



Organizações & Sociedade Journal
2022, 29(102), 569-593

© Author(s) 2022

DOI 10.1590/1984-92302022v29n0025EN

ISSN 1984-9230

www.revistaoes.ufba.br

NPGA, School of Management

Federal University of Bahia

Associate Editor:

Letícia Dias Fantinel

Received: 01/29/2021

Accepted: 04/04/2022

Subspecies of Symbolic Capital within Ordinary Management

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to propose the acknowledgement of subspecies of symbolic capital in the context of everyday work practices within the framework of Ordinary Management, a perspective which is relevant and scarcely discussed in Administration. It consists of a perspective which is distant from the mainstream of Administration and fosters observation as a way to comprehend other forms of management related to the everyday life of the ordinary man. As a result, we reflect upon the necessity of acknowledging resources and capitals which are particular to this manner of performing management, in which economic and cultural capitals are lacking, and capitals must be observed based on their symbolic effects. We base the discussion of this proposal on the theoretical-epistemic approaches of Michel de Certeau, about the art of creating everyday life, and of Pierre Bourdieu, about the perspectives of symbolic capital within the context of the theory of practices. We assume the plurality of the concept of capitals but, moreover, we try to bring the understanding of capital closer to the reality of an Ordinary Management. Therefore, we propose an inversion of the common perspectives on capital, related to “distinction” and “glamour” and fostered by the dominant mindset in Administration. We suggest acknowledging subspecies of symbolic capital which inhabit the popular, the “vulgar” and, consequently, not “distinctive”. This paper contributes to organizational studies by opening up space for the recognition of the resources which configure the practices of management of small

subsistence entrepreneurship, which express the everyday reality of businesses in the context of emerging countries.

Keywords: subspecies of symbolic capital; everyday work; Certeau and Bourdieu; subsistence entrepreneurship; organizational studies.

Introduction

In this paper we argue for the acknowledgement of sub-species of symbolic capital, in the context of everyday work practices and of ordinary management. For that, we approach the matter based on three theoretical frameworks: the view of Michel de Certeau about everyday practices; the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu on rethinking capital beyond the predominantly economic perspective; and thoughts shared by Brazilian researchers, who have directed their attention to everyday management practices (Barros & Carrieri, 2015; Carrieri, Perdigão, & Aguiar, 2014; Carrieri, Saraiva, Lima, & Maranhão, 2008; López Cabana & Ichikawa, 2017; Murta, Souza, & Carrieri, 2010; Rodrigues & Ichikawa, 2015). This new look at management would be related to what Carrieri (2012) understands as the concept of Ordinary Management.

Ordinary Management relates to the realities of management that happen far from the Business Administration “mainstream”, but are common to the daily life of small businesses. This distancing from traditional businesses is also proposed by Sá, Lorêto, Sousa & Souza (2020), within the notion of peripheral business activity. Many of these small ventures are commonly developed by an “Ordinary Man” and their own daily subsistence is their only motivation. For Certeau (2012), the “Ordinary Man” is a regular person, one who does not possess any remarkable characteristics and, at times, is recognized in their precariousness. In the performance of this individual’s actions, they use tactics based on a certain know-how. We understand that in their “ways of doing”, these individuals almost never follow the common administrative functions of planning, organizing, directing, and controlling, or if they do, it is as a result of the specific paths of their particular life experiences.

In the socioeconomic context, many of these ordinary men and women do informal work, which has been increasing (Biles, 2009; International Labour Organization [ILO], 2018; Quinlan, Mayhew, & Bohle, 2001), but is still minimally discussed in the management academia (Lima & Costa, 2016). The informal sector, also known as the shadow economy, currently represents in Brazil more than 17% of the country’s GDP (Instituto Brasileiro de Ética Concorrencial [ETCO], 2020). The International Labor Organization (ILO, 2018) reveals that 93% of the world’s informal employment is in countries considered as emerging or developing. In Brazil, 41.4% of the employed population is in informal markets (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics [IBGE], 2019).

The main characteristics of these workers are low education, low qualifications, low income, and precarious working conditions as well as precarious citizenship. The activities they execute are characterized by a low level of organization and low productivity. There may be even worse scenarios in those groups burdened by further marginalization, such as immigrants, women, and rural workers (Hirata, 2011; ILO, 2018; Jensen, Cornwell, & Findeis, 1995). Additionally, Souza (2018) comments on a precarious habitus that is characteristic of peripheral countries, which is to disqualify individuals perceived as a so-called “ralé,” or a lower class consisting of sub-citizens.

We also consider that the reality of the social phenomenon carried out in everyday management lacks theoretical insights particular to its practice. It is noteworthy that even the traditional theories of entrepreneurship focused on smaller ventures are still distant from the reality of management that takes place in the daily lives of many businesses. Some researchers (Anderson, Harbi, & Brahem, 2013; Anderson & Ronteau, 2017; Antonacopoulou & Fuller, 2020; Ramírez-Pasillas, Lundberg, & Nordqvist, 2020; Rehn & Taalas, 2004; Sabella & El-Far, 2019) have questioned the power dynamics in the theoretical field on the topic, especially when analyzing the reality of ventures in emerging countries (Champenois, Lefebvre, & Ronteau, 2019; Puente, González Espitia, & Cervilla, 2019). As an example, Lundberg & Ramírez-Pasillas (2020) present Michel de Certeau's "tactics" as a specific form of entrepreneurial agency for subsistence ventures.

Based on this context, many questions related to management emerge. For example: How could we understand common and everyday management practices (that generally happen without any legitimized knowledge about Administration)? How can the capitals used by the Ordinary Man be understood, beyond an economic perspective? How could we understand those organizational spaces where Ordinary Management is practiced?

In the midst of these and so many other questions, the next one seemed to us the most puzzling. If, as Bourdieu (1989) indicates, symbolic capital is "commonly called prestige, reputation, fame, etc., which is the form assumed by these different kinds of capital when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (pp. 134-135), how can the symbolic capital used by the Ordinary Man be understood, given their relation of being antagonistic to this, and their overall lack of prestige, reputation or fame?

