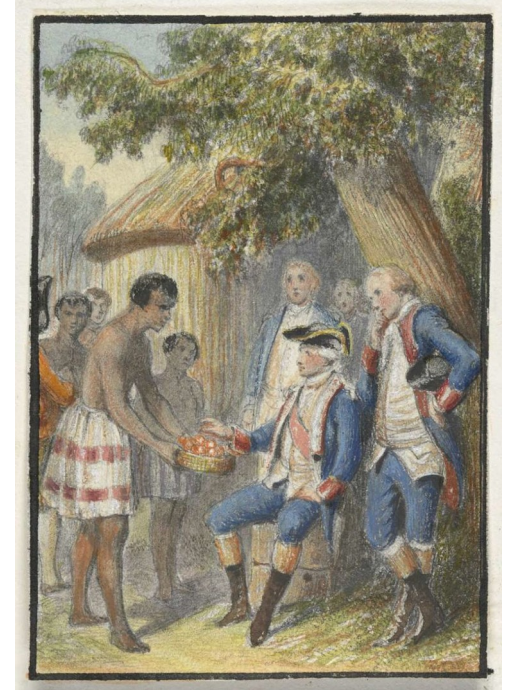


Lecture 3.
Integration and social regulation (II)
Cultures, norms, socialization, interactions

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2023-2024

Fascination for different cultures

- Western colonization of the world
 - Occasion of “first contacts”
 - Soldiers/Explorers/Philosophers/ discover different mores
 - Bougainville, 1771, *Voyage autour du monde par la frégate du roi la Boudeuse et la flûte l'Étoile*
- A powerful tool for relativizing truth and necessity of a cultures norms, values and mores
 - Pascal: “Vérité en deçà des Pyrénées, erreur au-delà”
 - Montesquieu, 1721. *Les lettres Persanes*
 - Thought experiment : describing european societies through the naive eyes of Persian explorers



Picture: Anonymous. Tahitians giving fruits to Bougainville

Difference in culture as a literary topic

“Les Émanglons.

Moeurs et coutumes

Quand un Émanglon respire mal, ils préfèrent ne plus le voir vivre. Car ils estiment qu’il ne peut plus atteindre la vraie joie, quelque effort qu’il y apporte. Le malade ne peut, par le fait de la sympathie naturelle aux hommes, qu’apporter du trouble dans la respiration d’une ville entière.

Donc, mais tout à fait sans se fâcher, on l’étouffe.

(...)”

Michaux, Henri. (1936) 1967. “Les Émanglons”, *Ailleurs*, p. 21

HENRI MICHAUX

Ailleurs

Voyage en Grande Garabagne

Au pays de la Magie

Ici, Poddema



nrf

Poésie | Gallimard

A science-fiction topic



Burton, Tim. 1996. *Mars Attacks*

Culture as a key anthropological object



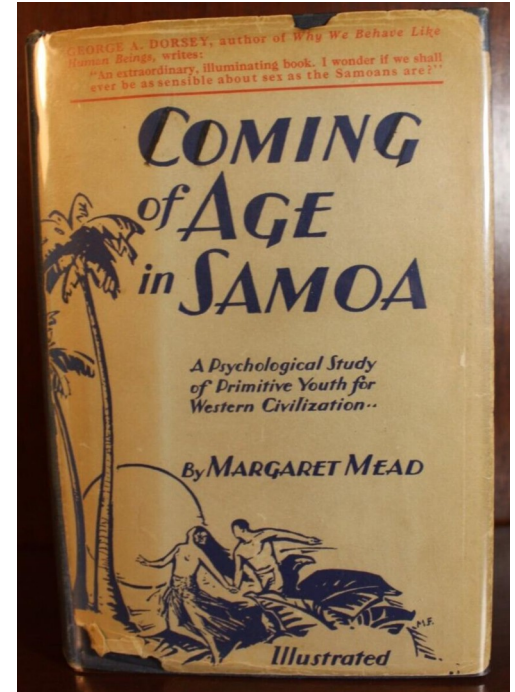
Photo: Malinowski



Photo: <https://careertoughts.com/anthropologist-jobs/>

Different culture – different sexuality?

