on themes involving important concepts arising from the socialization process. Graduated in Social Sciences, Lahire had his first research focused on the school failure of children from low-income backgrounds in French primary school, since his education was marked by concerns related to his humble social origin.

Lahire became a great admirer of Pierre Bourdieu, so much so that he devoted himself to some criticism. More recently, he has produced research that addresses concerns about Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and the taste for legitimate culture among the French (SETTON, 2011).

In this sense, the purpose of this study is to answer some questions that arose during some readings, especially regarding the biographical, bibliographic trajectory and its ideas and concepts arising from the production of knowledge. Initially, the question is: how is the biographical trajectory of Bernard Lahire described in the interviews conducted with him in Brazil, both in terms of his personal history and his academic trajectory? Within this biographical question: what are the main points of your life that marked your career as a sociologist? And, moving on to the ideas and concepts defended by the sociologist, the question arises: what are the main ideas of Bernard Lahire that stood out in his bibliographic productions?

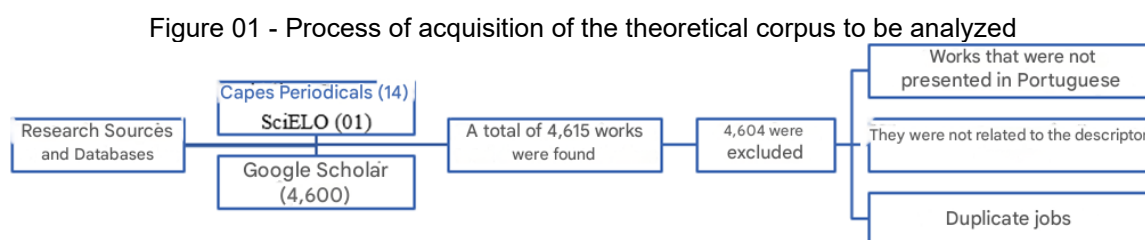
For this, this study has as its first objective, to search in the interviews already carried out with Bernard Lahire in Brazil, his biographical and bibliographical trajectory, in order to highlight his main ideas in different fields of knowledge. More specifically, it was intended to describe his biographical trajectory through the interviews carried out; present a chronology of his main bibliographic productions; analyze the main ideas of Bernard Lahire for the different fields of knowledge, especially Physical Education.

METHODOLOGY

This is a bibliographic research of the State of Knowledge type that was developed from 12 interviews conducted in Brazil with Bernard Lahire and, in this regard, three stages were used for the organization of the work: Stage 01: The entire trajectory of Bernard Lahire (personal and professional) was extracted from the interviews already carried out with the sociologist; Stage 02: Elaboration and chronological presentation of its main

bibliographic productions; Step 03: Bernard Lahire's main ideas were listed in each interview. Subsequently, the analysis began using Bardin's Data Analysis Technique (2004) and, consecutively, the discussion of the main concepts found in order to relate, mainly, to the field of Physical Education.

Taking as a starting point the list of interviews found, a search was carried out in the database of the Capes Periodicals portal and in SciELO – Scientific Electronic Library Online, and also in the Google Scholar research source. We searched for Portuguese-language articles with the descriptor "Interview with Bernard Lahire", in the time frame from 2004 to 2022. Thus, 14 works were found from the Capes Periodicals portal; 01 in SciELO and 4,600 in Google Scholar, from which those that still presented in other languages, those that were not related to the theme and duplicates were excluded, resulting in 11 eligible studies, as shown in the following organizational chart:



Source: The authors.

Taking these studies as a starting point and for a better understanding of the data collected and the analysis carried out, it was decided to present in the form of a table the 11 interviews eligible for this research, identified by epithets that will facilitate further discussion.