To complement, we indicate that Bourdieu's concept of capitals have been widely applied to organizational studies (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Fuller & Tian, 2006; Harvey, Yang, Mueller, & Maclean, 2020; Ihlen, 2018; McAdam, Harrison, & Leitch, 2019; Ocasio, Pozner, & Milner, 2020; Pret, Shaw, & Drakopoulou Dodd, 2016; Ross-Smith & Huppatz, 2010), albeit with criticism (Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017). Some studies propose a plurality of capitals stemming from symbolic capital, such as mobility capital (Freitas, 2009; Oliveira & Kulaitis, 2017), career capital (Yao, 2013), touristic capital (Taveira, 2016). However, we perceive a tendency to identify capital in its "glamour", especially in the field of Administration. These concepts are recognized as "that which is positive," that which is distinctive and perceived as "competitive advantage" This sense of capital seems therefore distant from the reality of Ordinary Management, and completely absent to Ordinary Man.

Hence, we face the following research problem: Could we, in Ordinary Management, identify symbolic capitals, arising from a specific system of dispositions, transmitted, incorporated and generated in the context of the everyday work of the Ordinary Man? In this research paper we propose a path of complementarity for the theoretical-epistemic approaches of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel de Certeau, aiming at the acknowledgement of sub-species of symbolic capitals which are "managed" within the framework of Ordinary Management.

To build this discussion we develop, following this introduction, four topics. Initially, we deepen the understanding of symbolic capital. Subsequently, we present the concept of Ordinary Management and Michel de Certeau's "ways of operating". Next, we discuss the complementarity

between Bourdieu's and Certeau's perspectives and the proposed acknowledgement of sub-species of symbolic capital. Lastly, we present final illustrative examples for consideration.

Pierre Bourdieu's Concept of Capitals

In an introductory way, we recall that the understanding of capital is related (but not encapsulated or limited) to the essential interactions of Bourdieu's triad: capital, field, and *habitus*. As Bourdieu (2007, p. 97) presents in the following equation:

$$[(\textit{habitus})(\textit{capital})] + \textit{field} = \textit{practice}$$

For Bourdieu (1983, 2013), the *habitus* is the product of the position and social trajectory of individuals, it is the incorporated life history, or even the internalization or incorporation of the social structure. An immanent law, deposited in each agent by education, initially in the family and later by institutions (school, religious, etc.) throughout life. These recombinations, evolutionary in nature, focus on our ways of acting, gestures, thinking, "unconscious bodily and mental routines" (Thiry-Cherques, 2008, p. 169) that are characterized in the way we raise these stories to our present daily life (Lizardo, 2004; Maton, 2018).

As Maton (2018) indicates, the *habitus* is the mediating link which "brings together the existence of social regularities with the experience of agency" (p. 103). This analytical perspective of Bourdieu is fundamental because *habitus* turns out to be a relational concept, which offers a way to maintain such dualisms (individualization or socialization; internal or external; structuring or structured), but in a relationship with simultaneous focus (Maton, 2018; Wacquant, 2017). Moreover, Maton (2018) highlights that "empirically, one does not "see" a *habitus* but rather the *effects* of a *habitus* in the practices and beliefs to which it gives rise. The structure of the *habitus* must be captured by excavating beneath practices" (p. 115).

The field is understood as a space of forces and struggles. The dispositions of individuals within fields are regulated by power relations, in a way that is relational to the *habitus* and capital they hold (Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2018). However, the various fields studied by Bourdieu are derived from social space as a major category (Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017; Wacquant, 2018; Wacquant, 2018a). According to Wacquant & Akçaoğlu (2017) fields are rare and exist only in certain domains of activity "when a domain of action and authority becomes sufficiently demarcated, autonomized, and monopolized" (p. 44). Therefore, Wacquant and Akçaoğlu indicate that "social space (and not field) is the general construct that 'faces' the concepts of *habitus* and capital to generate practice" (p.44). Thus, we weigh from these considerations that the equation could be updated to:

$$[(\textit{habitus})(\textit{capital})] + \textit{social space} = \textit{practice}$$

We are therefore guided by an updated understanding of the potential of Bourdieu's sociological tool for analyzing power relations in organizational studies. This is in interplay with what Wacquant (2019) has advocated and argued in his recent works (Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017; Wacquant, 2018; Wacquant, 2018a; Wacquant, 2019) about the mistake of narrowing the potential of Bourdieu's sociological tools to the analysis of the triad *habitus*, capital, field.

The triad is *redundant*, *incomplete*, and *misleading*. It obscures the analytic primacy of social space over the concept of the field and the correlative limitations of the term 'field' to a specific (and empirically rare) subset of social universes [...]. Further, it muddies the specificity of the concept of field as a monopolistic cosmos, thus leading to the uncontrolled multiplication of fields, emptying the notion of any rigorous meaning. Finally, this approach effaces Bourdieu's most original and potent concept, that of symbolic power. By contrast, I will contend that the dyad *social space and symbolic power* captures the two pillars at the foundation of his sociology. (Wacquant, 2019, pp. 15- 16)

As recommended in Wacquant (2019) and Wacquant & Akçaoğlu (2017), we shed light on Bourdieu's logic especially for the "duet of 'social space and symbolic power'" (p. 43), given the epicentral relevance of symbolic power (Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017; Wacquant, 2018a) that gives meaning to a field of power, "a *meta-field* as a multilayered kind of social space" (Wacquant, 2019, p. 18). However, in this paper we more specifically use the configuration of symbolic capital, to reflect symbolic power relations. In addition, we consider the possibility of nominating sub-species of symbolic capitals, because we account for three aspects: the perspective of plurality of capitals; the possibility of highlighting resources (capitals) that are invisible at times (as something invaluable, as a reflection of the dominant social structures); and above all for proposing them from a conceptual alignment which seeks to recognize the "other side", where dwells the weak link of capital in dispute against the strong link, meaning a smaller or greater appropriation of capitals. Therefore, the resources (sub-species of symbolic capital) this paper advocates in the context of ordinary management are not encapsulated to a field, because they must be considered and debated from the empirical analysis of the social space in their symbolic power relations.

Symbolic capital

Bourdieu (1986) discusses three fundamental capitals: social, cultural, and economic. Our choice for symbolic capital is founded on two characteristics: its transmutation capability and, as Martin (2017) indicates, because it is one of the author's most heuristic concepts. The concept of symbolic capital is present throughout Bourdieu's work and, as Martin (2017) remarks, it has been progressively refined. Although lacking a clear definition, the concept is deepened in full chapters in several of Bourdieu's works.

We highlight among the characteristics of symbolic capital four reflexive dimensions: a) the mediation of exchange relations and network interactions; b) the recognition of the other; c) transmutation; and d) the research perspective.

