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## **Connecting Political Communication with Urban Politics: A Bourdieusian Framework**

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In this article, I connect political communication with urban politics by conceptualizing an interdisciplinary urban politics research framework. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's theories of practice and communication, I offer an urban politics research model that simultaneously addresses the dimensions of power struggle and symbolic struggle in urban politics. The theoretical modeling is discussed from an interdisciplinary approach to social studies and constructed with a methodological suggestion of tripartite social network analysis.

*Keywords: interdisciplinary communication research, Pierre Bourdieu, political communication, urban politics, tripartite social network analysis*

For local community affairs, community members are frequently involved in politics, which consists of struggles and conflicts among themselves with different stakes and values (Albrechts, 2003; Altshuler, 1965; Epstein, Lynch, & Allen-Taylor, 2012; Hoch, 2011; Shin, 2013). Ultimately, urban politics entails a communicative aspect, because stakeholders are engaged in public deliberation processes and civic participation via various means of communication to legitimize their stances toward pending issues in a democratic society (see Kaniss, 1991). For instance, Hunter (1953) found that informal discussions among these power elites usually initiated a new policy within the Atlanta power structure, which followed strategic actions—such as exposure of the issue in media coverage—to turn the idea into actual policy. Recently, an urban planning scholar has underscored the importance of strategic media use to effectively impact planning practice and has encouraged planning scholars to actively engage in public deliberation processes for planning practice through media exposure (Flyvbjerg, 2012).

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To comprehensively probe urban politics, an interdisciplinary research framework, which can deal with both political action and communication, is necessary. However, little research assesses how political communication specifically is involved in urban affairs. Hence, I build an interdisciplinary research model that can deal with two dimensions of urban politics: power struggle and symbolic struggle. With a theatrical metaphor, the model suggests a systematic mapping project of the *backstage* power struggle and the *onstage* symbolic struggle by integrating an analysis of deeds with an analysis of words.

In the power struggle, stakeholders are involved in such political activities as lobbying, donation, protest, coalition formation, voting, policy making, and legal actions to obtain power in the form of the ability to exert influence on community issues. These activities are physical and tangible, and every physical action has a symbolic aspect as people make sense of it by creating a meaning out of it. On the other hand, stakeholders are engaged in the symbolic struggle by disseminating linguistic messages about community issues to the public to obtain public legitimacy (Shin, 2009a). Therefore, the analysis of symbolic struggle focuses on linguistic strategies and impacts of stakeholders' public discourses. For this model, I define such physical political actions as position-takings in the power struggle while analyzing frames for public discourses in the symbolic struggle.

For the theoretical foundation, I draw on Pierre Bourdieu's theories of practice and communication, mainly because Bourdieu's theories enable us to scrutinize urban politics to uncover logics behind the dynamics while identifying reformist possibilities and potential in individuality, or individual politics, which is socially generated and evaluated. In short, Bourdieu's theory accounts for human agents' practices according to the formula [(habitus)(capital)] + field (Bourdieu, 1988). Put simply, whereas a field provides an objective structure as a social arena where people maneuver to compete for higher positions with capitals as sought-after stakes to exert power over others, habitus, as a socially shaped subjective inner system for perception and practice, leads the people to make individual choices of action to achieve their objectives. Hence, Bourdieu's theory can help us avoid a mechanical explanation of human actions, which treats the individual only as a homophilious agent of a group (Shin, 2013, 2014). Also, his theory of communication provides a more realistic view of the public deliberation process. Therefore, this study links two streams of Bourdieusian research and builds an integrated research framework for investigating urban politics.

To translate the theoretical framework into an empirical research model with Bourdieu's relational mode of social research, I employ tripartite network analysis—an applied network analysis method based on formal concept analysis, or Galois lattice—by integrating two bipartite network analyses: one for the link between stakeholders and their position-takings and the other for the link between stakeholders and their public discourses. A Galois lattice diagram illustrates the linkages among specific stakeholders, their choices of actions (position-takings), and their public discourses. Indeed, the Galois lattice can serve as an effective method for not only conducting urban politics research but developing civic engagement strategy, because it identifies specific stakeholders, their strategies, and their connections in a certain local politics. We will revisit the practicality of the method in the conclusion.

### **Bourdieu's Communication Theory for Political Communication Research**

Bourdieu's theories are widely used and applied in a range of disciplines and research areas, including political communication. However, Bourdieu's theory of communication has not sufficiently been reviewed and employed by political communication scholars to investigate political public discourses. Most political communication research has revolved around the ideas of assessing the impacts of the media institution on other social institutions and reforming the journalistic field with Bourdieu's field theory (Benson, 2004, 2006, 2009; Benson & Neveu, 2005; Hallin, 2005; Klinenberg, 2005; Schudson, 2005), as Bourdieu is also critical of the negative influence of journalism on politics through symbolic violence toward social minorities without an internal control system, such as peer reviews among journalists (Bourdieu, 1998a).

Indeed, Bourdieu was concerned about the journalistic autonomy, because he was aware that journalism plays a crucial role to keep political leaders in check and accountable, and that recognition-oriented intellectuals threaten the autonomy by taking advantage of the journalism field (Swartz, 2003). He was also critical of the fact that technocrats and journalists dominate the public discourse space while delegitimizing the opinions from such underrepresented groups as grassroots activities, immigrants, the unemployed, and labor activities as irrational and unrealistic in the neoliberal conservative economic discourses (Bourdieu, 1998a; Swartz, 2003).

