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Diploma Programme subject in which this extended essay is registered: SOCIAL & CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
(For an extended essay in the area of languages, state the language and whether it is group 1 or group 2.)

Title of the extended essay: What is the relationship between poverty perceptions and symbolic violence in Cali Colombia?

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| <b>Criteria</b>               | Examiner 1 | maximum | Examiner 2 | maximum | Examiner 3 |
|-------------------------------|------------|---------|------------|---------|------------|
| A research question           | 2          | 2       |            | 2       |            |
| B introduction                | 2          | 2       |            | 2       |            |
| C investigation               | 3          | 4       |            | 4       |            |
| D knowledge and understanding | 3          | 4       |            | 4       |            |
| E reasoned argument           | 2          | 4       |            | 4       |            |
| F analysis and evaluation     | 2          | 4       |            | 4       |            |
| G use of subject language     | 3          | 4       |            | 4       |            |
| H conclusion                  | 1          | 2       |            | 2       |            |
| I formal presentation         | 4          | 4       |            | 4       |            |
| J abstract                    | 2          | 2       |            | 2       |            |
| K holistic judgment           | 3          | 4       |            | 4       |            |
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**What is the relationship between poverty perceptions and symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia?**

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ABSTRACT

This research paper aims to determine if people's perceptions of poverty contribute to symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia. This research questions is approached through Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence, which provides a useful explanation for the persistence of poverty in Cali. In order to answer this question, ethnographic techniques such as interviews were used. The research focuses on members of the upper and lower classes. Measures have been taken to ensure that personal opinion about poverty does not affect the study. Emphasis is given to discourses established by members of the upper and lower classes to justify their position in the class hierarchy. These discourses reveal how members of the different classes explain their position in society. The data confirms Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence. Members of the lower classes tended to attribute their position in the class hierarchy to their own agency, disregarding limiting structural factors. Members of the upper classes reproduced discourses that justify their position in the class hierarchy, and attributed their success to personal efforts. These discourses make their position in hierarchy and the inequality as something commonsensical that appears "natural".

Table of contents

**ABSTRACT ..... 2**

**INTRODUCTION ..... 5**

**1. Theoretical framework ..... 7**

    1.1 Poverty ..... 7

    1.2 Bourdieu’s theory of class..... 8

    1.3 Symbolic violence..... 10

    1.4 Symbolic violence in ethnography..... 10

**2. Methodology..... 13**

    2.1 Type of study..... 13

    2.2 Population..... 13

    2.3 Techniques ..... 14

    2.4 Ethical Considerations..... 15

    2.5 Limitations of Study ..... 16

**3. Data and Analysis ..... 17**

**4. Conclusion ..... 22**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 23**

**ELECTRONIC SOURCES ..... 23**

**APPENDIX ..... 26**

    Questionnaires..... 26

        To both classes..... 26

        To dominant class..... 27

        To dominated class ..... 28

    Extracts from interviews ..... 29

Ethical written letter consent ..... 32



## INTRODUCTION

In Colombia, poverty is a mayor problem that limits its continuous development. This is one of the main causes of the outgoing civil war, general insecurities and violence of the country. Colombia is one of the countries with the highest rate of economical inequality in the world and half of the population lives below the poverty level (ABColombia, 2012). In the city of Cali, the poverty rate is of 21.9% (Alcaldía Cali, 2014); its distribution of wealth, according to the GINI<sup>1</sup> index is of 0,515, having the highest economic inequality in Colombia (“El Nuevo Siglo”, 2013). Income inequality in Colombia is one of the sources of guerrilla movements inspired by Marx’s writings. These movements have lead to the longest on-going civil war in the world. (Saumeth, n.d).

Colombian poverty rates have been caused by the influx and displacement of people from rural areas. Poverty forces people to seek alternatives in the nearest urban centres, for instance Cali. The economic policies that marginalize farmers; the lack of economic opportunities, development, and infrastructure; the conflict between the government and the guerrilla, and paramilitary organizations (Dario, 2002) that is fought in the rural areas generally abandoned by the government, are only few reasons of poverty in Colombia.

