

means mastering it by imprinting one's mark on it, possessing it by making it personal. "Modern", made for a "modern" man, the apartment demands the behaviour of a modern man. For those who lack the means to occupy it and inhabit it, it becomes a sort of alien world on which they cannot imprint their mark and whose expectations they do not know how to fulfil. The arrangement of the rooms, the available space, the functional predeterminations call for a certain type of furniture, certain lighting, certain decoration. Nothing is more desolate than a modern apartment "furnished", as in a shanty town, with a few mattresses, a *kanun*, and a straw mat. This is because it is not lived in but "occupied": not a dwelling, an organized, mastered, humanized space, but merely "premises". The scandal is all the greater for the occupants themselves because they confusedly hoped that the modern apartment could satisfy expectations which it in fact arouses without helping to fulfil; greater too because, contrary to what happened in the shanty town, incitements and solicitations are no longer found (intermittently) in an alien universe, that of the Europeans, but are permanently inscribed in the most familiar space.¹²

In short, a modern apartment gives rise to sometimes insuperable material difficulties as well as inaccessible aspirations. Furthermore, by its very structure, it is linked to a whole art of living which the daily existence of many new tenants contradicts in every respect. By a sort of displacement, the person who finds himself incapable of fulfilling the requirements of his apartment comes to think that the accommodation does not satisfy his own requirements. Deciphering the intention contained in accommodation that is defined as "economical" or "intermediate" (*évolutif*), he perceives it as an inferior version of European housing, housing "built for Arabs and fit for Arabs" – when the accommodation he finds inadequate, because it is second-rate, in fact already exceeds his possibilities. Hence the contradictory statements of unhappy ten-

12. One of the foundations of the real solidarity between all the inhabitants of the shanty town is the uniformity of their conditions of existence, which causes poverty to be experienced as a common condition, shared by the whole group. The revolt of the excluded, which springs from comparison with the world, both different and external, of the Europeans, is quite different in nature from that aroused by direct experience of the impossibility of enjoying the advantages offered by that world, which are now within reach, in one's own home, in the form of a comfort which one has to deny oneself, or in the flat or building next door, in the homes of those who have the means of enjoying it.

ants who declare that they could afford the rent to live on the European estate (with "all mod. cons.") when in reality they have difficulty in meeting the rent and gas bills in their "economical" housing. Hence too the constellation of practices by which those who cannot adapt to the estate adapt the estate to themselves. Unable to achieve the higher level of adaptation required by the modern estate, they seek to create a form of adaptation at a lower level, at the cost of a "shanty townization" of the estate.¹³ Thus, in the poorest classes, the extended family, which had split up, tends to be reconstituted. Relatives who had remained in the shanty town or have recently arrived from the country come and join the nucleus that is established in the apartment. On single-storey estates (La Montagne, for instance), shacks are built in the courtyards. Where there are tall blocks, the loggias are closed off and turned into rooms to house extra couples. The number of economically active persons increases. The new arrivals seek to make work for themselves on the perimeter of the estate, setting up small mobile businesses or spreading out their wretched, miscellaneous wares on the ground. At the same time, some of the European-style shops are abandoned. Meeting-places spring up spontaneously around the estate. Groups of old men are again to be seen leaning against the walls of the building, talking all day, as they did in the shanty town or in their village in Kabylia. But those who turn a modern estate into a shanty town are not obeying a backward-looking traditionalism. Prevented from adapting, as they wished, to an environment which requires a transformation of all their attitudes, deprived of the material conditions for such a transformation, they are simply re-creating the previous living conditions which they thought they were leaving behind them when they arrived in a modern estate.

The contrast between the needs aroused by the housing and the

13. The amount of vandalism in the shared parts of the estates, committed by the children and adolescents but rarely arousing strong disapproval in the parents, is perhaps the best indication of the lack of commitment to and, so to speak, refusal of responsibility for, the environment. On one estate (Diar-Mahçoul), where there is strong discontent, perhaps because it contains in an extreme form all the contradictions which have been analysed (the "intermediate" estate is next to the "all mod. cons." European estate; a number of tenants have relatively low incomes and so have great difficulty in adapting to their accommodation; and all sorts of obstacles stand in the way of the "shanty townization" that is possible in other "intermediate" estates, such as La Montagne), there is a very high degree of vandalism. Other estates (like Diar el Bahia), occupied by families who earn high wages and are co-owners of their buildings, have been very little vandalized.

means available is aggravated by the disturbance which results from moving into the new apartment and which touches every aspect of existence. Not only is the balanced budget which depended on there being several sources of income jeopardized by the fact that there generally remains only one wage, and sometimes an irregular one, to meet increased expenditure that has to be organized around what have become regular commitments,¹⁴ but also the splitting up of the family and the break with a familiar neighbourhood lead to the isolation of the nuclear family and a slackening of the bonds of solidarity. There is no one to go for a stroll with; the lively atmosphere of the shanty town has given way to the superficial, occasional relationships of the housing estate; some go back to the shanty town in their spare time, to see their old friends, or go and sit in the shanty town adjacent to their building. The women in particular suffer from this contraction of the social field (surrounded by strangers, they go out less), all the more so since there is nothing in the home to take the place of their old relationships.¹⁵