Along this line, Bourdieu's interest in communication lies in language as an instrument of practice, based on Wittgenstein's and Nietzsche's interest in the pragmatic aspects of language, which views language as a form of social action or practice. Bourdieu criticizes a purely linguistic conception of communication rooted in Chomsky's competence-performance distinction and symbolic interactionism, which focuses on the study of symbolic exchanges for understanding and interpretation by viewing language as an autonomous and homogeneous object (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Snook, 1990). However, linguistic choices and practices always occur in situations, which are rooted in social institutions as constraining structures. Bourdieu (1991) contends that such a purely linguistic approach fails to take into account the social conditions of linguistic use and the power relations between communicators, which indeed influence individual's linguistic expressions. In short, we should be aware that "the relations of communication par excellence—linguistic exchanges—are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 37). For instance, in *Language and Symbolic Power*, Bourdieu (1991) elaborates on how linguistic exchanges reveal power relations by assessing rites of passage.

He finds that the Kabyle's ritual of circumcision creates a fundamental division in the social order between the uncircumcised child and the circumcised child, the whole set of uncircumcised children and the set of circumcised adults (Bourdieu, 1991). It even separates the young boy not only from his childhood but from women and the feminine world, including his mother, by connecting the mother with such languages as humidity, greenness, rawness, spring, milk, and blandness. The ritual eventually ends up consecrating or legitimizing the arbitrary boundary by fostering misrecognition of the arbitrary nature of the constraint and encouraging the misrecognition as legitimate. Hence, rites of passage ultimately operate as rites of institution (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, according to Bourdieu's sociolinguistic approach, to

truly assess the linguistic values between communicators, we need to analyze the languages in a relational mode, which aims to identify the overall structure of linguistic uses.

When it comes to political discourse analysis, his analysis of political representation demonstrates how professional politicians monopolize political discourses from their constituents, who lack cultural and economic capital, in the form of representative democracy (Bourdieu, 1991). For instance, Bourdieu (1984) presented his analytic model by demonstrating how different social classes—the working class and the bourgeoisie—were engaged in contrasting modes of political expression in his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. He found that the working class relied on ethos-based political expressions, which were derived from their everyday ethical judgment-making practices, and the bourgeoisie used logos-based political discourses, which were rooted in intellectual mastery of political knowledge and languages (Bourdieu, 1984).

Based on Bourdieu's theory of communication to assess social agents' and entities' public discourses, which are presumed to speak to the public on social issues, Boussofara-Omar (2006) demonstrates how the second president of Tunisia—who had taken the presidency in a coup d'état in 1987—adopted the presidential linguistic habitus, which was detected in the president's words by analyzing the changes in the handwritten draft of his first political address. Unlike his predecessor, who used diverse linguistic codes in Tunisian Arabic, French, and Classical Arabic/Modern Standard Arabic, for his public speeches, the new president spoke his first public political speech only in Fushaa, formal literary Arabic, which is considered as the linguistic locus of eloquence.

By so doing, the new president made the other linguistic codes and practices inappropriate and symbolically determined the nature of the new regime (Boussofara-Omar, 2006). This case demonstrates how a politician's change in political habitus affects his or her change in political discourse by adapting his or her linguistic habitus to the constraints from the field of national politics. In short, Boussofara-Omar's analysis provides an analytic model for inquiring into the relationship between the microanalysis of linguistic practices and the macroprocesses of contextual structures.

Furthermore, in regard to urban politics, the 1995 Chicago heat wave case, which caused about 750 heat-related deaths in Chicago over five days, demonstrates how Bourdieu's theory of communication can be applied to investigate the symbolic struggle among the stakeholders in the city. According to Klinenberg's (2003) analysis of the city's public relations campaign to manage the crisis, the city officials disseminated public discourses to cope with the critiques about their roles in the crisis and direct public outrage toward other organizations by defining and framing the disaster to legitimize their stances. The Chicago officials deployed such classic denial strategies as literal denial, interpretive denial, silencing, denial of responsibility, blaming the victim, euphemism and renaming, and isolation. For instance, the Chicago Mayor's Commission defined "heat wave as a unique meteorological event" (Klinenberg, 2003, p. 181) in its isolation denial strategy.

In short, the city's public relations campaign changed the local government's organizational capacity to address the crisis by emboldening the relevant government agencies' denials of their responsibilities. Klinenberg (2003) maintains that the government's crisis management strategy through

public relations campaign demonstrates legitimate symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991), which defines the way ordinary citizens make sense of city affairs, by holding a legitimate authority to establish not only the official accounts of major events and handling processes but the languages that frame the public discourses. Hence, Bourdieu's theory of communication offers us an opportunity to view stakeholders' linguistic uses as a symbolic struggle for public legitimacy.

In sum, as elaborated in Bourdieu's theory of practice, any discourse as practice is also largely shaped by a linguistic habitus:

a set of socially constituted dispositions that imply a propensity to speak in certain ways and to utter determinate things (an expressive interest), as well as a competence to speak defined inseparably as the linguistic ability to engender an infinite array of discourses that are grammatically conforming, and as the social ability to adequately utilize this competence in a given situation; and, on the other side, a linguistic market, i.e., a system of relations of force which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and specific censorship, and thereby help fashion linguistic production by determining the "price" of linguistic products. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 145)

In short, people engage in communications based on their linguistics as socially constructed subjective dispositions rooted in linguistic markets as objective structures of discourse. Therefore, to realistically address the dynamical public deliberation process, the public sphere can be reconceptualized as *a field of public discourse* "with the distribution of capital—both material capital in the larger field of power and cultural capital within the public sphere" (Calhoun, 2010, p. 326). The symbolic struggle in the field of politics consists of a field of perceptual construction in which stakeholders engage in linguistic legitimization or manipulations with symbolic efficacy.