Table 01 - Constitution of the interviews eligible for the study

AUTOR/ANO	TÍTULO	REVISTA
E1 SETTON (2004)	Trajetória acadêmica e pensamento sociológico: entrevista com Bernard Lahire	Educação e Pesquisa, São Paulo-SP
E2 WOZNIAK (2009)	Entrevista com Bernard Lahire	Cronos, Natal-RN
F3 HASEGAWA <i>et al.</i> (2012)	Entrevista com Bernard Lahire	Áskesis - Revista dos Discentes do PPGS/UFSCar
E4 MONTEIRO E FERREIRA (2012)	Entrevista com Bernard Lahire	Revista Plural, São Paulo-SP
E5 AMÂNDIO (2012)	Do Homem Plural ao Mundo Plural	Análise Social, Portugal
E6 LAHIRE (2013)	Entrevista com o prof. Bernard Lahire	Revista Olhares, Guarulhos-SP
E7 BINDO (2014)	Bernard Lahire: "A escola é a estrutura estável de quem vive numa família instável"	Revista Nova Escola
F8 ROSENFELD <i>et al.</i> (2015)	Entrevista: Bernard Lahire	Sociologias, Porto Alegre-RS
F9 PASSIANI, SALOME DOS ANJOS (2017)	A singularidade das práticas culturais: Entrevista com Bernard Lahire	Plural, Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia da USP, São Paulo-SP
E10 ANDRÉ (2020)	"Os governos abandonaram a luta contra as desigualdades". Entrevista com Bernard Lahire	<i>Alternatives Économiques</i> , Argentina e São Leopoldo-RS
E11 BODAKI E NUNES (2021)	A Sociologia disposicionalista hoje: entrevista com Bernard Lahire	Latitude, Revista do PPGS da Universidade Federal de Alagoas, Maceio-AL

Source: The authors.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL TRAJECTORY OF BERNARD LAHIRE

Figure 02 - Bernard Lahire



Source: Education Magazine (2012)

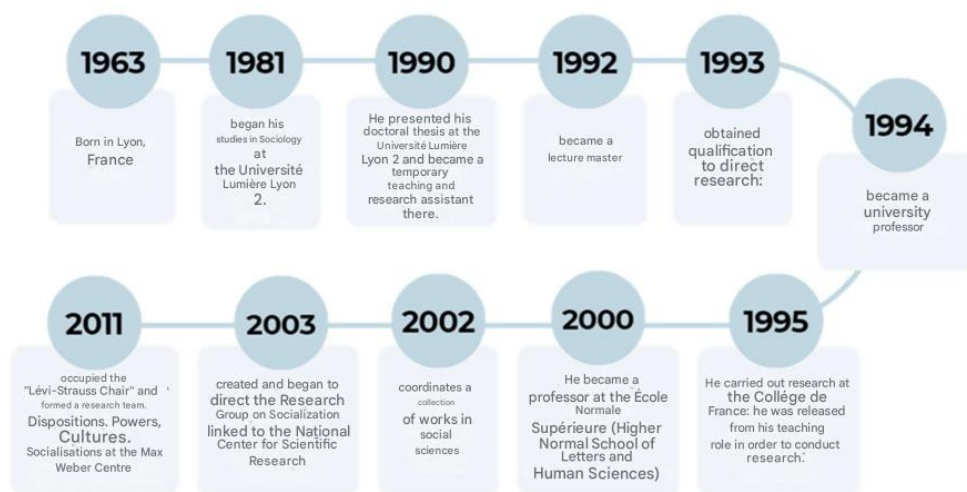
BIOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS OF A SOCIOLOGIST

As stated by Passiani, Salon and dos Anjos (2017, p. 181) "Bernard Lahire is, today, without the slightest doubt, an unavoidable reference in contemporary sociology", or as Tabac and Machado (2021, p. 165) would say " [...] is one of the most respected sociologists of our time".

Considering the interviews, it is possible to analyze some important points of her biographical trajectory, especially with regard to her academic career and professional life, since it is not possible to find much about her family life, her childhood and her school life in basic education, although it was presented in a timid way in one of her interviews (E3) that her school orientation in high school was catastrophic, studied at the lycée, in France, and had his research focused on the area of science and technology, which would not be of much interest to him (HASEGAWA et al., 2012). The interviews that presented traces of Bernard Lahire's biography were: E1, E3, E4, E5,

E8 and E9, the others dealt specifically with some concept or theme suggested by the interviewers and would not be focused on their biographical trajectory. Interviews E2, E7, E10, E11 did not show any relationship with the sociologist's personal biography. However, at E6 Lahire presented a path taken from areas and lines of research developed at the Laboratory of Social Sciences in Paris. In this sense, for a better exposition of his biography, a timeline was built with the chronology of what was found in the interviews.

Figure 03 - Timeline of Bernard Lahire's personal and professional trajectory



Source: The authors.

Chronologically, it can be considered that Bernard Lahire was born in 1963, in Lyon, France, to a Moroccan family, hardworking and humble (SETTON, 2011). As he himself states, it is "[...] coming from a popular environment, coming from one of the working-class neighborhoods of Lyon" (SETTON, 2004, p. 315).