Bourdieu (2013) emphasizes exchange relations that distance themselves from the economic perspective. The author illustrates practices such as exchanges of favors, donations, retributions, loans, all of which occur without the mediation of economic capital, to the point that offering a monetary retribution can be interpreted, in those contexts, as something offensive. These are understood by Bourdieu (2013) as a “sincere fiction of a disinterested exchange”.

Furthermore, Bourdieu (2013) perceives symbolic capital as a “weapon in negotiation” (p. 198), interweaving with the networks of allies and the relationships that are maintained. The display of material and symbolic strength that a network of prestigious allies possesses may bring one gains. Similarly, ostentatious flaunting of gestures and goods, although seemingly “economically aberrant” (for not matching the economic/cultural reality of the individual), are only understood when interpreted along with the benefits that these practices can offer within social interactions (Bourdieu, 2013).

The second characteristic refers to symbolic capital being an alienated capital. Or, as Bourdieu (2007b) explains, “capital that necessarily comes from others, from the views and words of others” (pp. 385-397). It is closely linked to the belief and recognitions of others. Symbolic capital “is a cognitive-based capital, which rests upon knowledge (knowledge that is not intellectual knowledge, but practical mastery, practical sense)” (Bourdieu, 2007b, pp. 385-387). According to the author, various differences can become symbolic capital, provided that such difference makes sense to a group of people.

Bourdieu (1989) explains that symbolic power can be constituted by the power of enunciation “to make see, and make believe, . . . almost magical power that allows to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained by force (physical or economic), . . . is only exercised if recognized” (p.14). In this sense, symbolic power exists within a relationship that is established “between those who exercise power and those who submit to it, . . . , in the very structure of the field in which belief is produced and reproduced” (Bourdieu, 1989, pp.14-15).

Bourdieu (2001) also argues that some marginalized groups, in addition to not holding certain structuring capitals, carry with them a “negative symbolic capital” related to social stigmata (Barker, 2013; Bokek-Cohen & Ben-Asher, 2018; Miller, 2014). Symbolic capital manifested in social recognition “[makes] up a social being that is known, ‘visible’, famous, admired, invited, loved, etc” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 294). But also, in this distribution of negative/positive capital, there is the cruel reflection of this distribution, in which there are the dominant and the dominated, the included and the excluded, the embraced and the spurned. This reveals the social importance of some and the rejection of others. This aspect also relates to the amalgamation of agents’ *habitus*, which enables the capitalization of capitals, or not. This incorporated capitalization both is constituent and constituted, in the constant micro-reconfiguration of the *habitus* observed in the body of the agents, as evidenced by Bourdieu (2006) when studying the body and the movements performed and not performed by peasants. In other words, it refers to the different incorporated life experiences.

Another aspect indicated by Bourdieu (1989) regarding symbolic capital is related to a transmutation process, that is, “. . . the transmutation of the different kinds of capital into symbolic capital” (p.15). And as every capital is related to a type of power, symbolic power also refers to a “transformed, . . . misrecognizable, transfigured and legitimated form of the other

forms of power” Symbolic capital can be thought of as a “meta-capital” as Swartz (2013) indicates and, therefore, should not be understood as a different type of capital under Bourdieu’s framework.

Bourdieu (2001) mentions that “every kind of capital (economic, cultural, social) tends (to different degrees) to function as symbolic capital (so that it might be better to speak, in rigorous terms, of the symbolic effects of capital) when it obtains an explicit or practical recognition” (pp.295-296).

Despite this, Moore (2018) states that symbolic capital refers to the inclusion of subtypes of capital, such as: cultural capital, linguistic capital, scientific capital, literary capital, among others, depending on the field within which they are included. Moore also indicates the fundamental difference between economic and symbolic capital. According to the author, economic capital relates to an instrumental and selfish nature, with no intrinsic value, always functioning as a means to an end, and exchanges occur in a transparent way (profits, interest, salary, etc.).

Moore (2018) presents some features which the forms of symbolic capital may exhibit, being that they: a) are objectified or embodied; b) are acquired over time; c) are acquired through a systematic process of inculcation; d) express the (outer) *habitus* of the inculcating agent and its field; e) bring value to a social agent depending on the degree that his or her personal (inner) *habitus* is more or less “well formed”, relative to the field of inculcation; f) differ in terms of their transposability across fields. Moreover, Bourdieu leaves open the resignifications that take place due to historical and cultural moments (Hardy, 2018).

Concurrently, symbolic capital is further advocated by Bourdieu (2007b) as a research perspective. Bourdieu (2007b) mentions,

what I call the symbolic capital. . . defines research avenues, leads to the observation of things that go unnoticed . . . It is a theory . . . that deals with experience, a theory whose function is to guide the researcher’s gaze . . . and to allow him to systematize his observations. (pp.385-397)

In summary, Martin (2017) warns that the concept could lend itself to misunderstandings, and “even confusion” (p.112). These inconclusive outcomes could devalue the usage of this concept. However, Martin adds, “despite this, it is among the most heuristic concepts proposed by Bourdieu” (p.112). Therefore, we accept the uncertainties of the concept, valuing in these uncertainties the heuristic possibilities for uncovering facts, within its theoretical bias of contributions to research.

Confronted with this context, we consider that many are the users who are displaced to the margins for not having the necessary capital to occupy “good places” within their field, nor conditions for capital conversion. However, they find forms of resistance to survive in the various environments in which they are inserted. Thus, we set out to understand what other possible capitals or capital sub-species are invented and managed by these users, ordinary men, in their

daily work practices. Therefore, in the text, we will reflect upon the Ordinary Man's dexterity in management.

Retrieving Michel de Certeau's strategies and tactics for comprehending ordinary management

In this section we bring forth reflections on the concept of Ordinary Management (Carrieri, 2012), as performed by an Ordinary Man, from Michel de Certeau's (2012) perspective of tactics and strategies. The concept of Ordinary Management, conceived by Carrieri (2012), refers to the perspective of looking at the management performed by the Ordinary Man, regular people who perform a mode of management in the daily life of their work practices. These practices do not contemplate the models proposed by the managerial models within the science of Administration, but by intuitive practices, knowledge gained from life experience, which do not fit in norms or guidelines.

Carrieri, Perdigão, Martins e Aguiar (2018), when commenting on the "agents" involved in Ordinary Management, make clear the perspective of an ordinary individual, destigmatizing, in the authors' words, the role of "super decision-makers" commonly attributed to individuals who run a business, or even the characteristics of exceptional individuals commonly ascribed to entrepreneurs (Rehn & Taalas, 2004).