### **Constructing the Symbolic Struggle in Urban Politics**

With Bourdieu's theory of communication for urban politics and the case examples, we can depict that stakeholders choose their words to inform or persuade the public of their stances, which are often articulated as sense-making themes or frames in public discourse, in accordance with their linguistic habitus, which are often rooted in their political habitus. Eventually, we can identify and assess each stakeholder's political linguistic habitus within the political linguistic market in an urban politics.

In terms of urban politics, we can conceptualize the *political linguistic market* as a competing and relatively horizontal space of public discourses, compared with other linguistic markets in professional fields and everyday conversations embedded in social status and categories, because it is hard to evaluate and hierarchically locate each public discourse within a political linguistic market as an objective structure. However, the value of political discourses can also be established, depending on prevailing political ideologies in specific geographic areas. For instance, liberal political discourses have a higher value in urban areas such as San Francisco, Washington, DC, and other liberal cities due to their own unique historical paths, and conservative political discourses are more powerful and highly regarded in Mesa, AZ, Oklahoma City, and other conservative cities in the United States (Tausanovitch & Warshaw, 2014).

We need to be aware that not every stakeholder's public discourse is always congruent with his or her *political linguistic habitus*, because some stakeholders deceptively employ public discourses to engage in urban politics. Hence, there exist correspondences and discrepancies between stakeholders' political linguistic habitus and their actual public discourses. We also need to take mass media into account, because they are involved in urban politics by having influence on public discourse through their coverage, although they do not usually display their interests in urban politics. Active stakeholders are publicly engaged in symbolic struggle by reacting to mass media's coverage and other stakeholders' public discourses and disseminating their opinions and information to the public, taking advantage of emergent information and communication technologies such as social media. Hence, in terms of communication media ecology, it is necessary to address the symbolic struggles undertaken in both electronic social media and local mass media spaces (as illustrated later in Figure 3). Finally, to translate the symbolic struggle in a systematic mode, framing analysis is useful, through which we can identify stakeholders' discrete public discourses in the form of frames or themes.

For the purpose of framing analysis for the symbolic struggle, we can see framing as a sociological macroconstruct, which refers to modes of presentation that communicators use when stakeholders present some information with preexisting schemas of understanding the social world (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). For instance, stakeholders use frames to reduce the complexity of an issue and to make the issue cognitively accessible to the public. Therefore, even sophisticated public policies sometimes are portrayed to be simple ideological or political social programs. We can reconstruct the symbolic struggle dimension with a stakeholder-by-frame bipartite network through formal concept analysis. Ultimately, I integrate the symbolic struggle analysis with the power struggle analysis to create a comprehensive analysis model through a stakeholder-by-frame-by-stakeholder's position-taking, tripartite network analysis.

### **Constructing the Power Struggle Dimension With Bourdieu's Theory of Practice**

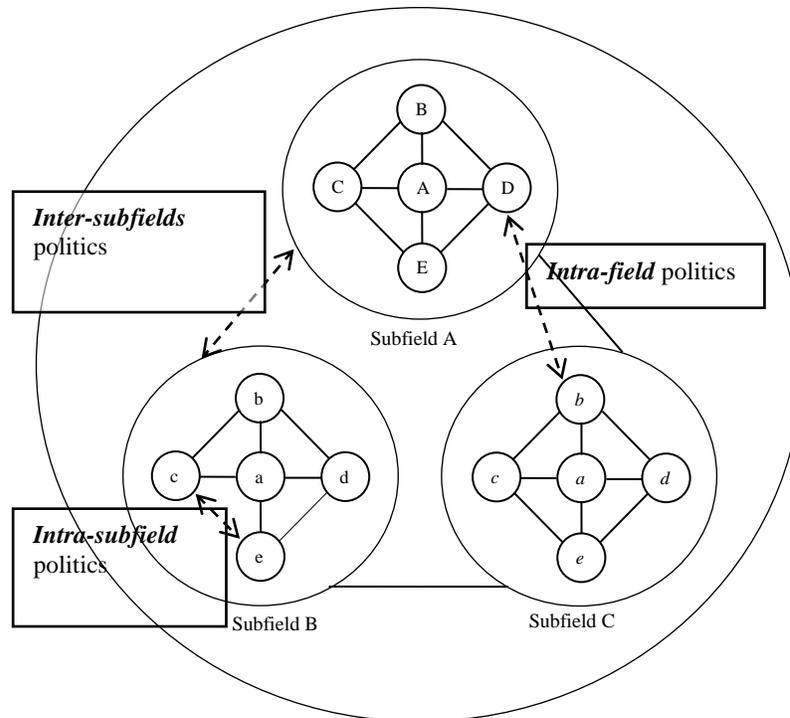
Many urban studies scholars have applied Bourdieu's popular concepts—such as habitus, field, capital, and reflexive sociology—in their research on social capital for community development (Fallov, 2010); sense of place (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005); urban lifestyle (Baviskar, 2003; Scheiner & Kasper, 2003); spatial segregation and gentrification (Pattaroni, Kaufmann, & Thomas, 2012); and urban planning (Edman, 2001; Howe & Langdon, 2002). In addition, several urban scholars have employed Bourdieu's theories—mainly the field theory—to assess urban politics (Gopakumar, 2009; Huxley, 2002; Prieto & Wang, 2010).

For instance, Prieto and Wang (2010) use Bourdieu's theory of practice to create an analytic framework for national politics by conceptualizing participants' strategies based on their habitus and capitals in their relevant fields during China's socioeconomic reform process. Gopakumar (2009) applies the field notion to urban politics in India, examining how diverse stakeholders compete or collaborate with one another to spur infrastructure development in two different cities. These studies are limited to the extent that they merely reinterpret urban phenomena through Bourdieu's concept of field and are unable to demonstrate how other related concepts help complete our understanding of urban politics.

