

PIERRE BOURDIEU'S CONTRIBUTION TO ELITE STUDIES IN BRAZIL

A CONTRIBUIÇÃO DE PIERRE BOURDIEU PARA OS ESTUDOS DE ELITES NO BRASIL

LA CONTRIBUCIÓN DE PIERRE BOURDIEU PARA ESTUDIOS DE ELITES EN BRASIL

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ABSTRACT: This article traces an overview of studies on elites in Brazil inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's theory and relational method. It is based on a bibliographical review of the productions and trajectories of researchers who studied in France and whose passage through the country marks a "first generation" of Brazilians in direct contact with Bourdieu. The mapping shows that, over the years, there is a diversification and expansion both in the networks of researchers, as well as in the thematic and methodological uses, which as a result produces a "second generation" of researchers who will be responsible for deepening the Brazil-France connection through closer ties with Bourdieu's French heirs, besides occupying positions in important national institutional spaces, as professors and postgraduates in public and private universities and in the main associations in the area of Social Sciences, which strongly contributed to structuring formative poles that enabled the diffusion and the operationalization of the Bourdieusian method for the study of elites.

KEYWORDS: Elites. Pierre Bourdieu. Relational sociology.

RESUMO: Este artigo traça um panorama dos estudos sobre elites no Brasil inspirados na teoria e no método relacional de Pierre Bourdieu. A partir de uma revisão bibliográfica das produções e das trajetórias dos pesquisadores, cuja passagem pela França marca uma "primeira geração" de brasileiros em contato direto com Bourdieu. O mapeamento mostra que, ao longo dos anos, ocorre uma diversificação e ampliação tanto das redes de pesquisadores, quanto de temáticas e dos usos metodológicos, que como resultado produz uma "segunda geração" de pesquisadores que serão responsáveis por aprofundar a conexão Brasil-França através do estreitamento dos laços com herdeiros franceses de Bourdieu, além de ocupar

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posições em importantes espaços institucionais nacionais, como professores e pós-graduandos em universidades públicas e privadas e nas principais associações da área de Ciências Sociais, o que contribuiu fortemente para estruturar polos formadores que possibilitaram a difusão e a operacionalização do método bourdieusiano para o estudo da questão das elites.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Elites. Pierre Bourdieu. Sociologia relacional.*

RESUMEN: *Este artículo presenta un panorama de los estudios sobre las élites en Brasil inspirados en la teoría y el método relacional de Pierre Bourdieu. A partir de una revisión bibliográfica de las producciones y trayectorias de los investigadores cuyo paso por Francia marca una "primera generación" de brasileños en contacto directo con Bourdieu, el mapeo muestra que, a lo largo de los años, se produce una diversificación y ampliación tanto de las redes de investigadores, como de los temas y usos metodológicos, lo que da lugar a una "segunda generación" de investigadores que se encargará de profundizar la conexión Brasil-Francia a través del fortalecimiento de los vínculos con los herederos franceses de Bourdieu, además de ocupar posiciones en importantes espacios institucionales nacionales, a saber, como profesores y posgraduados en universidades públicas y privadas y en las principales asociaciones del área de las Ciencias Sociales, lo que contribuyó fuertemente a estructurar polos formativos que permitieron la difusión y la operacionalización del método bourdieusiano para el estudio de la cuestión de las élites.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Elites. Pierre Bourdieu. Sociología relacional.*

Introduction

Pierre Bourdieu stands as one of the main figures for French and world social sciences⁴, in Brazil, in particular, the French sociologist and anthropologist is the most read and quoted author, with Portuguese being the fourth language with the largest number of books by Pierre Bourdieu translated (CAMPOS; SZWAKO, 2020)⁵. In the year 2022, he completed 20 years of death, and this article aims to map Brazilian research that addresses the issue of elites from the author's theory and method.

Elites as an object of study go back to the classical theory of elites by Vilfredo Pareto (1948-1923) and Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), who present as their central argument the fact that, regardless of social group/society, place and at that time, there would be a minority (elite) that, through certain attributes, would stand out and hold the power to conduct a majority. Added to these two authors, Robert Michels (1876-1936) and - already in the twentieth century - Charles Wright Mills (1916-1962).

⁴ SANTORO, M.; GALLELLI, A.; GRÜNING, B. Bourdieu's International Circulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199357192.013.2>. Access: 10 May 2022.

⁵ The research examined the references of more than 11,000 articles published in 24 national journals between 1999 and 2018 in the three canonical disciplines — political science, anthropology and sociology.

The influence of the Pareto and Mosca studies among specialists in this field of study is consolidated and not in dispute⁶. Regarding knowledge of the theory of elites, the entire genealogy of authors and key texts does not refute the relevance of Italian authors, and any reflection that seeks to insert itself in this theme must demonstrate familiarity as a condition of acceptance and recognition, even if to refute such ideas (GRYNSZPAN, 1999).

The "classic" theory of elites has undergone several changes, undergoing new interpretations and being appropriated in different ways in contemporary research and analysis⁷, based on diversification, both in the debate and in the emergence and development of other thematic areas; one such innovative approach is that of Pierre Bourdieu.

For Bourdieu, "the real is relational" (BOURDIEU, 1989a, p. 28), thus, the characteristics (capitals) investigated by researchers as properties of the individual, in fact, are collective properties, they are an expression of the positions occupied by agents in the social space. These characteristics correspond to a set of attributes that Bourdieu called "capitals", which are distributed in a space of relational positions.

In this way, the capitals of the agents that make up the social space are not "natural" - neither are the social properties said to be distinct from the dominant groups - but are resources inherent to the superiority of its members (BOURDIEU, 1989a). In this way, Bourdieu's criticism of the theory of elites rests on the fact that the classical theory studies the attributes or capitals themselves, without understanding that it is a relational aspect of the space in which agents would be inserted (PERISSINOTTO; CODATO, 2008).

