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Sensory Capital in Education: the Missing Piece?

Reza Pishghadam, Golshan Shakeebae, Simindokht Rahmani

Abstract: One of the several reasons education is believed to be vital in every society is that it can function as a route to social mobility and economic prosperity. That is, education is expected to be facilitative in the process of developing individuals' capitals. Likewise, capitals play an essential role in individuals' success or failure in classrooms. Some of the most frequently discussed capitals in the sociology of education are economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capitals. Acknowledging the importance of these capitals, this paper seeks to add a psychological perspective to the concept of capitals in education through the addition of *sensory capital*, which has its roots in the notion of *emotioncy*. This capital, as the name suggests, underscores senses in the formation of emotions and claims to stand at the center of capitals while it is simultaneously affected by and affecting them. Consequently, due to its given position in connecting all the capitals to one another and facilitating the development of them, *sensory capital* also claims to have a role in education.

Keywords: capital, education, sensory capital, emotioncy

Introduction

The mediating role of the education system in maintaining the link between an individual's original and ultimate class membership is stressed by Bourdieu's (1999) concern about class reproduction in advanced capitalist societies. In this view, education systems contribute to and legitimize class inequalities in society through highlighting cultural capital, which refers to familiarity with the dominant culture (Bourdieu, 1986), and its vital role in the success or failure of students. That is, since schools presuppose the possession of cultural capital and lower-class students do not, in general, possess it to an acceptable level, it will be very difficult for them to succeed in the education system. Such a perspective raises the issue of lack of efficiency in the pedagogic transmission taking place in classes mainly due to the role played by capitals (Sullivan, 2002).

The term capital has been conceptualized from different viewpoints, with Bourdieu and Marx playing indispensable roles in its introduction and expansion. To Marx (1867), capital is a mere social concept and forms a part of the surplus value that is created in a production process in which labor is paid at the lowest price (Lin, 2008). Yet, the changes regarding labor in 1968 and their noticeable effects on economic capital impelled Bourdieu (1986), who was skeptical of the reductionism that typified the Marxist approach toward capital and class, to cast a fresh eye on this concept and reconceptualize and recategorize it into four generic types of capital namely, economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (Fowler, 2011). In spite of the fact that Bourdieu (1989) limited his capitals to the foregoing and never explicitly wrote of emotion as a separate capital, he did talk about the significance of emotional dispositions in his argument on habitus. Actually, one important notion derived from the theoretical framework he provided is his attempt to demonstrate the mutual interconnectedness between the body and the social world through feelings or sensation (Reay, 2004). According to Bourdieu (1986), emotions, like any other forms of practice, are spontaneous and follow a practical logic that is embedded in social relations (Scheer, 2012). Paying attention to emotions, however, is not exclusive to Bourdieu's social ideas. Nevertheless, although there seems to be a massive body of literature on emotions in isolation and relation to the sociological views on capital (e.g., Gillies, 2006; Reay, 2004), which are mostly of the view that emotions can be considered as a resource that can circulate and accumulate other forms of capital (Zembylas, 2007), there seems to be a paucity of research viewing capital from the psychological point of view.

Sensationalism, out of which psychological approaches such as behaviorism have grown, is a doctrine that claims our world knowledge comes from the impression we get from our sensational experiences (Pishgha-

dam, Jajarmi & Shayesteh, 2015). In this vein, various views have examined sensationalism from different perspectives, and relatedly, a recent approach has put the tenants of sensory experiences in a different hypothesis, holding the idea that through their senses, individuals experience various levels of emotions (Pishghadam, Adamson & Shayesteh, 2013). Differently put, senses such as hearing, seeing, or touching produce different emotions that can consequently affect people's understanding (Pishghadam et al., 2015). That is to say; senses can contribute to the development of emotions which, in turn, can shape our cognition and change our perception of the world around us. Therefore, we are of the view that the notion of capital can be examined in the realm of psychology in general and in viewing senses as a form of capital that enables an individual to have a specific attitude about a subject in particular. In addition, since the emergence of the capitals put forth by Bourdieu and his invitation of researchers to develop and merge the theoretical framework of capital into empirical findings (Reay, 2000) has led to the better development of this concept in various realms of science such as management and organization (e.g., Sieweke, 2014), cultural class analysis (e.g., Flemmen, 2013), and education (e.g., Sullivan, 2002), in this paper, we will also seek to theoretically explore the role senses play as a form of capital in education in order to provide a basis for future empirical research.