Indeed, the notion of *field* is organically connected to concepts of capital and habitus, because a field operates as an objective hierarchical structure of individuals, whose positions are determined by capitals and whose subjective actions are driven by habitus. It is also a relaxed and flexible research construct or perspective, which is used to assess a certain inquiry domain by considering its historical particularity and by looking for a universal pattern or rule over various social domains, which is constrained by its existing social conditions (Bourdieu, 1985; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In other words, while many social scientists are eager to identify some generic patterns in different social realms—of which attributes are shaped by such social conditions as societal institutions—they have to take the historical trajectory of each social domain, which creates its unique, particular properties in it. For instance, if we propose to assess an urban politics in a city, we need to find out the core elements and the logics in the urban politics, which are also repeatedly discovered in other cities' politics, while probing the unique characteristics in the urban politics, which are constructed by the city's own history. Hence, drawing on Bourdieu's theory, urban politics is also considered a field in which stakeholders struggle and compete to carry through their goals for specific urban affairs and eventually hold stronger positions in the field (Shin, 2013).

As shown in Figure 1, a field of urban politics can be conceptualized as consisting of multiple subfields, which are differentiated across social domains, and three dimensions in it: (1) *inter-subfields*—politics between subfields, (2) *intra-subfield politics*—politics among stakeholders within the same subfield, and (3) *intra-field politics*—politics among stakeholders across different subfields within a field, mostly in the form of coalition. The framework functions as a tentative baseline for constructing a field of urban politics. Preliminarily, we can conceptualize a local community as a social space for the local subfields, or social realms, which are in general composed of the local *polity*, *businesses*, and *civic organizations* when it comes to local politics. Although the three subfields, which are in general conceptualized as public, private, and civic sectors, are universal in modern democratic societies, they can be inductively identified in more detail and redefined according to the unique situation of each urban politics.

The subfields compete or cooperate with one another for survival and reproduction. This is conceptualized as the *inter-subfields* politics. At a micro level, the struggles among individual stakeholders within each subfield participating in urban politics are conceived as the *intra-subfield* politics. In addition, since the interactions and transactions among stakeholders are complicatedly intertwined in that individual stakeholders from the same subfield also compete or cooperate with stakeholders from other subfields for desired resources and power, the between-individual stakeholders' politics across different subfields are defined as the *intra-field* politics. This preliminary framework of urban politics provides a starting point for constructing an urban politics based on an empirical study through which unique subfields of urban politics can be identified and conceived.



**Figure 1. Three dimensions of urban politics and the field of urban politics as the space of positions.**

Since the field of urban politics becomes activated and tangible only when a specific issue occurs in a local community, it always entails a space for position-takings on specific urban issues. In short, a field of urban politics is composed of a space of social positions, which are located on accumulated capitals, and concomitantly a space of position-takings, which are clustered based on the choices of actions for a certain urban issue. For instance, Stone (1976, 1989) investigated Atlanta city government's decision-making process and found that the city officials had collaborated with the corporate elite and impeded the neighborhood groups' collaboration. The city government officials and corporate elite dominated the city politics with political and economic capitals and carried out their policy agendas on behalf of their interests. Many urban politics studies and theories have demonstrated the power of a certain group of local corporate and political elites on local politics (Dahl, 1961; Hunter, 1953; Molotch, 1976).

### **Integrating Power Struggle With Symbolic Struggle Through a Tripartite Network**

Bourdieu is eclectic in terms of research methods, using both ethnographic qualitative and statistical quantitative analyses, but his major theory building for field, capital, and habitus depends on a relational mode of quantitative analysis, or correspondence analysis, which is a multivariate statistical

technique for presenting a set of data in a two-dimensional graphical way (see Greenacre, 1983), because it is “a relational technique of data analysis whose philosophy corresponds exactly to what, in [his] view, the reality of the social world is” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96). Bourdieu (1984, /1988, 1996, 2005) has shown the correspondences between the space of positions in fields and spaces of position-taking, regarding cultural taste, higher education, and housing in French society. Along with Bourdieusian relational epistemology, some scholars have introduced formal concept analysis, or Galois lattice analysis, for urban politics research (Shin, 2013) and organizational research (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008), because it enables us to identify specific linkages between stakeholders and their position-takings on an issue through a diagram.

While correspondence analysis is useful to generalize clustered relationships between groups of people’s social positions and their position-takings—in other words, people’s choices of action; for instance, relationships between social classes and types of leisure—I introduced formal concept analysis as another relational analysis method. It is advantageous to identify specific relationships between particular stakeholders and their choices in the power and symbolic struggles in a certain local politics. Also, while correspondence analysis provides an excellent mapping tool to show a comprehensive hierarchical structure in a research domain by locating actors on a map based on their social positions and position-takings, it is often challenging to gain necessary research data from community leaders and high-ranking decision makers in urban politics. Such data as capitals, associations, and activities are often private and not revealed to the public. In contrast, the necessary data for formal concept analysis can be gathered relatively easily by analyzing public documents and mass media contents because those materials can be treated as a public history repository from which researchers can cull key actors and events. For instance, Shin (2009a) gathered and analyzed five years of local news media reports on low-income housing policy in a mid-sized urban U.S. community and used the data to reconstruct the urban politics through formal concept analysis.

The use of Galois lattices, often called formal concept analysis, is a method of data analysis that identifies hierarchical conceptual structures among data sets (Priss, 2006; Wolff, 1993). The concept is named after French mathematician Évariste Galois, the founder of Galois theory, a major branch of abstract algebra (Duquenne, 1991; Freeman & White, 1993). This two-mode, or bipartite, network analysis can show the structural duality of (1) the actor-by-event structure; (2) the actor-by-actor structure; and (3) the event-by-event structure by analyzing a two-mode network and representing the network configuration simultaneously (Freeman & White, 1993).