In the classic study entitled *La noblesse d'état* (1989b), carried out between the 1960s and 1970s, Bourdieu demonstrates how the education system (school and higher/university) institutes social boundaries between students, whether they are students from more or less recognized, or even more or less close to the intellectual or economic pole. The research demonstrates that the education system builds borders that have effects throughout the students' lives through the production and consecration of identities and social groups.

Thus, according to Bourdieu's criticism, a study that sought to represent a description of the "social profile" of the so-called members of the "elites" and that did not say, or said little,

⁶ Apesar de nos referirmos a ambos como italianos, Vilfredo Pareto nasceu em Paris em 15 de julho de 1848, o seu pai, descendia de uma nobre família italiana, os registros são imprecisos, mas a volta da família Pareto à Itália ocorreu no ano de 1852, contudo, outras registram o ano de 1854.

⁷ Em meados da década de 1980, há uma queda considerável na intensidade do debate sobre a teoria das elites. (GRYNSZPAN, 1999). Parte dessa queda se deve à diversificação das áreas e temática do campo das ciências sociais, e de críticas formuladas a partir de três perspectivas, são elas: o estruturalismo marxista, o institucionalismo de escolha racional e a Sociologia Relacional de Pierre Bourdieu (PERISSINOTTO; CODATO, 2008).

about the structure and functioning of the society in question or the aspect relationship of such social properties, would be reduced to a very limited perspective (PERISSINOTTO; CODATO, 2008). It is from this relational perspective that Bourdieu reformulates the class issue, as he "expands and corrects classical views on the subject" (WACQUANT, 2013, p. 87, our translation).

Among all the key concepts of Bourdieu's theory (for example: social space, habitus, symbolic violence), one of the main issues introduced by the author about class is that, in addition to being relational, it is based on struggle, that is, on disputes socially constructed by the various agents, holders of types of capital, in various domains of life (fields), in turn aligned with the symbolic aspect, therefore, established in the sphere of knowledge and recognition via the legitimation process.

Breaking with both elite theories and the Marxist view, Bourdieu discards the notion of the "ruling class" in favor of the relational concept of **the field of power**. Thus, instead of taking the "elites" as given or stipulating them through an act of scientific authority, he problematizes the existence of this social group, the borders and the degree of cohesion, both superior and subordinate classes, opening space for the empirical scientific research of the social modalities of their possible unification and eventual capacity for joint action (WACQUANT, 2013).

Bourdieu's research had a series of developments, in this sense, Monique de Saint-Martin stands out, Bourdieu's collaborator in several research, the author dedicated her efforts, with greater specificity, to questions related to the dominant fractions of the social space. In her works, Saint-Martin uses the term "elite" written in the plural (**eliteS**) and analyzes the legitimation strategies on which these groups rely and the ways of doing and acting in practical and symbolic actions (SAINT-MARTIN, 2008). Research conducted by Bourdieu and Saint-Martin in partnership includes work on the formation of various elites in France – employers, universities, economics and religions.

Saint-Martin (2008), when conceptualizing elites, reinforces the relational and positional perspective. For the author, the elites occupy positions of political, administrative, economic, cultural and religious power and have undefined contours; that is, it is not about drawing boundaries of who is or is not an elite, because, "by definition, one is not part of the elites 'in oneself', one must be part of them for others" (CHARLES, 1987 *apud* SAINT-MARTIN, 2008, p. 48, our translation). So, the concept of elites is applied in relation to other groups belonging/acting in the social space and is not explained in itself; what characterizes the

elites are the models of behavior that these groups propose, the value systems they have, the influence and pressure they exert (SAINT-MARTIN, 2008)⁸.

It is not possible to understand how elites function, the struggles for positions of power and the very distribution of power without taking into account the weight of training — cultural capital⁹. The socialization and training of members of the future elites depend closely on educational institutions (elite schools, private or public, *grande* lyceums, *grande écoles* etc.) that favor the structuring of groups, the creation of networks and the learning of management methods of relationships and the exercise of authority (SAINT-MARTIN, 2008, p. 52).

In this regard, paying attention only to the economic capital held by the groups to be analyzed would limit understanding and reduce the multidimensionality in which it is constituted¹⁰. The groups that occupy the dominant positions and the richest families are characterized by an “obsession with transmission”; they maintain vigilance over their children's education, matrimonial alliances, residence and meeting spaces, relationships (SAINT-MARTIN, 2008, p.57). Added to the weight of cultural capital (school diploma), the more or less important weight of economic capital, the way of life and even the choices of residence, in which spatial segregation is revealed (PINÇON; PINÇON-CHARLOT, 1989 apud SAINT-MARTIN, 2008).

The elites are, therefore, constituted by cohesive social groups, which generally occupy dominant positions in different sectors, at the same time that they are in private life, given the transit through similar spaces. However, despite cohesive processes and similar capital structures, the analysis of the elites cannot be reduced to a unit, on the contrary, it is in the relation of these same elites that the weights (and/or power) exercised over groups are analyzed, in the relation of power¹¹ (SAINT-MARTIN, 2008).

⁸ Saint-Martin states that there are numerous notions to which sociologists resort to analyze and even describe social groups in high positions in the social hierarchy. In this vein, the author mentions that for most researchers, elites are those who: “are at the top of the social hierarchy and there they exercise important functions, which are valued and publicly recognized through important incomes, different forms of privilege, prestige and other official or unofficial advantages”. (SAINT-MARTIN, 2008, p. 48, our translation).

⁹ The weight of passage through the *grande écoles* is decisive in France. Academic legitimation, which is synonymous with the *grande école* diploma, does not exclude a high social background. Citing Offerlé's (1999) research, Saint-Martin (2008) says that the CEOs of large companies, senior officials, mostly pass through the *grande écoles*.

