

РЕЛІГІЄЗНАВСТВО

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SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN SOCIAL THEORY OF PIERRE BOURDIEU: RECEPTION IN THE RELIGIOUS SPHERE

The purpose of the article is to uncover the potential of symbolic violence in the religious sphere on the basis of an analysis of P. Bourdieu's social space concept. The achievement of the goal involves solutions for the following tasks: a) to determine the peculiarities of the rivalry of religious relations subjects for domination in the religious field; b) to find out the impact specifics of the symbolic resource depending on the religious interests and needs of individuals. The theoretical basis of the study is based on P. Bourdieu's concept of social space, which is built around the triad "field" – "capital" – "habitus". The basis of symbolic violence in the religious field is, on the one hand, the competition for monopoly on symbolic capital, on the other, the laity's demand for religious needs and the supply of capital by religious instances – individuals or instituts. Religious habitus determines the nature, form and effectiveness of strategies that may involve religious authorities to the activities distribution for the satisfaction of their own religious interests.

The scientific novelty of the results obtained is the understanding of the rivalry of agents of the religious field for the possession of symbolic capital as a struggle for recognition by other entities, as well as by laity as consumers of religious services. Social recognition is seen as a vital need of individuals, rooted in the intersubjective conditions of their activity and dependent on the approving reactions of an entourage. Within the religious field, symbolic violence unfolds depending on the individuals' or instituts' position in the structure of the religious power distribution, as well as the nature of competition for the monopoly on the production and disposal of religious capital. Religious capital acts as a tool of domination, which allows to commit symbolic violence in the religious sphere by imposing senses, meanings, norms, rules. Consequently, practices of symbolic violence function in the form of introducing into the habitus of individuals perceptions of the social world based on religious values. The rivalry of participants in the struggle for monopoly ownership of symbolic capital in the religious field of – a "church", a "prophet" and a "sorcerer" – is accompanied by the establishment of religious pluralism and a free "religions market".

Keywords: symbolic violence, religious field, capital, habitus, practices.

Formulation of the problem. Structuring of social space is happening, on the one hand, through objective social relations, on the other – through subjective perceptions of individuals about the world around them. Understanding an individual as a participant in social processes, giving personal priorities the content of social activities creates a need to study the practices that structure the social space. Inclusion of the individual in the system of social relations is happening, in particular, through the symbolic tools of everyday practices – signs, symbols, statuses, rituals.

Analysis of research and publications. Scientists concentrate their efforts on researching practices of symbolic violence which unfold in various areas of public life. Thus, M. Korsten clarifies the relationship between the conditions of development of socio-symbolic practice and recognition of individuals of its symbolic order [9]. M. Buravoy considers the concept of symbolic violence discovered by P. Bourdieu in comparison with understanding of the tools of symbolic coercion by other researchers [8]. The practices of symbolic violence as a means of penalization of opposition ideas, management of social movements is the subject of analysis of I. Gonzalez-Sanchez [10].

Scientists focus on identifying the specifics of symbolic violence practices mainly in relation to the related social phenomena. This perspective of the study does not involve identifying the nature and consequences of the impact of symbolic violence on the social institution of religion, transformation of consciousness and lifestyle of the believer. Therefore, a detailed study requires clarification of the specifics of development of the phenomenon of symbolic violence in the religious sphere, which leads to the analysis of the scientific work of P. Bourdieu.

The objective of the article is to reveal the potential of symbolic violence in the religious sphere based on the analysis of the concept of social space by P. Bourdieu. Achieving the goal involves solving the following tasks: a) to determine the characteristics of the rivalry of the subjects of religious relations for dominance in the religious field; b) to find out the specifics of the influence of a symbolic resource depending on the religious interests and needs of individuals.