Tripartite network analysis was initially proposed by Fararo and Doreian (1984). They demonstrated how bipartite diagram and matrix equations can be extensively applied in a tripartite case and proposed tripartite lattices of intersections among three or more sets of levels—for example, actors, groups, and events (Fararo & Doreian, 1984). Based on the mathematical formulation of tripartite lattice analysis, the temporal aspect of civic participation, which adds another level of complexity to the two-mode network between actors and actions, also has been investigated (Mische & Pattison, 2000). This research proposes to apply tripartite lattice analysis for conducting a stakeholder-by-frame-by-stakeholder’s position-taking to provide richer analysis of the complex interplay between the power struggle and symbolic struggle among stakeholders on graphic diagrams. The tripartite lattice becomes

possible by solving the actors-by-frames matrix, actors-by-position-takings matrix, and frames-by-position-takings matrix according to a two-mode Galois lattice process.

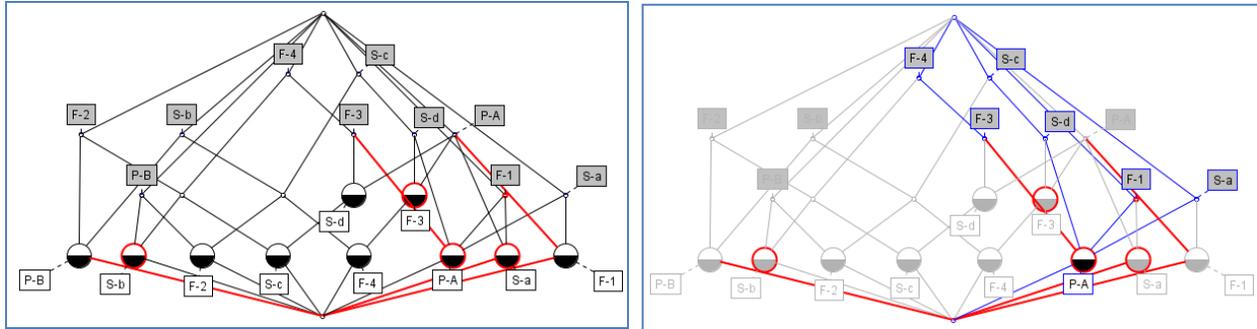
As shown in Table 1, the lattices show the interpenetration among three two-mode matrices: actors by actions, actors by frames, and actions by position-takings. The arrays of the three modes constitute a symmetrical matrix, which means that there are no within-set relationships, filling the zeros in the diagonal. The tripartite lattice becomes possible by solving the actors-by-frames matrix, actors-by-position-takings matrix, and frames-by-position-takings matrix according to a two-mode Galois lattice process.

**Table 1. A Tripartite Network Matrix in a Context of Urban Politics.**

		Stakeholders				Frames				Position-takings	
		S-a	S-b	S-c	S-d	F-1	F-2	F-3	F-4	P-A	P-B
Stakeholders	S-a	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
	S-b	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
	S-c	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
	S-d	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
Frames	F-1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	F-2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	F-3	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
	F-4	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Position-takings	P-A	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
	P-B	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

*Note.* 1 refers to existence of a relation between a set of extent and intent. 0 means that there is no relation between them.

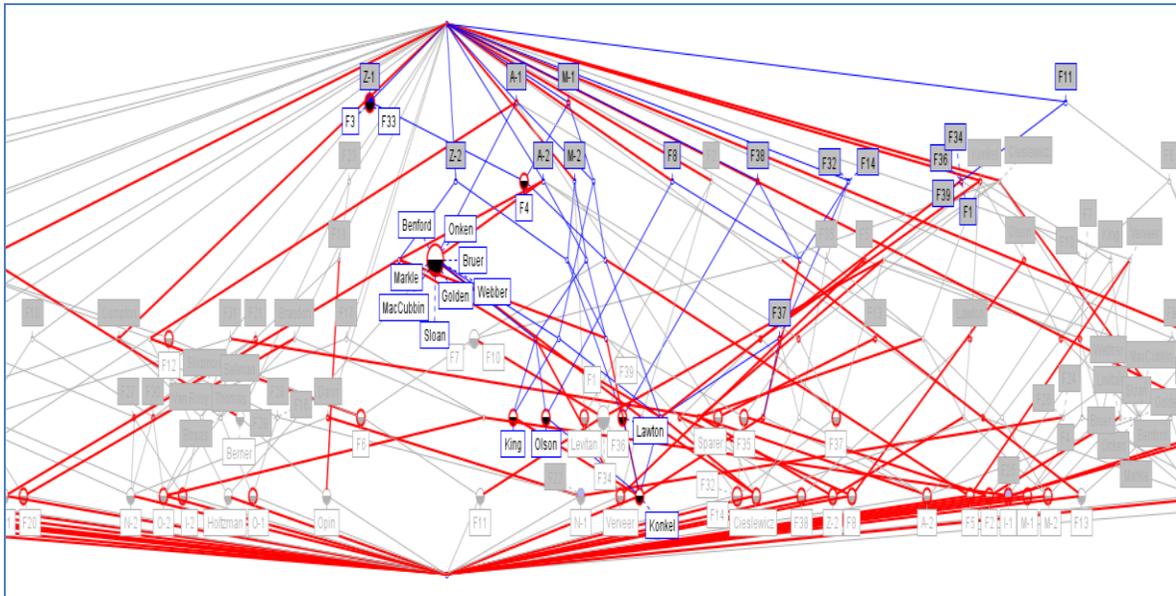
As shown in Figure 2, the tripartite lattice diagram represents an exact mirror image of the top-down orderings and the bottom-up orderings. The diagram represents each element in a given set—in this case, stakeholders, frames, and position-takings—with a dual pair of nodes: one corresponding to the row label for the element in the original matrix and one corresponding to the column label. Reading upward from a certain stakeholder, we find the frames and the position-takings associated with the stakeholder (Mische & Pattison, 2000). In this way, we can uncover all stakeholders and frames connected with each position-taking. In addition, we can identify the within-set orderings. For instance, we can see that certain stakeholders and position-takings linked with certain frames are a subset of another frame. For example, in Figure 2, on the left-hand diagram, frame 3 (F-3), which is linked with stakeholder d (S-d) and position-taking A (P-A), is a subset of frame 4 (F-4), which is connected with S-b.