These factors make poverty widespread in Cali to the point to seem almost natural to the city's inhabitants. This is evident in the crow of people selling goods like gum or drinking in the streets or the invasions of immigrants lining the mountains along the city.

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<sup>1</sup> GINI Index: Measures the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. Scale from 0 to 1, 0 being equality and 1 being inequality. (World Bank)



Relationship between poverty perceptions and symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia

Philippe Bourgois and Jeff Schonberg's ethnography *Righteous Dopefiend* illustrates how Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence applies to a community of heroin addicts in San Francisco. Symbolic violence proved to be a useful concept in their "theory of lumpen abuse" (Bourgeois, 2009) and this concept can also be applied to economic inequalities in Cali.

The purpose of my research paper is to answer the question: "Do people's perceptions of poverty contribute to symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia?"

To answer this question, this manuscript will focus on two different social classes in Cali. In Colombia, the social classes are divided into 6 "estratos" from 1 (being the lowest-extreme, poverty) to 6 (being the highest, wealthy). I interviewed two "estratos", "Valle Grande", "estrato" 2 and "Pance" "estrato" 6.

The r.p. is placed within ethn. context

r.p. Study Focus  
embedding within

## Theoretical framework

### 1.1 Poverty

Since the beginning of modern history, humanity has faced different challenges when it comes to satisfy the basic needs. In Colombia, 42.8% of Colombian population lives in what is considered poverty (El Tiempo, 2013). But what is poverty? Poverty has a multidimensional definition according to the perception of every individual. Nevertheless, this paper uses the anthropological definition of poverty, “culture of poverty” that emerged to explain why people are poor. Baró (2004) says that, according to the anthropologist Lewis (1959, 1966, 1969), the culture of poverty in a sector, develops their own culture, which is passed from generation to generation perpetuating its features. It outlines the factors that are associated with people’s behaviour and how their values make them differ from higher social classes. In order to measure poverty or know when someone was consider “poor”, Lewis suggests that the beliefs taught as a child contribute to multigenerational poverty. This beliefs and attitudes include “sexual promiscuity by the ‘out-of-wedlock births,’ intense feelings of marginality, helplessness, and dependency, a lack of clear judgment, and experiences that reflect limited knowledge of personal issues, local conditions, and their own way of life.”

*(Lewis def. is clearly related Bourdieu's opposite)*

In this paper, people who are consider poor in Colombia are the ones that make part of the “estrato” 1, 2 and 3, where “estrato”1 is consider to be “low-low”, “estrato” 2 “low” and 3 “medium-low”. According to DANE, this class division is the way the Colombian State classifies residential property, which takes into account the level of poverty or wealth, provision of public utilities (electricity, water, etc), location (urban, rural) and the access to services. “Estrato” 1 and 2 lack almost all services, with more precarious and unstable

housing conditions. Additionally, access to health and education is minimal. In the choice of the people to interview, I took into account this definition of poverty, and the anthropological one as an introduction of Bourdieu's Class Condition theory to reflect symbolic violence, relating to my research question.

## 1.2 Bourdieu's theory of class

Bourdieu's theory of class explains how poverty is perpetuated. He describes class condition, "a particular set of life conditions [...] within which the habitus was formed" (Weininger, 2009), through the concepts of "Dominant class" and "Dominated class" (Blunden, 2004). The dominant class not only has control of the means of production but also establishes its own cultural doctrine of power, making up the wealth population. The dominated class constitutes the low class status because of its income and its own cultural perception. This represents a disparity in power, which means that the dominant class manages a disproportion amount of power over the dominated class.

Bourdieu uses the concept of capital to show how a different knowledge, taste, cultural artefacts embodies the dominant and the dominated classes. Capital makes reference to power since it's converted into power and applied over people with less capital. There are different types of capital: economic, social, cultural and symbolic<sup>2</sup>.