- Mead, Margaret. 1928. *Coming of Age in Samoa*
 - Attitudes towards sex during adolescence are cultural
 - More permissive society could show the way to American society
 - Samoa society
 - Smooth, little regulated, with multiple prenuptial experiences, not aggressive and leading to no major adolescent crisis
 - Cause: Extended family offers teenagers refuge in case of direct family conflict



Mead-Freeman Controversy

- Freeman, Derek. 1983. Margaret Mead and Samoa
 - Mead, bad ethnographer, hoaxed by informants
 - Samoa, highly regulated, obsessed with virginity. Chastity as an answer to male violence
 - Cf. documentary : Frank Heimans 1988, Margaret and the Samoa :
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GOCYhmnx6o8> (40'19)
- Bones of contention
 - Ideal of Chastity *Taupou*
 - High rank female => public defloration ceremony at the marriage
 - Ideal of chastity :
 - All society (Freeman) or elite (Mead)
 - Rape culture: *moetotolo* (sleep crawler)
 - Or man, “having crept into a house under cover of darkness, sexually assaults a sleeping woman” (Freeman)
 - Mead → exists but 1) could be a cover, 2) due to anger and unsuccessfulness in love rendezvous in a permissive culture

Interpreting culture: challenges and promises

- Interpreting a culture is never totally neutral. Clash of two cultures
 - => Reflexivity
- Cherry picking from Freeman (and Mead)
- Polynesian societies less repressive of teenager sexuality than 1930's US in terms (but not necessarily than 2020's US)
- Variation in Gender roles within New Guinea (M.Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935))
 - The Arapesh: both men and women are gentle and loving
 - The Mundugumor: both men and women are violent and aggressive
 - The Chambuli: men are gentle and loving, women are aggressive
- Sexuality and gender roles differ by culture and in time



(Almost) everything is cultural

- A wave
 - Could seem as universal gesture to say hello
 - Has a history. Appeared among British soldiers in the 18th century
 - Different meaning in different cultures
 - Nigeria, Greece → offensive
 - Japan → signals confusion



Cultural variation even in most basic techniques

- Mauss, 1936. “Les techniques du corps”, *Journal de psychologie* [“Techniques of the body”]
- Cultural variations
 - in ways of walking
 - ways of sleeping & resting
- “Les Masai peuvent dormir debout. (...) Ainsi toute l’Afrique Nilotique et une partie de la région du Tchad, jusqu’au Tanganyka, est peuplée par des hommes qui, aux champs, se mettent en échassiers pour se reposer. Un certain nombre réussit à rester sur un seul pied sans perche, d’autres s’appuient sur un bâton”
- “The Masai can sleep on their feet. (...) Certain societies take their rest in very peculiar positions. Thus, the whole of Nilotic Africa and part of the Chad region, all the way to Tanganyika, is populated by men who rest in the fields like storks. Some manage to rest on one foot without a pole, others lean on a stick.”

Outline

I. Culture and groups

1. Culture as a shared universe of meaning
2. Subcultures
3. Ethno-racial divides

II. Socialization

1. Family socialization
2. Socialization and across the life course
3. Agents of socialization
4. Interactions

III. Norms and deviance

1. Norms
2. Deviance

What is culture?

- Many terms which seem similar
 - Society, collective, people, group, culture, civilization, nation
- Culture and society
 - Both umbrella terms
- Culture
 - Symbolic production detachable from
 - Accent on variation
- Society
 - People and interrelation included
 - Common patterns rather than variation
- Culture includes:
 - Norms, Values, Mores, Habits
 - Art, Religion, Belief, Behaviors
 - Food, clothes, etc.
 - A shared universe of meaning
 - Shared hierarchies
 - What is worth? What is outrageous?

Country cultures as modal cultures

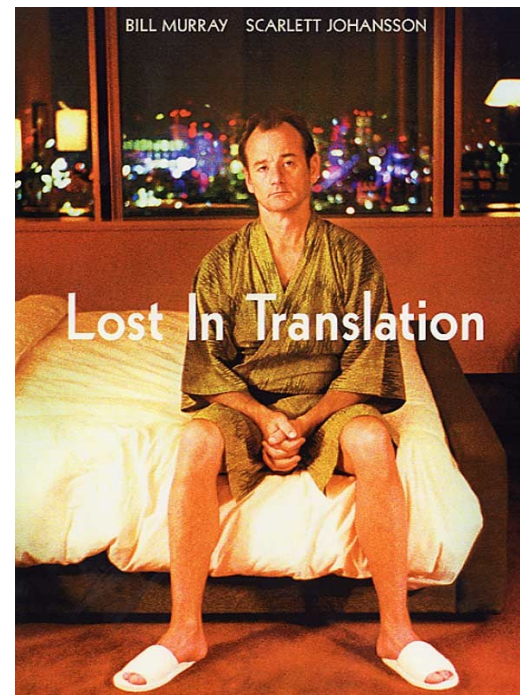
- Shared language
- Shared religion/basic values
- Shared cultural references
- Common norms → common regulation
 - Strengthened, embodied by a State
 - “The right of peoples to self-determination”
- Country cultures as the model? (French, US, German, Japanese, etc. cultures)