The new environment isolates people whereas the shanty town or old neighbourhood united them. In a house in the Casbah, for instance, the separation between the dwellings occupied by different couples is more symbolic than real. The house or neighbourhood is the extension of the internal space of the home.¹⁶ The wife's living space extends as far the neighbouring houses or rooms, and also as far as the fountain and grocery store; the flat or shack is surrounded by a whole set of variously distant points corresponding to different aspects of female activity, tasks which bring together increasingly large groups as the distance grows. In the corner of the room set aside for that purpose, the woman cooks; in the courtyard she gets water and sometimes does her

14. In contrast to confidence-based credit, bank credit imposes a hitherto unknown regularity and rigidity. The new expenses become the focus of all conduct. Stable expenditure entails stable employment and a certain amount of rational calculation.

15. Some men, aware of this privation, buy a television set for their wives. But such a purchase is out of the question for the poorest, who are hard put to it to pay their rent.

16. "In the Casbah, I knew everybody and everybody knew me. I could go into all the houses and visit the women. I could complain to people without there being trouble. Relationships with other people were no problem. There was only a veil between us. Here it isn't a veil, it's a door. There are 245 tenants here and we don't even know one another. We hardly say hello. Everyone goes home and shuts the door and that's all you see of them."

washing; on the terrace, she hangs out her washing; at the Turkish bath, shared by the whole district, she meets her neighbours. Thus most of the activities which fall to her help to insert her into a social network outside the family proper.

By contrast, the domestic cell in a residential block has to provide its occupants with everything they need. All the women's activities (washing, drying, ironing, cooking, etc.) can be carried out within it. This means that the opposition between the inside and the outside now corresponds exactly to the opposition between the family nucleus and the neighbourhood, between the apartment and the rest of the building. Because of the complete absence of collective facilities on the estate, the scope of the wife's activity is narrowed, especially since a modern flat offers more housework to be done; the outside world begins at the front door. Even the elevated passageway, which might be expected to create a link between neighbours, is foreign territory: it is rare, for example, for people to use it to take the evening air, or to leave pot plants on it. Since contacts with neighbours now only take place when housework is being done, they become rarer and more superficial, and when they do occur, they are seen as useless, as a waste of time in gossip or chatter. Moreover, perceived as an obstacle to the individualism which this environment encourages, social life is something one puts up with rather than chooses. Contacts very often only occur in the quarrels provoked by noise or the children. The change of residence means that people are no longer linked to their neighbours by the old ties, and the objective organization of space does not favour the establishment of new relationships. This results in an apparently contradictory attitude towards the new co-residents: people complain both of isolation (especially the women) and of overcrowding, mere proximity that is suffered, not sought. Because their cultural traditions have not prepared them for the new life-style and the smallness of the apartment encourages them to go out as soon as they can, the men continue to spend their leisure time together. Because their living space is greater and their natural place is outside, they suffer less than the women from the isolation due to rehousing. There is nothing to compensate the women for the loss of the satisfactions given by the social environment of the shanty town. Thus the nuclear family, with modern housing favouring its material and affective auto-

nomization by the spatial and budgetary constraints it imposes, cannot find within itself either the economic resources or the cultural traditions (leisure activities, reading, home improvement, cultural images favouring and valorizing the privacy of the couple) which are the precondition for a full achievement of that autonomy. It follows that the new social units arising from rehousing find themselves halfway between two forms of economic and social equilibrium, with the sense of having lost everything on one side without gaining much on the other.

Conversely, for the most privileged categories, whose old environment condemned them to a dual existence, with a clear separation between the life they led at the office and the life the shanty town forced on them, access to modern housing is the opportunity for a cultural transformation. All obstacles are removed. The focus of all their contradictions disappears. Their living space now matches their possibilities. Their aspirations are redoubled by the incitements created by their home environment; or rather, desires which hitherto were formulated only in imagination and were concretely thwarted now find the material conditions for their realization. The tendency towards the self-completion of the system constituted by the new life-style gives rise to new needs. Certain forms of expenditure are greatly increased: furniture, labour-saving devices, clothes (with the desire to affirm a certain status), means of entertainment (television), etc. It follows that the breakdown of expenditure between the various items in the family budget is profoundly altered; more and more use is made of bank credit, which brings with it the need for calculation. It seems that spending on food is often reduced, at least in relative terms. However, unlike the other categories, who spend on housing amounts that are disproportionate to their incomes but without managing to satisfy the demands of a modern apartment and the new needs it stimulates, families in these classes are generally better prepared for adapting to a modern dwelling and undertaking the disciplines needed in order to succeed in such an adaptation; furthermore, with their considerably higher incomes, they are able to achieve a new economic equilibrium without having to make inordinate sacrifices in other areas. Because all the economic and cultural conditions for an overall transformation of the system of economic dispositions are