**Figure 2. A tripartite line diagram of stakeholders by frames by position-takings.**

However, it is not easy to identify the connections among the three modes. As the numbers of stakeholders, frames, and position-takings increase, the diagram becomes more complicated, and it becomes harder to recognize the linkages. A software program called Concept Explorer makes this task easier. As shown in Figure 2, Concept Explorer enables us to identify the linkages centered on the node we want to focus on. For example, on the right-hand diagram, we can see that position-taking P-A is associated with frames F-1, 3, and 4 and with stakeholders S-a, c, and d. This selection function advances the previous formal concept analysis techniques by making it easier to find specific linkages in a complex lattice diagram. Hence, using a tripartite network analysis, we can investigate and reconstruct the interplay between power struggle and symbolic struggle among stakeholders at a glance. At the same time, we can apply this model for more effective civic engagement by analyzing and reorganizing political coalition and public discourse networks based on a comprehensive monitoring system of local urban politics. This idea is discussed in more detail in the conclusion.

Figure 3 illustrates the connections among stakeholders according to their political actions and public discourses regarding a local low-income housing policy in a mid-sized local community in the United States. This figure in particular indicates the tripartite network centered on a progressive alderperson, Konkel (located at the bottom of the diagram). In this analysis, Shin (2009a) found that the city alder, the main policy maker, was connected with other progressive city politicians based on her pro-policy stance (choice of action) with such themes as public policy as a "tool for social remedy," "social benefit," and "successful policy" (choice of language) to legitimize her choice of action.



**Figure 3. Tripartite network example centered on Alder Konkell.**

Galois lattice analysis can be used to construct a field of urban politics. The lattice method enables us to identify specific associations among stakeholders' positions and their position-takings. Although we can identify an overall configuration of urban politics with the field theory and Galois lattice analysis, to extend the investigation of the operating logics in the power struggles of urban politics, we refer to two important concepts in Bourdieu's theory of practice: capitals and habitus.

### **Investigating Deeper Logics in the Power Struggle With Capitals and Habitus**

Both *capital*, which is multidimensional, and *habitus*, which is the socially constructed subjectivity through repeated experiences and practices, are inseparable from the concept of field, because a field is a social space of relations of force among individuals or among groups that possess the same capital necessary to hold the dominant positions (Bourdieu, 1997). In this vein, capital does not simply refer to economic resources; rather, it is embodied in at least three principal forms: *economic*, *cultural*, and *social* (Bourdieu, 1986). The form, the efficacy, and the value of capital vary, contingent on different fields. To systematically understand the dynamics in each subfield of urban politics, we need to assess various capitals as an "energy of social physics" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 122) and not merely as media for social transaction.

Theoretically, media is the main conceptual tool for understanding social integration, in which different types of media—for example money, power, and communication—function to integrate different social domains (see Habermas, 1987; Parsons, 1968, 1969). However, media are not always exchanged for maintaining the integration of social systems, but are instead sought as resources for distinguishing

and dominating social positions through struggle (Shin, 2009b). Bourdieu (1986) addresses this with a different definition: that of *capital*. Bourdieu's concept of capital enables us to assess core logics of urban politics.

Hence, we postulate that stakeholders are likely to act and to be located on different subfields according to the capitals they seek to possess. For instance, the stakeholders in the subfield of local business groups are more likely to seek economic capital, but local politicians might be more interested in obtaining nonmaterial capital such as political power. Most urban growth research has demonstrated that urban affairs, including land use, are controlled by local urban growth coalitions, which consist of private interest groups. For instance, an investigation of San Diego urban growth has uncovered the urban growth coalition among various interest groups such as corporate investors, developers, landlords, bankers, land use attorneys, building trades unions, realtors, utility companies, the economic development corporation, and the chamber of commerce (Damashek, 1995). The coalition attempts to make economic capital by increasing urban density and intensifying city land use.

Nevertheless, the notion of capital is not sufficient to explain the deeper logic of stakeholders' different choices of action or strategies in urban politics, even when the stakeholders pursue the same capital in the same subfield. The intra-subfield politics can be more complicated in that some stakeholders may choose unconventional courses of action to obtain the same capital or different capitals. For this, Bourdieu's concept of habitus is useful, because habitus, or "bodily knowledge," which is inscribed in social agents' bodies by past experience, serves as the foundational logic of practice even for calculative, rational activity such as seeking capitals in urban politics (Bourdieu, 2001). Whereas a field provides objective rules, habitus brings out the actors' subjective gut feelings for and reaction to the rules in certain ways (Bourdieu, 1998b).

