

# Social Exclusion and ‘Sociology of Experience’: Three Logics and Articulating Work

*HAMANISHI Eiji*

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## **Abstract**

This study aims to examine François Dubet’s ‘sociology of experience’ as a new approach to analyse the experiences of people living in conditions called ‘social problems’, particularly ‘exclusion’. As a specific example of description and analysis, this study investigates a survey on marginalised youth in Melbourne. Traditional approaches unidimensionally reduce the multilayered and complex problem of exclusion; as such, these approaches are unable to adequately portray the individuals’ complex subjectivity. However, the ‘sociology of experience’ (1) conducts a multidimensional analysis based on the three logics, or perspectives, of integration, strategy and subjectivation and (2) places focus on the individuals’ complex work of uniting the individual logics. Furthermore, traditional approaches have legitimised the objectification of individuals and unilateral readings by researchers by overvaluing society and systems (as well as their oppression). The ‘sociology of experience’ (3) claims that the true problem of exclusion is the division of systems and that individuals are situated between autonomous logics, hence weakening the ability for ‘action’. Therefore, the work of articulating each logic independently becomes important. From the perspective of the individuals narrating and organizing settings themselves, the ‘sociology of experience’ (4) stresses sociological intervention that does not objectivise individuals. With these characteristics, the ‘sociology of experience’ has major significance as an ‘inclusive’ approach and is applicable to Japan by considering welfare regime types and paradigms of exclusion.

Keywords: social exclusion, social experience, Alain Touraine

## **1 François Dubet and Sociology of Experience**

This study examines the ‘sociology of experience’ (Dubet 1987, 1994; McDonald 1999), an approach for analysing the ‘social experience’ of individuals living in ‘social problems’, particularly ‘exclusion’. Specifically, the ‘sociology of experience’ is interested in answering the following research questions: (1) how should the experiences

of individuals living in exclusion be depicted? Do traditional approaches depict them adequately? (2) Why is it difficult for excluded people to arrive at any sort of organised struggle and conflict, much less ‘social movements’? How is the emergence of complex subjectivity to be understood, and what expectations are necessary?

There are many indications that exclusion is multilayered, composite and multidimensional (Iwata 2008; Higuchi 2004; Balla & Lapeyre 2005, etc.). Quantitative research is even premised on

that composite nature (Yapez del Castillo 1999; Uchida 2008, etc.). However, inadequate consideration has been seemingly given on how to apprehend this composite and multi-layered nature in qualitative research and ethnographies. How can the multi-layered experiences of excluded people be described? There is approach of the social pathology/deviance theory/Chicago school, the rational choice theory/Bourdieuian/Goffmanian approach, the critical sociology/subaltern/Marxist approach and others. Although many studies exist, they are all unidimensional descriptions and have the possibility of reducing the multi-layered problem of exclusion to a unidimensional scale. There is also an issue with their depiction of subjectivity. A sole focus on subjectivation logic, as commonly seen in these studies, cannot depict the complex experience or subjectivity within social exclusion. It is possible that while the individual may be sufficiently aware of this, she/he cannot remain there. Further underlying the subjectivation logic is an exaggeration of systems and structures, specifically in the view of 'society' and an assumption of hierarchical structure. Because of this, methodologically, the researchers often read into (interpret) these experiences, and as will be discussed later, this leads to the objectification of individuals (who cannot self-analyse their own experiences), i.e. epistemological disconnection. In sum, traditional approaches, whether in their perspectives or methodologies, have become approaches that 'exclude' a variety of things. Irrespective of how detailed a one-sided and unidimensional description is, its failure to capture a complex reality has the possibility of leading to nothing but a new 'exclusion'. This is a fundamental problem that necessitates a multidimensional and 'inclusive' approach.

One possible approach is François Dubet's 'sociology of experience' (*Sociologie de l'expérience*), a representative of French subjective approaches in social exclusion theory. Dubet was born in 1946. He is a professor at the University of Bordeaux II and former vice-president of CADIS<sup>1</sup>). Former Vice-President of the International Sociological Association RC47, Dubet was one of the two well-

known successors of Alain Touraine (the other was Michel Wieviorka, President of the International Sociological Association from 2006 to 2010). Dubet participated in Touraine's social movement studies (Touraine 1976; Touraine et al. 1978, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1984) with Wieviorka during the '70s and the '80s, while he himself conducted surveys on excluded unemployed youth and second-generation immigrants (in France, Belgium and Chile) (Dubet 1987; Dubet et al. 1989). Thereafter, while conducting studies on primary, secondary and university students' 'experiences', (Dubet 1991; Dubet & Martuccelli, 1996; Lapeyronnie & Marie, 1992), he wrote *Sociology of Experience* (1994) in the mid-90s as an alternative theory to Touraine's 'sociology of action' (Touraine 1965[2000]; Dubet 2007; Hamanishi 2009)<sup>2</sup>.