Carrieri (2012) explains that "reality shows that there is no **single** (universal) Ordinary Management, this is only an allegory to refer to the various ways of customarily managing ordinary businesses, businesses which are in large majority manufacturers/shops" (p.423).

For Carrieri (2012, p. 422), (common) Ordinary Management "can be understood as that which is not based on and does not internalize (or only partially internalizes) the principles of performance and discipline, instrumental rationality, the effective universalization of acting as a useful producer/entrepreneur for society, the separation of work/business/family". According to the author, Ordinary Management allows us to study the clashing relations between the "non-incorporation of human value in social practices" and the "predominance of the market" on which incur regimes of truth, discourses chosen with economic and political interest, by a social group "that disqualify individuals and social groups by belittling them as lesser managers, lesser producers and even lesser citizens" (Carrieri, 2012, p.422).

From this perspective, academic capital, formal training, and academically legitimized knowledge do little to explain the craft and the way of doing management in the context of the everyday work practices of small businesses. Common businesses, which do not configure large organizations, although implicitly inserted in them, established without significant investments of economic capital and that, due to management tactics, sometimes perform micro circumventions of the structured system in which they are inserted.

Many of these businesses arise from an impulse for survival and resistance and are configured with elements of informality. This "way of doing" management is practiced by different agents, such as street vendors, buskers, among others. Thus, they can also represent the practice of businesses that configure resistance in (semi)rigid structured systems of laws and institutions of a local reality (Lundberg & Ramírez-Pasillas, 2020; Rehn & Taalas, 2004; Sabella & El-Far, 2019).

In this sense, the “ways of doing”, tactics and strategies, presented by Certeau (2012), create a game and also a game space. This game is played between the strong and the weak, but mostly of the “actions” that the weak can perform. As Füssel (2018) mentions, “strategies and tactics are relational, denote power relations and may therefore be perceived in all societies” (p. 104).

These actions can be understood as micro-resistances employed as survival tactics. The tactics in Certeau (2012) are recognized from a cunning intelligence (*métis*). They are portrayed in practical know-how and knowledge that relate to specific moments or occasions to be put into action. They are improvisational, do not establish global projects, and happen blow by blow in the system. These tactics do not have “their own” place, which would allow them to manage their actions with planning, they only exist in the place of the other, so they happen upon occasion.

Ramírez-Pasillas et al. (2020) comments that individuals use tactics (as disguised practices) to shift what is imposed on them to their own favor. As Certeau (2012) explains, tactics are like the French term “*lignes d’erre*,” as that which would go unnoticed if we were attentive only to the already known patterns of language and interaction, disregarding, for example, non-verbal language expressions, or expressions which are inconsistent with a particular organization. However, they should not be understood as an error.

Still on tactics, Certeau (2012) mentions that paths are traced amidst the jungle of functionalist rationality. Cunningly designed, the practice of tactics demonstrates different interests and desires from those that are pre-established by an order. These “trails” have yet another characteristic: constant movement, not being uniform or fixed.

As for strategy, Certeau (2012) clarifies: “I call a strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated” (p.93).

It is possible to notice three particularities that compose strategy. One is the calculating character; another is a subject of will and power; and the last one, the possibility of isolation in a “place”. Amidst the power relations, strategies possess the command of a power. This power is acknowledged, it is visible, and therefore capable of being calculated, steered, manipulated. As Certeau (2012) indicates, there is a subject of will and power behind the strategies, a subject that is also concrete, visible, and that by its power manages to be isolated.

Certeau (2012) leads us to reflect that this subject self-isolates in a “place” of their own, a base, from where they can manage, manipulate their relations with the exteriority of targets or threats. From this structured place, this subject, through their power, “deals the cards”, determines the dominant orders, the rules of their system, by imposing a logic (Ramírez-Pasillas et al., 2020).

In strategy, “the ‘proper’ is a triumph of place over time” (Certeau, 2012, p. 94). Therefore, the localized constitution of a “proper” (of greater strength) allows for the mastery of time, while giving advantage for long-term planning. Unlike tactics, which will apparently have time as its immediate ally, for the occasion.

Retrieving the understanding of tactics and strategies becomes the key to understanding the perspective of Ordinary Management, and therefore the proposal to acknowledge the sub-species of symbolic capital. We will discuss this proposal below.

Reflections on the acknowledgement of sub-species of symbolic capital

In this topic we discuss the acknowledgement of sub-species of symbolic capital. For this, we first address a point of contention regarding the approaches of Michel de Certeau and Pierre Bourdieu. Next, we defend the complementary contribution that these theoretical-epistemic approaches can offer to the proposal of acknowledgement of symbolic resources/capitals managed within the practice of Ordinary Management, not yet discussed in the field of Administration.

Conflicts within Michel de Certeau and Pierre Bourdieu

First, we notice a point of contention between the authors' perspectives regarding the sense of consciousness (for Certeau) and unconsciousness (for Bourdieu) present in practices (Burke, 2002; Certeau, 2012; Vaara & Whittington, 2012). We note Certeau's appreciation and distress over Bourdieu's texts. For Certeau (2012), "Bourdieu's texts are fascinating in their analyses and aggressive in their theory. . . . the texts finally reduce [practices] to a mystical reality, the habitus, which is to bring them under the law of reproduction" (p.120).

Certeau's critique of Bourdieu refers to his understanding of Bourdieu's perspective of holding to the spell of habitus and not recognizing tactics, although there are subtle descriptions of some of these. For De Certeau (2012), Bourdieu "proceeds to imprison these devices behind the bars of the unconscious and to deny, through the fetish of the habitus He affirms, with the concept of habitus, the contrary of what he knows — a traditional popular tactic" (p.121). For Certeau (2012), this robs Bourdieu of the scientific possibility of analyzing the tactics in circumscribed places like the fields he studied.

Certeau (2012) does not devalue the heuristic value of the concept of habitus, but regrets the centralizing contours it adopts, as a dogma in the affirmation of a "reality". For Certeau (2012, p.120), "thus the habitus becomes a dogmatic place". In this sense, Certeau is uneasy with the fact that Bourdieu chooses dogmatism, even as he demonstrates knowledge of the ingenuity of these tactics.

For Certeau (2012), this is a "strange combination of an 'I know that...' (that crafty and transgressive proliferation) and an 'All the same...' (there must be a totalizing meaning)" (p. 120). By opting for the "all the same," Bourdieu eliminates tactics in Certeau (2012), branding them as mere unconscious actions, incorporated by individuals into their habitus.