Hence, we presume that those stakeholders who have different habitus end up choosing different position-takings or strategic actions than other stakeholders in the same subfield of urban politics. In this vein, we can also postulate that the stakeholders who have alternative habitus are expected to work as challengers or reformers in a subfield of urban politics, because they might seek to introduce alternative standards and stakes into the field against those who defend autonomous principles of extant judgment in the arena of a continuing collision in the field (Bourdieu, 1997; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Shin, 2013, 2014).

When it comes to urban politics, even though the influence of the conventional urban growth coalition or "growth machine" on urban development is predominant in many urban areas, some cases demonstrate how alternative local politics can be shaped by stakeholders with alternative stakes and backgrounds. For instance, Santa Cruz, CA, has been historically known as one of the most progressive cities in the United States, where the alliance of various social activist groups has controlled the city council and the urban development (Gendron & Domhoff, 2009). This unique growth-control urban politics, which is strongly interlinked with civic engagement, has been driven by the composition of the politics-participants, which are neighborhood activists; environmentalists; and faculty, staff, and students at the University of California, Santa Cruz (Gendron & Domhoff, 2009). Indeed, Santa Cruz local business

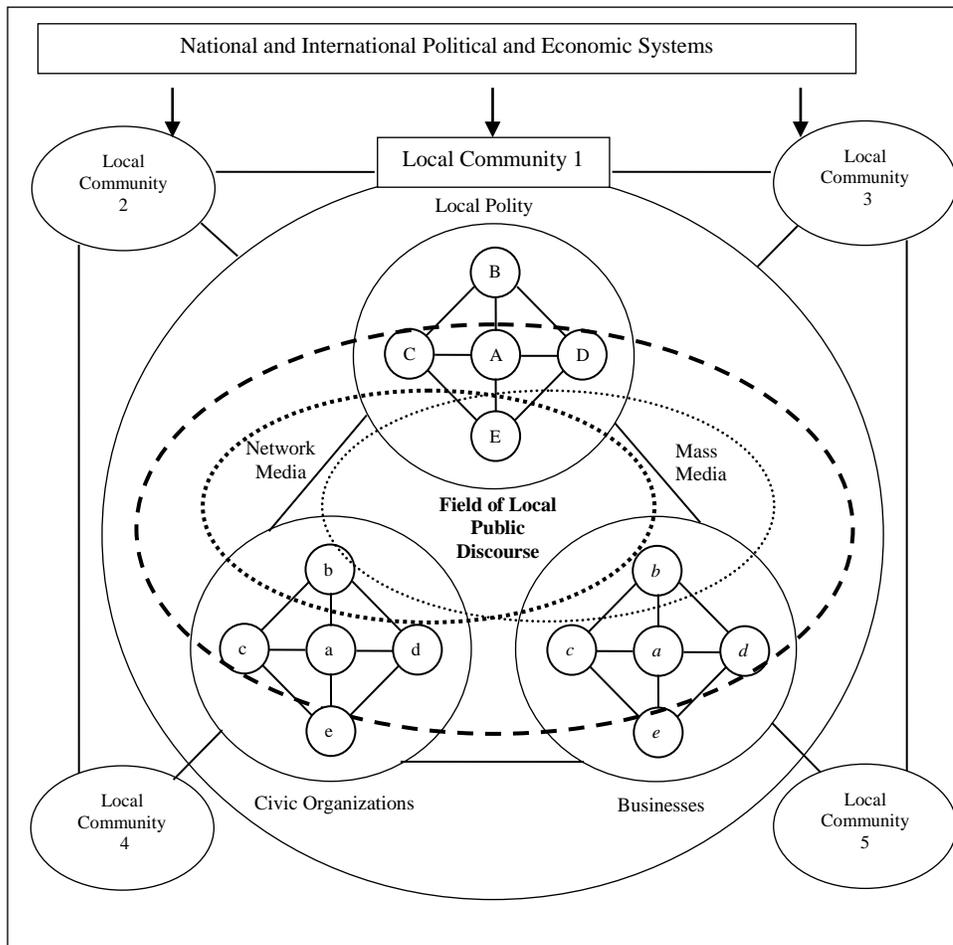
leaders expected a new campus of the University of California to become a modern research institute that could promote local economic growth when UC Santa Cruz was established in the 1960s.

Yet, contrary to the expectations of local businesspeople, the university has committed to liberal arts and research-oriented education and attracted many liberal-minded people to local small businesses. Due to this unique collegiate atmosphere, when the Santa Cruz growth coalition came up with plans for urban development such as widening highways, building new access roads to the beach and boardwalk area, and expanding the downtown, it confronted an unexpected challenge from a faculty-staff-student coalition that was supported by neighborhood activists and environmentalists to tip the political scales against growth (Gendron & Domhoff, 2009). This case shows how stakeholders with liberal political habitus can create a strong antigrowth coalition to control urban politics.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

Many political communication scholars have overlooked local community politics while focusing on national and international political agendas and the effects or impacts of political communication messages on audiences' political behaviors. I have intended to persuade communication scholars to pay attention to local community politics, since a local community, as a practical school (Schudson, 1998) or least unit to practice democracy (Friedland, 2001), profoundly and directly influences our daily lives. And when we study politics, including urban politics, in not only communication but practice dimensions, we are able to assess the dynamics in a comprehensive way, because there always exists interplay between human agents' words and deeds.

With these issues in mind, I have theoretically developed an interdisciplinary research framework by integrating political communication into urban politics research that can assess the complex dynamics in local urban politics by mapping the networks of power struggle and symbolic struggle through tripartite network analysis, drawing on Bourdieu's theories of practice and communication and a methodological suggestion of tripartite social network analysis. Particularly, his concept of field enables us to envision the overarching conceptual and analytic structure of urban politics in their power struggle and symbolic struggle dimensions. I present a graphic depiction of the proposed Bourdieusian integrated urban politics model in Figure 4.