He was the first member to have a higher education degree, which explains a lot why he dedicated himself to studying social reproduction, to the processes of domination so fine and unique, and, for example, to the creation of obstacles and possibilities to

overcome the social condition. He says that the university was an important gateway to his studies in sociology, even though he was provoked by his colleagues to enter other areas, such as engineering "I remember that my colleagues at the university asked me why I was in Sociology since I could do things that were more valued, better paid, etc" (LAHIRE cited by HASEGAWA et al., 2012, p. 201), excerpt from his interview (E3) for Áskesis Magazine in 2012.

In addition, in E4, for Monteiro and Ferreira (2012, p. 154) Lahire showed what it was like to enter sociology.

I finished high school, where I carried out scientific and technical studies, to enter a sociology college. It was a break for me, because initially I had opted for studies that led me towards the profession of engineer, but I realized, through the experience in high school, that this world did not interest me. Both the mathematical culture, which is very formal, and the technological culture, which is very functional, did not respond to my need to give some meaning to the social world (LAHIRE cited by MONTEIRO AND FERREIRA, 2012, p. 154).

In 2004, at E1, he made it very clear that when he arrived at the University, he was loaded with questions and concerns, mainly related to his class situation, which led him to direct himself to the studies of sociology, which began to bring satisfactory answers. This made him start to live sociology as a vocation and fall in love with the area (SETTON, 2004).

About his choice for sociology and the path he took to become a professional in the area, Lahire says that he did not suffer for it, quite the contrary, for him it was a happiness.

I was years behind in terms of intellectual habits and I worked with passion, without questioning what I wanted to have as a profession. Each extra year at the university was a happiness for me, and even a small social miracle, and I discovered the stages progressively (I remember having discovered in undergraduate studies that I could continue in the master's, then in the master's degree that I could continue in the thesis, but I had not planned to enter the doctorate at first). It must be said that I was the first of my entire extended family (including cousins) to pass the entrance exam and reach higher education. I worked in an "absurd" way from the point of view of my social environment. But the results were there: I was the first in my class in the undergraduate (at the time, third year of university), I obtained one of the best averages in the master's (fourth year) and in the DEA (Diploma of Advanced Studies, fifth year) and then I already amended with a thesis. It was like a dream for me. I therefore did not encounter any difficulties (LAHIRE cited by HASEGAWA et al., 2012).

Being from a humble family and raised in a working-class neighborhood, his first questions were related to the reasons for school (in)succes in popular circles (BINDO, 2014).

With regard to studies, first he went towards psychology and then studied sociology, that is, he has a basic knowledge for psychology, however he creates his own tools to justify his findings. His doctoral thesis was a historical investigation into writing in different cultures, in which he carried out observation in primary schools and found that school success was linked to the dissonance between the forms of oral and written learning in the family on the one hand, and in school the form of learning on the other - so this dissociation was fundamental to explain school success: trying to understand how the communication carried out in their homes and in the popular media and what was expected at school. In other words, the correlation between school success and social class was not denied.

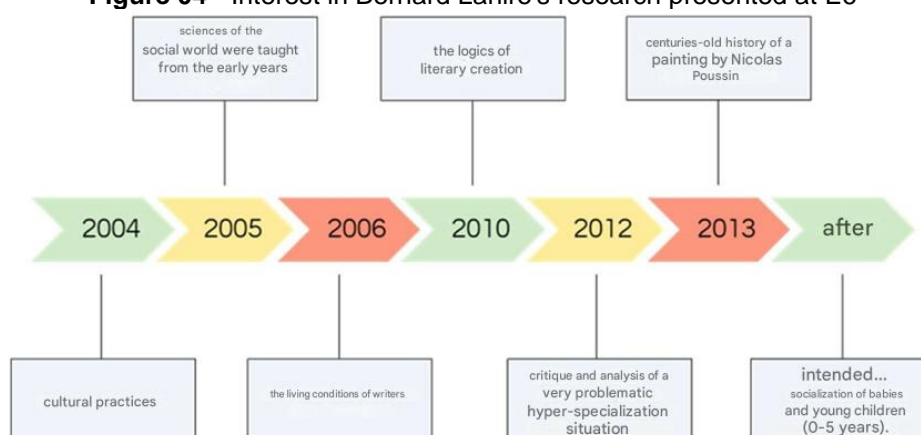
In this regard, Lahire states in E1 that his first works referred, in fact, to the school failure of children from low-income backgrounds in primary school, taking into account the specificity of school written culture, as published in 1993 *Culture écrite et inégalités scolaires. Sociologie de l'échec scolaire à l'école primaire* (SETTON, 2004).