In summary, we outline that Certeau (2012) recognizes the implicitness of habitus in the practices of individuals such as behaviors, ways of speaking or walking. However, he rejects the complete unconsciousness of these actions to which Bourdieu (1983) conditions them. That is, even though Certeau recognizes that this knowledge is not directly related to consideration by the

subjects, constituting an “unknown knowledge”, the author credits meaning and sense to the effects of this “unknown knowledge”, the dexterity and tactics that are characterized as craft.

This point of contention can, however, be a propellant for understanding that the perspectives, although diverging, become complementary. In this sense, Wacquant (2013) helps to comprehend that the notion of habitus should not be reduced to the mechanical reproduction of social structures, but understood from the sociological reconstruction that Bourdieu gives to this concept, transforming it into a tool in conducting social research, allowing recognition of the operating mechanisms, thus making it possible to illuminate the different logics of social action.

Complementarity between Michel de Certeau and Pierre Bourdieu towards the acknowledgement of sub-species of symbolic capitals in Ordinary Management

We seek to relate the theory of practices of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel de Certeau, for the acknowledgement of sub-species of symbolic resources/capitals in Ordinary Management, in regard to enterprises characterized by subsistence and resistance. For such, Certeau directs us closer to the actions of individuals, while Bourdieu points us to the structures and origins of these actions. In a peculiar way, to the notion of symbolic capital.

Image 1 illustrates such a perspective. Its construction reflects the interpretation of the conceptual interplay discussed in this theoretical essay. Therefore, its interpretation must address not only the conceptual (in)definitions, but also the positions of proximity and distance, and the hierarchization of power relations.

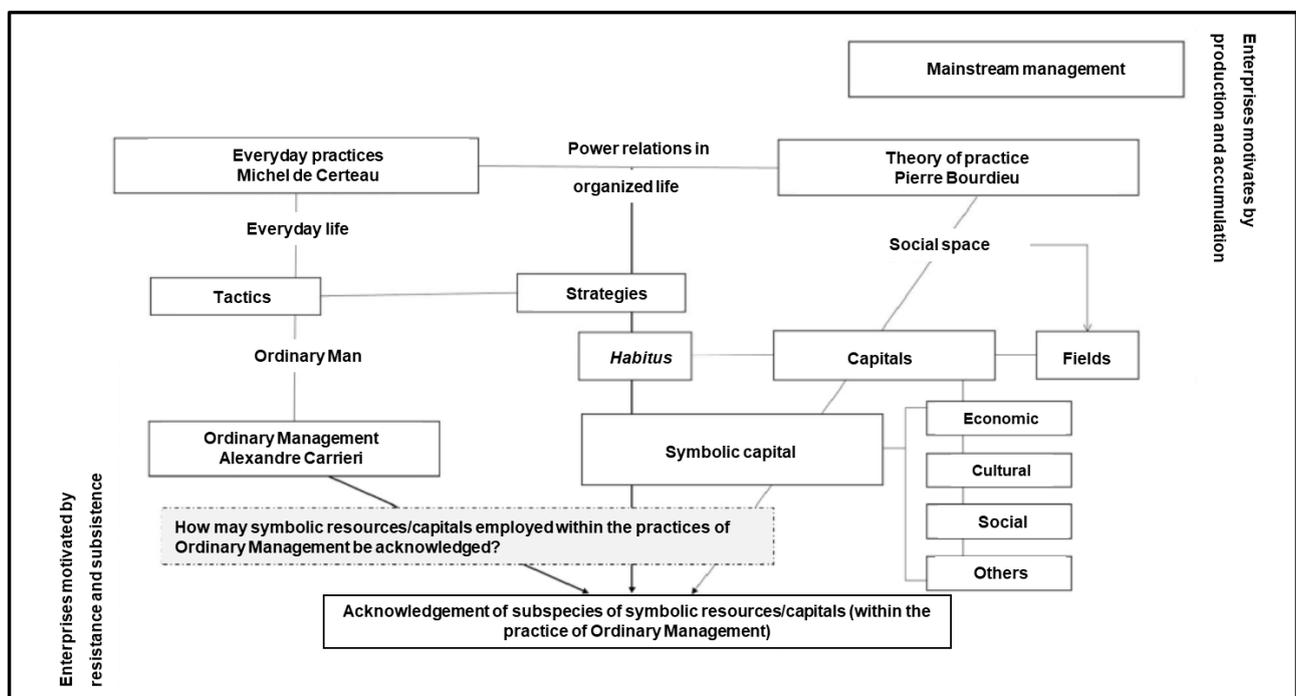


Image 1. Theoretical tools

Source: Created by the authors

From the category of mediation of power relations in organized life, specifically treated in this study through the context of daily work in Ordinary Management, we seek to negotiate, through their interaction, Bourdieu's and Certeau's visions of power. We ponder that, for Bourdieu, power is directly related to capital, so that power relations are transposed by the concentration of capital that individuals acquire throughout their lives and create a game of struggle between the dominant and non-dominant, governed by the relational aspect of more or less power/capital in the different fields that constitute the social space, which generates a macro and structural perspective of the social world (Bourdieu, 1986).

In turn, Certeau deals intensely with power in its relational dimension, apparent in practices and their effects, when he highlights the resistance of popular micro-actions that skillfully "circumvent" the established order defined by a state of strategy (Certeau, 2012) that manifests power. It is about recognizing how power relations are constituted, established, legalized within the order, and dictate a construction and outlook of the social world by its symbolic power. And also, about recognizing how these power relations are assaulted, corrupted and invaded in a struggle for survival by those who do not have a "proper" place that conditions a greater exercise of power, but who fight and manifest their absence of structural power through micro-practices.

From the perspective of Certeau (2012) at the micro level, we intend to observe how the Ordinary Man traces "lignes d'erre" in face of the conditions of his space, a space that is configured in uncertainties and, predominantly, without the stability of a "proper". Additionally, Bourdieu allows us to observe the position that this agent occupies in the "social space" as a function of the types of capital he possesses in greater or lesser volume.

We suggest that investigating and understanding the tactics and strategies perceived within their everyday space are key tools for recognizing the sub-species of capital, as well as Bourdieu's understanding of capital through the tools of his theory of practices.

We also suggest the possibility that the subspecies of capital, acquired, executed, and employed by the Ordinary Man can be related to what Certeau (2012) treats as an "unknown knowledge" (p. 134). It is a knowledge about which subjects do not deliberate. This Ordinary Man bears witness to this knowledge without being able to fully grasp it. They are like lessees of their own know-how.