Theoretical Framework

Marx's and Bourdieu's Concept of Capital

The development of Marx's (1867) labor theory for value and commodity theory is the framework within which the characteristics of capitalist organizations of human labor can be investigated (Foley, 2009). Broadly defined, Marxist capitalism is "a system based on the production of commodities for the exchange to realize surplus value." (Fraser & Wilde, 2011, p. 19) While simple exchanges start with commodity sales, capitalist production starts with two types of commodity, namely the means of production and labor power (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2016). Labor, according to Marx (1867), refers to human beings working together to adapt to and survive their natural world and fit their needs (Fuchs, 2014). Within the labor, lie the exchanges of commodities, which are dependent upon an owner who provides the means of production and the circulation of money, the latter of which is the simplest manifestation of Marxist capital (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2016; Starosta, 2015). From this point of view, capital is self-expanding, which means that commodity is used to produce surplus value that entails the development of the society (Kovel, 1997). In the same vein, surplus values are socially allocated by a class of people and via

some specific mechanisms; therefore, societies in which a particular group of people appropriates the surplus values are called class societies (Foley, 2009). That is to say, when the accumulation of surplus value is in the hands of minorities, exploitive relationships happen and, as a result, various social classes emerge (Giddens, 1973). In Marx's (1867) class theory social classes are inextricably interwoven to the relations of production since the distribution of economic goods is determined by the mode of their production, which means that development could be achieved through modes of production, which is a *mélange* of forces of production and their relations, and social classes (Bottomore et al., 1991). Consequently, such modes of class relations yielded to the domination of bourgeoisie and subordination of proletariat classes, and it was at that juncture that the class struggle presented itself as a capitalist social form (Starosta, 2015; Weingart, 1969). Such objectively structured position of production relations seems to be the crux of Marxist class theory; therefore, as an attempt to change the perception of economic conditions, Bourdieu (1986) put forward his theory of social class in relation to capital.

From Bourdieu's (1986) point of view, capital is defined as the "accumulated labor" (p. 15) which can enable agents to allocate the social energy in the form of living labor. He also believed that the social world's structure and functions could not be fully accounted unless capital is introduced in all of its forms. Therefore, unlike Marx (1867), he did not restrict capital solely to an economic form and expanded it to noneconomic, disinterested forms. Bourdieu (1986) believed that had economics dealt with productions that were directly convertible to money, bourgeois world could have been presented disinterestedly, while everyone is aware of the fact that some certain objects cannot be easily converted to money only because such conversion denies its intention of production that is nothing but the denial of economy itself (Weininger, 2002). In other words, monetary practices could not be defined to their maximum unless they were accompanied by non-monetary practices, namely cultural or artistic practices (Bourdieu, 1986). In this regard, Bourdieu (1986) represented capital in four various fundamental ways in order to extend capital by applying it in a broader context of complex networks (Moore, 2008). His categorization includes economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital, all of which are transubstantiated forms of economic capital (Moore et al., 2011).

In basic terms, the idea of cultural capital is of the view that within a society, individuals, groups, and classes compete for what people consider worthwhile to dictate and define the social world to conform to their own interest (Gao, 2011). Bourdieu (1986) divided cultural capital into three subcategories of embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalized state, each of which can be represented in some special forms. In this regard, embodied cultural capital is manifested in the disposition of body and mind and is experienced as