Photos: Starr. 2020. *Emily in Paris*; Hawks. 1959. *Rio Bravo*

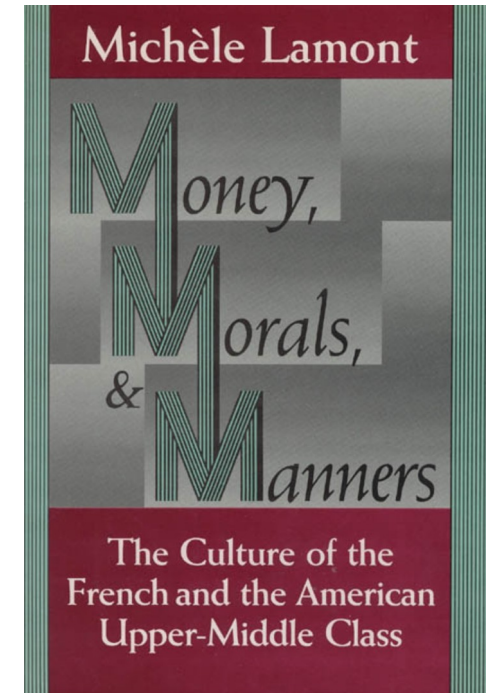
Country cultures

- Cultural misunderstanding as a common experiment
 - embarrassment/outraging
 - Salutation modes: hugs, hand shaking, kiss, etc.
 - Ex. Tipping culture in the US
- Narrative potentials for movies, novels
- Handbook in cross-cultural management
 - How to behave in business in Asia, Europe, Northern America, etc?



Country-culture comparisons in sociology

- US vs France, a classical comparison in cultural sociology
 - Tocqueville, 1835. *De la démocratie en Amérique*
- Lamont, 1992, *Money, Morals & Manners...*
 - Focus on “boundary work” in the upper class in France & US. How to draw the frontier between people like us and others?
 - Strong research design. Random sample of 40 upper middle-class males in Paris, Clermont-Ferrand, New York and Indianapolis. Split in 20 corporate sector/20 non-profit sector
 - Common patterns. Both groups engaged in boundary work
 - Cultural differences. US: Role of morals. France: Role of manners (status, cultural distinction)



Global culture

- Sociologists cautious with country culture
 - Too homogenizing within
 - Overlooks influence between countries
- Global world: rise of a global culture
 - Mostly European/US way of life
 - Long history of colonization/domination
 - But not only (Rise of East Asia)



Cultures, norms, socialization, interactions

Pictures: Salarymen in Tokyo; M. Jackson, *Thriller*; McDonald menu; Sushis; One Piece; BTS

Subcultures

- Within country, groups different culture
 - Regional, Religious, Activity based cultures
 - Example: Rock-climbers
 - Shared understanding of what is worth (difficulty, purity, aesthetics).
 - Sense of community (“tutoiement”)
- Example: Harel Shapira, US Gun culture
 - <https://vimeopro.com/asasoc/insights/video/239536359>
 - Learning to fear
 - Gun is a tool and not a weapon
 - You don’t kill with guns, you defend your life



Photo: Visitors at a gun show

Minority and ethno-racial groups

- Many societies/countries have minorities.
 - Distinct religion (catholics/protestants in Northern Ireland), language (Flamands/Wallons in Belgium), phenotypes , ways of life (nomadic/sedentary)
 - Groups with partially different “culture”
 - Coexistence/copresence in a shared locus
 - Endogamy and structured community
 - Hierarchization. Majoritarian groups at the top

Consequences of the hierarchization of subcultures

- Deliberate humiliations (ex. Orangist marches in Ireland) or unconscious ones (Micro-aggression)
- Discrimination
- Conflict
- Resistance



What is race?