They know it somewhere.' 'Somewhere': but where? Their practices know it — moves, behaviors, ways of talking or walking, etc. A knowledge is there, but whose? It is so rigorous and precise that all the values of scientific method seem to have moved wholesale over to the side of this unconscious element, so that in consciousness itself there remain only fragments and effects of this knowledge, devices and tactics analogous to those that earlier characterized 'art.' Through this reversal, it is the rational that is not reflective and does not speak, the unrecognized and the unspoken [...] the "improper" language of that knowledge. (Certeau, 2012, pp. 134-135)

Certeau (2012) demonstrates that know-how should not be reduced to a principle of knowing. This "knowing" relates to an everyday life, far from a productivist rationality; they are

everyday arts. We also recognize the possibility that it can be found in the Ordinary Management of enterprises motivated by subsistence and resistance. Certeau (2012) argues that these practices are not colonized by a technological perspective, they stand at the margin of scientific or cultural conducts.

In parts, what can be seen in Certeau as “unknown knowledge”, in Bourdieu (2006) it can be seen as “embodied consciousness”. Tactics and strategies manifest as a “sense of the game” embodied by the agents. However, the different positions of the agents, and consequently their different appropriations of capitals, give the same played game a “plurality of meaning”. The same game and a multiplicity of configurations, capitalizations and, therefore, a different knowledge about the “sense of the game”. Strategy becomes closer in meaning to an “embodied consciousness”, while tactics better reveals the embodied “unknown knowledge”.

We believe that the unknown knowledge should not be understood as actions linked to the unconscious. The tactics of the Ordinary Man that reflect, in part, the employment of this “unknown knowledge” reveal to us that although they understand the meaning of the game, they do not know the condition and power of its structures, and therefore act in a position of micropower. It is similar to the analogy of the art performed by a musician, who might not know the structure of the music sheet and yet, through the incorporation of his body, knows it and performs it producing effects. In competition, other players play with a greater appropriation of the game, of its structure, space, and power practices.

This knowledge practiced in the tactics is better understood when we reflect upon Certeau’s (2012) explanation of “metis,” this cunning intelligence to which the author credits much affinity with everyday tactics. Such is the case that when thinking about the development of enterprises with a predominant motivation of survival and resistance, we refer to the practices of knowing, narrated and performed by sagacity, flexibility of spirit, cleverness, vigilant attention, sense of opportunity, as well as a long-acquired experience. But above all, by “its ‘sleights of hand, its cleverness and its strategems,’ and through the spectrum of behaviors that it includes, from know-how to trickiness” (Certeau, 2012, p. 145).

For Certeau (2012), this relation of forces where the metis intervenes outlines an economic relation. An operation from the starting point (less force) to its end (more effect), through the mediation of a knowledge that is in part memory. As Certeau (2012) explains, “this knowledge is composed of many moments and many heterogeneous elements. It has no general and abstract formulation, no proper place. It is a memory” (p. 145). Image 2 illustrates this relationship.

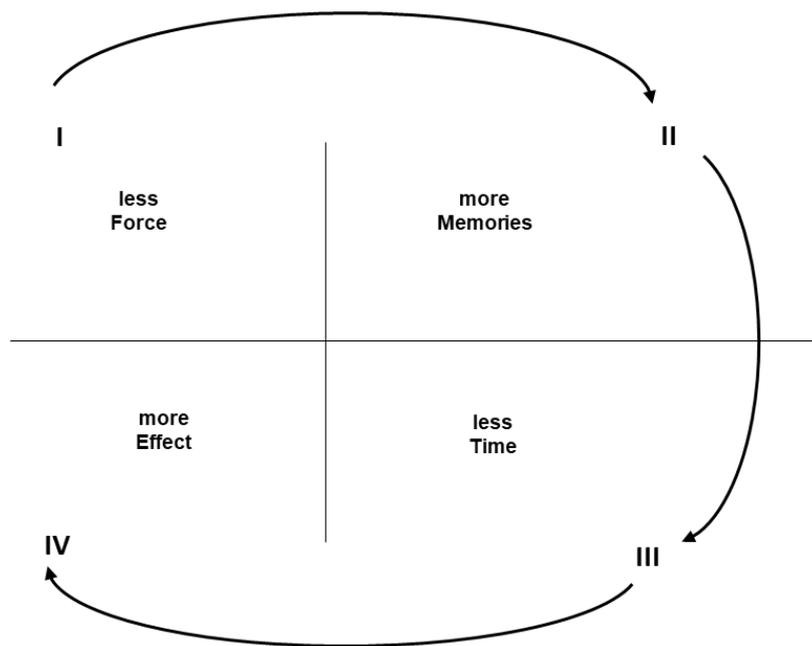


Image 2. Less force, more effect

Source: Certeau (2012, p. 147).

Certeau (2012) explains that these economic relations are configured by an inversely proportional logic. The less force, the more one needs memory-knowledge. The more there is “memory-knowledge,” the less time is needed (this is the occasion). The less time (more tactics of occasion) there is, the more the effects increase.

The complementarity lies in our consideration that the place of lesser strength represents the absence of dominant capitals. “Memory mediates spatial transformations. In the mode of the ‘right point in time’ (kairos), it produces a founding rupture or break. Its foreignness makes possible a transgression of the law of the place . . . a ‘coup’ modifies the local order,” as Certeau (2012, p.149) explains. Thus, this is the moment of mediation in which the habitus (as incorporated capital) and the practice of an “unknown knowledge” transmutes, incorporates and transforms symbolic capitals. These are performed stemming from the “ways of doing” strategies and tactics on occasion in the context of Ordinary Management, to then be recognized by the effects of this know-how, as we illustrate in Image 3. We thus note resistance in this effect that generates an inverse logic that strikes the ordered logic.