high engagement with art and cultivation (Tierney, 1999); objectified cultural capital, which can be approximately measured by socio-economic status, is the set of activities such as going to museums, ballet, or theater, and the ownership of objects such as musical instruments, artworks, and other things that are the symbols of high-browed culture (Bourdieu, 1986; Ingram, Hechavarria & Matthews, 2014; Tramonte & Willims, 2010); and institutionalized cultural capital, which can best be exemplified in educational and academic credentials, suggests that the person has acquired the capital, and therefore, is eligible for that specific position in the society (Tierney, 1999). While cultural capital includes physically tangible and visible distinctions such as educational degrees, social capital is more concerned with obligations that come along with social relationships (Julien, 2015) since it lies within the social structures and is the available resource functioning in the social relations (Bourdieu 1986, as cited in Adler & Kwon, 2002). In other words, social capital can be considered as the aggregation of different sources that are bonded to membership to a group (Julien, 2015). According to what Bourdieu (1986) claims, the possessed volume of social capital is largely built on the extent of the network of connections one person, and whoever they are connected to, can efficiently activate. Therefore; it could produce or reproduce inequality through the notion of connection among people with various power positions (Pishghadam & Khajavy, 2013). Differently put, the role that social capital plays to preserve and reproduce social class structures through mediating economic capital is central (Ottebjør, 2005). Bourdieu (1986) further continued that the extent to which the connections are spanned could affect various types of capitals (Grenfell, 2008). Therefore, social capital can be considered as a process in which individuals in the controlling and dominating class use mutual acceptance to strengthen the favored group that has various forms of capital (Lin, 1999). Finally, all the forms of capital that Bourdieu (1986) has elaborated on can be subsumed and legitimized under symbolic capital (Bliege-Bird & Smith, 2005). According to Bourdieu (1992), symbolic capital can be defined as the internalized or incorporated form of any kind of capital. In other words, it can be represented as any property of various capitals that social agents perceive, recognize, and give value to (Fuller & Tian, 2006).

Among the capitals put forth by Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital is believed to be the most useful form of capital in education (Dumais, 2006). The forms of this capital are claimed to be unconsciously acquirable and are dependent upon the era, the society, and the social class within which they have been practiced (Lareau & Weininger, 2004). One study in this vein, that has stood the test of time is that of Colman conducted in 1961, which suggests that it is not the schools that define the students' success, but "parents' level of education, access to adequate information, access to adequate preparation, mentoring, and good counseling" (Tierney & Venegas, 2006, p. 1688). There-

fore, in such formulation, children from higher social status are more prone to be exposed to societally valued knowledge, and, as a result, are already endowed with embodied and objectified cultural capital when they enter school, and these initial differences are reinforced rather than eliminated in the educational system (Gao, 2011). On the other hand, people with less valuable endowment start education with less perceived cultural capital and, therefore, acquire it at a slower pace and achieve less economic and symbolic acknowledgment in comparison to their highly-brewed cultural capital counterparts, which is why they have to over-perform to conquer their status quo (Perna, 2000). Such a view underscores the critical role of the family in the formation and development of cultural capital (Nowotny, 1981). In other words, it can be said that cultural capital is fundamentally comprehended and transferred in the family because it is within the families that children's modes of thinking are shaped, and families can be the link between the individuals' emotional engagement and the conceptualization of classes (Reay, 2000).

Bourdieu (1986) acknowledged the affective role of the mother in the family and its contribution to the development of emotional resources. It was Nowotny (1981); however, who first employed the term emotional capital, theorizing it as a form of social and cultural capital resource, which is developed through affective relations. The concept vividly illustrates a rich account of Bourdieu's work such as how "emotions-as-resources can circulate, accumulate, and exchange for other forms of capital" (Zembylas, 2007, p. 444). Here, according to Williams (2001), emotions are signs of bodily states and cultural categorizations, in which the former can help the verbalization of embodied sensations, while the latter, is preceded by the affective experiences. Although senses, emotions, and affect may be used interchangeably in everyday conversations, there are some differentiating scientific and technical notions about them. Therefore, it becomes important to distinguish the terms "emotion" and "affect" in this literature.

Despite many years of research, emotions are still defined almost vaguely and based on somehow mundane understanding and various theories have been put forward for explaining the nature of emotions which are often explicitly or implicitly taken from biology and psychology, and theorists have used cognitive (Bechara, 2004), evolutionary (Ekman, 1992), and biopsychosocial theories (Laurent & Powers, 2007) to substantiate their models.

One of the given definitions is from a social constructionist perspective, which assumes emotions as the bodily experiences and responses to the socio-cultural contexts (Belli, Harré & Iniguez, 2010). Another, that has gained a significant amount of support, is reflected in the idea of "component theories of emotion", which assumes emotions as "an episode of interrelated, synchronized changes in the states of all or most of the five organismic subsystems in response to the evaluation of an external or internal stimulus event as relevant

to major concerns of the organism” (Scherer, 2005, p. 697). Simply put, emotions are of episodic nature, meaning that specific events with certain meaning and relevance trigger them and they are short-lived (von Scheve, 2013). Derived from such a working definition, the nature of emotion has been categorized into biological and socio-cultural basis, though such a categorization is not mutually exclusive. Here, the biological basis implies the fact that basic emotions are innate and universal (Ekman, 1992), and the socio-cultural emotions make individuals able to cope with complex social situations (Turner, 2000).