- Race is a fuzzy symbolic construction responsible for many major human mass destruction and massacres
 - The destruction of Native-American communities (12 to 14 million deaths, 60% of the pre-Colombian communities mostly through viruses)
 - Slavery (14 millions African slaves sent to America, 1 million dying during transportation or shortly after)
 - Holocaust (murder of 6 Million Jews and 400,000 Romani and Sinti)
 - Rwanda genocide (murder of 1 million Tutsi – and moderate Hutu)

What is race?

- Human races as a biological concept do not exist
 - Even in biology, race is not a concept. It's a concept coming from livestock development (*élevage*): deliberate selection through manipulation of “sub-species” of domestic animals (horse, dogs, etc.)
 - Humans: Genetic variation within “races” much larger than between “races”
- So why should we use the concept of race?
 - No: ‘eliminationists’
 - Yes: Race as a self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1948)
 - “If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (Thomas & Thomas, 1928). (*“si les hommes définissent des situations comme réelles, alors elles sont réelles dans leurs conséquences”*)



The different conceptualization of race

- Race refers to a social relation/construct of alterization and inferiorization of groups based on common genealogical origins and more or less visible body characteristics (Sabbagh, 2022)
 - Balance between “body characteristics” and genealogy differ for various groups and places
 - Antisemitic obsessed with “hidden jews”
 - One-drop-rule in the US
- Race as the result of a process: racialization

Race as a plastic constructivist notion

- Definition of various groups depend on the way people racialize / characterize groups as different race
 - Difficulties: 1) we don't necessarily know how they do so, 2) it's not homogeneous in a given society
- Result of history
 - Legacy of colonial and slavery history.
 - In the US: one-drop-rule. Vs France and Brazil. Role of “mixed race / half-breed” / (*métis*) in colonial history (as a form of assimilation). Or the role of the skin tone hierarchy (Brazil)

A philosopher's clarification

Michael Hardimon, *Rethinking Race* (Harvard UP, 2017)

- 1. Racialist race
 - Racist conception of race. Race as an essence, with visible features, linked to character and intelligence and therefore object of hierarchization
- 2. Minimalist race
 - An “ordinary people” realist but non racialist approach of race: not linked to to any hierarchisation. Combination of visible features and common ancestries
- 3. Populationist race
 - A genetic realist approach, based on early separated foundational populations (African, East Asian, European, etc.). Use: DNA tests & medical research
- 4. “Socialrace”
 - A constructivist conception of race as a process of hierarchical racialization of groups. (“A critical and emancipatory concept”). Race for sociologists

Polarization in operationalization

- Very constructivist
 - Races are groups that are racialized by dominant groups. A predominantly negative identity. (little place for positive construction of a group identity)
 - Whiteness is not a color, but the name of the privilege of a group which does not perceive itself as such
- Concession to realism
 - Groups are racialized based on phenotypical characteristics : skin color, bone structure, hair texture (Roth, 2012). Corresponding more or less to population genetics
 - Eventually using skin-tone scales
- Both approaches bump into difficulties
 - Constructivist: precise limit of racial groups. Essentialism: some racism/discrimination not always based on clear phenotypes
 - Both approaches could have a dogmatic dimension

Figure 1.
Reproduction of the Questions on Hispanic Origin and Race From the 2010 Census

→ NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 5 about Hispanic origin and Question 6 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.

5. Is this person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano

Yes, Puerto Rican

Yes, Cuban

Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.* ↴

6. What is this person's race? Mark one or more boxes.

White

Black, African Am., or Negro

American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.* ↴

<input type="checkbox"/> Asian Indian	<input type="checkbox"/> Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian
<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/> Korean	<input type="checkbox"/> Guamanian or Chamorro
<input type="checkbox"/> Filipino	<input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese	<input type="checkbox"/> Samoan
<input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian — <i>Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.</i> ↴	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Pacific Islander — <i>Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.</i> ↴	

Some other race — *Print race.* ↴

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census questionnaire.