The dominant class establishes discourses to make its position seem "natural" thus the dominated class condition is perceived similarly. According to Eriksen (1995), one of wealth

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<sup>2</sup> The economic capital is the income; the social your social resources; the cultural capital is the collection of symbolic elements and the symbolic is the prestige and the respect you have in society (Blunden, 2004).

### Relationship between poverty perceptions and symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia

people's discourses is that they have worked hard to achieve their money and status while the dominated class don't endeavour. Therefore, the dominated class blames itself, attributing its condition to its own agency. The structures imposed by the dominant class creates boundaries making dominated people feel they cannot go forward, and it is here that the issue of structure vs. agency takes place. Another discourse is that all individuals in capitalist societies have the same opportunities to accumulate wealth or power; the dominant class is able to spread this perception to the other group, and its ideology becomes something natural for the whole society.

The natural appearance of these discourse is what shapes our social reality; however all classes are socially constructed, evincing that we recognize classes according to particular characteristics, such as likes, tastes, behavior, attitudes, perceptions. In Bourdieu's words, this is the expression of habitus and capital. Habitus refers to the "behavior which occurs at the preconscious level and appears natural" (Gill, 2003); thus, habitus is what makes individuals be part of a social group and is acquired socially through experiences and socialization. As a whole, it appears so normal and natural that for all social classes their behaviors seem self-evident.

This social reality is notwithstanding imposed, and, when we "misrecognize" class conditions, its power structures can become visible as well as the way they shape our representations (Wacquant, 2013).

### 1.3 Symbolic violence

Bourdieu's concept of *symbolic violence* links practices and feelings to social domination (Bourdieu 2000). According to Bourgois (2012), it is the mechanism that leads those subordinated to the "misrecognition" of inequality as a natural order of things and their blaming for their position on society's hierarchies. The inequalities within this hierarchy appear "commonsensical" at a preconscious level. This creates symbolic boundaries, which delimits social space. This is why individuals view their different social constructions as natural and contribute to their own subjugation. Symbolic violence perpetuates inequalities, allowing one group to dominate another, usually negatively. This applies to social classes (the upper classes dominating the lower classes), but it also applies to gender and other social structures.

Besides, habitus legitimizes symbolic violence. Bourdieu argues that habitus has "principles of vision and division" that are responsible for the perception of things and people, creating different social spaces that are distinct systems of classification which compete with one another producing "symbolic invention" (Weininger, 2009). This is why symbolic violence is seen as a mechanism that causes inequalities to appear.

### 1.4 Symbolic violence in ethnography

There are different ethnographies that apply Bourdieu's concept of Symbolic Violence. Philippe Bourgois in *Righteous Dopefiend* says: "Ethnic components to habitus thereby become a strategic cog in the logic of symbolic violence that legitimizes and administers ethnic hierarchy, fuels racism, and obscures economic inequality." (Bourgeois,

### Relationship between poverty perceptions and symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia

2012). This study, conducted from 1994-2006, shows how the situation of United States and other structural or personal factors propitiate the intake of drugs. For the Edgewater community, addicts' state and conditions become "natural". They don't recognize the structural factors that make them "homeless", so they attribute their immutable position in society to their individual agency. The author links practices and feelings with social domination.

One example is the painful way surgeons perform surgeries to the homeless in the Edgewater community, carving larger gashes than necessary to remove the abscesses, without anaesthesia, and turning them down with painkillers (Righteous Dopefiend, 2012). They do it because they are "angry" with these drug users, attributing their class condition to their own agency. According to this logic if they really wanted to change, they will be working and therefore, they would get themselves out of the street. Here is a link between symbolic violence and perceptions of poverty, since this behaviour contributes to the perception of the homeless that this is their reality, they can't change their class condition because is their fault they are in that location of the hierarchy.