Dubet's 'sociology of experience' is not simply a unidimensional exclusion theory of the complex logics of people in a condition of 'social exclusion'; rather, it is based on a multidimensional theory composed of three perspectives and logics and attempts to understand the anguish of living in between them and the work of in tying them together.

In what follows, this study will organise traditional approaches to social problems in three categories and indicate that the 'sociology of experience' positions them as multiple perspectives and logics that are equal in value (Section 2). Furthermore, this study will introduce the case of Melbourne (Section 3) and depict the complex subjectivity of individuals as the work of those involved in tying these three logics together (Section 4). Finally, this study will examine the relationship between these logics and systems and between the researcher and the individuals involved (Section 5).

## 2 Three action logics that organise individuals' narratives

According to Dubet, there are three traditional methods in sociological descriptions of social phe-

nomena and social problems. Each has a unique perspective regarding ‘who am I’, ‘how am I related to others’ and ‘what are the stakes and issues in those relationships’. Each method views the problem in a different way. The three perspectives ‘each take a critical position towards the other two’, and all of them ‘claim that they can reconstruct society as a whole from a single central point’ (Dubet 1994: 134). Each is exclusionary of the others.

As will be stated later (Section 5), these perspectives are, on one hand, methods of descriptions by researchers, but at the same time, they are perspectives and logics that are used in individuals’ organisation of narratives of their experiences. As researchers are able to differentiate between these three perspectives, individuals are also able to differentiate between these perspectives and logics and organise their narratives accordingly.

Below, we will call these integration (*intégration*) logic, strategy (*stratégie*) logic and subjectivation logic, as Dubet calls them, and introduce them in terms of self-definition, relationship to others and stakes of relationships (Dubet 1994: 111).

## 2.1 Integration Logic

First, there is the classical sociological method of description, which has received a certain degree of influence from psychology. Self-definition, or ‘the actor’s identity’, is defined as ‘the subjective aspect of system integration’. During infancy and childhood, ‘individuals internalise others’ expectations through deeper socialisation. ‘When this identity involves language, nationality, gender, religion and social class’, these are regarded as natural. Here, identity is ‘a single attribute’, and the actor’s composition of this identity as a social being is described as a ‘social attribute’ (Dubet 1994: 112-113).

Second, relationships with others are defined as ‘conflict between us and them’. ‘Others are defined by differences and heterogeneity’. Even people in close relationships create ‘grades of good and bad interests’ and connect to individuals while establishing a hierarchy (Dubet 1994: 113-115).

Lastly, the stakes of relationships that each actor

pursues are defined in the word ‘value’. ‘In integration logic, actors interpret culture as a series of values that guarantee order and identity together’. (Dubet 1994: 115-117)

In integration logic, actors are defined by their belongingness, and they attempt to maintain and strengthen themselves in a society that is regarded as an integrated system. In this perspective, the problem is ‘behaviour of crisis’, which is said to be being ‘pathological’. Classical sociology has widely developed this perspective through themes such as anomie and organisational collapse. “‘Pathological’ social behaviour is interpreted as being due to a lack of socialisation, and this further is sent back to a lack of system integration’ (Dubet 1994: 117-118).

## 2.2 Strategy Logic

The second method of description is represented by rational choice theory, and it is gaining traction everywhere due to the influences of economics and neo-liberalism. Here, identity is formed of ‘a resource’ and is used as such (Dubet 1994: 191-121).

Next, relationships with others are ‘rivalries’ over ‘individual or group interests’. The words actors use include ‘strategy, sports, game, punch, enemies and allies, particularly rivals’, and ‘society is understood as a competitive exchange system, with competition over scarce resources such as money, power, dignity, influence and acknowledgement’ (Dubet 1994: 122-4).

Lastly, the stakes of a relationship, in other words, ‘various goals to pursue or assets to achieve are, ‘to borrow the words of Weber, “power”, or the ability to influence others’ (Dubet 1994: 124-6).