Moreover, Bratt (2012) suggests that the emotion concepts represented by emotion words (such as fear or joy) are related to different processes that are subsumed under some sorts of emotion concepts but are not necessarily limited to emotions. She continues arguing that core affects are at the heart of what is usually referred to emotional experiences. Affects therefore, unlike emotions, are psychological primitives that influence sensory experiences. Differently put, affects can be considered as becomings, which wreak physical, psychological, social, emotional, economic and other changes in bodies (Fox, 2015), which may show the dynamic and diachronic nature of affect. Therefore, although affective feelings are of crucial importance to emotions, they are not restricted to them at all (von Scheve, 2013).

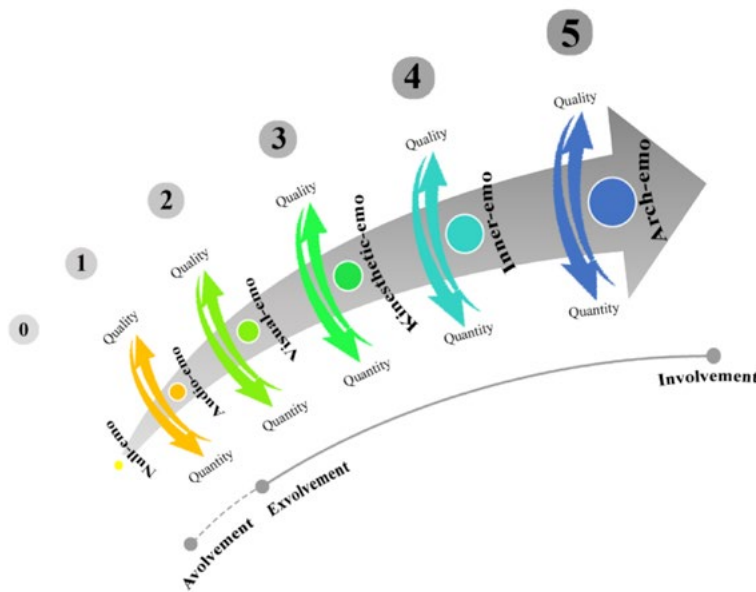
Another difference lies with the sociocultural perspectives. While emotions allow the individuals and the society to be constituted by means of “ongoing relational practices” (Burkitt, 1997, p. 42), affect is broadly defined as a thing which is first experienced in the body and then, through the social relations and culture it is named and re-experienced. Later in the field, emotional involvement and emotional capital were emphasized to play a role in educational sociology (e.g., Reay, 2000; 2004). Viewing the marked effect of emotion in education and learning from a different perspective, this paper aims to discuss the potential role of Sensory Capital (Pishghadam, Ebrahimi & Shakeebae, 2018) as a newly developed notion in sociology and its role on educational success.

Sensory Capital

Pishghadam, Adamson, et al. (2013) argued that emotions could be seen as reactions to sensory experiences and based on developmental individual-differences (DIR) studies, coined *emotioncy*. They defined *emotioncy* as the emotion levels held by individuals for different concepts emphasizing the fact that “senses can be hierarchically intertwined with emotions to shape cognition” (Pishghadam, Navari & Tabatabaian, 2013; Pishghadam et al., 2015, p. 2). In other words, *emotioncy* can be seen as sense-induced emotions, or in other words, an umbrella term in which senses, emotions,

and cognition are taken into account (Pishghadam, 2016a). To elucidate more, Pishghadam (2016b) provided a six-level emotioncy matrix within which different types of emotioncy are manifested (Figure 1).

Figure1. Emotioncy levels. Adapted from “Emotioncy, Extroversion, and Anxiety in Willingness to Communicate in English,” by R. Pishghadam, 2016a, the 5th International Conference on Language, Education, and Innovation.p.2.



As delineated in Figure 1, Pishghadam (2016b) classified learners into three types of avolved, exvolved, and involved. Each type was further classified into different kinds (see Table 1).

Table 1. Emotioncy Categorization

Emotioncy		
Types	Kinds	Experience
Avolvement	Null	When an individual has not heard about, seen, or experienced an object or a concept.
Exvolved	Audio	When an individual has merely heard of a word/concept
	Visual	When an individual has both heard about and seen the item.
	Kinesthetic	When an individual has touched, worked, or played with the real object.
Involved	Inner	When an individual has directly experienced the word/ concept.
	Arch	When an individual has done research to get additional information.