Although, I couldn't find any ethnographic research about symbolic violence in Colombia, but found another work that Bourgois did in reference to Panama, which has a lot in common with Colombia both culturally and historically since before was part of Colombia until November 3<sup>rd</sup> of 1903. Its called *Thirty years of ethnographic retrospective on violence in the Americas*, published in 2009. He alludes to symbolic violence to "help us understand the mystery of social reproduction: why do the subordinate tolerate the status quo?" (Bourgeois, 2009).

### **Relationship between poverty perceptions and symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia**

He shows in the “Labour struggle in a multinational banana in Panama and Costa Rica, 1981-1984” section that symbolic violence was created between classes in the “Bananera War”. He links this conflict to the conditions US transnational agro export imposed on the workers, and their repression, concluding that symbolic violence was presented by the class struggle where structural factors limited their agency making the position of the workers appear “natural” as shown in the conflict.

## Methodology

### 2.1 Type of study

The present paper seeks to explain poverty as a cultural phenomenon, using Bourdieu's theory of class. This is a qualitative, exploratory, and descriptive study, to describe and analyse the perceptions that people have about poverty and how they relate to the symbolic violence. Therefore, ethnographic techniques are used to discover groups' views, beliefs and perceptions. Two different levels of analysis are used: the emic<sup>3</sup> and etic<sup>4</sup> levels. Emic level approaches by their conceptions about poverty, but at the same time I'm generalizing to some extent using the etic level by Bourdieu's theory to see if it can be generalized to other cultures.

not structure

### 2.2 Population

Informants in this study were chosen from two population segments: members of the upper, or "dominant" classes, and members of the lower, or "dominated" classes. The five informants from the lower classes come from the neighbourhood of "Valle Grande" ("estrato" 2) in Cali. The five informants from the upper classes came from the neighbourhood Pance ("estrato" 6) in Cali. By focusing on these population segments, common discourses about poverty and its maintenance should arise in the respective groups.

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<sup>3</sup> Emic: studies one culture alone to understand culture-specific behaviours" (Crane, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Etic: "aims to compare and contrast cultural phenomena across cultures to investigate whether phenomena are culture-specific or universal" (Crane, 2012).



## Relationship between poverty perceptions and symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia

Valle Grande, in Aguablanca district, is one of the most dangerous areas of the city. Characterized by high crime rates and low-income levels. Most of the people here are African descendants, and many were displaced from Colombia's Pacific coast. 46.93% of the population belongs to “estrato 2” (DANE<sup>5</sup>), 44,52% belong to “estrato 1” and the remaining 8,54% belong to “estrato 3.” Its income ranges from \$ 3,000 to \$ 4,000 USD a year (Alcaldía Cali, 2014).

Disrupt the part of violence.

“Pance”, is one of Cali wealthiest areas. There is a low violence rate. It's composed of estrato 5” and “estrato 6” exclusively and its income ranges from \$ 42,000 to \$ 370,000 USD a year (Alcaldía Cali, 2014). They are in general “white” Latin American people. It is also here where most universities and commercial sites are found.

Cult & violence

### 2.3 Techniques

In each section of the population, I will do a 10-semi-structured interview with 14 questions, open and closed, to better analyse the interviewees' perspective than with a structured interview. I will show how people's conception for poverty contributes to symbolic violence. Because of ethical issues, I will take notes, record them, with a written consent and recording. Furthermore, I will use my archival research of the ethnographies I have read to analyse my data.

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<sup>5</sup> DANE: National Administrative Department of Statistics

## 2.4 Ethical considerations

While doing the interviews, I asked each one of the informants to sign a written consent, explaining and justifying that I am a student doing an anthropological investigation for an extended essay, and that, the information will stay anonymous to provide confidentiality. Additionally, everyone has the right to withdraw at any point of the interview if they don't feel comfortable or satisfied with the development of it.

Doing ethnographic research among marginalized people, I need to have in mind other ethical implications. Inevitably, people are emotionally charged about this type of issues; therefore, I need to present carefully myself to both groups avoiding objectifying poor people as that and judging upper class ones. In other words, low classes don't enjoy being perceived as marginalized and upper classes are not used to be directly exposed to different forms of deprivation, so when they have this experience they might tend to judge or to become emotionally involved rather than to focusing on the research.