In this strategy logic, the actors understand society ‘as’ a market and try to create their own benefits. This requires the ‘formation of a harmonised state of equilibrium’ in an ‘open society’, wherein each individual can use a certain amount of power, and questions ‘obstacles to liberation’ which would interfere with that. In other words, these are ‘interventions based on traditions, constraints, collectivism or rules’ (Dubet 1994: 126-7).

### 2.3 Subjectivation Logic

The third logic describes the aspect of resisting against integration logic and strategy logic. Here, identity emerges as a commitment to various cultural models that form the subject's expression, and identity is indirectly and negatively defined as 'the deficit, or difficulty in achieving a subject's cultural expression'. 'No one lives as a subject, but at the same time, no actor is reduced to merely the self or their interests' (Dubet 1994: 128-130).

Next, social relationships with others can be understood in terms of an 'obstacle' to this perception and expression of subjectivation. Social conflicts cannot be summed up in the protection of identity or competition among rivals. A social movement is 'Resistance to a church established by a religious society in the name of faith, opposition to tradition in a bourgeois world in the name of reason, or resistance to exploitation in an industrial society in the name of creative work' (Dubet 1994: 130-2).

Lastly, regarding the stakes of a relationship is the perspective that 'values are chosen by actors who interpret them, not for the content of these values that are mobilised for the sake of criticism, but from the perspective of the definition of the subject

that makes these values possible'. The 'discourses regarding community and moral order become discourses on liberation as soon as the definition of the subject and that of obstacles that hinder its formation become possible' (Dubet 1994: 132).

In the process of subjectivation, actors self-present themselves as critical subjects that oppose a society defined by systems of production and control, but these subjects also head towards disorganisation. In this logic, the problem is alienation. This 'emerges as a loss of meaning, and a loss of autonomy as a result of domination. The ruling class or the "system" reduces the actor to a bearer of a role, or the agent of imposed limited interests'. The individuals also speak in this way. For instance, 'the feeling of living a life robbed of meaning, the feeling of never once being oneself, the sense of "impotence", the feeling that one is no more than an observer in one's life, the fear that one is an "invisible" being' (Dubet 1994: 133).

These three logics are organised in Table 1.

Historically, sociologists have granted superiority to one of these three logics. From the perspective of social disorganisation theory and functionalism,

Table 1: The Three Logics

	fields of social relationship		Arguments cited
logic of integration	identity	Integrated identity with internalised role	ex. I/Me (Mead)
	relationship	we/them	ex. inner group theory (Hoggart)
	stakes	Values	ex. theory of religion (Durkheim)
	Disorganisation)	Behaviour of crisis	ex. Chicago School, Relative Deprivation Theory
logic of strategy	identity	Status tied to opportunity	ex. Habitus theory, Goffman
	relationship	Competitive relationships	ex. Organization theory (Crozier), Simmel
	stakes	Power	ex. Weber, Olson, Resource Mobilization Theory
	Disorganisation)	Obstacles to liberation	
logic of subjectivation	identity	Engagement	ex. Sartre
	relationship	Obstacles and conflicts to subject's recognition and expression	ex. Touraine
	stakes	Subject's various historical definitions	ex. Activists and movements
	Disorganisation)	Alienation	

or from the perspective of rational choice theory and organisational strategy, and from the perspective of domination, alienation and movements, they have accepted the aspects they consider important, accepted certain behaviours and chosen narratives. Dubet's teacher, Touraine, also heavily emphasised subjectivation logic. Although Dubet accepted the differentiation of the three logics from Touraine, he did not grant superiority to one of the three perspectives or logics. Instead, his position was that they must be analysed simultaneously. This is because while the researcher may attempt to give superiority to one, this alleged superiority is not self-evident to the individual. No system will naturally grant superiority to any one of the three logics. As will be shown later (Section 5), actors and systems are already separated. These three perspectives and logics are actually simultaneously equivalent to the individuals: this was the conclusion of his study of marginalised youth in suburban Paris. 'From the perspective of the actors, there is no such thing as a central point, and the banal debate has no end. Actors adopt all the perspectives in turn ... There is nothing to make them choose and leave a footprint in this cycle, and they are "all at the same time"' (Dubet 1994: 134).

Based on this premise, the individuals engage in the task of articulating these logics, arranging them in a way that gives one of these logics superiority. What researchers and sociologists see is the result of that work. 'The norms of justice and exchange they establish amidst reciprocity are truly social to the sociologist, and they emerge as an "arrangement" and as a product of social experience' (Dubet 1994: 134).

Alternatively, they fail to articulate them. Even if one is given superiority, the others have to be given superiority immediately. As a result, they do not stop in one place; rather, they go around in circles.