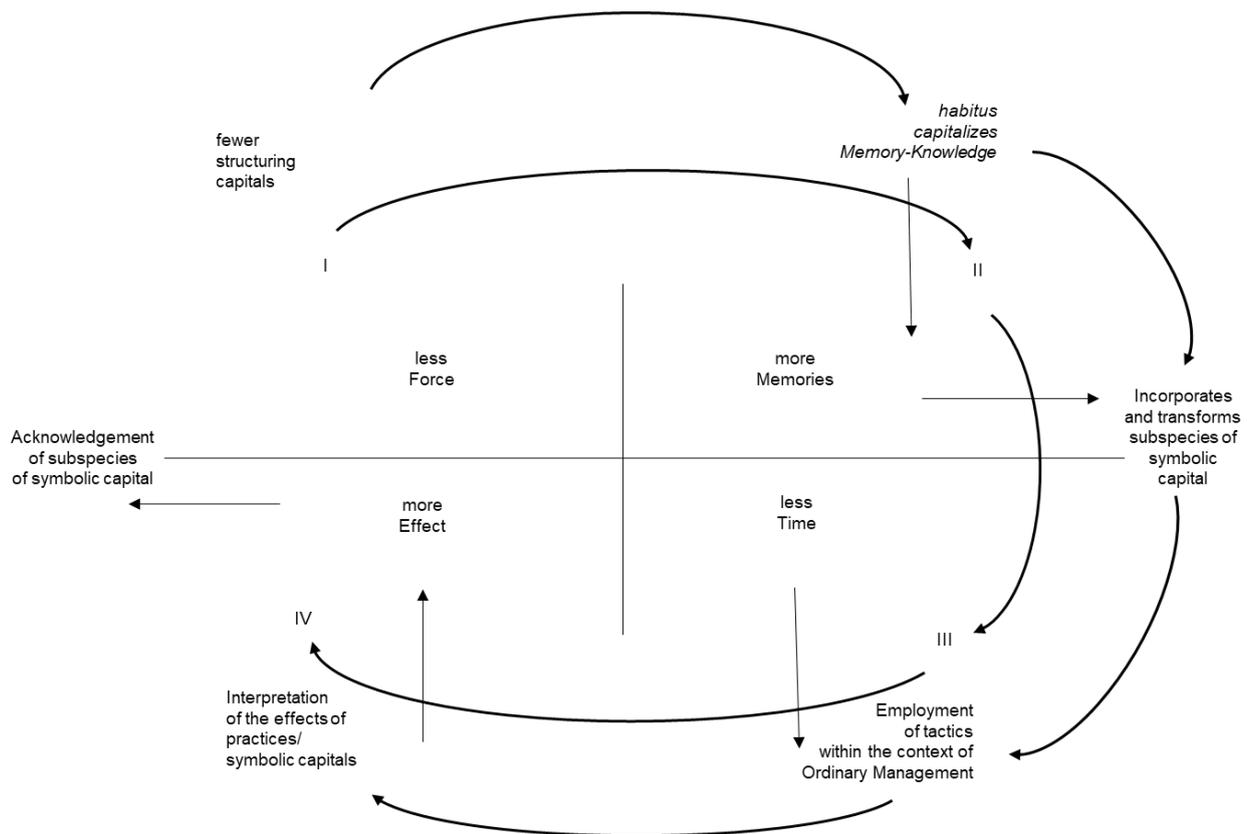


Image 3. Proposal for the acknowledgement of subspecies of symbolic capital

Source: Adapted by the authors from Certeau (2012).

Our propositions are:

1. Being significantly devoid of structuring capitals (economic and cultural), they are at an early point in the social space (Bourdieu) and performed (Certeau) with less force.
2. The habitus capitalizes memory-knowledge (although it is unknown).
3. Memory-knowledge incorporates and transforms sub-species of symbolic capital.
4. On occasion, memory-knowledge, in the practice of tactics, performs Ordinary Management of these symbolic resources/capitals, causing effects.
5. The interpretation of the effects allows the acknowledgment of sub-species of symbolic capitals.
6. Perpetuation of practices and their effects may transform tactics into strategies in the daily practices of Ordinary Management.
7. Perpetuation of practices and their effects originating from the habitus which capitalizes time in memory-knowledge transforms tactics into strategy-tactics in the daily practices of Ordinary Management.

In addition, we can highlight the convergence of Bourdieu and Certeau when they mention the relevance of reflecting on the effects of practices and not only on the practices themselves. Certeau (2012) reflects upon the effects of the significations of “unknown knowledge” that are configured in these crafts and tactics. Although it is not always possible to “access” knowledge, it

produces effects and these can be perceived. Similarly, Bourdieu (2001), when dealing with symbolic capital, mentions the relevance of focusing on their symbolic effects (Martin, 2017). These effects should not be understood from a quantitative perspective, but from an interpretative one, such as the interpretation of convergence to the characteristics of symbolic capitals, the recognition by others, and the exchange relations in network interactions.

Furthermore, we propose that between tactics and strategy there is an intermediate “way of doing”, a strategy-tactics. This strategy-tactics does not possess only the characteristics of the tactics, but neither is it a strategy, and thus does not wholly produce the advantageous effects of the strategy (proper, panoptic practice and the power of knowledge). This is because its agents and practices do not hold the necessary place for such, but in the absence of this place, they inhabit the gaps in a perpetuation of moments in everyday life. It is configured as a calculus of action (tactic) and will (strategy); it does not act and disappear, it is a practice that acts and remains, a preponderant subject of will, but not of predominant power.

In such a way, we propose that the acknowledgement of capital sub-species of the Ordinary Man be noticed, resulting from the comprehension of the “ways of doing” of this man, in their resistance and survival effects, this being perceived within the reality of his work context, within the framework of Ordinary Management.

At last: emerging in the social reality

To close this paper, but not the debate, and with the intention of presenting how the Ordinary Man and his practices could be observed objectively in everyday life, we discuss the last topic of this text. As signaled by Bourdieu, it is convenient to think in practical contexts (Grenfell, 2018). To this end, we present (aided by the imagination of the reader) a collage of scenes. These define daily work practices, which peripheral members of society perform in society’s gaps, in different Brazilian realities and regionalities, particular contexts, which, as Sá (2020) states, deserve to be understood from the peculiarity of their features, but still without losing the potential for comparison or, as we prefer, for confrontation with other contexts.

Picture, then, a busy street; a shoe store displays in its window an assortment of “lovely” pairs. Next to this window, on the sidewalk, is a middle-aged man with loose hair down to his shoulders. He plays and sings songs, some of them religious, on an acoustic guitar with missing strings. The tuning is almost nonexistent. In front of him, a stack of cardboard boxes stamped with the brand “X” (for shoes). The top box is open to receive “tips,” as compensation for his service. On another sidewalk, in another city, considering the work of Santos (2017), we can come across a woman begging on the street, devoid of any “prestige,” for years positioning herself daily in the same place on the sidewalk, with an appearance weakened by age and possible abandonment. These aspects also mean nothing in themselves, but because people believe in this condition, they allow this woman to earn her livelihood from this “symbolic capital of failure” and thus survive in this definite place.