In this way, he discovered that, not only in the moments when there is a mismatch between the habitus and the field, or between the dispositions and the context, reflection is present in the context of people, there are moments of interruption of mechanical life, found empirically by Lahire.

Thus, after his doctorate, Lahire published his book (translated into Portuguese) known as *School Success in Popular Circles* (1997 - Editora Ática). In this way, he proposes to carry out a sociology at the individual/psychological level, taking the individual as an autonomous being endowed with reason, advancing in these marks of being.

In the interview conducted in 2013 (E6), Lahire presented some proposals for new studies in different areas of knowledge, since at that time he was a little distant from the sociology of education and school. He made considerations about some research he had already been developing until that year, mainly at the Laboratory of Social Sciences in Paris (Laboratoire des sciences sociales). In this sense, we present below this path taken in his research from 2004 to 2013.

Figure 04 - Interest in Bernard Lahire's research presented at E6



Source: LAHIRE (2013)

In 2015, at E8, Lahire also considered some new research themes related to the sociology of education and culture focused on the major issues of the Humanities and Social Sciences.

I began, therefore, working with school failure in primary school, the subject of my thesis, defended in 1990. Then, successively, I studied the social uses of writing, the improbable school successes in popular environments, the styles of study in different areas of French higher education, the escalation (from the end of the 1970s to the end of the 1990s) of public discourses on "functional illiteracy", the cultural practices of the French and, more recently, the social condition of writers and the processes of literary creation, giving more particular attention to Franz Kafka's universe that penetrates the mysteries of domination and unveils the magic of its effects (LAHIRE cited by ROSENFELD et al., 2015, p.282).

Taking as a starting point the different researches he developed throughout his professional career, it is possible to see that his publications also had great importance for him to become the Bernard Lahire of today. Next, it will be a matter of presenting relevant productions by the author, in order to add to the discussion a posteriori.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CONSTITUTION OF BERNARD LAHIRE'S MAIN PRODUCTIONS

As can be seen in the biography of Bernard Lahire, he is a great researcher in the area of Sociology of Education. In this sense, it was decided to seek in the interviews conducted with the sociologist, their own bibliographic indications.

Considering the findings of the interviews, it was then possible to present a chronology and the central theme of each of the works cited, as can be seen in the table below:

Table 02 - Bernard Lahire's main productions

ANO	PUBLICAÇÕES	TEMÁTICA	ACHADOS
(1993)	<i>Culture écrite et inégalités scolaires. Sociologie de l' "échec scolaire" à l'école primaire</i>	Fracasso escolar de crianças de meios populares na escola primária, levando em conta a especificidade da cultura escrita escolar	E1
(1995)	<i>Tableaux de Familles. Heurs et Malheurs Scolaires en Milieux Populaires</i> (Tabelas de famílias)	Trata do sucesso escolar das crianças em meios populares	E5/ E8/ E11
(1997)	<i>Les Manières d'Étudier</i>	As formas de estudar e as práticas culturais extra-escolares dos jovens que seguiam os estudos superiores	E8
(1997)	Sucesso escolar nos meios populares: as razões do improvável	As razões do fracasso escolar e também do sucesso, estatisticamente improvável, nos meios populares.	E1/ E7
(1998)	<i>L'Homme Pluriel: Les Ressorts de l'Action</i>	Sistematiza a sua crítica empírica ao conceito de <i>habitus</i>	E1/ E2/ E5/ E8/ E11
(1999)	<i>L'Invention de l'Illettrisme. Rhétorique Publique, Ethique et Stigmates</i>	Discursos públicos que tratam das dificuldades de escrever dos franceses	E1
(2000)	<i>Le Travail Sociologique de Pierre Bourdieu.</i>	Construção social da realidade	E8
(2002)	<i>Portraits Sociologiques</i> (Retrato Sociológico)	Resultado de um programa de uma sociologia à escala individual	E5/ E11
(2002)	Homem plural: Os determinantes da ação	Analisa a cultura escrita, a escola, as desigualdades escolares e apresenta a sua teoria da ação	E1/ E2/ E5/ E8/ E11
(2004)	<i>La Culture des Individus. Dissonances Culturelles et Distinction de Soi</i> (A cultura dos indivíduos)	Diz respeito à sociologia da cultura, encontra-se a marca dos efeitos do sistema escolar sobre os perfis culturais individuais.	E1/ E5/ E6/ E8/ E11
(2005)	<i>L'Esprit Sociologique</i> (O Espírito Sociológico)	Definiu o "espírito sociológico" que as ciências do mundo social fossem ensinadas desde os anos iniciais	E3/ E6/ E8
(2006)	<i>La Condition Littéraire: La Double Vie des Écrivains</i> (A condição literária)	Estende a análise avançada de sua crítica à teoria dos campos de Bourdieu a partir do conceito de "jogo".	E3/ E5/ E6/ E9/ E11
(2010)	<i>Franz Kafka. Éléments pour une Théorie de la Création Littéraire.</i>	Como Franz Kafka importa o universo jurídico no jogo literário, uma problemática existencial.	E4/ E5/ E6/ E8/ E11
(2012)	<i>Monde Pluriel. Penser l'unité des sciences sociales</i>	Análise e crítica a uma situação de hiperespecialização muito problemática; aprofunda a crítica à teoria dos campos de Bourdieu	E5/ E6/ E11
(2013)	Nas dobras singulares do social	Discutiu pontos da teoria do <i>habitus</i>	E11
(2018-2021)	<i>L'interprétation sociologique des rêves</i>	Análise sociológica dos sonhos,	E11
(2021)	<i>Enfances de classe. De l'inégalité parmi les enfants</i> (Infâncias de classe. Sobre a desigualdade entre as crianças)	Estudou as desigualdades de classe visíveis, desde a infância	E10/ E11
(2021)	<i>La nuit rêvée</i>	Publicou os sonhos e suas interpretações, especificando as condições metodológicas	E11