'Young people participate in all behaviours, but not a single one of them fully defines them ... The *cité* houses not internally withdrawn youth, deviant youth or violent youth, but actors who are all of these at the same time, who cannot be predicted

by others or themselves. Young people's experience has no centre. Young people sway from one behaviour to another, at the mercy of their conditions and chances. It is as if they are manipulated by their conditions, rather than led by autonomous intentionality' (Dubet 1994: 188).

Excluded people change among these three perspectives one after another. If one of them could give superiority to any one of these perspectives, there would not be that much difficulty. Since they cannot give superiority, they change to match their surroundings, depending on the interlocutor. They cannot choose for themselves or yield to consistent action. For Dubet, the true severity of exclusion is such weakening of the ability for action. Since each of them has a weakened ability for action, they cannot form organised collective actions, and naturally, they cannot achieve a 'social movement'.

What sociologists are seeing are the results and products of the individuals' work. To analyse how individuals organise their settings and how they organise settings with interlocutors, the methodology of listening to each individual's narrative is insufficient. Hence, the next section will concretely examine the case of a study that used the sociological intervention method.

### 3 Description of each action logic – From the experiences of suburban youth in Melbourne

The case discussed here is Kevin McDonald's<sup>3)</sup> *Struggles for Subjectivity* (McDonald 1999). This book added the components such as 'body-ness' and 'place-ness' that were 'lacking' in Dubet's framework of the 'sociology of experience' (from a 2007 interview with Professor McDonald at the University of Melbourne) while analysing the experience of youth in the suburbs of Melbourne, who were facing numerous problems, such as youth unemployment (Hamanishi 2005b). We are introducing *Struggles for Subjectivity* instead of *The Galley* (Dubet 1987), which was Dubet's own

analysis of the experiences of marginalised youth in French suburbs, primarily because *Struggles for Subjectivity* includes scripts of the youth's narratives. These scripts are extremely limited in *The Galley*, and one cannot precisely follow how the narrative progresses. In addition, it is set in Australia, a semi-liberal state, which is beneficial as it is closer to Japan. Furthermore, its analysis of youth living in flow of money and information in part 2 will be useful in confirming the development to the theory of 'experiential movements', which will be described later.

Like Dubet, McDonald used the sociological intervention method. The sociological intervention method comprises three stages.

In the first stage, the participants identify the issues and the other social actors that influence them and compose 'a picture of their social world' (McDonald 1999: 89)<sup>4</sup>. According to McDonald, the initial research session clearly indicated two tensions in the youth's reality<sup>5</sup>.

(a) Community and Disorganisation: Disorganisation of places of action based in integration logic

The first is 'the tension between the experience of community of norms and normative integration, and the experience of personal and social disintegration and fragmentations' (McDonald 1999: 47). The following is a small portion of their narratives and exchanges (as well as all quotations):

(Community affirmation)

Serge: I've been here 19 years. It's a grouse [great] place. I grew up here. I know every street. I know everyone. / .....

Rima: Year, everyone knows everyone. (McDonald 1999: 24)

(Theft)

Serge: If someone thieve a pushbike, it's not 'Hey, all right, take that pushbike back.' It's the old man saying...

Carson: 'Quick! Hurry up! Spray paint it!'

Serge: Yeah, It's 'Quick! Get it into the back-

yard and spray it'! (McDonald 1999: 31)

(Family and Generation)

Angela: There's drugs goin' on in the homes as well, in front of kids.

Cindy: At my kid's school, a lot of kids don't have money for lunches. Their mums or their parents spend all the money at the casino. (McDonald 1999: 33)

(Personal disorganisation)

Paul: Boredom makes you do stupid things. when you're really bored, you need something to liven up your day. / .....

Serge: Drugs? There's heaps of them, anything you want.: (McDonald 1999: 39)

(b) Labour and Exclusion: Disorganisation of places of action based on strategy logic

The second is 'the perceived possibilities of participation in the wider society ..... and the experience of exclusion, lived as personal rejection and as a collective sense of being pushed out of the flows of people, pleasure and money that constitute urban life' (McDonald 1999: 47).

Rob: I went for a job yesterday. There were about 200 people lined up! / .....

Serge: Now, people would rather employ Asians, because they work harder. (McDonald 1999: 41)

.....

Paul: There's just nothing here, there's nothing... / .....

Serge: It's just like...the scumbag area of the western suburbs. (McDonald 1999: 42)

These feelings of exclusion are said to amplify "the sense of stigmatisation" (McDonald 1999: 46).