According to Scheyvens, R, Et al (n.d) cited in Martin (2000:193-4), there are 6 fundamental implications that must be considered during fieldwork in marginalized communities: The research must be based on the knowledge, skills and experience of people in the group being studied. Marginalized groups are active subjects rather than passive of the research. The research questions should be centred on issues of interest and concern to the group being studied. The participation should involve rather than keep an impartial detachment. Research findings should be shared with the marginalized group in a way it is appropriate to the group (since my research should not only benefit me, but to serve their interests), and any anticipated negative outcome should be eliminated if possible.

## 2.5 Limitations of the study

Despite my intention of objectivity and neutrality, I have a relationship with the dominant class; born and raised in this reality, I have an understanding of symbolic violence that may differ from other people with a different background. I can have an approach to the people I want to interview of both dominant and dominated classes due to the social connections I have.

My lack of experience might condition my questions, imposing what I expect to find in them. The sample of the two classes population is small so I might generalize excessively and drawn broad conclusions about poverty in Cali, but I expect them to be a representative sample of the populations studied. There were significant obstacles in answering the research question using traditional ethnographic techniques like prolonged contact with the groups.

I have to mention that it's more difficult to reach women of the dominated class than to reach men. Most women didn't want to talk about their lives, although men were more open and willing to answer the questions. This was not the case of the dominant class because both genders usually have a higher education and are more accessible. )

This paper refers continuously to Bourdieu's theory of dominant and dominated class.

However this terminology creates an issue since it divides 2-class systems that doesn't exist in other societies. It doesn't reflect the social reality of Colombia since the socio-economic classes are divided in 6 groups, so in order to refer to Bourdieu's division, I choose the 2 extreme classes that reflect the dominant and the dominated ones.

the concept of  
Bourdieu's  
not  
simplified

## Data and analysis

In my findings the conceptions of poverty in both dominant and dominated class are quite similar. The three interviewed men from the group of the dominated class only reached a secondary education; going to university is almost an unreachable dream for them. Only one of them has a technical degree<sup>6</sup>, and the other two are unemployed. On one hand, they are aware of their structural limitations; on the other, they believe in the possibility of changing, which creates a contradiction between what they say and what limits them. All the members of this group believe that anyone could get out of poverty only through determination. However, two of them confess not to know what to do with their lives, avoiding any future plan. For instance, Anthony, a 19-year-old man, one of the 2 people mentioned before, said sarcastically: "I look like a billionaire in 5 years from now by selling cell phone minutes on the street". He didn't even mentioned studying or getting a formal job, which suggests that he doesn't know how to change his class condition.

Four of them haven't met anyone who have accomplished their dreams; their models for success are celebrities. This shows that for them it is harder than just to say "try hard and study" to succeed in life; the vast majority stays at the end with the same condition, increasingly losing motivation to change.

Anthony (19 years old), Andres (18), and Maria (20) argue that poverty comes from people's mind. "Poverty means not having dreams and not having motives to keep going

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<sup>6</sup> Technical study: it leads to a degree of senior technician that prepares you to start working and whose minimum requirement is to have completed high school and be 15 years of age. It is based more on physical work (Rosales, 2005).

### Relationship between poverty perceptions and symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia

forward” indicates Anthony. For Andres, “Poverty is created by the emotions of not wanting to change things”. “You create poverty,” says Maria. The other 2 interviewed, people, Kevin (19), and Aura (18) state that poverty means not having enough economic resources. For Kevin, “being poor is having low material resources, only lack of stuff.”