¹⁰ Saint-Martin uses the word dynasty when dealing with the reproduction strategies of the elites. The meaning of dynasty must be thought of in terms of a series of characteristics that allow continuity, the accumulation of different types of capital to maintain and/or improve one's position in the social space.

¹¹ The analysis of the case of the Duke of Brissac represents and/or personifies the set of properties (capital) of the aristocracy. Saint-Martin (2020) places social capital, which the Duke learned to maintain and cultivate since he was a child, as the principle of all inherited riches, which he never ceased to value and expand. The duke was the center of a network of relationships that completed and accumulated over time, namely: kinship, school, business, neighborhood, club etc. Belonging to this large family thus ensures each of its members gains, notably symbolic,

Another important concept in the analyzes of Saint-Martin (2020; 2022) is that of reconversion. When focusing on the field of power, the author questions that the elites are no exception to processes of destabilization of social and professional positions, that is, because it is a relation In recent years, Saint-Martin has focused his research on the reconversion processes of former elites or former leading groups, with the study of various cases¹²: former high school students and members of large entities who leave high administration for companies private institutions, bureaucrats and *former nomenklaturists* who settled in Russia, descendants of the nobility at the end of the 20th century. Reconversions in a strong sense presuppose a form of rupture with the heritage and with the former resources held, the assumption of risks, a recomposition of resources on different bases and a reconstruction of identity. There is also the issue of deconversions, namely processes antagonistic to reconversions, exerting effects of separation and deprivation of the idea or project of a possible conversion.al social space, the elites do not have their position assured.

In addition to this introduction and conclusion, the article is divided into two parts. In the first, we present the context of the reception and circulation of Bourdieu's thought in Brazil, based on Brazilian researchers who established direct contact with the author, including some being guided by Bourdieu himself in visits to France during the doctoral period. This first generation produced heirs who, consecutively, ended up forming a "second generation", as defined by Rocha (2022), who would deepen the Brazil-France connection through closer ties with Bourdieu's French heirs, in addition to occupying positions in important spaces national institutional groups, namely, as professors and graduate students in public and private universities and in the main associations in the area of Social Sciences, which strongly contributed to structure formation centers that made possible the dissemination and operationalization of the Bourdieusian method for the study of elites.

The following part of the article presents the context of the reception and the mediators of Bourdieu's work and relational method and how the expansion of research and work took place from formation centers — considered by us as a watershed in the theme of studies of national elites. The mapping was carried out around research (dissertations and theses) on elites that are anchored in relational sociology and therefore think of dominant groups from Bourdieu's perspective.

which correspond to the accumulated resources of all its members, and which are undoubtedly all the more important as the position occupied is more central (SAINT-MARTIN, 2020, p. 54).

¹² For more details, see the interview granted to Jardim e Martins, *Revista Tempo Social*, in press..

The reception and circulation of Pierre Bourdieu's thought in Brazil

A series of authors sought to map the circulation of Pierre Bourdieu's work in Brazil. Bortoluci, Jackson and Pinheiro Filho (2015) argue that the Brazilian reception of the author was facilitated by the previous moment lived by sociology in Brazil, in this case, the fact that the consolidation of the discipline took place in the context of the arrival of French professors in Brazil between the 1930s and 1960s, especially for the formation of the University of São Paulo (USP), which favored the permanence of the influence of the French intellectual tradition in the following years in the country¹³. In 1969, the Postgraduate Programs in Social Anthropology at the National Museum and in Political Science at IUPERJ, in Rio de Janeiro, were inaugurated, which shifted the center of gravity of sociology from São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro.

During this period, Moacir Palmeira played an important role in bringing Bourdieu's first texts; in 1968, together with Zahar, he published Bourdieu's first text in Brazil, in this case, “*Campo intelectual e projeto criador*” (Intellectual field and creative project) (1968); The first mobilization of Bourdieusian theory by a Brazilian social scientist is also from Palmeira, which occurred in his thesis *Latifundio et capitalismo au Brésil: lecture critique d'un débat* defended in Paris in 1971 (BORTOLUCI; JACKSON; PINHEIRO FILHO, 2015). Still, acting as a professor in the Postgraduate Program in Social Anthropology at the National Museum, Palmeira had a notable influence on an entire generation of anthropologists, such as Lygia Sigaud, Afrânio Garcia Jr., Marie-France Garcia-Parpet, Rosilene Alvin and José Sérgio Leite Lopes (ROCHA.; PETERS, 2020). Palmeira influenced what Rocha calls the “first generation in Rio” of Pierre Bourdieu’s mediators in Brazil (ROCHA, 2022).

Among this group, it is important to emphasize the crucial role of Afrânio Raul Garcia Jr. in the mediation and connection of Brazilian researchers with France. Graduated in General Economic Studies (DEUG) at the College of Law and Economic Sciences of the *Université de Paris X*, Nanterre (1966-68) and in Economics from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (1968-1969), master (1976) and doctor (1983) in Social Anthropology from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. He did a post-doctorate at the *Centre de Sociologie Européenne* (CSE/EHESS/Paris), with Pierre Bourdieu, from 1983 to 1986. During this period, he established an extensive and solid network of collaboration with intellectuals from the French countryside close to Bourdieu, as well as it also engages in a research agenda on the

¹³ With the military coup of 1964, there was a restructuring of higher education, creating funding policies that favored the circulation of researchers internationally, a time when academics socialized in Brazil and France acted as mediators of Bourdieu's work. On the other hand, the regime removed several notable sociologists from the country, such as Florestan Fernandes, Fernando Henrique and Octávio Ianni, which disintegrated São Paulo sociology.