In the second stage that follows, their relationships with other actors are investigated. The interlocutor sheds light on different issues. Amidst the conversation, the participants 'position themselves socially, construct an identity in the context of the

relationship, address their interlocutor, listen to what they have to say, and respond'. This communication is useful as a lens to depict social relationships, the power and creativity that become their stakes and the shape of their identity.

(c) From disorganisation to class consciousness:

Towards an articulation between integration logic and subjectivation logic

Meeting with the mayor and the former mayor, who personified class consciousness, affirmed community solidarity and inspired the youth to 'reject the image of the "deprived people"' (McDonald 1999: 64).

Former Mayor: Are you concerned with West-view having a ... a sort of bad reputation? Whenever someone wants to talk about the homeless or the unemployed on TV, West-view is mentioned. How do you react to this?.....

Alex: It's just the same as going for a job. If you go for a job on the other side, as soon as you say that you're from the western suburbs, they look at you ... differently.

Mayor: Yes!

Former Mayor: .....It would be very frustrating. If I were in your shoes. /.....

Carson: Not one of us is homeless!

Former Mayor: So do you get annoyed by that type of thing?

All: Yeah!

Paul: But what can you do about it?

Mayor: You can do plenty.(McDonald 1999: 50-51)

(d) The amplification of exclusion: Further disorganisation of strategy logic

When they met with the business manager Georg, their experiences of exclusion could not mobilise them to the conflict.

Georg: I think that's why a lot of people don't have a go. Let's say there is a vacancy that comes up, and it is a 'shit job'.

Carson: OK...

Georg: If I was in the situation where I needed to work, I'd take on anything that I could. ....Even if you don't like the job, it is very useful for yourselves to perform as best as you can in the job.(McDonald 1999: 60–61)

(e) From disorganisation and exclusion to racism: Ties to disorganised subjectivation logic

They called in the youth activist Sam who represented the youths as 'deprived people' and homeless on TV (McDonald 1999: 64).

Sam: I think that one of the issues that worries me slightly is the racial sort of conflict that seems to just be simmering.

Bill: Oh, it's gonna simmer, Don't worry about that mate. / .....

Serge: I reckon it's time that they started getting attacked!

Carson: Yeah. / .....

Bill: It's like this. If half the Asians left this side of town, then not lot of us here would be sitting here unemployed.

Carson: Yeah, that's it!

All: Year! That's right! (McDonald 1999: 73-74)

The youth 'fused two experiences'. 'The process of social disorganisation' and 'the experience of social exclusion' are now both connected to Asian newcomers (McDonald 1999: 78–79). 'The encounter with the new arrivals amplifies the experience of disorganisation, as the young men are destabilised by what they perceive as a model of community mobilisation. It also underlines the feeling of exclusion, as the new arrivals achieve economic success from a lower initial base of economic resources. It also underlines a crisis of creativity, the third of the social terrains we have been exploring. This is evident in the preoccupation with sexuality and death which emerges powerfully, and which destabilises both the group and the researchers' (McDonald 1999: 84).

Table 2: Organization of narratives corresponding with three action logics

Field of action	Types of action and identity	Decomposition of field
Subjectivity and creativity as freedom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Class consciousness</li> <li>· Struggles for dignity</li> <li>· Capacity to conflictualise, produce relationship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Fear, loss of meaning</li> <li>· Anger without project, directed inwards or outwards</li> <li>· Inability to conflictualise</li> </ul>
Opportunities and constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Strategic action-taking opportunities</li> <li>· Participation</li> <li>· Mobilising personality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Exclusion from flows</li> <li>· Personal withdrawal</li> <li>· Anger as frustration</li> <li>· Competition with police</li> </ul>
Community cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Us, our suburb</li> <li>· Community warmth</li> <li>· Norms</li> <li>· The other side</li> <li>· Roles</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Social disorganization (rubbish, drug use, unpredictable violence, theft, anomie)</li> <li>· Personal disorganization (violence, time, drug use, theft, defensive behavior)</li> <li>· Defensive communitarianism</li> </ul>

(f) From disorganisation, exclusion and alienation to denial of all social logics

The final stage is composed of self-analysis of what occurred during those sessions. They analysed what the youth attempted to do in the past sessions, what actually happened, what kinds of dilemmas their meetings caused, what kinds of responses they attempted to make and what kind of social world this indicated. These points were analysed as follows:

Kevin (Researcher): Serge, what did you think of the group last week? /.....