Presenting the main material. P. Bourdieu reveals the system of relations in the religious sphere on the basis of the triad "field" – "capital" – "habit", that is why there is a need to briefly consider the essence of these concepts. The concept of "field" the scientist considers a relatively autonomous subsystem of social space, the functioning of which in the form of a certain network of relations does not depend on the consciousness and will of the individual [4]. A field (economic, political, cultural, religious, etc.) has its own structure, institutions and practices, the form of interaction of agents, which are endowed with permanent dispositions, mastered during the stay in the field and considered only in the relationship of individuals. The field is a place of fight for possession of social capital as an instrument of domination. In other words, the field is a competitive market, where individuals or groups compete for a higher status.

Social capital combines resources related to belonging to a group – a family, a church, an association, a club, ie to a network of connections that an individual can not use outside the power potential of the group. Possession of a capital – economic, cultural, symbolic – is the key to achieving and retaining power. Symbolic capital includes authority, reputa-

tion, recognition, ie the resource, volume and structure of which determines the position of agents in the social field.

The ability of individuals to spontaneously navigate in the social space and respond relatively adequately to situations and events, to form skills and abilities in the process of socialization gradually leads to the structuring of ideas and the production of practices. To denote the structured experience, selected by the circumstances, embodied in ideas, expressed in practice and intended for reproduction, P. Bourdieu introduced the concept of "habitus" [2]. Thus, habitus includes the tendency to perceive, think and act in a particular situation, which are mostly unconsciously assimilated by individuals as a result of objective living conditions [5].

The religious field is characterized by competition for the production of religious capital, as well as support and sympathy of individuals. Religious capital is associated with a change in ideas and practices of lay people by suggesting religious habitus as an ascending principle of thoughts, perceptions and actions that are agreed with religious ideas about the social world. Depending on the position in the structure of distribution of religious power, as well as in the competition for a monopoly on disposal of values of salvation and legitimate implementation of religious power, capital can be used by different religious authorities – individuals or institutions [4]. As religion has a power of suggestion that is not inherent in other social institutions, P. Bourdieu connects the religious sphere with the mechanisms of domination in society, designed to legitimize and reproduce social order.

P. Bourdieu illustrates the rivalry for the production, possession and use of religious capital with the help of the concepts borrowed from M. Weber – "a church", "a prophet" and "a sorcerer". The church is a traditional hierarchical organization that unites professional ministers of the cult as bearers of legitimate symbolic power. The prophet and the sorcerer are in opposition to the church as independent agents, competing with each other and differing positions in the division of religious labor and the way of expressing their ambitions. Thus, the prophet seeks to realize his claim to the legitimate making of religious authority by creating a systematic doctrine with ethical and practical principles. The prophet uses preaching as a tool to achieve symbolic power, while the sorcerer, by providing magical services, satisfies certain requests of individuals and uses language as one of the means of performing magical actions [4]. At the same time, the fight for recognition between the church, the prophet and the sorcerer leads to establishment of religious pluralism and a competitive "market of religions".

It is obvious that the rivalry for the monopoly on religious capital is due, in particular, to the experience of injustice, which is a consequence of the subjects' awareness of dependence on objective conditions. The desire to eliminate this injustice leads to a desire to change the conditions, ie to the fight for recognition. Any religious practice that is subordinate is objectively doomed to question the monopoly on the management of the sacred sphere and to deny the legitimacy of the owner of this monopoly. Survival in the religious field, according to P. Bourdieu, is always associated with resistance to the expropriation of the means of religious production [4].

The essence of religious capital, therefore, is related to the mechanisms of establishing relations of dominance in the social environment. Since in the social system order and hierarchy are maintained mainly through indirect control through indirect cultural mechanisms, it is a monopoly on symbolic violence. Accordingly, carrying out symbolic violence by forming a vision of social reality can be performed by an authority (person or institution) that creates

symbolic capital that legitimizes and reproduces social differences, status, recognition.