“relationships between the reconversion of the heirs of the declining lords – agrarian elites – and the construction of the Brazilian State after the 1930 Revolution” (PEDROSO, 2021).

Institutionally, he worked as a professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) between 1978 and 1998. In the mid-1990s, as a consecration and recognition of his trajectory in the French academic space, he was elected *Maître de Conférences* and became taught at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* and became director of the *Centre de Recherches Sur le Brésil Contemporain* (CRBC), between 1996 and 2009, where he established an important network for the exchange of researchers between Brazil and France, solidifying the bonds of these researchers with the Bourdieusian theoretical-methodological framework (BORTOLUCI; JACKSON; PINHEIRO FILHO, 2015)¹⁴.

In parallel, on the São Paulo axis, we have Sérgio Miceli, who did his doctoral thesis under the guidance of Pierre Bourdieu.

With a strong bond with Pierre Bourdieu (ROCHA, 2022), Sérgio Miceli was responsible for editing one of the first collections of Pierre Bourdieu in the world in 1974, which put him in direct contact with Bourdieu, having been guided by him during his doctorate at the end of the 1970s. Also, social scientists such as José Carlos Durand and Renato Ortiz, also linked to the area of sociology of culture, were very important in mediating and disseminating Bourdieu's theory and method in the Brazilian context - either by incorporating theoretical assumptions by Bourdieu, or even by organizing the author's collections.

In a bibliometric analysis carried out by Campos and Szwako (2020) on the SciELO Brasil platform in the Human Sciences section between 1999 and 2018, the authors bring other points about this second moment of the author's reception. It can be seen that from the end of the 1990s, Bourdieu appears as the most cited sociologist in Brazil, appearing in 12.3% of the researched articles, keeping a relative distance from the next most cited authors such as Foucault (8.1%) and Weber (6.9%). In addition, the proportion of citations maintains a certain constancy over time, oscillating between a maximum of 14.2% and a minimum of 10.5% in the analyzed period, which demonstrates that this is not a brief or punctual influence.

Citation analysis also demonstrates that some of the author's works are more relevant, such as "Distinction" which, despite being later translated into Portuguese (2007), appears as

¹⁴ After the democratic reopening, in 1985, there was an expansion of the uses of Bourdieu's work to areas such as economic sociology, social theory, gender studies, which made the perception of the author's work vary depending on the field analyzed, ranging from a negative reputation in education studies under the accusation of being reproductionist and therefore conservative, to an exponential growth in areas such as the sociology of culture, which remains the most relevant in the assimilation of the author's work (BORTOLUCI; JACKSON; PINHEIRO FILHO, 2015, p. 236-237).

the most referenced work (19.3%), followed by “The Symbolic Power” (18.2%) and “Practical Reason” (10.2%) (CAMPOS; SZWAKO, 2020). The fact that a work only translated in 2007 appears as one of the most cited since 1999, demonstrates that the appropriation of the author was largely due to the bridge made by some key figures and their research agendas, as works translated earlier occupy a marginal role in the set of observed citations.

It is noted that, in Brazil, the appropriation of Pierre Bourdieu was influenced by the work of “more famous” receivers and disseminators (CAMPOS; SZWAKO, 2020, p. 3), that is, those identified as his official “representatives” in the country.

The study of elites in Brazil inspired by Pierre Bourdieu

In addition to structuring the main themes and aiming to return to the central point of this article, it is necessary to highlight the way in which the appropriation of the study of elites has been taking place via Bourdieu. Oliveira and Petrarca (2018) highlight what they called the Bourdieusian “turn”; in this case, the creation of one of the main spaces for discussion of research and work on the subject of elites, the Working Group (WG) Elites of the Annual Meeting of the National Association for Research and Postgraduate Studies in Social Sciences (ANPOCS, Portuguese initials).

A survey of data from the works presented in the Working Group (WG) Elites of the Annual Meeting of the National Association for Research and Postgraduate Studies in Social Sciences (ANPOCS) - between the years 1979 to 2015 - which had as its main objective to identify the circulation of the main research groups linked to the theme of elites, as well as the dominant theoretical orientations and the prioritized empirical objects, found that the Elites WG had two main moments at the ANPOCS meeting: the first, organized in the period 1979 - 1996, with some interruptions, and a second one, organized from 2007 onwards (OLIVEIRA; PETRARCA, 2018)¹⁵. The Journal of *Sociologia e Política*, in 2008, published the dossier “Political Elites”, whose presentation was entitled “For a return to the Sociology of Elites”, written by Renato Perissinotto and Adriano Codato, both professors at UFPR¹⁶.

¹⁵ The presentations, discussions and publications of the WG Elites of ANPOCS constitute a representative material of the forms of production and use of theories about ruling groups in Brazil, concentrating the main researchers in the area and reflecting the main poles of production of the theme in the country (OLIVEIRA; PETRARCA, 2018).

¹⁶ According to Perissinotto and Codato (2008), in the mid-1960s and early 1970s, both in the United States and in Europe, there was a decrease in the interest of social scientists in the subject of elites, and a radical decline in Brazil. Since 1980, only two studies on elites have stood out, Peter MacDonough, “*Power and Ideology in Brazil*”, in 1981 and José Murilo de Carvalho published “*A construção da ordem: a elite imperial e Teatro de sombras: a*

It is noted that, in addition to the fact that for ten years (1997-2006) the issue of elites did not have a working group at the main meeting of social scientists in the country, the two periods of existence mentioned above have quite different characteristics. It is important to emphasize that, despite the discontinuity, the second moment (from 2007) constitutes a watershed in studies and research on the subject of elites in Brazil, given that the resumption takes place from the leadership of a group of intellectuals with greater sensitivity and adherence to Bourdieu's thought.