Serge: Because we were all on a nice little hypo when we come in! And it was just straight away, straight onto slopeheads, straight onto violence with'em! And the rest, you can't talk sense after that! Because evertone's just talkin' about killing slopeheads! (McDonald 1999: 90)

.....

Serge: There's too much trouble around here. It's just... I dunnno... I want to get out of this, you know what I mean. I'm too old for this, I'm grown up too much for this shift. It's too much now, you know what I mean? It was good when I was younger, I liked it then. But now... (McDonald 1999: 105)

#### 4 Analysis of the Work of Tying the Three Logics Together

In their studies on marginalised youth, Dubet and McDonald first grouped these narratives (Table 2). '[W]e can group key dimensions of the experience of these young people' (McDonald 1999: 111), and in doing so, 'We can identify fields of action where actors struggle within social relationships to construct and mobilise positive identities' (McDonald 1999: 111). For instance, 'entry into and mobilisation within the world of work' (McDonald 1999: 89) is emphasised in their meeting with Georg, the local entrepreneur and the problems of 'order, disorder and community defence' (McDonald 1999: 89) are exposed in their meeting with local police officers. 'Stigmatisation, frustration and the crisis of subjectivity' (McDonald 1999: 89) are raised through their meeting with the youth activist Sam, and their meeting with the mayor and the former mayor crystallised the problems of class consciousness and identity (McDonald 1999: 90).

Table 2 organises the narratives that correspond with each of the three logics and disorganisation of (McDonald 1999: 111).

Based on the above analysis, McDonald depicts the way in which the individuals experience the



demise of the youth's social model, which was created by the industrial society. However, at the same time, the youth are not simply 'victims'; rather, they 'are involved in a struggle for a coherent personal and social identity in a world where social logics increasingly diverge and where they, more than others, confront the social and cultural costs of the end of industrial society' (McDonald 1999: 115). He recognises the possibility that these youths' conflict, which seems personal at first glance, is the central conflict of modernity: struggles for subjectivity.

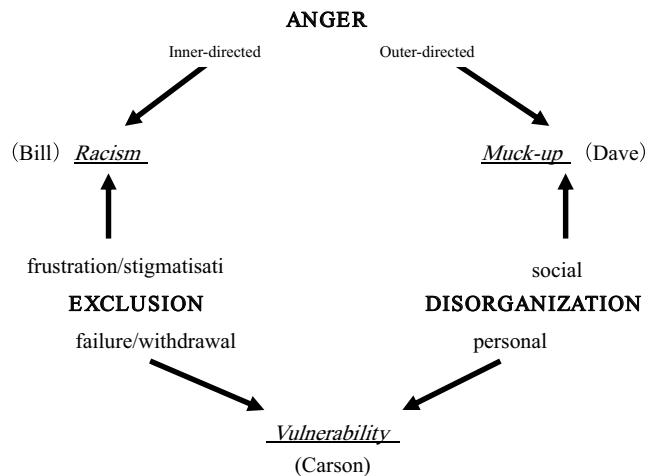
Even in exclusion, subjective work exists in complex forms. By further dividing each logic itself, it becomes possible to depict the work of barely attempting to articulate a disorganised place of action.

'Where community does not work, the experience of disorganisation is both personal-'We've all got problems'- and collective: 'When you steal a video, chances are you're stealing back your own.' The experience of exclusion is one of personal failure-'I can't even read a Golden Book'- and a collective experience of stigmatisation: 'We're the scum.' The crisis of creativity is experienced as a crisis of subjectivity, associated with, as Dubet argues, fear that cannot be interpreted. This produces two kinds of anger: an outward-directed anger that tends to be diffuse and linked to violence, and an inner-directed anger, which seems central to understanding the experience of racism (McDonald 1999:113).

The relationships in this cyclical experience are displayed in Figure 1 (McDonald 1999: 113).

Racism, 'muck-up' with the police and vulnerability of relying on social workers all arise as the results of the articulating work of excluded people. Bill chose racism, Dave headed towards 'muck-up' with the police and Carson chose the vulnerability of dependence on a social worker. Their effort towards articulation as they cycle between the three logics is visible. This is also proof that they are

Figure 1: Social logics out of control



organising their narrative in this way. This is what the form of complex subjectivity that we need to pay attention to is. This kind of organisation itself reflects the results of an individual's organisation of a place, or the results of their work. This is not the arbitrary interpretation of a researcher.