Besides, all say the upper classes discriminate them. They feel that is even more difficult to fulfil their goals because of this classism; “the rich have other ideologies that focus on creating more fortunes and businesses,” says Kevin. They have their own ideologies of life and success. In fact, they argue that by their social status, they need to put more much effort to succeed in life than the dominant class. “It’s always a competition that discourages you to keep moving forward” says Andres. Some feel so marginalized and, that they feel a desire to commit violence when a member from the upper classes comes near them; “It makes me just want to hit them hard,” says Anthony. In sum, they think that the high social class has everything; they have to do almost nothing to have a “perfect live”.

All informants mentioned desires to change even though they don’t take practical measures to do so. Only two of them say they are actively trying to accomplish their goals. The rest just say they wanted to move on someday, but they didn’t mention any future plans. They see society’s structure and class condition as unchangeable.

On the other hand, all members of the Pance group expect to finish their current studies rather than to start their future career like in the dominated class. All of them have seen lots of people succeeding, they are conformable with their lives; they don’t have to

change anything. Additionally, they say neither having found any limitation to accomplish their goals nor worrying about their stability.

This group believe that anyone could change the class condition just trying hard and putting the mind to it. Nevertheless, when it comes to the perception of poverty they are quite different. For the two women poverty is more “a spiritual state”, which means that an unhappy person can be considered poor despite his or her wealth. “Sometimes one can have everything and still be poor for the lack of happiness,” says Veronica (18 year-old girl) attending university. However, for Joahn (20), “poverty can be defined in many ways, but it always means the lack of something, not necessary money”. They believe that class condition is changeable and, like Camila (19), “Most of the poor people are poor because they don’t change their thoughts about wanting to move forward”.

For this class is sometimes difficult to interact with the lower social classes since they are socially painted as criminals. “Not all of us discriminate them, but there are stigmas as being ‘bad’ people,” says Camila. The five stated that their perception of poverty and life project is totally different from the dominant class, but the upper classes think otherwise. For four of the five informants the perception of poverty and project of life of the lower classes is the same. “Project life is equal. We all have a dream mentality” said Nicolas; however, Martin says that “life project depends on the person and not the stratum”, which shows the unawareness of the structural factors that limit lower classes.

These perceptions of poverty are different to some extent in the dominant and the dominated class. For Pance group is more spiritual than material, while for the lower classes it’s a mind’s creation, besides a material lack. This exemplifies how social culture has shaped

each of the agents' minds. Both groups believe that poverty is changeable; it's not seemed as something "natural" and unchangeable although the dominant class argue that through persistence dominated class can change their class condition. "The poor can change by looking for a job," says Veronica. As a whole, that suggests that lower classes don't put enough effort to succeed. On the contrary, people from the dominated class argue that the only way to change is to study to get a better job, although they are actually limited by the structural factors of their agency.

The common discourses found in these interviews illustrate the concept of symbolic violence. Nevertheless, both classes argued that being poor is not something "natural". They express the opposite of what they establish; the upper classes, by holding that they are in such position because they strove to achieve it; the lower classes, by saying that they cannot change their class condition. These perceptions are what create symbolic boundaries, which limits them to change their condition and to interact with one another. They absorb structures and hierarchies of their social condition into their minds. It is so normal that they stop perceiving the reality of the situation they live on, contributing this way to their own subjugation and oppression.

The disparity of outlooks of the two groups can be explained by the concept of habitus. It emphasizes the importance of the structure shaping agency and how the "outer" social and the "inner self moulds each individual. This is reflected on my own research whose practices are the result of my class condition and my own habitus. This is why the dominant and the dominated class think and act different when it comes to their own perceptions of life.

**Relationship between poverty perceptions and symbolic violence in Cali, Colombia**

Referring to Baró, poverty is seen as a cycle. The Valle Grande group shows this culture of poverty through its attitudes that differentiate them from the upper classes, and perpetuated from generation to generation despite any possible class condition mobility. They have created their own group culture by saying “A rich man’s conception is different from us”. Their life experiences have caused them to believe that they are different from the upper classes. The isolation of these lower classes makes them create their own culture of poverty.

Contradictory?  
with Bourdieu's  
theory.