**Figure 4. Bourdieusian-integrated urban politics model.**

*Note.* Letters in the smallest circles refer to individual stakeholders. The different letter styles in the circles represent shared identities in different subfields.

The largest circle in the model in Figure 4 represents the normal structure of most communities in modern societies. Thus, this represents an ideal, typical model of the community structure in terms of urban politics. Although this study does not address the external factors of urban politics, we need to acknowledge that such external factors as national and international political and economic changes can influence local urban politics, particularly in the age of globalization. Since this model is not designed to address the impacts of such macro social environments on urban politics, it is limited to the investigation of urban politics at the meso-micro level. It will call for another modeling with the field theory to conceptualize the meso-macro politics among diverse subfields in local, national, and international structures, which might require us to reconfigure the types of subfields.

There are two major elements in terms of the local community's environment. The first element is its relationship with national and international political and economic systems. The second element is its relationship with other local communities. Although local communities have been emphasized to promote regionalism for particularity, sustainable development, diversity, and social equality (Barnett, 2001; Dunford, 1988), local communities also have structural homology, particularly in civic and political aspects. Therefore, a local community is a form of region along with this community structure. In other words, a community is regionally developed but socially structured.

When a single community is broken down into some elements illustratively, it is composed of multiple subfields, or social realms. To recapitulate, there are three main subfields when it comes to urban politics: local polity, civic organizations, and businesses. The local polity refers to a range of political actors—government agencies, bureaucracies, and the legislative apparatus of local community. The civic organizations are the broad associational networks of local community, and they range from social movement groups to neighborhood associations to religious organizations to service clubs and other kinds of elements. These ranges of associations are familiar in the literature all the way from de Tocqueville (1831/1969) through Putnam (2000). The third subfield, businesses, is distinguished from civic organizations in the model based on their ultimate goals and material interests.

This model emphasizes the importance of meso-/micro-level power struggles where individual actors struggle with one another to carry out their position-takings. The power struggles can become complicated when actors create their networked political actions according to shared position-takings. In terms of practical value, the emphasis on individual actors' politics enables us to identify reformative potential in urban politics by discovering individuals or groups who have alternative stakes and principles in urban politics and impact on the subfield they belong to. In this way, the public and civic organizations can trace and predict the possible path of urban politics and strategically collaborate with reformative actors through coalitions for urban politics and public advocacy.

In terms of symbolic struggle in urban politics, the field of local public discourse is largely constituted by not only local mass media but actors' network media. On the one hand, the public discourse space created by the mass media—which is represented with a dotted circle in Figure 4—can conceptually cover the entire community. However, even in the local mass media space, each media organization focuses on different actors and their voices and ideas about community issues by framing the issues with certain organizing concepts. In other words, there exist dynamics in the field of the local mass media as local cultural institutions. That is why the local mass media space needs to be understood as participating in symbolic struggle in local politics.

On the other hand, the communication space created by the network media also covers the entire community. In reality, the network media space covers the whole community and the surrounding environment as well, because many community members discuss a wide range of local, national, and international topics by using network media. When it comes to urban politics, actors from diverse subfields are engaged in symbolic struggle over specific local issues. The network media space serves as the public discourse space for not only rational, critical debates but irrational, contentious symbolic struggles where the public discourses are often disturbed and divided. Therefore, the network media enables stakeholders

to lead informational politics, with which they can disseminate the framed information about the local politics to the public in order to gain public legitimacy for their position-takings (Castells, 2001). Nevertheless, we do not have to underestimate the effect of the communication space outside the media spaces, like synchronized and co-present interpersonal or group political communication, while it is impossible to grasp the entire public discourse circulated by word of mouth.

In terms of research methodology, I have introduced formal concept analysis, or Galois lattice analysis, to attune the mode of inquiry with a Bourdieusian relational theoretical framework. First, such multimode network analysis enables us to identify and assess the values of an actor's action and communication in the overall structures of action and communication that operate as given conditions or contexts for the actor. Second, the method provides an advantage to specify individual actors' actions and communications rather than to depict the aggregated relations between actors and their choices of action and communication. As a result, it can ultimately help us to deal with urban politics substantively by designing strategic political action and communication to individually address uncovered actors' politics.

We can use this research framework as a practice model to strategically engage in urban politics from a normative perspective. I argue that Bourdieu's theory of practice illuminates reform potential because it conceives a field as "the locus of relations of force—and not only of meaning—and of struggles aimed at transforming it, and therefore of endless change" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 103). While there are central players in a field who try to uphold orthodox principles of actions, there are also marginal players who have heretical values and interests and thereby own the potential to become the innovators in the field (Bourdieu, 2004). Through a Bourdieusian analytical framework, we might identify the actors who have alternative principles in urban politics and the impact they have on the subfield they belong to, and collaborate with them to develop effective coalition networks for urban politics.

To this end, I suggest the value of developing a comprehensive *urban politics monitoring system*, through which the public or civic organizations can project the possible coalitions in the field of urban politics and strategically collaborate with certain actors through networked, ad hoc civic politics over specific community issues. In the private sector, corporate managers already use such stakeholder mapping strategies—identifying stakeholders' interests and power levels and predicting possible coalitions by using mapping tools—to effectively respond to stakeholders' needs and crises (Boutillier, 2009; Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997). In a similar way, we can actualize an urban politics monitoring system by creating a database of core community actors' subfields (professional areas), capitals (interests or stakes), habitus, and position-takings (choices of action regarding community affairs). Then the public or civic organizations can use this database, gathered in the form of a matrix and analyzed through Galois lattice analysis, to identify possible associations of actors based on their commonalities.

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