united, access to modern housing is the opportunity for a restructuring of the system of practices which is to be seen in the division of labour between the sexes, the management of the family budget, the education of the children, and leisure activities. Thus the self-enclosure of the family group that is favoured by the new home environment is generally accompanied by the discovery of a new art of living: what for others is isolation is here experienced as privacy. The men spend much more time at home; reading, television, and the children increasingly take the place of time spent with friends. The women devote more time to housework, reading, and looking after the children who go to school. Intensified domestic relationships compensate for the increased rarity of outside relationships and the slackening of relationships with variously distant kinsmen which is both the precondition and the product of embourgeoisement.¹⁷

Thus, through the conditions which give access to it and the transformations of practice which it makes possible, modern housing has made possible the development of a (petty) bourgeoisie whose whole life-style, its values and its aspirations, separates it from the proletariat and sub-proletariat of the shanty towns and old urban areas. The conditions required of those who cross the "threshold of modernity" are such that it is here a boundary between classes.

17. Whereas the sub-proletarians, ill-adapted to the estate, maintain their links with their old circles, most members of this new middle class break their old connections, carefully avoiding any return to their old neighbourhood, and increasingly often abandoning the ritual of exchanged visits which previously maintained their ties with relatives remote in geographical and especially social space.

Conclusion

If the same meaning can express itself as much in economic conduct, whether fatalistic or enterprising, incoherent or methodical, as in political conduct and opinions, whether resigned or resolved, revolted or revolutionary, this is because the system of dispositions is linked to the economic and social situation through the mediation of the objective potentialities defined by and defining that situation. Objective, collective probabilities (such as the likelihood of access to scarce assets or the chances of upward mobility over one or several generations) – statistically measurable in the form of regularities independent of individual wills – are also concrete data in individual experience. Class habitus, the internalization of the objective situation, is the structure unifying the system of dispositions, which presuppose practical reference to the objective future, whether, it be a matter of resignation to or revolt against the present order or the capacity to subject economic conduct to forecasting and calculation.

In fact, consciousness of class situation can also be, in another respect, an unconsciousness of that situation. The use of mediating (or hybrid) concepts, such as objective potentiality or class habitus, enables us to get beyond the abstract oppositions between the subjective and the objective, the conscious and the unconscious. The objective future is that which the observer has to postulate in order to understand the present behaviour of social subjects, which does not mean that he places in the consciousness of the subjects whom he observes the consciousness he has of their consciousness. For the objective future may not be a goal consciously pursued by the subjects and yet can still be the objective principle of all their conduct – because it is inscribed in those subjects' present situation and in their habitus, internalized objectivity, a permanent dis-

position acquired in a situation, under the influence of that situation. Both in their conscious representations and in their practices, the sub-proletarians reproduce the situation of which they are the product and which contains the impossibility of an adequate cognizance of the truth of the situation: they do not know that truth, but they enact it, or, if you will, they state it only in their actions. Their unrealistic statements only seem to contradict the objective reality which their acts so clearly express: illusion itself is not illusory and it would be a mistake to see an arbitrary phantasm in what is only the objective effect of their impossible position in the economic and social system.

Although the social agent necessarily cannot grasp as a totality a system which only ever appears to him in profiles, the gap between subjective apprehension and the objective truth of the situation varies considerably from one class situation to another. The pressure of economic necessity can arouse a discontent and a revolt which do not necessarily presuppose a clear, rational grasp of the goal of the revolt (as is seen for example in the distance between emotional quasi-systematization and genuine totalization) and which may manifest themselves in resigned passivity as well as in elementary explosions devoid of explicit purpose.¹ The mechanical image of compression and explosion too often obscures the fact that the most intense oppression does not coincide with the most acute awareness of oppression but that, on the contrary, it is precisely here that the discrepancy between the objective situation and awareness of that situation is greatest. In short, if we refuse to see class consciousness either as the mechanical result of the pressure of economic necessity or as the reflexive act of a freedom deciding itself despite and against all

1. It would seem that these analyses are as valid for the inhabitants of *favelas*, *barriadas*, and *brazzavilles* as for the inhabitants of the Algerian shanty towns, as is shown by two descriptions very close to those presented here. The first relates to Latin America and the second to Africa. "To me, among the striking things about these families are their general *malaise*, the rarity among them of happiness or contentment... It is characteristic of breaking or broken cultures that they no longer give satisfaction, no longer 'make life worth living'" (Oliver La Farge, Foreword to Oscar Lewis, *Five Families* (New York: Science Editions, 1962), pp. ix-x). "There is a common theme apparent in their attitudes and in their actions, every one of them. The theme is a sense of a lack of something in their lives. The new world they have embraced, with various feelings, leaves them with an emptiness, a void that they all recognize and all want to fill" (Colin M. Turnbull, *The Lonely African* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963), p. 27).