## Conclusion

This data shows that perceptions of poverty contribute to symbolic violence. There is a complete disregard of structural factors that limit the agency of the people of lower classes and their ability to accumulate economic capital for the high classes. Nevertheless, both classes believe in class mobility, meaning that they know that they can change their situation. They know what to do with their lives in order to succeed, although they don't actually apply such knowledge in real life. They are comfortable staying the way they are and the dominant class is content with the position "earned" in society. Here we can see how class condition makes up habitus and how these categories of perceptions that are imposed by our class condition create a social reality. Therefore, it shows how symbolic violence works as an explanation for poverty in Cali, Colombia and explains how it is perpetuated. However, Bourdieu's theory doesn't completely explain poverty in Colombia since there are still questions regarding to how structural forces create poverty, including political and economical ones, or how everyday violence contributes to that poverty.

Good effort to explore meanings of poverty. Needs further reflection and analysis.

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## APPENDIX

### Questionnaires

#### To both classes

Nombre:

Edad:

Sexo:

Nivel educativo alcanzado:

- Primaria incompleta:
- Primaria completa:
- Secundaria incompleta:
- Secundaria completa:
- Estudios técnicos tecnológicos:
- Formación profesional:

Situación Laboral:

- Estudiante:
- Empleo formal:
- Empleo informal:
- Desempleado:

Barrio:

Estrato:

**To the dominant class**

1. ¿Describe como es la vida en su barrio?
2. ¿Cómo se visualiza dentro de 5 años?
3. ¿Qué haces para lograrlo?
4. ¿Qué limitantes encuentra para llevar acabo sus metas y proyectos?
5. ¿Conoce personas que han logrado llevar acabo metas y cambios en su vida?
6. ¿Estas conforme con lo que tienes? Con tu situación? No tienes la necesidad de cambiarla?
7. ¿Cree usted que la pobreza es algo natural, que viene como herencia o es algo que se puede cambiar?
8. ¿Sientes que personas de estrato social alto discriminan a las personas?
9. ¿Qué emociones te genera actos de discriminación?
10. ¿Cuál es tu definición de pobreza? Para ti que significa ser pobre?
11. ¿Cómo piensas que la gente que no tiene recursos puede cambiar su estilo de vida?
12. ¿Cuáles son los factores que consideras que son lo mas importantes que causen la pobreza?
13. ¿Crees que tu concepción de pobreza es la misma a la que tendría una persona de estrato social bajo? Porque?
14. ¿Crees que el proyecto de vida de una persona de estrato bajo es diferente al de personas de otros estratos?

**To the dominated class**

1. ¿Describe como es la vida en su barrio?
2. ¿Cómo se visualiza dentro de 5 años?
3. ¿Qué haces para lograrlo?
4. ¿Qué limitantes encuentra para llevar acabo sus metas y proyectos?
5. ¿Conoce personas que han logrado llevar acabo metas y cambios en su vida?
6. ¿Estas conforme con lo que tienes? Con tu situación? No tienes la necesidad de cambiarla?
7. ¿Cree usted que la pobreza es algo natural, que viene como herencia o es algo que se puede cambiar?
8. ¿Sientes que personas de estrato social alto discriminan a las personas?
9. ¿Qué emociones te genera actos de discriminación?
10. ¿Cuál es tu definición de pobreza? Para ti que significa ser pobre?
11. ¿Cómo piensas que la gente que no tiene recursos puede cambiar su estilo de vida?
12. ¿Cuáles son los factores que consideras que son lo mas importantes que causen la pobreza?
13. ¿Crees que tu concepción de pobreza es la misma a la que tendría una persona de estrato social alto? Porque?
14. ¿Crees que el proyecto de vida de una persona de estrato alto es diferente al de personas de otros estratos?

**Extracts from interviews:**

**Valle Grande group:**

**Anthony 19 year old:**

¿Describe como es la vida en su barrio?

**vida en el barrio relajada**

¿Cómo se visualiza dentro de 5 años?

**Me veo como un billonario**

¿Qué haces para lograrlo?