The resumption, which Oliveira and Petraca (2018) called the Bourdieusian “turn”, represented a set of significant changes, not only in problematizing this object but also in regional diversification and the expansion of researchers’ networks. Therefore, our article sought to delineate, in greater detail, those responsible (flesh and bone agents) involved in this process and how they began to occupy this space, as well as the application of the main analyzes from the perspective of Bourdieu in the studies of national elites.

Between 2010 and 2012, the ANPOCS Elites WG was coordinated by Mário Grynszpan and Ernesto Seidl. Mário Grynszpan, graduated in history from the Fluminense Federal University (UFF-RJ), master and doctor in social anthropology from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), was supervised by Afrânio Raul Garcia Jr.¹⁷ - already mentioned in the article - in 1994, he defended the thesis "*As elites da teoria: Mosca, Pareto e a teoria das elites*" (The elites of theory: Mosca, Pareto and the theory of elites), in which, from an anthropological perspective based on Bourdieu, he used theory and concepts to analyze how the elites became an object of reflection for sociology. Grynszpan, based on an analysis of the trajectories of Mosca and Pareto - the classics of elite theories and their commentators - showed that, in addition to a crystallized reading, there was also a naturalization of hypotheses, an imposition of a pre-constructed object.

Based on a historical sociology of the theory of elites, it sought to "denaturalize crystallized notions" (GRYNSZPAN, 1999, p. 15). The emphasis on social trajectories is what gave it one of the distinctive marks of the research, by presenting the different social positions occupied by Mosca and Pareto in the Italian space at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Grynszpan starts from the assumption that "if the theory of elites, in the form given to them by Mosca and Pareto, can be imposed, this resulted, in large part,

política imperial" (The construction of order: the imperial elite and Theater of shadows: politics imperial) in 1996, the date of the “end” or “interruption” of the Anpocs WG of Elites.

¹⁷ He did his Postdoc at *L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales* - EHESS under the direction of Pierre Bourdieu (1983-1986).

from a work of affirmation by the authors, as an effect of their effort of recognition" (GRYNSPAN, 1999, p. 16, our translation). The work sought to deal with the authors' ideas in an objective way - such as the options, careers and strategies of each one of them¹⁸.

Ernesto Seidl holds a degree in Social Sciences from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), master and doctor from the same institution. In his doctorate, he had Odaci Luiz Coradini and Monique de Saint-Marti as advisors, during a period he attended l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and Seidl's doctoral research (2003), thesis entitled "*A elite eclesiástica no Rio Grande do Sul*" (The ecclesiastical elite in Rio Grande do Sul), sought to apprehend the constraints on which the Catholic Church maintains a "triumphant" social image, having as evidence the formation of a solid professional body, seen as a "granary of vocations". The objective of his research was, from the multiform structure of the church, to explain the social and cultural mechanisms operated in the process of formation of elites - those individuals destined to command posts and, with this, guarantee the image and reproduction over time. Therefore, what Seidl (2003) proposes is to restore the church's own logic and objectify the elements and foundations of the discursive and practical representations of its ecclesiastical body. According to the author, there is a masking of the true social logic, such as the repression of economic interest, denial of interest or disinterested interest; the illusion of homogeneity. Therefore, it is a practical and symbolic effort, in which the objective is to soften social relations (including exploitation) and material maintenance, relationship with education and with the State.

It is important to point out that Ernesto Seidl was guided by Odaci Luiz Coradini, an associate professor at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, who also worked at *l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*, during his postdoctoral studies. Having as an area of interest the themes: cultural elites, political elites and university teaching, he developed research on social resources in the recruitment of political elites (2001), elites as an object of study (2008), families and the "professional" elite in medicine in Brazil (1996), formation of the medical elite, (2005).

In his career, in addition to mentoring Ernesto Seidl, Coradini also mentored Igor Gastal Grill, professor at the Federal University of Maranhão (UFMA) since 2006 and coordinator of the Anpocs WG Elites in 2020 and 2021¹⁹; Eliana Tavares dos Reis, professor and researcher

¹⁸ The imposition and recognition of an idea are seen as inseparable from the imposition and recognition of an author, which gives him prestige, notoriety, social position, among other gains, including financial ones, both inside and outside his privileged field of insertion.

¹⁹ Along with Irllys Alencar Firmo Barreira (UFC).

at the Federal University of Maranhão (UFMA) since 2009, also coordinated the Anpocs WG "Elites and forms of domination", between 2017 and 2018; Fabiano Engelmann, Professor of Political Science at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, UFRGS, since 2009; Rodrigo Rosa Bordignon, professor at the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC) since 2017. The research of these authors has sought to analyze the bases of the composition and dimensions of circulation of political elites in Brazil; the relevance of international capital in the hierarchization of a segment of State power – jurists; academic formation abroad and insertion in international trade networks contribute to the emergence or reinforcement of positions of power at the national level²⁰.

It is important to highlight the influence of Monique de Saint-Martin among Brazilian researchers: in addition to Ernesto Seidl, another reference in the field of Elites studies and strongly influenced by the French sociologist is Ana Maria Fonseca de Almeida. Professor at Unicamp since 1998, she holds a Master's degree in Sociology from the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (EHESS) in France, with a dissertation entitled *Le système scolaire, la production et le maintien des différences sociales: les écoles d'élite à São Paulo*, under Saint Martin orientation. His research addresses the school's contribution to the production and reproduction of inequalities, the processes and dynamics that contribute to the production of school inequalities and the effects of the international circulation of theories, modes of analysis and rhetoric of validation on the production and dissemination of devices of government in the field of education. The second generation researchers mentioned here renew the field of elite studies through the training of doctors, who begin to occupy different spaces in the Brazilian academic field.