Source: The authors.

Initially, at E1, the first indication was made by the interviewer herself, emphasizing that her best-known work in Brazil would be, at that time, the book *School success in popular media: the reasons for the improbable*, published by Editora Ática in 1997. During the interview, the following publications were also highlighted: "*La Culture des individus. Dissonances culturelles et distinction de soi*" from 2004; "*Culture écrite et inégalités scolaires. Sociologie de l'échec scolaire à l'école primaire*" (1993); *Les Manières d'étudier* published in 1997; "*L'invention de l'illettrisme. Rhétorique publique, éthique et stigmates*" of 1999 and; "*Plural man: the determinants of action*", translated in Brazil in 2002 (SETTON, 2004).

In E2, it is possible to perceive that the discussion in which the interview takes place is centered on the writings of the *Plural Man: the determinants of action*, a book published in 1998 in French and translated into Portuguese in 2002 and does not present any other bibliographic production by Lahire (WOZNIAK, 2009).

Consecutively, when doing an in-depth reading at E3, it is possible to see that there is not much discussion about the works published by Bernard Lahire, but rather something more specific regarding his conceptual inspirations, especially with regard to sociology and the writings of Pierre Bourdieu. However, some publications can be highlighted, such as: *L'Esprit sociologique*, published in 2005 and; *La Condition littéraire. La double vie des écrivains* de 2006 (HASEGAWA et al., 2012).

As in the aforementioned interview, in E4 the sociologist makes few mentions of his works, but values his concepts even more and gives greater emphasis to his professional training trajectory and his main research themes, including what concerns the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. However, he cited the work Franz Kafka. *Éléments pour une théorie de la création littéraire*, published in 2010 (MONTEIRO and FERREIRA, 2012).

In E5, the interviewer Amândio (2012) makes an introduction making a relationship between three works.

If in *Homem Plural* Lahire systematizes his empirical critique of the concept of habitus, in his most recent book, *Monde pluriel* (2012), the author deepens the critique of Bourdieu's theory of fields, extending the analysis already advanced in *La condition littéraire* (2006) from the concept of "game" (AMÂNDIO, 2012, p. 195).

In the course of the interview, Lahire highlights other important works he has published: *Franz Kafka* from 2010; *Portraits sociologiques*, published in 2002; *La culture des individus* from 2004; *Tableaux de familles. Heurs et malheurs scolaires en milieux*

populaires, 1995; Portraits sociologiques, La culture des individus, La condition littéraire from 2006 and, finally, what would be his last work published in that period, Monde pluriel, from 2012 (AMÂNDIO, 2012).