Note. Adapted from “Conceptualizing Sensory Relativism in Light of Emotioncy: A Movement Beyond Linguistic Relativism,” by R. Pishghadam, H. Jajarmi, and S. Shayesteh, 2015, International Journal of Society, Culture and Language, p.4.

Using the concept of emotioncy, Pishghadam et al. (2015) suggested sensory relativism, as a counterpart to linguistic relativism. Sensory relativism asserts that senses generate different degrees of emotions, which can relativize our cognition and understanding of the world. It means that it is the sensory experience, rather than language, that can deeply influence our emotions and relativize our cognition. Therefore, it can be concluded that based on various sensory channels, people may act differently in a society (Pishghadam et al., 2015; Pishghadam, Shakeebae & Shayesteh, 2018). To further endorse the findings of sensory relativism, Pishghadam et al. (2018) conducted a study within which sensory experiences relativized various cultural concepts in a given society. Based on the proposed emotioncy model, they introduced *cultural weight* as a comparative analysis tool, which can be used for cultural mapping. By the same token, as senses play an important role in cultural and social practices, Pishghadam et al. (2018) claimed that *sensory capital* could be considered as a tool through which different levels of emotions represent for economic, social, cultural, or even environmental reasons.

As the foregoing suggests, emotions are not the only variables in this regard; therefore, emotioncy, which encompasses emotions, senses, and frequencies, can be used to fully conceptualize *sensory capital*. Hence, *sensory capital* can be defined as the amount of sensory access one has to something, which might change one's emotions and put them at different levels of understanding of the world. That is to say, the senses from which one receives information can alter the perception of reality. In fact, depending on being avolved (null), exvolved (auditory, visual, and kineesthetic) or involved (inner and arch) in a subject, individuals may mold diverse views of the reality. As illustrated in Figure 2, individuals may have different or similar levels of emotioncy. To put it simply, imagine two individuals are talking about a topic. Now they probably think they are on the same page while, in reality, one of them may be on the first pages (exvolved) whereas the other one is on the last pages (involved). This is where each individual possesses a different level of sensory capital while they might mistakenly assume that they have reached a state of inter-subjectivity. The positive side of this process is that as individuals with different levels of sensory capital interact they can affect their interlocutors' levels of emotioncy, which consequently results in a change in their sensory capitals.

To be more specific, sensory capital can shift under the influence of envolvers, that is to say, the persons themselves or others can affect the levels of emotioncy, and as a result, they can change sensory capitals (Figure 3).

Figure 2. The difference between the two persons' emotioncy before interaction. Adapted from "A Novel Approach to Psychology of Language Education," by R. Pishghadam, Sh. Ebrahimi & M. Tabatabaeian, 2019, p. 49. Copyright 2019 by Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Iran.