As already mentioned, in the pole that developed at USP, the central name was Sergio Miceli Pessôa de Barros. Graduated in Political and Social Sciences from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), he holds a Master's degree in Social Sciences (1968-1971), a PhD in Sociology from the University of São Paulo in Social Sciences (1973-1978), under the supervision by Leôncio Martins Rodrigues²¹, and a doctorate from the *École des*

²⁰ In 2020, Grill and Bordignon organized a dossier entitled "Strategies for the reproduction of Elites" on aspects of social recomposition, focusing on the reproduction strategies of elites, morphological transformations and reconfigurations of spaces of power. On the occasion, the organizers assume the need for research that adheres to or mobilizes a series of logics, such as economic, cultural, political, succession, generational or gender division (GRILL; BORDIGNON, 2020).

²¹ Leôncio was a full professor at the Department of Political Science at USP and also a full professor at the State University of Campinas (Unicamp), starting in 1985, the year he was hired to collaborate with the graduate program in Political Science. The researcher was a reference in the sociology of work, having published several works on Brazilian politics and trade unionism. Miceli points out that it was a formal orientation, since Leôncio assumed it, after having felt with his previous advisor, "although he knew that it was not a subject of his specialty"

Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) France, carried out between 1974 and 1978, under the guidance of Pierre Bourdieu.

His doctoral thesis *Intellectuals and ruling classes in Brazil (1920-45)* was published in 1979 as a book and became an innovative reference in the studies of the intellectual elites and ruling classes at the time. Most of the texts related to this area of studies developed by Miceli establish, to some extent, a dialogue and developments with the arguments developed in this seminal text. In addition to the thesis, among the publications aimed at thinking about the elites, power, sex and letters in the Old Republic (clinical study of the Anatolians), published in 1977; his thesis *A elite eclesiástica brasileira* (The Brazilian Ecclesiastical Elite), held in 1986 at Unicamp and published in a book in 1988, a work in which he investigates the environment of ecclesiastical disputes between the years 1890-1930, attentive to the investigation of the strategies adopted by agents of Catholic Church in the face of separation from the State during the Old Republic; and, finally, *Imagens Negociadas. Retratos da Elite Brasileira (1920-40)* (Negotiated Images. Portraits of the Brazilian Elite (1920-40)), published in 1996, a work in which the author discusses in detail the process of autonomization of the artistic and literary field in relation to the political field, as well as the variable way of consuming culture between the fractions of class that constitute the field of power in the period between the years 1920 and 1940.

Research under his guidance covers a wide thematic range that aims to target, to a large extent, the Brazilian cultural elites, among them, studies on intellectuals - scientists, writers and literati, media (BEGA, 2001; KEINERT, 2007; NASCIMENTO, 2010; OLIVEIRA, 2012; ARDUINIE, 2014; VIEIRA, 2016; SILVA, 2018); plastic artists, painters and sculptors (SIMIONI, 2004; ROLIM, 2009); musicians (FERNANDES, 2010); architecture professionals (ROSATTI, 2016), filmmakers (SANTANA, 2007); independent publishers in Brazil and Argentina (MUNIZ JÚNIOR, 2016); leading groups of Higher Education in Maranhão in the 20th century (MELO, 2021) and company managers (GRÜN, 1991).

From this group of researchers guided by Sergio Miceli, an important agent in the reception of Bourdieu for the study of elites stands out: Roberto Grün. With a degree in Business Administration from FGV (1976), Roberto Grün worked at the Central Bank of Brazil, accumulating experience as an insider in the financial market, which marked his later studies.

Since his master's thesis, entitled “*A produção de uma empresa moderna: Os bancários e a automação*” (The production of a modern company: Bank workers and automation), Grün

(RODRIGUES; ROCHA, 2020). Therefore, in terms of thought and method, Bourdieu would be the one who would strongly influence his analytical perspective.

has focused on the issue of elites and their ability to dominate, intertwining the theme with the expertise accumulated in the field of finance. Later, in the late 1980s, he had his doctoral thesis, *A revolução dos gerentes brasileiros* (The Revolution of Brazilian Managers), supervised by Sérgio Miceli, and carried out a doctoral complementation internship at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* under the guidance of Bourdieu.

From the mid-1980s onwards, as a professor at the Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar), Grün established a solid research agenda in the area of economic sociology, with a special focus on the objectification of Brazilian economic elites. As of 2002, he created and led the Nucleus of Studies in Economic and Finance Sociology (NESEFI-UFSCar), a reference group on the subject (NAHOUM, 2017). In the article “*As disputas e convergências das elites brasileiras diante da crise financeira em 2009: consequências empíricas e analíticas*” (The disputes and convergences of the Brazilian elites in the face of the financial crisis in 2009: empirical and analytical consequences), Grün (2011b) analyzes the period of financial crisis experienced worldwide in 2008, as a phenomenon that allowed bringing to light points/aspects that, “they are usually not evidenced either in the anatomy or in the dynamics of contemporary societies” (GRÜN, 2011b, p. 97, our translation). The crisis highlighted the production of meaning in economic activity, that is, the financial predominance of establishing cognitive categories through which, according to the author, society thinks about its history, its present, its problems and its possibilities.

In previous research Grün (2005, 2011a) outlines the social construction of the financial field in Brazil and the counterintuitive analysis that the financial field encompasses and gives meaning to the action and forms of sensibilities of the national elites, in addition to the financiers themselves. The analyzes center around what he called financial tools, with a focus on corporate governance. The analysis of the genesis and development of corporate governance in Brazil indicates the transformation of the organizational space, and the “window of this far from obvious game” (GRÜN, 2011b, p. 99, our translation) of cooperation and competition between different sectors of the elites. Financial innovations, according to the author, are social innovations – because they change the habitus and the current forms of sociability (GRÜN, 2011a).