E6 is much more related to the issue of education in Brazil, Lahire's conceptions in the light of Brazilian education. In this sense, little was found about his publications, although in one of the last questions, Lahire tried to present his last studies that would have moved a little away from the Sociology of Education and Culture, the main object until then well developed in his works. In figure 04 it is possible to notice some themes and objects of discussion that were inserted in his 'new' publications until the realization of this interview, the publications presented were: La Culture des individus. Dissonances culturelles et distinction de soi, 2004; La Condition littéraire. La double vie des écrivains, 2006; Franz Kafka. Éléments pour une théorie de la création littéraire, 2010; Monde pluriel. Penser l'unité des sciences sociales, 2012 and; L'Esprit sociologique, 2005 (LAHIRE, 2013).

E7, the Nova Escola Magazine, only presents the book Sucesso Escolar nos Meios Populares, which was published in 1997 and makes no mention of any other work by Lahire (BINDO, 2014). In E8, Franz Kafka was highlighted. Éléments pour une théorie de la création littéraire de 2010; Le Travail sociologique by Pierre Bourdieu, 2001; Plural man: the determinants of action, 2002; L'esprit sociologique, 2005; Tableaux de famille, 1995 (ROSENFELD et al., 2015).

At E9, the following bibliographic works were presented: La culture des individus: dissonances et distinction de soi, from 2004 and; La Condition littéraire: La double vie des écrivains, 2006 (PASSIANI, SALOM and DOS ANJOS, 2017) . In E10, it was noted the citation of a publication that had not yet been cited so far, such as: "Class enfances. De l'inégalité parmi les enfants" (Class childhoods. On inequality among children), published in 2019, which was precisely the central theme presented in the interview (ANDRÉ, 2020).

A posteriori, and finally, E11, held in 2021, presented as its central theme "Dispositionalist Sociology today" and brought to the discussion some of Lahire's works, such as: L'homme pluriel, from 1988; Portraits sociologiques, 2002; La culture des individus, 2014; L'interprétation sociologique des rêves, 2018 and 2021; in addition, works translated into Portuguese,

"The Plural Man" (1998), "In the singular folds of the social" (2013), "Plural world" (2012)] and conducted research that allowed me to decide in theoretical debates ["Family Tables" (1995), "Sociological Portraits" (2002), "The Culture of Individuals"

(2004), "Franz Kafka" (2010)] (LAHIRE cited by BODART and NUNES, 2021, p. 308).

It also included, Class Childhoods of 2019; The Literary Condition, from 2006; Franz Kafka: elements for the theory of literary creation, 2010 and; La part rêvée, from 2021.

From this point, the main ideas and theoretical constructions of Bernard Lahire and his contribution to the field of Physical Education will be presented, in addition to considering the concepts and conceptions of habitus and field from the critical extensions on Pierre Bourdieu, among other ideas covered by the author in his interviews.

BERNARD LAHIRE'S MAIN IDEAS/CONCEPTS IN THE INTERVIEWS

In the case of the entire context that can be observed in the interviews, it is of paramount importance to highlight the main ideas/concepts arising from Bernard Lahire's statements, since most of his interviews deal specifically with a central theme, raised from one of his works, as previously highlighted. In this sense, it will be a matter of presenting them.

Table 03 - Ideas and concepts from Bernard Lahire

	AUTOR/ANO	PRINCIPAIS CONCEITOS
E1	SETTON (2004)	<i>Habitus</i> ; Sociologia empírica; Escola como meio social homogêneo; Educação e cultura; Bourdieu.
E2	WOZNIAK (2009)	Interdisciplinaridade; Sociologia psicológica; Homem plural / ator plural
E3	HASEGAWA <i>et al.</i> (2012)	<i>Habitus</i> ; Incorporação do <i>habitus</i> ; Pesquisa empírica.
E4	MONTEIRO e FERREIRA (2012)	Crítica ao conceito de <i>habitus</i> ; Ideia de ator plural; Sociologia psicológica; Bourdieu; Conceito de campo; Sociologia disposicionalista; Sociologia crítica.
E5	AMÂNDIO (2012)	Sociologia disposicionalista e contextualista; Sociologia à escala individual; Franz Kafka (2010, 2012); Sociologia psicológica.
E6	LAHIRE (2013)	Fracasso escolar; Cultura escrita; Práticas familiares; Avaliação escolar; Forma escolar.
E7	BINDO (2014)	Relação entre educação e classe social; Capital cultural; Formação cultural e interação cotidiana; políticas públicas para educação; Chance do não fracasso; Famílias a "normais"; Estrutura escolar.
E8	ROSENFELD <i>et al.</i> (2015)	Sociologia disposicionalista e contextual; ator reflexivo; Performance; Escala Individual; Kafka; Educação e fracasso escolar no Brasil.
E9	PASSIANI, SALOM e DOS ANJOS (2017)	Sociologia da cultura; Bourdieu; <i>Habitus</i> ; Marx; Capital escolar e cultural; Jogos de legitimidade.
E10	ANDRÉ (2020)	Capital econômico e capital cultural; Processo de acumulação cultural; Sucesso escolar; Escola e desigualdades.
E11	BODART e NUNES (2021)	Sociologia disposicionalista; <i>Habitus</i> ; Campo;