## 5 Characteristics and Issues in the Sociology of Experience

This study examined the 'sociology of experience'. Its characteristics are examined in this section. Initially, contrary to the reduction of the multifaceted and composite problem of exclusion due to traditional approaches being unidimensional, (1) the 'sociology of experience' conducts a multidimensional analysis based on the three logics, or perspectives, of integration, strategy and subjectivation. Contrary to preceding research's tendency to unidimensionalise the individuals' subjectivity, (2) the 'sociology of experience' places focus on the individuals' complex work of uniting each logic. The ability to understand social exclusion in a multidimensional way is characteristic of the 'sociology of experience'.

To answer the first research question stated in Section 1, the 'sociology of experience' can depict

the complex experiences of exclusion in the ways stated in (1) and (2).

Individuals attempt to construct a consistent 'experience' by uniting the three logics of action within themselves. If individuals do not have the ability to adequately formulate actions based on each logic, they find themselves in situations generally regarded as 'social problems' such as 'violence', 'exclusion', 'withdrawal' and 'social disorganisation'. In integration logic, they experience anomie, the collapse of society. In strategy logic, they experience exclusion from the market and labour. In subjectivation logic, they are unable to hold labourer/class perspectives. As they go around in circles between each one, they are unable to narrow themselves down to a single logic of action or place of action, identity, rival or stakes. This leaves them unable to create actions. However, amidst this, the individuals created racism, 'muck-up' with the police and relationships with social workers. This leads to an answer to the second research question. Namely, excluded people lose their ability for action due to their continuous swaying between the three logics; they cannot even arrive at an organised struggle or conflict. Regardless, the individuals are making an effort to unite the components of their disorganised place of action. This can be said to be the emergence of complex subjectivity in excluded people.

Next, this study examines the two major issues in the 'sociology of experience'.

The first is related to the relationship between the system and the individual. The division of the three logics was derived from Touraine's middle works, but Dubet parted ways with Touraine in his thinking that 'these theories are autonomous on a very broad range, and each social relationship type is not necessarily mutually hierarchised'. To stress that point, Dubet says, 'I prefer to use the word "experience" over "action"' (Dubet 1994: 112). The object of the study in sociology of experience is the actors' ability to construct their own experience and give it consistency. The heterogeneity of logic of action indicates the actors' work in constructing their own experience. This work is the one thing

that can connect the disconnected logics and rationality when the actor is no longer connected to the system.

Sociology of experience is 'the sociological study of social actors' struggle to hold together increasingly diverging social fields and the identities they construct to navigate these social terrains' (McDonald 1999: 21). In a decentralised world, social actors must form their own experiences in situations where the logic of their actions is not necessarily consistent. The logic of actions becomes inconsistent as a result of division of 'social systems.' To connect the disconnected logics is a task imposed on the social actors themselves. Individuals and systems are no longer directly connected (Mikami 2010). Classical sociology stressed that the logic of actions mutually maintained inevitable relationships; however, according to Dubet, their relationships are, in fact, 'coincidental'.

The next issue is related to the relationship between researchers and individual actors. Dubet says that the three logics are not simply the researchers' perspectives, but the 'rationality sought by actors'. 'The spontaneous sociology that individuals come up with is often very close to the sociology of intellectuals'. For instance, in integration logic, 'themes such as value crises, collapse, death, identity defence and anomie enrich editors and liven up conversations in cafés and salons. These are stronger than any books written about sociological principles' (Dubet 1994: 46–48). Strategy logic is becoming the central vocabulary in recent neo-liberal society. Subjectivation logic has always been the central vocabulary in activism. Individuals themselves clearly differentiate between the three logics in their narratives. The researchers describe and classify them. In other words, the individuals' differentiation is done in a way that is understandable by those around them, and ordinary researchers are able to differentiate them as well. The logic of action refers to the logic that can provide such explanations to oneself and others.

In order to be understood, actors must make an effort to organise their places. 'Social experience emerges from the union of the three logics of ac-

tion. These are integration, strategy and subjectivation. All actors, whether individuals or groups, employ a register for each of these three logics, and this simultaneously defines the actor's orientation and the method of conceptualising relationships with others' (Dubet 1994: 40). Otherwise, this would not be understood by others.