Within the scope of NESEFI-UFSCar, Grün guided a number of other researchers, continuing to study elites through the tools proposed by Bourdieu. In 2005, Antônio Pedroso Neto defended the thesis *A privatização do setor elétrico paulista: suicídio de um grupo* (The privatization of the São Paulo electricity sector: suicide of a group), in which he sought to understand the organizational changes that took place from 1995 onwards in São Paulo

companies in the electricity sector, considering, for this purpose, the positions taken by the agents involved and their interactions in the field of the company's internal power, which implied the creation of boundaries capable of dividing and hierarchizing employees in this field.

Also, under the guidance of Roberto Grün, Maria Jardim's doctoral thesis (2007), entitled *Entre a solidariedade e o risco: sindicatos e fundos de pensão em tempos de governo Lula* (Between solidarity and risk: unions and pension funds in times of Lula's government), sought to understand the changes in perspective of Brazilian unionism, especially of agents linked to the Single Workers' Central (CUT). Based on Pierre Bourdieu's Reflective Sociology and Mary Douglas's Cognitive Sociology, the thesis explores the creation and/or appropriation of a new social convention about the role of pension funds in Brazilian capitalism - that these funds are one of the forms of "taming capitalism" and promoting the country's social inclusion. On the occasion, the author discusses the dispute between the avant-garde elite, the trade union, and the dominant elite, the financial one, in the management of pension funds.

Sartore's thesis (2010), entitled *Convergência de Elites: A sustentabilidade no mercado financeiro* (Convergence of Elites: Sustainability in the financial market), addresses the creation of the Socially Responsible Investment market in Brazil from the creation of the Corporate Sustainability Index on the São Paulo Stock Exchange, the which implies new ways of thinking about the triad: economy, environment and society. According to the author, this rearrangement is only possible thanks to a change in financial habitus that occurred in the convergence between different fractions of elites, which is empirically apprehended by studying the actors of the Council of the referred Index.

Elaine da Silveira Leite (2011) in her thesis *Reconversão de habitus: o advento do ideário de investimento no Brasil* (Reconversion of habitus: the advent of investment ideas in Brazil), sought to understand the advance of the financial self-help market through lectures, book sales, financial consulting etc. The thesis sought to map the agents responsible for this expansion and their strategies to attract new individuals, making them investors. The author demonstrates the construction of a libidinal habitus, with sensitivity to financial education in a certain elite, which begins to educate society about the use of finance, through self-help.

Karina Gomes de Assis (2016) in her thesis *Verdades econômicas e verdades políticas - o sistema financeiro em debate* (Economic truths and political truths - the financial system under debate), seeks to analyze the debate that took place between the 2002 presidential elections and the first year of the Lula government, when financial regulation was discussed in the National Congress and, throughout the research, it demonstrates that this debate is inserted in disputes that go beyond the economic and political, but connect to a cultural order to be

legitimized. In empirical terms, the thesis maps the actors, groups and institutions involved in the dispute and analyzes how the differences in strength of each one are reflected in the dispute, contributing to discussions about the political and cultural elite in Brazil.

In the following year, Leandro Targa (2017) defends the thesis *Os diplomatas brasileiros sob a perspectiva relacional: o campo dos diplomatas e o campo político* (The Brazilian diplomats under the relational perspective: the field of diplomats and the political field), where he analyzes the agents of the field of diplomats between 1995 and 2010, that is, during the two governments of former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, as well as the two Governments of former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The research seeks to understand the relationship between the field of diplomats and other fields beyond the political field, performing a prosopographic analysis²² of the agents involved; the research demonstrates the different capital held by the members of these different elites.

In the same year, Marcio Rogério da Silva (2017) defends the thesis: *Banco Central e os sentidos sociais da ação em política monetária: as justificações morais dos usos sociais do dinheiro* (Central Bank and the social meanings of action in monetary policy: the moral justifications of the social uses of money). The research aims to apprehend the emerging social meanings of the political action of the Central Bank of Brazil (BCB) between 1995 and 2016, therefore the thesis brings prosopographic analyzes in order to compare these social actions with those of the Federal Reserve (FED) and the European Central Bank (ECB) through its agents.

In 2018, Ana Carolina Bichoffe defends the thesis *Métricas sobre o Estado: por uma sociologia da classificação do risco de crédito soberano brasileiro* (Metrics on the State: towards a sociology of Brazilian sovereign credit risk classification). Part of the research sought to analyze Brazilian financial managers who operate hedge in the derivatives market. According to the author, the representation and consolidation of a “no longer so new” investment structure, which together with venture capital funds, private equity and hedge funds are the so-called “vanguards” of investment and risk. The research problematized these derivatives market operators and their activity in connection with the economic and financial development of contemporary Brazil.

²² Prosopography is "the investigation of the common characteristics of the past of a group of actors in history through the collective study of their lives [...] The method employed consists of defining a universe to be studied and then formulating a set of standard questions – about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic positions, place of residence, education and source of personal wealth, religion, professional experience and so on" (STONE, 1971, p. 46, our translation).

Another important member of NESEFI-UFSCar is Júlio César Donadone, guided by Professor Roberto Grün during his master's degree in the early 1990s, became a professor at UFSCar in 1994 and joined the group since its creation in the position of coordinator, a moment in which, like Grün, he guided a series of studies on the subject of elites, such as the theses of José Paulo de Angelo Sanchez (2015), entitled "*As Elites Organizacionais e o Discurso da Flexibilidade: Uma Análise sob a Perspectiva das Relações de Poder*" (The Organizational Elites and the Discourse of Flexibility: An Analysis from the Perspective of Relationships of power) and by Érica Ambiel (2018), with the thesis "*Vão-se os anéis, ficam os dedos: reconfiguração da elite empresarial brasileira pós financeirização econômica*" (Rings are gone, fingers remain: reconfiguration of the Brazilian business elite after economic financialization) and Fernanda Soulé (2020) entitled "*Compromissos e disputas entre domesticidade e finanças nas grandes empresas familiares brasileira*" (Commitments and disputes between domesticity and finance in large family businesses Brazilian).