In the religious sphere, habitus produces practices that differ in the manner of performance, express the way of life, meanings, values, needs, interests, a certain religious experience of individuals, their attitude to leaders [4]. Religious habitus embodies tradition, involves the use of symbols and reaction to them, generates certain views, ideas and actions that correspond to the doctrine, norms, rituals of a particular denomination. Thus, the religious habit forms in its supporters a peculiar style of thinking, behavior and form of their expression, consolidates practices, ensuring their transmission to future generations.

Everyday forms of relationships of individuals are woven into a symbolic system, so it can be argued that habitus determines the cultural and symbolic space of the social system. The potential of this space is connected with the possibility of imposing the rules of the game, the system of values, the hierarchy of values, which acquire an unappealable self-evident character, ie with the relations of domination – subordination. Recognition of the legitimacy of power involves the unconscious acceptance by individuals of dominant meanings and values, so it is a matter of structural coercion – symbolic violence, which is carried out through habitus [1]. At the same time, the symbolic environment appears as a field of confrontation of various meanings and types of perception, the object of rivalry, because meanings are the means of (re)production of power.

According to P. Bourdieu, symbolic dominance is the main social construct that (re)programs the consciousness of the individual, which is not necessarily inspired by the state, which expands the range of ways and mechanisms of manipulating consciousness [3]. Symbolic violence differs from other ways and forms of direct and indirect influence by its non-reflexive, "natural" character, which is provided by the systematic and total imposition of "correct" forms of perception, thinking and expression [6]. Thinking structures have the ability to be realized in everyday practices, so symbolic violence can be produced by those to whom it is directed.

Religion strengthens the symbolic power of a social group that mobilizes to legitimize its way of life, which occupies a certain place in the social structure and division of "religious work". This effect of legalization of religion is carried out through the sanctification of economic and political relations, promoting symbolic manipulation, the purpose of which is to achieve compliance with the expectations and objective capabilities of the individual. Lay people expect religion not only to justify their existence, which deprives them of their existential fear of chance, disease, suffering, death, but also to justify their social status and way of life [4].

Thus, religious interest, according to P. Bourdieu, is to legitimize the features that are characteristic of a certain type of conditions that characterize the position of an individual or group in the social structure. For this purpose there are applied some manipulations in the form of interpretation, selection of information, rituals, thanks to what the corresponding relation to the facts, the phenomena, events is constructed [7]. P. Bourdieu sees the relationship between religious interest, faith and symbolic power in the dialectic of personal experience and its social reflection. The influence of faith on the individual depends on the degree of its support and cultivation in the group, which is observed, in particular, on the time of religious practices, when the group produces and designs symbolic power that will influence it. Thus, the explanation of religious practices and beliefs through the religious interest of their producers or consumers contributes to understanding of the very phenomenon of faith.

Preservation of a monopoly on religious authority as a kind of symbolic power depends on the ability of the individual or institution that owns it to convince others of its legitimacy. In other words, it is necessary to hide from those who are deprived of religious credibility or access to it, that in fact any subject of the religious field can monopolize power and competence. With regard to this, if the protest of the prophets or heretics threatens the existence of the institution of the church, then in the alignment of forces in favor of the church confrontation ends with the removal of the prophet (sect) by, as a rule, symbolic violence. An alternative to taming a prophet or reformer is to show obedience, that is, to recognize the legitimacy of the church's monopoly in the religious field.

The competition of the subjects of the religious field, as well as the agreement between specialists and the laity on the satisfaction of certain interests is the basis of the dynamics of the religious sphere. Religious interest requires legitimation of the material and symbolic possibilities of a particular social group. Accordingly, the laity are satisfied with the doctrine, which offers a (quasi)system to justify their position in the social structure and creates a symbolic effect of mobilization. In this regard, P. Bourdieu notes that at all times there is almost a "miraculous" harmony between the form of religious practices and beliefs in a particular society and the specific religious interests of "clientele" [4].