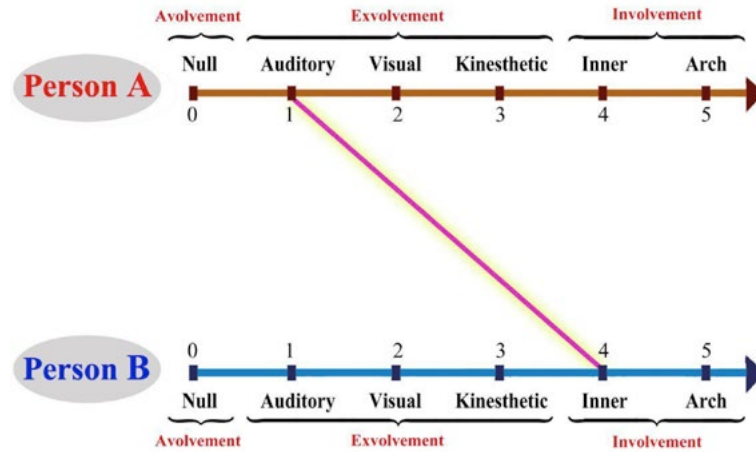
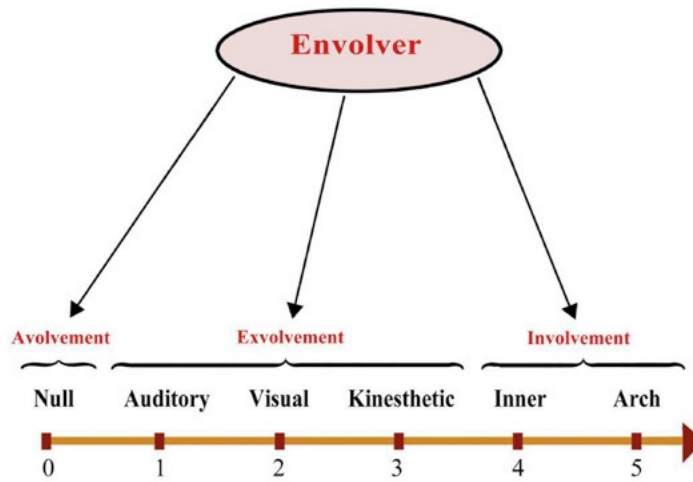
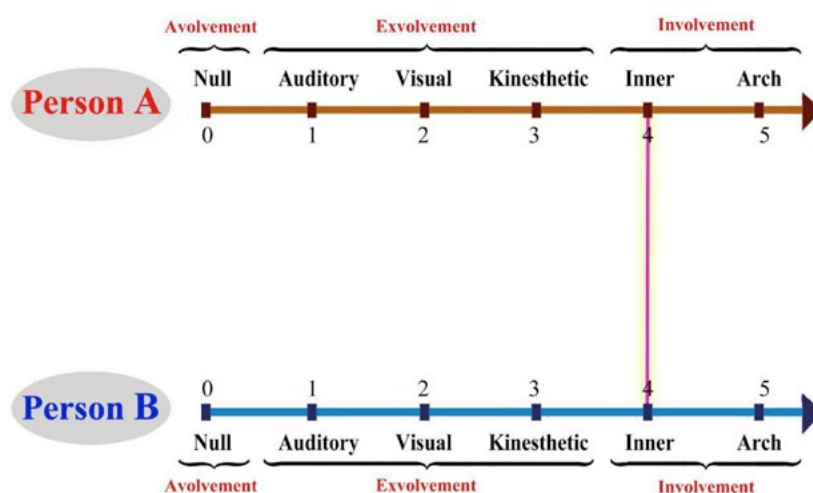


Figure 3. The role of envolvers. Adapted from "A Novel Approach to Psychology of Language Education," by R. Pishghadam, Sh. Ebrahimi & M. Tabatabaeian, 2019, p. 41. Copyright 2019 by Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Iran.



Also, Figures 2 and 3 delineate the very fact that an envolver (in this case, person B) can affect sensory capital of the other person (person A), and raise the level of emotioncy to their level (Figure 4).

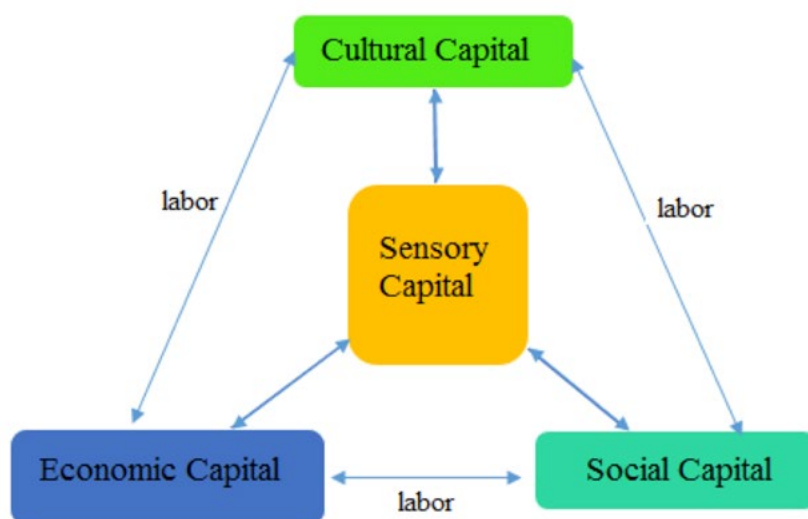
Figure 4. The difference between the two persons' emotioncy before interaction. Adapted from "A Novel Approach to Psychology of Language Education," by R. Pishghadam, Sh. Ebrahimi & M. Tabatabaeian, 2019, p. 48. Copyright 2019 by Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Iran.



As a given example, imagine that a student participates in a class with a given level of sensory capital. The teacher, as the envolver, can act in a way that might change the related senses, emotions, and frequencies. The person, him/herself, is also able to change the emotioncy level by having a shift in the kinds or types of emotions, the related feelings, and the accompanying exposure times. Therefore, the nature of sensory capital is very dynamic since it is under the influence of different factors such as economic, cultural, and social factors. Not only does sensory capital benefit from other forms of capital, but it is also capable of influencing them. In other words, the relationship between sensory capital and the other types of capital is bilateral, which means it can simultaneously be the cause and the effect. That is to say; sensory capital can affect and be affected by economic, cultural and social capitals. Obviously, high amounts of economic, social, and cultural capitals can affect individuals' accessibility to different senses and as a result, create a sensory gap, which is itself the result of various emotioncy levels. For instance, an individual who has a specific level of economic capital and has attended a concert has a different level of sensory capital regarding this concept compared to one who does not possess that economic capital and has not gone to a concert. As another example, consider someone whose social status is relatively high, and therefore, possesses a high level of social capital. Such a person is more likely to know other people of the same status. Hence, the way he/she feels about them is different from someone with

a lower social status. The transformations of capitals into one another is in line with what Bourdieu (1986) has stated about his capitals.

Figure 5. The relationship between different types of capital.



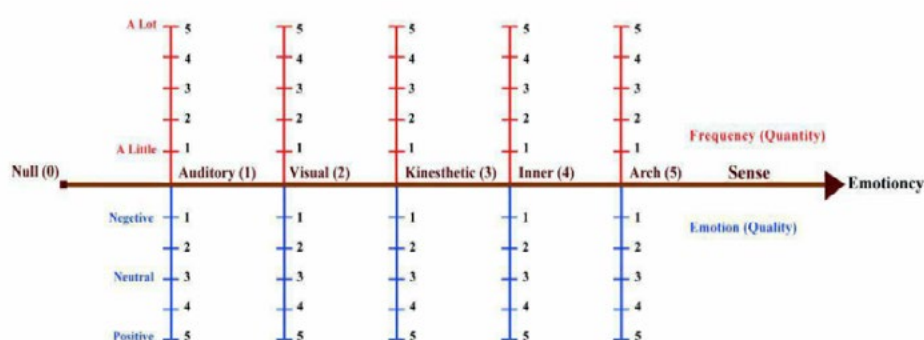
In our model, however, sensory capital is given centrality to highlight its bilateral relationships with other forms of capital (Figure 5). Table 2 provides examples of each capital and their transformations.

Table 2. Examples of capitals and their transformation

Capital	Example
Cultural capital	Pictures, books, machines, instruments, etc.
Social capital	Membership in a group
Economic capital	Deposits in a bank
Cultural → social	The individuals might write a book and their academic status quo rises
Social → economic	The individuals might get a salary promotion due to their position
Cultural → economic	The individuals might sell their written book
Cultural → sensory	The individuals visit a special historical place and their senses change
Social → sensory	The individuals meet a special person, and their senses become different
economic → sensory	The individuals use their money to buy caviar, and their feelings change

It seems hard to talk about Bourdieu's cultural capital without mentioning his other works, namely taste, distinction, and disposition. He believes that class fractions are very much eager to teach aesthetic preferences, or in his own words, taste, to their young to depict their status and distances oneself from lower groups, and he believes that cultural capital plays a significant role regarding marking such differences between the classes. The same applies to sensory capital, meaning that distinction can be made through various perceived senses and also the frequency of exposure. The supporting evidence for such a claim can be found in a study conducted by Pishghadam, Shakeebae, and Shayesteh (2018), where it has been shown that people with different social, economic, and cultural backgrounds experience various sensory-emotional experiences regarding different objects and concepts. One point which needs to be emphasized here is that, as Bourdieu (1986) considers judgments of taste to be value-laden and affected by social power and distinction, it is our belief that senses, as our perceptual filters, are not innocent and can be affected by a number of factors, including life experiences and genetic predispositions. As already mentioned, having access to sensory capital puts individuals into different categories of being avolved, exvolevd, and involved. When individuals are involved in something, their worldviews and attitudes may be different from the time they are exvolved in that.

Figure 6. A metric for measuring emotioncy. Adapted from "Emotioncy, Extroversion, and Anxiety in Willingness to Communicate in English," by R. Pishghadam, 2016, the 5th International Conference on Language, Education, and Innovation, p.3.



In fact, the idea of sensory capital is different from the other types of capital in placing more emphasis on the frequency of our experiences and the emotions generated by the type and amount of the experiences (see Figure 6).

Closing Remarks

Bourdieu's (1986) theoretical links to Weber's ideas enabled him to move beyond the Marxist conceptualization of economic capital and lay the foundations for a subtler understanding of the social structures. Breaking the concept of capital down into three forms of economic capital as the money or possessed properties, cultural capital as the educational qualifications, and social capital as the connections, Bourdieu (1986) argued that all of these forms can be comprehended as the symbolic capital which includes prestige and honor (Ihlen, 2007). Although Bourdieu's (1986) classification seems comprehensive enough, the role of senses in the way one develops an understanding of the social structures is believed to have been neglected. Such a lacuna is given prominence in the current paper especially because senses are capable of accentuating the dynamism and openness of cognition (Pishghadam et al., 2016). The attempt made here, therefore, is to put forward *sensory capital* to stress the role of emotions and senses in the comprehension of one's surroundings.

Sensory capital, as the term suggests, puts emphasis on senses and the changes they cause in people's perception of reality. What distinguishes *sensory capital* from Nowotny's (1981) emotional capital is the fact that it is not restricted to *emotions*. Quite the contrary, it enlarges itself through the addition of two variables of (1) *senses* via which one experiences the world and (2) *frequency* of the access to those senses. Sense, frequency, and the resulted level and type of emotion are the building blocks of emotioncy, a term developed in the psychology of education by Pishghadam, Navari, et al. (2013). The difference can also be justified using the triune brain model. MacLean (1990) has shown in biology our brain has three main sections: The upper brain, the prefrontal lobes, is related to logic. The midbrain, also known as the limbic system, is related to our emotions, and finally, the third part is the lower brain, which is the brainstem or the reptilian brain and is responsible for our senses. While emotional capital deals with the midbrain and amygdala- an almond-shaped organ involved in emotional responses, sensory capital deals with the interface of the midbrain and lower brain which is called secondary visual, auditory, and other basic senses.

Second, the focus of emotional capital is on the social relations and the group-induced emotions while the emphasis in the sensory capital is on the sense-induced emotions.

Sensory capital takes the concept of emotioncy in psychology and employs it as its basis in the field of sociology in general and the realm of capitals in particular. In better words, emotioncy forms the building blocks of sensory capital and explains how senses can function as the central and connecting point of economic, cultural, and, social capitals. It also spells out the bilateral relationship between sensory capital and Bourdieu's (1986) capitals. That is,

individuals can possess various levels of emotioncy levels due to their economic, cultural, and social situations (Pishghadam & Shayesteh, 2016; Pishghadam et al., 2018), which might, in turn, lead to different levels of sensory capital. Likewise, an individual's level of emotioncy for a certain concept or object forms his/ her sensory capital, which can affect the individual's cultural, social and economic capital.

Moreover, genetic differences in how one hears, sees, touches, tastes, and smells can vary from person to person and affect the quantity and quality of sensory capital. It alludes to the fact that individuals with disabilities might be at a disadvantage. Although the idea of sensory capital may seem to compromise the social justice dimensions of various theorizations of social capital, this also does not negate the fact that these individuals (e.g., Hellen Keller) can use or develop different compensatory mechanisms (e.g., eyeglasses and hearing aids) and alternative "senses" to enhance the amount of sensory access.

Consequently, like all the other capitals introduced to and explored in educational sociology, *sensory capital* claims to play a role in education since emotioncy, as its psychological basis, is believed to enrich learners' educational experience and development (Pishghadam & Shayesteh, 2016). To that end, as Pishghadam and Shayesteh (2016) suggest, teachers should be educated to increase learners' level of emotioncy through enhancing their awareness of their learners' emotions and using different resources and techniques such as emotionalization (Pishghadam, Shayesteh & Rahmani, 2016). Also, in a bigger scope, to ensure learners' emotioncy backgrounds are considered, the materials developed and deployed in education systems and even the education system itself are required to be localized for each social class so that the prejudices against the neglected classes in societies can be overcome. With that in mind, Bourdieu's (1999) argument, in which he rightfully accuses schools and teachers of aiding and abetting the family-based reproduction process through establishing standards, which favor and reward upper and middle-class children, can be dealt with through the facilitative role of sensory capital in the development of other capitals. Moreover, since the major objective of the study was to introduce sensory capital with respect to normal people, another study is required to analyze the issue from critical disability perspective, focusing mostly on ableism.

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