Also in 2015, under the guidance of Donadone, Thais Joi Martins defends "*Desejo, necessidade e realidade: os marcadores culturais e econômicos e suas implicações ocupacionais para o grupo profissional de engenheiros de produção no Brasil*" (Desire, necessity and reality: cultural and economic markers and their occupational implications for the professional group of production engineers in Brazil), in which he analyzes cultural, economic markers and symbolic in the trajectory of production engineers in the State of São Paulo, apprehending the structures of power through a group placed as the elite of the group in question.

NESEFI's work made UFSCar a center for scientific production on the subject of elites, as Oliveira and Petrarca (2018, p. 50, our translation) point out: "it is also important to understand that the universities that stand out the most in producing the subject are, firstly, the UFPR; second, UFSCAR; in third, UFRGS and UFS; fourth, UFMA; and, in fifth, UFPA".

The importance of UFSCar, having as central figures the group coordinators (Roberto Grün and Júlio Donadone) as mediators of Bourdieu's theoretical-methodological framework in the study of elites corroborates the argument of Bortoluci, Jackson and Pinheiro Filho (2015), regarding the importance of national mediators and their sociability networks in the reception of Bourdieu's work.

This dynamic is replicated, as can be seen from the production of new research on the subject of elites carried out in other research centers, which were founded by the generation guided by these first mediators. This is the case of the Nucleus for Studies and Research on Emotions, Society, Power, Organization and Market (NESPOM), led by Professor Maria

Chaves Jardim, already mentioned, who was formed within NESEFI, starts NESPOM at the College of Sciences and Letters from UNESP - Araraquara.

Created in 2011, the group already has a series of studies on elites, such as the dissertations by Karine Dutra Viana (2016) entitled *As crenças transmitidas por escolas de negócios: um olhar sobre a FGV-EAESP e a Chicago Booth School of Business* (Beliefs transmitted by business schools: a look at FGV-EAESP and the Chicago Booth School of Business); by Tiago Barros Rosa (2021), entitled *Elite do Rock: poder simbólico e distinção no mainstream do rock brasileiro dos anos 1980* (The Elite of Rock: symbolic power and distinction in the mainstream of Brazilian rock in the 1980s); and by Paulo José de Carvalho Moura (2022), entitled *Entre a ousadia e o dever de casa - A política fiscal no Governo Dilma Rousseff: Atores, discursos e instituições* (Between audacity and homework - Fiscal policy in the Dilma Rousseff Government: Actors, speeches and institutions), in which he seeks to analyze the symbolic disputes between efficient agents (president of the republic, ministers and other agents in the political field) around government actions in economic policy of the Brazilian State.

The group also brings the theses of James Washington Santos (2019), entitled: *Trabalho religioso, campo religioso e relações de poder nas Assembleias de Deus no Brasil* (Religious work, religious field and power relations in the Assembleias de Deus in Brazil), in which he analyzes the position of the religious elite belonging to the Assemblies of God in relation to religious markets, considering that the monopoly of the production of religious and salvation goods is a strategic form of symbolic domination, which is based on the arbitrary separation between producers and consumers of religious symbology and on the formation of an elite that assumes this production.

The thesis by Gabriela Porcionato (2021), entitled: *O escândalo Lava Jato e a elite da construção civil no Brasil: dos rituais de depreciação à reelaboração da face* (The Lava Jato scandal and the civil construction elite in Brazil: from depreciation rituals to the re-elaboration of the face), analyzes the legitimation strategies used by the economic elite of three companies in the civil construction industry Brazilian society in the context of the economic and symbolic crisis brought about by Operation Lava Jato, and the way in which they completed the re-elaboration of the face, operationalizing a movement that the author calls the “Journey of Transformation” aimed at re-signifying the stigmas brought by Operation Lava Jato in favor of a new public memory.

Final considerations

The research, concepts and method left by Pierre Bourdieu represented a major change in the social sciences and have impacted studies and research on the subject of elites. This article aimed to point out the main Brazilian references that began - from the 2000s onwards - to occupy institutional spaces, guide research, "form heirs" and expand the network that is anchored in relational sociology and that is why groups think dominant in Bourdieu's perspective.

Based on a bibliographical review of the researchers' productions, whose passage through France marks a "first generation" of Brazilians in direct contact with Bourdieu, the mapping showed the diversification and expansion, both of the networks of researchers and of themes - structuring a "second generation" that also began to occupy spaces of national debates in congresses and universities, as professors and graduate students - representing central groups for the operationalization of the Bourdieusian methodology in the analysis of the elites.

The mapping of research on elites in Brazil - which uses Pierre Bourdieu's framework - pointed out three major centers as a national reference: I) USP, via Sérgio Miceli; II) UFSCAR; via Roberto Grün's training, the creation of the research group in economic sociology and finance - Neseft; and III) UFRGS, where Coradini's heirs took on important debate spaces as coordinators of the Elites WG at Anpocs.

As training poles of a school that thinks about elites beyond the so-called "classical theory of elites", we were able to map the institutionalization of "heirs" - such as UFMA, UNESP-Araraquara, UFSC. Finally, the groups that were central to the reception and operationalization of the Bourdieusian methodology in the analysis of elites and their main works have revolutionized research on the subject of Brazilian elites and boosted a greater circulation of the network of researchers whose work takes place in different regions of the country.

From this dynamic, one can see a reduction in the predominance of works on elites in the area of Political Science, and the simultaneous increase in the area of Sociology, which demonstrates the increase in sociological interest and the expansion of themes, treated via "eliteS", in the plural, analyzing the numerous groups active in various aspects within the social space.

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