Source: The authors.

It is notorious that one of the concepts most discussed and presented in the interviews refers to dispositionalist sociology, since it is directly presented in 4 (E4, E5, E8

and E11) of the 11 interviews carried out, although it is intrinsic in other discussions and other "sociologies" are presented, the empirical, the psychological, the critical, the cultural and the contextualist. Two other concepts were also presented in the vast majority of the interviews, such as Habitus and field, linked to Pierre Bourdieu, can be noted, especially in E1, E3, E4. E9 and E11, although it can be glimpsed in other interviews in a more timid way. Cultural capital (E7, E9 and E10) and culture (E1, E6, E9 and E10) were highlighted in some interviews, as well as the individual scale (E5 and E8) and the plural man (E2 and E4), but with a smaller proposition. In addition, some speeches about School (E1, E6 and E7), Education (E1 and E8), Success (E10) and School Failure (E6, E7, E8, E10), both from France and Brazil.

BERNARD LAHIRE'S IDEAS AND CONCEPTS FOR THE FIELD OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Within the interviews, we can see that some concepts are used in the field of Education and Physical Education regarding the social actions that the individual has in relation to the environment in which he is inserted. For example, in the interview published by Nova Escola in 2014 (E7), the concept of media influences, such as radio or television, profoundly transformed the relationship that individuals maintained with culture and leisure. But it is difficult to make the media autonomous agents of socialization, since the effects of the media are themselves mediatized and filtered by parents and the school: television is not watched in the same way in different social environments, depending on the school situation (good or bad), etc.

Lahire, in his book "School Success in Popular Environments" (1997), tells us that the examples that refer to the practice of sports are very interesting, because we could imagine that, averse to more "intellectualized" exercises, children would be more interested and attentive to more bodily activities (LAHIRE, 1997, p.68). From this perspective, in an interview with Áskesis Magazine (E3), the definition of game is designated as a "secondary field" within which the actors are not usually permanent. The "game" – considered as more or less futile, secondary (as an adult, we only play legitimately if we have worked) – is opposed to the "work" – considered as serious, main. Many artistic spaces are games, as well as certain amateur sports spaces (there are still a few left...) (HASEGAWA et al, 2012).

It can be seen that the field where Education and Physical Education are inserted, in a broad way, ends up being influenced by the social, political, geographic and economic

context. An example of this is the sporting talent where he is developed since childhood, for Lahire, more easily if someone from the family has contact with him during life. This means that the elements that develop children's cognition is (can be) transmitted in many ways, especially present in the family circle. In this way, the object of cultural capital.

Lahire is based, at various times, on Bourdieu, such as sports performance, in which one seeks to analyze events, being in this way of analysis to advance in the reflexivity of practice. In the interview conducted in 2015 (E8), he shows us examples to elucidate that the practice of an athlete is made up of moments of performance without reflexivity, however, there are moments of preparation and planning for the practice.

Finally, to obtain such a result and such success, it is necessary to have public policies for education, summarizing in: more investments in structure, in good teachers, good equipment, good pedagogical team. Thus, it will be possible to offer students, at school, help that some may not have outside of it. For example, giving poor children opportunities to go on a school trip, giving them access to books, workshops, and art and music courses. An example that Lahire provides us regarding the equipment that is necessary for the practice of sports, is the difference between schools with a greater number of instruments necessary to make a good class, for students to learn and appropriate in such a way, but it must be in connection with the daily life of the student, their socioeconomic and cultural conditions. The school is the stable structure of those who live in an unstable family. She needs to work together with her parents to facilitate harmonization. In his interview (E9) (2017), Lahire mentions Norbert Elias who started working on sport, had difficulty in having the recognition of interest in his work, the same is justified because the object is very low in the light of philosophy and literature, in France, where it was held, is very high.