This harmony is a consequence of selective reception, which involves the reintegration of doctrine into the habit of the group in accordance with its place in the social structure. The condition of reception is the schemes of perception and thinking that define its boundaries and are the product of living conditions [4]. The spread of the doctrine inevitably leads to its interpretation, which is deliberately carried out by experts or occurs unintentionally due to the laws of the spread of culture. The degree of interpretation of a creed depends on the economic, social and cultural distance between the groups of its creators, distributors and addressees. Any religious system includes two types of practices and ideas – one justifies the dominance of dominant groups, others make subordinates believe in the legitimacy of domination over them, which is explained by lack of understanding of the nature of domination and symbolic ways of expressing it.

Thus, the influence of ideas and practices grows due to a deceptive sense of unity of answers to fundamental questions. The appearance of unity is maintained through the different meanings of concepts and practices that express the opposite social experience. Thus, the content of humility for some individuals is the main lesson of life, for others – the fruit of incredible efforts in opposition to universal forms of inevitability. The effect of ambiguity resulting from the interpretation of the one Revelation is the channel through which any religion imposes its picture of the world. With the help of symbolic manipulation techniques used by the subjects of the religious field, conflicts are replaced by desires, and human destiny becomes a choice, which is observed in the example of church glorification of asceticism.

Conclusions. Thus, the study of the anthropological content of symbolic violence in the religious field based on the analysis of the main provisions of social theory by P. Bourdieu is based on the understanding of social space as a set of relatively autonomous social fields characterized by a network of relations, practices, institutions. The religious field functions as a result of the development of objective

relations between the religious interests of social groups of the laity and the ratio of religious services produced and offered by religious authorities. Individuals or institutions claim to own and manage capital depending on their position in the structure of the distribution of religious power and their position in the fight for religious capital. As the bearer of legitimate symbolic power, the "church" opposes the "prophet" and the "sorcerer", who claim its authority and compete with each other. Symbolic violence in the religious field presupposes the formation by the bearers of religious capital of ideas of individuals about the natural obviousness of objects and phenomena of the social world in accordance with the postulates of a particular creed. The degree of deployment of symbolic violence depends on the nature of competition for the possession of religious capital and the social status of individuals on whom the symbolic influence is directed.

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СИМВОЛІЧНЕ НАСИЛЬСТВО У СОЦІАЛЬНІЙ ТЕОРІЇ П'ЄРА БУРДЬЄ: РЕЦЕПЦІЯ В РЕЛІГІЙНІЙ СФЕРІ

Метою статті є розкриття потенціалу символічного насильства в релігійній сфері на основі аналізу концепції соціального простору П. Бурдьє. Підґрунтям символічного насильства у релігійному полі є суперництво за монополію на символічний капітал, попит мирян на релігійні потреби, пропозиція капіталу релігійними інстанціями – особами або інститутами. Релігійний габітус визначає природу, форму та ефективність стратегій, які реалізують релігійні інстанції для задоволення релігійних інтересів. Релігійний капітал виступає інструментом домінування, що дає змогу здійснювати символічне насильство у релігійній сфері шляхом навіязування смислів, значень, норм, правил.

Ключові слова: символічне насильство, релігійне поле, капітал, габітус, практики.

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СИМВОЛИЧЕСКОЕ НАСИЛИЕ В СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ ТЕОРИИ ПЬЕРА БУРДЬЕ: РЕЦЕПЦИЯ В РЕЛИГИОЗНОЙ СФЕРЕ

Целью статьи является раскрытие потенциала символического насилия в религиозной сфере на основе анализа концепции социального пространства П. Бурдьё. Основой символического насилия в религиозном поле является соперничество за монополию на символический капитал, спрос мирян на религиозные нужды, предложение капитала религиозными инстанциями – лицами или институтами. Религиозный габитус определяет природу, форму и эффективность стратегий, которые реализуют религиозные инстанции для удовлетворения религиозных интересов. Религиозный капитал выступает инструментом доминирования, позволяющим осуществлять символическое насилие в религиозной сфере путем навязывания смыслов, значений, норм, правил.