Each perspective is used by actors with respect to society, themselves and others. It is a matter of whether individuals can organise their places themselves. It is a matter of whether they can organise a place that ties these three together. Furthermore, it is a matter of what kind of place they can organise, not only when being with their usual friends but also when being with others and rivals. The social intervention method places special focus on these points (Touraine 1978; Dubet 1994, b; Hamel 1998; Hamanishi 2004, 2005a). The specific application of this method has already been presented in Section 3. This method is intended to describe the process in which individuals' narratives and places of conversation become organised around each logic. It also presumes that individuals can understand their own situations, and it is important not to objectivise individuals (as beings that cannot understand their own experiences) (Hamanishi 2004, 2006a).

In other words, (3) the 'sociology of experience' begins its arguments from the disintegration of macro systems, of actors and systems, and considers the problem of exclusion to arise from a division between 'society' and the individual, rather than from the pressure exerted by 'society' and structure. Finally, (4) the 'sociology of experience' clarifies the process and degree to which the shared perspectives and logics between the individual and the researcher are organised, and therefore, it uses methods such as social intervention, which involve conversation that does not objectivise individuals; instead, it is based on individuals understanding the meaning of their own experiences.

These are four characteristics of the 'sociology of experience'. Compared to traditional approaches, which bear the possibility of causing further exclusion through the study of exclusion situations

due to their unidimensional descriptions and one-sided comprehension of subjectivity, overestimation of society and systems and objectification of subjects, it is incredibly multidimensional in its understanding of society and subjectivity; therefore, it is worthy of attention.

Lastly, as in Touraine's 'sociology of action' (Hamanishi 2009; Sugiyama 2007), the 'sociology of experience' is also a theory that is premised upon the exclusion conditions that are unique to France. Application to liberal (familistic/corporatist) situations, such as Japan, must be carefully done. The welfare state conditions vary among societies (Esping-Andersen 1990), and these three action logics may not necessarily be equally divisible in countries other than France. Silver indicated that there are also three paradigms of 'social exclusion' (Silver 1994: 540). In this regard, the case of Melbourne, with a liberal welfare regime (the 'specialisation paradigm' of social exclusion), is important in terms of its applicability to Japan. Compared to the youth portrayed in *The Galley* (Dubet 1987), there is a possibility that strategy logic has a strong overall influence in the organisation of narratives in the case of Melbourne. This point is common in Japan.

In addition, during the 1990s, Dubet and McDonald could not clearly identify the route leading from social experience to movements, with the exception of racism. It was only after 2000 that McDonald began to develop an 'experience movement' theory through the upsurge of alter-globalization movements, in which even disorganised gatherings of people head towards forming a movement through physical and spatial factors (sharing of individual work without being mediated by actions), rather than of the formation of a collective identity (McDonald 2006; Hamanishi 2005a). However, this has yet to be fully examined.

## Notes

1. Abbreviation for 'Center for Sociological Analysis and Intervention' (Centre d'Analyse et d'Intervention Sociologiques) in the

- School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences' (EHESS). Founded by Touraine in 1981, who served as President until 1993. He was succeeded by Michel Wieviorka (1993–2009) and Philippe Bataille (2009–present).
2. The author has conducted researches on Touraine (and the Touraine school), particularly examined Touraine's early research, as well as his empirical researches (Hamanishi 2004, 2005a, b, 2006, 2009). In particular, refer to Hamanishi (2009) for Touraine's concepts of 'action', 'place of action' and 'sociology of action'. For research on Dubet in Japan, in the context of social movement theory, refer to Ito Ruri (1991), Sugiyama (2005), and more recently, from the perspective of social theory (Luhmann, etc.), refer to Mikami (2010) and others. This study is the first in Japan to squarely study his 'sociology of experience'.
  3. Kevin McDonald (born in 1958, a Professor of Sociology at Middlesex University) is a representative of the Touraine school in the English-speaking world. An Australian native, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on the cultural aspects of social movement unionisms and was currently serving as vice-president of the International Sociological Association's RC47.
  4. The 29 participants were Serge, Mandy, Carson, Pam and their friends, all 16–25 years living in the western Melbourne suburb of 'Westview' (pseudonym) who have 'all been unemployed for years' (McDonald, 1999: 15).
  5. In part 2 of *Struggles for Subjectivity* (McDonald 1999), the subjects are a female group of homeless people/welfare recipients who have a shopping mall as their turf; graffiti writers; female university students with eating disorders; and second-generation immigrant youth who came to Australia from Cambodia or China and Aboriginal youth with concrete ethnic campaign activities related to ethnicity, race and difference. McDonald also determined several new components (body-ness, place-ness, etc.) in the experience and living in flow that Dubet (1987) did not discuss. As will be stated later, this led to his theory of 'experience movements' (Hamanishi 2005b).

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