Race in France

- A race blind-nation?
 - Forbidden to produce statistics on race
 - Holocaust legacy
- Some social-scientists reluctant to use of racial categories
 - Fear of performativity
 - Hiding underlying class dimensions
 - An unstable analytical bundle
 - An importation of US concepts
 - Eliminationists?
- But need to study a social phenomenon of importance
 - Discrimination
 - Segregation
 - Comparing with other societies
- Importance of cautiousness in use of racial categories
 - Avoid dogmatism
 - Could other distinctions provide more powerful explanation (especially for causal use)?
 - native/migrant. religion/culture/language/class

Race, ethnicity and culture

- Fuzzy limit between race and ethnicity
- Ethnicity has a strong cultural dimension
 - Language, culture, common ancestors
 - Defining positive identity
- Race has generally less of cultural dimension
 - Mostly negative characterization (with some exceptions: Roma, Jews, etc.)
- But shared experience of hostility creates cultural similarities
 - Ex: African-American in the US. Discussion on Obama's blackness
- Ex. Black community in France.
 - Before 2000s, strong differences between French blacks from Antilles or Sub-saharian Africa
 - 2005, creation of the CRAN, to represent all black people

Socialization

- Process by which individuals incorporate the elements of a certain culture or a certain group's subculture...
 - Notably the values/hierarchies
 - Norms
 - Skills
- With socialization society creates individual members.
 - Socialization is not just a “prison”, it's a chance!!

Importance and mechanisms of socialization

- Humans characterized by strong secondary altriciality [*altriciality secondaire*] (Lahire, 2023).
 - Brain underdeveloped at birth.
 - Babies highly immature
 - Highly dependent & they have to learn
- Mechanism of socialization
 - Slow impregnation (naturalization of the order of things without any verbalization)
 - Imitation (Child games)
 - Norms and sanctions (“*Tiens-toi bien !*”, “Behave yourself!”)
 - Education

The early experiments with language of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250)

“His second idiosyncrasy was that he wanted to discover what language a child would use when he grew up if he had never heard anyone speak. Therefore, he placed some infants in the care of wet-nurses, commanding them to bathe and suckle the children, but by no means ever to speak to or fondle them. For he wanted to discover whether they would speak Hebrew, the first language, or Greek, Latin, Arabic, or the language of their parents. But he labored in vain, because all of the infants died. For they cannot live without the praise, fondling, playfulness, and happy expressions of their nurses.”

Salimbene de Adam. *The Chronicle*, trans. Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi, and John Robert Kane, *Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 1986, p. 352



Contemporary portrait from the "Manfred manuscript"

Wild child

- Few examples of “wild childs”
 - Legend of Mowgli
 - Victor
 - Caspar Hauser
 - Probably mistreated by humans more than raised by animals
- Malson, Lucien. (1964) 1985.
Les Enfants sauvages



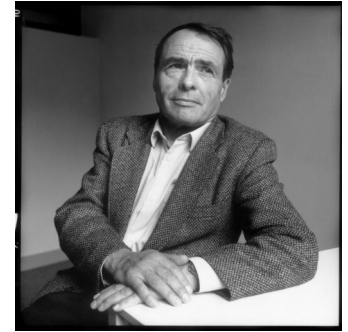
Photo. Truffaut, *L'enfant sauvage*

Steps of socialization

- Primary socialization
 - Socialization during early childhood
 - strong emotional relations;
 - deeper, long-lasting effects on the individual
 - → becoming a normal member of society (language, eating)
 - Strong contribution to identity (gender, cultural, national)
- Secondary socialization
 - After childhood
 - Often outside family: school, university, neighborhood, army, jobs, couple, communities
 - Ex. rites of passage, during teenage
 - Professional socialization
 - More conscious and voluntary
 - Anticipatory socialization

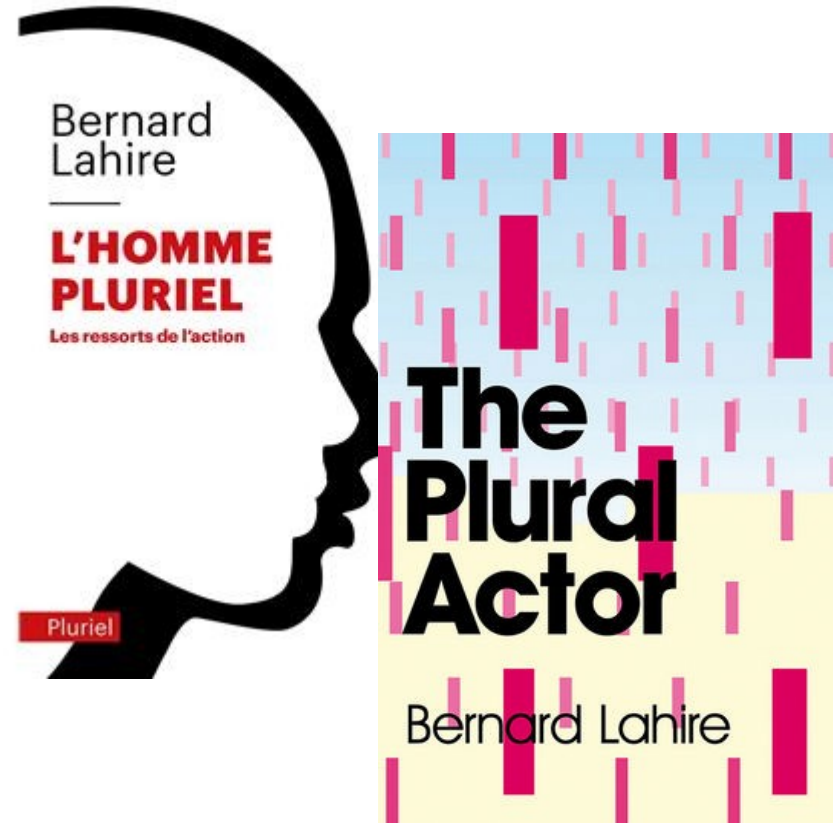
Bourdieu & the coherence of habitus

- Scholastic notion (Saint Thomas d'Aquin) derived from Aristotle (*hexis*) ; sometimes used before Bourdieu (Durkheim, Mauss, Elias, Weber) (cf. Héran, 1987). Used in medicine.
- Another way of saying “habit” and insisting on non-conscious embodiment (during socialization). Acquisition becomes second nature
- Incorporation of hierarchies of values: what is smart/chic and what is gross/disgusting/outraging
 - Ex. taking or keeping off shoes in a house Asia vs Europe
- Coherent: incorporation of schemes that are transposable from one sphere to the other
 - Ex. Fine arts. Transfer of hierarchies from one art to the other.



Plurality of spheres of socialization

- Lahire ([1998] 2010) stresses the increasing plurality of spheres of socialization
 - School ≠ Family ≠ sport/music clubs, etc.
- Diversity of spheres of socialization → incoherence, singularity of habitus
 - High brow music through music school socialization and low brow movies through family socialization
- Little role devoted to transposable schemes (≠ From Bourdieu)



Social interactions

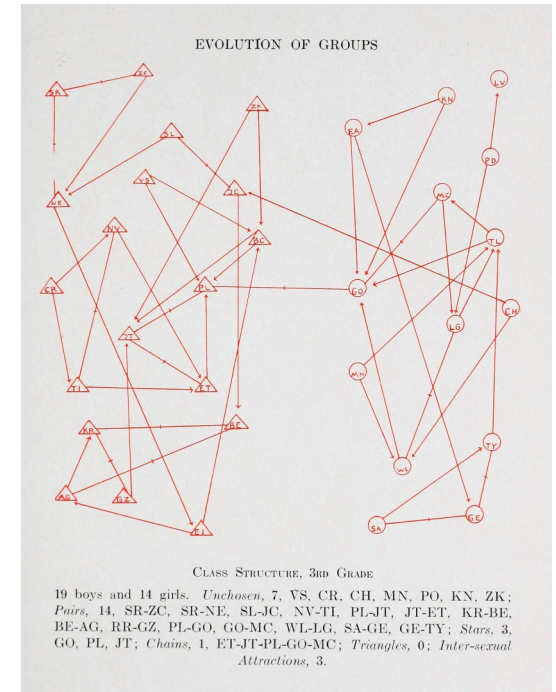
Picture: Lynch. 1980. *Elephant Man*



- Are individuals cultural dopes [*idiots culturels*]? (Garfinkel) predetermined by their socialization?
 - No, respond interactionnists.
- Micro sociology of every day life with a special focus on social interactions
 - Lability of social interactions, agency and initiative
- Goffman: focus on face-to-face interactions
 - Importance of managing the self to present a favorable image of the self
- Goffman. 1963. *Stigma*;
_____. (1963) 1975. *Stigmates*
- Stigma a physical or social handicap (race, status)
- Managing the stigma
 - Difficult mixed interactions between stigmatized and stigmatizers (normal):
 - discomfort (*gêne*), avoidance (*évitement*), rejection
 - Hide the stigma.
 - Or more rarely, make deliberately visible to return the stigma on the stigmatizer
- Stigmatization creates some solidarity among stigmatized.

Networks. Another way of focusing on interactions

- Interactionnists → describing rituals of interactions (diversity of interaction at the center)
- Network sociology → putting in equivalence and aggregating ties (aggregation of interaction at the center of the analysis)
- Focus on structural properties of the network.
 - Centrality \approx power



Moreno, Network in a third grade class, *Who shall survive?*

Values, norms, deviance

- Norms and values tied
- Values: what counts, what is worth. Hierarchical.
- Norms: prescribes rules of behavior. Tied to sanctions
 - From self-sanctioning (shame)
 - To collective blaming and shaming
 - And Institutional sanctions (justice)
 - For Durkheim, punishment for a violation of collective consciousness



Georges Rouault, 1935-1939, *Tribunal*

Deviance. A functionalist view

- Robert K. Merton (1910-2003)
 - Functionalist
 - 1938. “Social Structure and Anomie.” ASR
 - Deviance not due to pathological personalities but from the culture and structure of society itself
 - Deviant share the society’s goals (monetary success in the US society), but not the means (respecting the norms)

Robert K. Merton's Deviance Typology

		Institutionalised means	
		Accept	Reject
Cultural goals	Accept	Conformity	Innovation
	Reject	Ritualism	Retreatism
		New means	
		New goals	Rebellion

Deviance. An interactionist view.

How rather than why?

- Becker, Howard. 1953. “Becoming a marihuana user.” *AJS* (also in 1963, *Outsiders*.)
- Most research on deviance => answer the “why” question
- Rather than ask why – ask how
- Process of progressive learning. Deviance as a career
- Method:
 - 50 interviews with marihuana users “from a variety of social backgrounds and present positions in society”
 - “history of the person’s experience with the drug”
- Result : Smoking as a learning process:
 - 1. smoking, 2. recognizing, 3. enjoying



1. Learning to smoke the drug in a way which will produce real effects

- Beginners knows from far of the effect (getting high).
 - Wants also to get high
 - But not so easy...
- A specific technique
 - Different from smoking
 - Beginners do not practice well.
 - Technical Learning phase

“Take in a lot of air, you know, and ... I don't know how to describe it, you don't smoke it like a cigarette, you draw in a lot of air and get it deep down in your system and then keep it there. Keep it there as long as you can.”

“Tu inspires une grande bouffée, tu vois... Je ne sais pas comment t'expliquer. Ça ne se fume pas comme une cigarette. Tu inspires une grande bouffée, tu la fais descendre profondément dans tes poumons, et tu la gardes là, tu la gardes aussi longtemps que possible”

2/ Learning to recognize the effects and connect them with drug use

“I didn't get high the first time.... I don't think I held it in long enough. I probably let it out, you know, you're a little afraid. The second time I wasn't sure, and he [smoking companion] told me, like I asked him for some of the symptoms or something, how would I know, you know.... So he told me to sit on a stool. I sat on-I think I sat on a bar stool-and he said, "Let your feet hang," and then when I got down my feet were real cold, you know. And I started feeling it, you know. That was the first time. And then about a week after that, sometime pretty close to it, I really got on. That was the first time I got on a big laughing kick, you know. Then I really knew I was on.”

“Je n'ai pas plané la première fois... Je crois que je n'ai pas gardé la fumée assez longtemps. J'ai dû la laisser échapper. Tu sais, on a un peu peur. La deuxième fois, je n'étais pas sûr, et il [un autre fumeur] m'a dit, parce que je lui demandais de m'indiquer certains symptômes, comment je m'en apercevrais. Donc, il m'a dit de m'asseoir sur un tabouret – je crois que c'était un tabouret de bar – et il m'a dit : “Laisse pendre tes jambes”. Et après, quand je suis redescendu, mes pieds étaient complètement froids, tu sais.

Alors tu vois, j'ai commencé à ressentir quelque chose. C'était la première fois. Et ensuite, environ une semaine après, ou, en tout cas, peu de temps après, j'ai vraiment plané. C'était la première fois que je planais de manière aussi fantastique. Après, ça, j'ai très bien su reconnaître quand je planais.”

3/ Learning to enjoy the sensation

he(/she) perceives

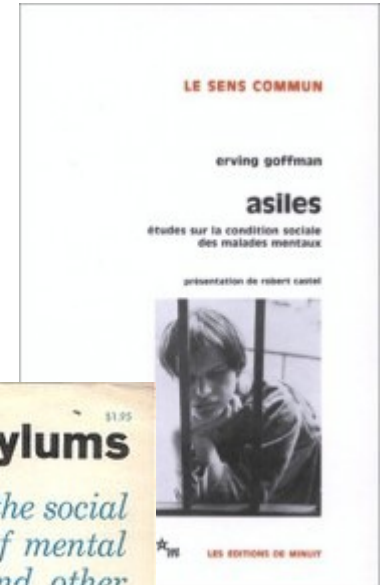
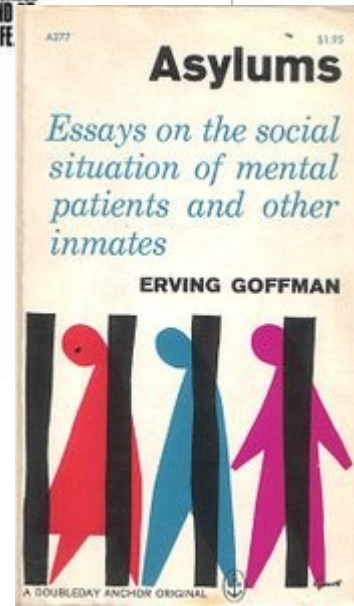
- It started taking effect, and I didn't know what was happening, you know, what it was, and I was very sick. I walked around the room, walking around the room trying to get off, you know; it just scared me at first, you know. I wasn't used to that kind of feeling
- It was offered to me, and I tried it. I'll tell you one thing. I never did enjoy it at all. I mean it was just nothing that I could enjoy. [Well, did you get high when you turned on?] Oh, yeah, I got definite feelings from it. But I didn't enjoy them. I mean I got plenty of reactions, but they were mostly reactions of fear. [You were frightened?] Yes. I didn't enjoy it. I couldn't seem to relax with it, you know. If you can't relax with a thing, you can't enjoy it, I don't think.
- Ça commençait à faire effet, mais tu sais, je ne comprenais pas ce qui m'arrivait. Je ne me sentais pas bien du tout. Je marchais, je tournais autour de la pièce, en essayant de sortir. Au début, ça me faisait peur, c'est tout ce que ça me faisait. Je n'avais pas l'habitude de ce genre de sensation.
- On m'en a proposé et j'ai essayé. Je vais te dire une chose. Je n'ai jamais aimé ça. Je pensais que ce n'était vraiment pas quelque chose que je pouvais fumer. [Bon, est-ce que tu as plané quand tu as fumé ?] Oui, ça m'a bien donné des sensations bien nettes, mais pas du plaisir. Je veux dire, j'ai eu plein de sensations, mais c'était surtout des réactions de peur. [Tu avais peur ?] Oui. Mais je n'aimais pas ça. Je n'arrivais pas à me sentir détendu, tu comprends. Si on ne peut pas se détendre, il n'y a pas de plaisir, à mon avis.

Appendix. Discussion on text and movie

Total institution. Wiseman & Goffman

- Goffman. 1961. *Asylums*,
_____. 1968. *Asiles*.
- Wiseman, Frederik. 1967. *Titicut Follies*
 - Bridgewater State Hospital for the Criminally Insane. Tied to a prison
 - Censored during 23 years
 - Officially: Privacy issues
 - Probably: negative image

"Extraordinarily candid... Makes Marat/Sade look like 'Holiday on Ice'." - Vincent Canby, N. Y. Times. "Highly recommended for anyone but the squeamish." - N. Y. News. "Relentless expose of a present-day snakepit." - Time



Trigger warning

In some excerpts of this documentary, one can see naked men in humiliating situations (Excerpts 1 and 4)

Excerpts

- 3'15 → 6'25. Arrival and interrogation
- 35'27 → 40'07. Inmate-doctor interaction
- 1:02:00 → 1:09:02. Commission
- 47'05 → 47'54. Health problems
- 53'54 → 57'44. Inmate life

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