Ключевые слова: символическое насилие, религиозное поле, капитал, габитус, практики.

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АНТРОПОЛОГІЯ ВСЕЛЕНЬСЬКОГО ПАТРІАРХА ВАРФОЛОМІЯ I: ВІД "Я" ДО "МИ"

Виявлено напрям трансформації антропологічних уявлень у богослов'ї Вселенського Патріарха Варфоломія I. Виходячи із центральної антропологічної парадигми православ'я, ключовою ідеєю якої є обоження людини шляхом внутрішнього духовного вдосконалення до вищого стану любові, Патріарх пропонує формування нового типу сучасної православної людини, ключовим фактором якої буде досягнення стану любові шляхом усвідомлення органічної єдності створеного Богом універсуму. Ключовими категоріями нової антропології постають питання єдності, діалогу, екологічної свідомості, миротворчості тощо на ґрунті раціонального обґрунтування необхідності вирішення глибоких проблем сучасності. Отже, в антропології спостерігається поворот від особистісного шляху спасіння до "всеправославного", тобто формування сучасного типу православної особистості, яка долає межі власного егоцентризму, фундаменталізму тощо через усвідомлення органічної її причетності до світу в цілому, її активної життєвої позиції у вирішенні екологічних та соціальних проблем, її відкритості до іншого на основі любові.

Ключові слова: Патріарх Варфоломій I, антропологія, спасіння, екологія, екологічна свідомість, діалог, любов.

Постановка проблеми. Парадоксальною рисою християнства є те, що ця релігія, являючись глибоко антропоцентричною, між тим ніколи не розглядала людину, вчення про людину, як центральну проблему богослов'я. Водночас саме антропологічні уявлення цієї релігії є конкурентними науковій та філософській антропології європейської цивілізації і в перехідні моменти історії християнські лідери звертаються до проблеми людини, осмислюючи її в тісному взаємозв'язку релігійного, наукового, філософського та соціально-культурного. Тому християнська антропологія, залишаючись незмінною у своїй сутності, підлягає, все ж таки, трансформаціям, відповідним суспільним змінам та запитам. У цих трансформаціях народжуються нові підходи до розуміння співвідношення Бог – людина – світ.

Аналіз останніх досліджень. Богослов'я Вселенського Патріарха Варфоломія I є об'єктом дослідження чисельних українських та закордонних дослідників, зокрема Ю. Чорноморця, Л. Филипович, А. Лапутько, О. Горкуші, К. Говоруна та ін.

Мета статті: виявити ознаки трансформацій в антропологічному вченні Вселенського Патріарха Варфоломія I.

Виклад основного матеріалу. Прикладом сучасної новітньої антропологічної парадигми, яка твориться, є вчення Його Всесвятості, Архієпископа Константинополя – Нового Риму і Вселенського Патріарха Варфоломія I. Богослов'я Патріарха є прикладом досвідної православної антропології. Це приклад богослов'я, яке народжується на шляху особистісного пошуку Бога, пошуку власного шляху служіння Богові та світові. Наголошуючи на тому, що "в наш час ми стикаємося з швидко мінливим світом, повним нових викликів та непередбачених можливостей для розвитку та прогресу", Патріарх задає питанням: "Якою повинна бути позиція християнських церков, перед сучасними викликами? Як вони можуть використовувати їхню дорогоцінну духовну та моральну спадщину, їхнє глибоке антропологічне коріння та благочинні традиції?" [2].

Проблеми православної єдності, екуменічних зв'язків з іншими конфесіями а, отже, активізація міжконфесійного діалогу та релігійної терпимості, турбота про навколишнє середовище [1, с. 22] – ось стратегічний напрям служіння, в основу якого покладено новітню онтологічно-антропологічну парадигму – єдність людини та