It can be said that in relation to school success or failure, students who, if we are to treat it in terms of language, there is a homology of the language of families that come from more privileged places in society and the current language in schools. Lahire shows us that there are family configurations that made the relationship between some students and the school more comfortable; ways of studying; types of stimuli; how to pay attention, concentration; stimuli from parietal figures, that is, the students who received more stimuli in the contents of Physical Education, would be those who enjoyed "success".

The examples that refer to the practice of sports are very interesting, because his book "School Success in Popular Environments" (1997), with regard to the object, it can be

imagined that, averse to the more "intellectualized" exercises, children would be more interested and attentive to more bodily activities; However, this is not what happens, whatever the subject, their behavior will remain the same, which makes certain teachers think that they are "not interested in anything". However, it is the school form of learning, no matter the domain considered, that seems to be rejected by children (LAHIRE, 1997).

Both in gymnastics and in another discipline, the school goes through exercises full of rules, explanations, and the children who do not follow to the letter what is asked of them (to perform such a gesture, such a "movement") are seen by the school, the place par excellence of the control of drives and the regulated use of the body and the word, as creatures who only think about "letting go", that is, "to give free rein to impulses normally repressed".

Less autonomous students require that the rules be explicitly remembered. If there is a direct intervention, considered more "traditional" by teachers, they ask that their attention be called all the time, that they be directly controlled, and make it difficult to develop new types of exercises that require a minimum of the famous "autonomy". In this new terrain, Lahire seeks to answer these questions with other questions: why do individuals act as they act, think as they think, and feel as they feel?

Even so, Lahire realizes that for some families, literacy is the one that takes precedence, and that all the new school activities (sports, cultural) seem superfluous to them. In this context, the transposition of cultural and family dispositions to sports contexts cannot be preferentially generalized, that is, sports trajectories are related to the way in which the individual acts in the spaces of socialization.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In view of the above, the present study aimed to answer some questions centered on the theme of socialization of individuals, according to Bernard Lahire and the attempt to fit into Physical Education. Lahire, as a sociologist with such a contribution to the areas of sociology and education, in the light of the results of his research that addresses concerns about Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and the taste for legitimate culture among the French, brought to light the school failure of children in popular environments, in which we can bring such a proposal to participation sports and performance sports.

Taking as a starting point the studies cited and interviews consulted, some key words emerge from what he says about how obstacles and possibilities for overcoming the

social condition are created, the relationship between habitus and cultural capital and how families influence the school success of children and adolescents. Lahire states that the reason why he dedicated himself so much in his research to studying social reproduction so much would be because of class transit, he explains that it is the person in whom he was born in a social environment and who, in his adult life, lives in another social environment, in the rest is ascendant through the school path, in which the same actor lives different scenes, in different contexts or situations.

In relation to sports, it is feasible to say that many children and young people who observe high-performance athletes, in their past, were people of social vulnerability, in popular environments, people who came out of a precarious condition and who in their adult life are sports professionals. This explains the fact that, in sports centers on the outskirts of large cities, they are crowded and have a great adherence in relation to urban centers. Especially in Brazil, the most common sport among young people and adolescents is still field soccer, followed by indoor soccer, basketball and volleyball. An assumption that fits us here is, when asking a boy who lives in a "periphery" which player he would like to be when he grows up, he can say that he would like to be a soccer player like Neymar. Just know the story of Neymar, Vinícius Júnior or Gabriel Jesus, who were people from popular backgrounds and who rose through high-performance sport. There is a limitation of this idea here, as each context must be elucidated according to its economic, geographical, cultural, historical and linguistic needs, as Lahire shows us.

In the same way, the influence of the media, as previously exposed, the influence of parents is also found in the sociologist's findings. In the course of the readings and in his book *School Success in Popular Environments*, we find aspects that deduce that parents who, possibly in their past, have already been athletes, have already had art, gymnastics, reading, among others, have the tendency to pass it on to their children in a way that is decisive for the development of the individual.

Finally, it should be noted that there is a limitation in this work between relating the works and concepts most presented in the interviews with Physical Education, and it is necessary to investigate the most discussed concepts, such as: the relations of dispositionalist sociology, about cultural capital, how school failure occurred and its relations with participation sports.

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