When driving down an avenue in a large metropolis or a smaller city, it is common practice for informal workers to territorialize some of the intersections with their work practices, as demonstrated by Silva and Ichikawa (2019). These peripheral trade points are used for the sale of numerous products, such as water. When we visualize person selling water bottles at the traffic

light, it is common to imagine this agent in summer attire, armed with a cooler filed with ice. However, coming across a person dressed in shoes, pants, shirt and tie, selling water at the traffic light, carrying a tray as if he were working as a waiter in a posh setting, this brings about a sense of strangeness, as evidenced in Santos (2021). It becomes a practice that draws attention, for its impropriety, for the structural disagreement it causes; although in other places a waiter occupies a place of social invisibility, as Diniz, Carrieri and Barros (2013) describe, here this social representation finds a gap. At first, it is not the man and his product which cause the sense of strangeness, but the “provocation” is the costume. It is these clothes, which carry the structuring social representation of a space of power, that confronts the reality of a precarious work environment, such as the traffic lights; it is as if this costume were occupying a place where it does not belong. And it is in such tactic that the order is deconstructed and allows for the “glamour” to be embodied in the “vulgar” and the popular, consisting in a strike within the struggle, a locus of tension, and space for the research of the subspecies of symbolic capital. This leads us to consider that the product (water) is the background for what in fact is possibly being marketed, the embodiment in vulgarity capable of concurrently bringing about a sense of strangeness and fascination in potential customers.

Now, far from the urban centers, what would street commerce look like when the spaces of passage which characterize these small businesses, as illustrated by Carrieri, Perdigão, and Aguiar (2014), are on the high seas or in the middle of the Amazon River? Picture a boat sailing with tourists enjoying the natural beauties of Brazil. In the middle of the tour, some of the tourists notice an unusual movement. Another smaller boat, manned by two men, “parks” beside the boat. The people find the movement strange but do not quite understand what is actually happening. Then, one of the men enters the larger tourist boat and offers some grilled meat skewers as a food option. Some people accept the offer and in a few moments the man leaves the larger boat, and the tour continues normally. The whole action takes place in a series of occasions, full of implicit situations, that surprise the tourists by the boldness of the action and the agility with which everything happens.

Well, these individuals supposedly do not seem to have artistic or cultural capital, nor do they seem to have economic capital. However, they use the “spot” on the sidewalk, and/or the occasion of the orderly environment, to act there, employing a clever tactic. Soon, they manage to re-signify the original meaning of materials and the occupation of these places by their practices.

Recognizing the subspecies of capital requires examining the social space and its symbolic power relations; it requires us to submerge into social reality and the practices of the agents, and to perceive how the ordinary man uses the orderly system itself to employ their clever practices, and from these recognize the management of their symbolic resources/capitals in their precariousness.

The proposal of symbolic capital subspecies in this essay departs from what is commonly conditioned to capital in its “positivity”, especially in the field of management, in relation to qualities, in what is deemed “valuable” within structures. As Bourdieu (2007; 2007a) points out, the dominant definition of “distinction” calls behaviors that are different from the common, the ordinary, “distinctive”.

In this essay we propose, however, the opposite, by reminding us to get to know what is not distinctive, in the face of the dominant gaze on the management practices of the Ordinary Man. The subspecies of capital used by the Ordinary Man do not have the “glamour” to which we are accustomed to relate the capital circumscribed to Management and organizational studies. We need to distance ourselves from the so-called “prestige” commonly related to the concept of capital and exercise what could be called a “reverse” look.

The focus in the acknowledgement of subspecies of capital is on the “tacky”, vulgar, popular and common aspects. And, in particular, on what creates a sense of strangeness and tension regarding management practices in the mainstream perspective of Administration. In short, we will be looking particularly at where the “non-distinctive” is located (clashing with the dominant “distinctive” qualities), among the practices of the non-dominant agents. It is also worth mentioning that “tacky” can also be a distinctive element, but negative, when perceived from a relational analytical perspective in different power spaces.

Thus, the naming of subspecies of symbolic capitals is a symbolic representation of titles, which gives meaning to the identity of resources and symbolic capitals managed in the context of Ordinary Management. The non-being is the reverse of being, just as a coin has an obverse because there is a reverse, not another but a complement to it, the symbolic capitals have a reverse, their weak side, which we discuss in this study as subspecies of symbolic capitals.

Analyzing the acknowledgement of this “reverse of the coin” or capital allows the field of organizational studies to deepen the knowledge of the “identity” of significations of capitals managed within Ordinary Management, by indicating which signification of resources is more distant from this type of management and which is closer. This is because, when we indicate what it is not, that is also a manner of indicating a way of being still little discussed in the management field.

We would also like to (in)conclude the reflections:

1. The proposed discussion opens up space for reflection in advancing the understanding of enterprises motivated by subsistence and resistance in the face of the trend toward generalization in the mainstream of Management.
2. From the perspective of Ordinary Management, advancements for the acknowledgement of “managed” resources/capitals within the art of this management is lacking.
3. We believe that the theoretical discussion presented here opens up space for empirical studies to advance the proposed discussion, for the acknowledgement of subspecies of symbolic capital in the context of everyday work of subsistence enterprises.

In short, it is the attempt to look at the reverse, at what is illegitimate, perceiving the possibility of acknowledging capitals within a “way of doing” management in everyday life. Therefore, from these theoretical discussions and illustrations, we reflect upon how these people perform an Ordinary Management by means of an unknown knowledge (Certeau, 2012) put in practice through tactics and strategies in their work, dispossessed of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1989), or further yet, of physical, human and organizational resources, traditional

aspects to the study of Administration. Therefore, we argue that these people survive from their Ordinary Management through the use of subspecies of symbolic capital, resisting daily to the environment where they are inserted.

Finally, it is worth remembering that the scenes narrated (from a distant perspective) have the exclusive intention of sparking the potential of acknowledging the subspecies of symbolic capital. We assume that this acknowledgement occurs from proximity, in the experiences of daily life, in the link and interaction with the agents, in order to know the invisible webs that interconnect the constituent power relations in these contexts. It is the minutiae of what is between the lines and in the details of the ways of doing and not doing, of what is said and not said, of what is seen and of what is omitted in the daily relationships that allow us to interpret the effects.

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Funding

The authors acknowledge the financial support of Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES) and of Fundação Araucária.

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Conflict of interests

The authors have stated that there is no conflict of interests.

Authors' contributions

First author: conceptualization (lead), data curation (equal), formal analysis (equal), funding acquisition (equal), investigation (lead), methodology (equal), validation (equal), writing-original draft (lead), writing-review & editing (equal).

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