**como llegar a tener plata, pues vendiendo minutos**

¿Sientes que personas de estrato social alto discriminan a las personas?

**Los ricos discriminan, ellos tienen una forma muy diferente de vivir a la de uno.**

**Uno tiene su retaso**

¿Qué emociones te genera actos de discriminación?

**les da ganas de darle puños**

¿Cuál es tu definición de pobreza? Para ti que significa ser pobre?

**pobreza es no tener sueños, no tener ganas de salir adelante. Una persona que no sirva para nada**

**Andres 18 year old**

¿Qué limitantes encuentra para llevar a cabo sus metas y proyectos?

**lo que le limita es la competencia**

¿Conoce personas que han logrado llevar a cabo metas y cambios en su vida?

**personalmente no conoce a nadie que haya cumplido sus metas**



¿Estas conforme con lo que tienes? Con tu situación? No tienes la necesidad de cambiarla?

**Estoy conforme con lo que tengo**

¿Cuál es tu definición de pobreza? Para ti que significa ser pobre?

**ser pobre es tener bajos recursos materiales. Solo material o también emocional**

¿Cuáles son los factores que consideras que son lo mas importantes que causen la pobreza?

**Los factores que causan la pobreza es del gobierno**

**Veronica 18 year old**

¿Cómo se visualiza dentro de 5 años?

**Me visualizo ya terminando la universidad o trabajando y con familia**

¿Qué haces para lograrlo?

**Estudiando claro esta**

¿Qué limitantes encuentra para llevar acabo sus metas y proyectos?

**No encuentro ningún limitante**

¿Conoce personas que han logrado llevar acabo metas y cambios en su vida?

**Si claro, todos, mis amigos y familiares**

¿Estas conforme con lo que tienes? Con tu situación? No tienes la necesidad de cambiarla?

**No tengo necesidad**

¿Cree usted que la pobreza es algo natural, que viene como herencia o es algo que se puede cambiar?

**la pobreza es algo que se puede cambiar con trabajo y dedicación.**

¿Cuál es tu definición de pobreza? Para ti que significa ser pobre?

**La pobreza es de material y de espíritu porque hay personas que lo tienen todo pero son infelices, es la falta de algo**

**Joahn 20 year old**

¿Sientes que personas de estrato social alto discriminan a las personas?

**algunas veces las personas de estrato alto si discriminan a los estratos bajos porque tienen muchas mas cosas que ellos y dicen que los de estrato bajo no van a lograr tener lo que ellos tienen.**

¿Qué emociones te genera actos de discriminación?

**La discriminación me genera tristeza**

¿Cuál es tu definición de pobreza? Para ti que significa ser pobre?

**La pobreza se puede definir de muchas maneras, pero siempre significa la falta de algo, no necesariamente dinero**

¿Cómo piensas que la gente que no tiene recursos puede cambiar su estilo de vida?

**Los pobres pueden cambiarla buscando trabajo**

¿Cuáles son los factores que consideras que son lo mas importantes que causen la pobreza?

**los factores de la pobreza es la falta de educación, empleo, problemas en la sociedad**

¿Crees que tu concepción de pobreza es la misma a la que tendría una persona de estrato social bajo? Porque?

**la concepción de pobreza creo que si es igual, compartimos este concepto**

### **Ethical written consent**

Hola estoy llevando a cabo una investigación para mi monografía del colegio. En esta investigación estoy investigando las diferentes percepciones de pobreza. Este es un consentimiento para que acepte realizar la entrevista y este de acuerdo con ser grabada.

Si usted acepta ser parte de esta investigación, usted debe saber que:

- Todos los datos obtenidos son confidenciales y anónimos.
- Los informantes pueden abandonar el experimento en cualquier momento.
- Los sujetos recibirán información sobre los resultados y conclusiones de la investigación después de haber obtenido resultados

Firma \_\_\_\_\_

Día: \_\_\_\_\_

Muchas gracias

Sinceramente: