

**From ‘Champs’ to ‘Fields’:
The Transnational Circulation of a Sociological Concept**

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Abstract

Fields have become a key concept in sociological research. This paper compares the development and reception of two central sociological theories of fields: Bourdieu’s “*champs*,” developed in France, and DiMaggio and Powell’s “organizational fields” in the United States. The article first examines internal differences between *champs* and organizational fields. We argue that, in spite of their similar topographical approach, the concepts provide different perspectives on micro-foundations, field boundaries, and dynamics of social change. Then, drawing on a data set of citation patterns in top U.S. and French sociology journals, we analyze the diffusion and reception of the two concepts in their national context. We show that the citations for “*champs*” in France are consistent with Bourdieu’s theory of symbolic position-takings in scientific fields, whereas the diffusion of “organizational fields” in the United States resembles neo-institutionalist findings about rituals of deference and isomorphism. The paper discusses this homology between the U.S. and French sociological fields and the theory of field as it unfolded in each national context, before concluding that the two concepts are difficult to reconcile.

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Introduction

In the past thirty years, there has been a notable increase in sociological research drawing on the concept of fields. Though the concept has a long history in the social sciences (Emirbayer 1997; Martin 2003), it became a key term in sociology only in the 1980s, with the development and diffusion of Pierre Bourdieu's work (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu 1996; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) and the concept of organizational fields in new institutionalism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; DiMaggio and Powell 1991). Recent analyses have elaborated on the subject, building on the "sufficiently distinct core" of these different approaches (Martin 2003: 3) to promote the idea of a unified "field theory" (Fligstein and McAdam 2012).

This article analyzes the conditions of such a syncretic effort. We focus on the two theories that have informed most of the existing sociological research about fields in the United States and France to the present: Bourdieu's concept of *champs* (French for "field," which carries the same topographical and metaphorical meanings as in English) and DiMaggio and Powell's theory of organizational fields. First, we specify the theoretical characteristics and internal differences between the concepts at hand. Specifically, we argue that Bourdieusian fields and organizational fields provide different perspectives on several key questions that cannot be easily reconciled (Swartz 2014). Second, we explore the properties of the distinct national intellectual environments – French and American sociology at different points in time – in which each concept of field was developed. Though French and American sociology share some similar characteristics, they also differ in important ways (Lamont 2000). Differences between the two intellectual contexts had a critical influence on the questions the theories posed (Camic and Gross 2001), as well as on the diffusion and reception of the concepts on both sides of the Atlantic (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 4; Wacquant 1993; Lamont 2012). Our analysis of these conditions draws on a data set composed of all the articles mentioning the concept "field" in the top three French and U.S. sociology journals, a total of 259 articles in France and 114 articles in the United States.

The article proceeds as follows: first, we discuss the theoretical foundations of Bourdieu's concept of *champs* and DiMaggio and Powell's organizational fields and explore three issues on which the two versions of field theory provide different answers: the definition of micro-foundations, field boundaries, and the dynamics of change. Second, we analyze the diffusion of citations of the concepts of "*champs*" and "organizational fields" in French and U.S. sociology journals. We find that the diffusion of citations for "*champs*" in French sociology journals can be interpreted with the Bourdieusian theory of symbolic position-

takings in scientific fields (Bourdieu 1976), whereas the diffusion of citations for “organizational fields” in American journals is consistent with neo-institutionalism in terms of rituals of deference and isomorphism (Mizruchi and Fein 1999). The article concludes with a discussion of these results.

I. Three internal differences between ‘*champs*’ and ‘organizational fields’

What do Bourdieusian fields and organizational fields have in common, and how do they differ? While we focus on two sociological theories that rely on the exact same term “field” in order to restrict its analysis to concepts that can be easily compared, this analytic decision comes with several limitations. First, such a research design mechanically excludes from the analysis concepts that otherwise share similarities with the relational perspective of field theories.¹ Second, the fact that DiMaggio and Powell rely on the same term as Bourdieu does not mean that the two concepts have similar theoretical ambitions or comparable epistemological foundations. Hence, in this section, we explore the theoretical differences between Bourdieusian fields and organizational fields. We consider three issues about which the two perspectives differ: micro-foundations and types of actors, field boundaries, and the dynamics of change. Before turning to these differences, we give a brief introduction of the two concepts at hand. These short presentations do not hope to be exhaustive (see Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 and DiMaggio and Powell 1991 for further introductions). Rather, we focus on the internal features of the concepts that are the most relevant for the comparison that follows.

1) Bourdieu’s Champs

Pierre Bourdieu first introduced the concept of *champ* in an article about the intellectual field (Bourdieu 1966) and further developed it in an analysis of the religious field, in which he drew heavily on Weber’s “spheres of value” (Bourdieu 1971). Bourdieu constantly revised the concept in his subsequent work (DiMaggio 1979: 1467; Swartz 1981: 346-48; Lamont and Lareau 1988: 155-58; Lahire 2012), at least until his “highly accessible introduction” for the Anglophone audience, in which he proposed the following definition: “A field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relations to other

positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.)” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97).

According to Bourdieu, a field is a relatively autonomous social sphere that follows its own rules. Bourdieu uses the metaphor of the “game,” where players who have stakes in the game (“illusio”) develop strategies in order to eventually win. Yet such strategies are not necessarily the result of rational and conscious calculations by the players. Rather, strategies are mostly determined by people’s relative position in the field, which in turn stems from their overall amount of capital and its structure, that is, the respective importance of the different forms of capital, economic, cultural, symbolic, and social. These strategies also draw heavily on people’s habitus, this incorporated system of dispositions and representations that is mostly shaped by primary socialization but may evolve depending on one’s position in different fields.² In consequence, the “field” concept builds on the complementary concepts of habitus and capital in Bourdieu’s framework. These three concepts make sense “only within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96).³ Thus, *champs* should be understood within Bourdieu’s broader theory of the social world (Swartz 2008).

Many additional features of Bourdieu’s fields would deserve careful attention, such as the location of fields within the larger social field and the field of power; the tension between autonomous and heteronomous logics within fields (Benson and Neveu 2005); the role of “doxa”; the preferred statistical method of correspondence analysis (Grenfell and Lebaron 2014); the articulation between local, national, and global fields (Sapiro 2013; Go and Krause forthcoming); and the role of historical change and social differentiation in the emergence of fields (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In the limited space of this article, however, we confine ourselves to adding three comments regarding the idea of fields as “networks of objective relations.” First, such “relations” are not actual interactions between the different players in the field but relations between sets of positions (in other words, the position of “dominant” in a field only makes sense in relation to the position of “dominated”). Second, these relations are first and foremost relations of power. Since capital is not distributed equally among the different players, participants engage in fierce struggle to acquire more capital. Third, this preeminence of conflict and power relations should not hide the fact that all players have at least one interest in common: preserving the very existence of the field and defending its specific symbolic capital within the larger social field.

2) *New Institutionalism and Organizational Fields*

In the United States, the notion of the organizational field is best understood within the

broader umbrella of new institutionalism in organizational analysis, which started in the late 1970s and early 1980s in response to the rise of rational choice theory in the analysis of firms and organizations when a group of scholars developed new empirical and theoretical ways to understand how institutions work. In an article published in 1983, Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell proposed the concept of the “organizational field,” which became a cornerstone of neo-institutional analysis (DiMaggio and Powell 1983 and 1991; see also Meyer and Rowan 1977). DiMaggio and Powell (henceforth D&P) define organizational fields as “those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products” (DiMaggio and Powell 1983:148). The authors cite Bourdieu’s work in their introduction to a 1991 collection on new institutionalism, but the concept of organizational fields was also largely inspired by the work of Harrison White as well as previous analyses in organizational research by Joseph Galaskiewicz and Roland Warren (Martin 2003; Mohr 2000). At the center of D&P’s framework is the question of the homogenization of organizations: as they posed it, what makes organizations so similar? The concept of field is thus originally designed to explain processes of convergence.

According to D&P, when a field becomes structured, that is, when the interactions, awareness, coalition patterns, and information flows reach critical levels among different actors of a given sector, the organizations of that field have a tendency to converge and become more similar. This process, labeled “institutional isomorphism,” stems not from the quest to make more profit, but rather from an effort to gain legitimacy.⁴ Institutional isomorphism depends on several conditions: the organizations’ degree of dependency on one another, the degree of centralization of resource supply, and the overall indeterminacy of the relationship between means and ends in the field. D&P further specify different types of isomorphism, which may occur separately or together. Coercive isomorphism occurs when the organizations upon which the field depends, such as the state, exert direct pressure. Mimetic isomorphism occurs in contexts of uncertainty, when organizations imitate the most legitimate members of the field. Normative isomorphism stems from the process of professionalization.

3) *Three Internal Differences between Fields Theories*

The concepts of *champs* and organizational fields share many similarities (see Martin 2003 for a review). Yet we argue here that they also present markedly different answers regarding three important issues.

Micro-foundations and types of actors

Who are the actors providing the social action around which fields are organized? Here we argue that D&P and Bourdieu focus on different types of actors and have diverging micro-foundations underlying their field theories.

D&P's theory of organizational fields puts organizations at the center of the analysis. Hence, in their article, everything takes place between organizations: interactions are first and foremost transactions between organizations; institutional isomorphism mostly occurs at the level of the formal structures of organizations; and organizational- and field-level variables provide the conditions for institutional change. Yet D&P also provide micro- or individual foundations for their theoretical framework (Jepperson and Swidler 1994). Their argument mostly builds on the cognitive infrastructure proposed by the Carnegie School with the concepts of routines and standards (March and Simon 1958). In the introduction to their 1991 book, D&P also mention social constructionism as a source of inspiration (DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Berger and Luckmann 1966). In a later article, DiMaggio (1997: 269) further emphasizes the importance of routine cognition in formatting everyday practices: individuals easily adopt "automatic cognition," which draws heavily on existing institutional categories in order to make routine decisions without having to process too much information at a given point in time.

Hence, in D&P's framework, the correlation between individual and organizational levels is rather simple. Since individuals mostly rely on highly institutionalized routines in organizing their daily practices, routines easily add up to create organizational-level categories of thoughts and action such as institutional isomorphism. Nonetheless, these different routines do not usually coagulate into an overarching worldview; they usually provide fragmented and contradictory assumptions about the world, even though such contradictions are rarely uncovered (DiMaggio 1997: 267; Swidler 2001).

In contrast, Bourdieu's analysis focuses more on the relative positions of actual individuals – whether they are writers, painters, scientists, or politicians. Bourdieu provides individual micro-foundations for his field theory with the concept of habitus. Similarly to D&P, Bourdieu's concept of habitus emphasizes how individual dispositions are largely unreflexive and highly institutionalized. But the habitus differs from D&P's routines in two main ways. First, there is large variation between the habitus of different individuals, depending on their resources, social background, primary socialization, and position in the field, whereas these explanatory variables are not central in D&P's framework. Second, the

habitus is a relatively coherent system of transferable dispositions – a “structured and structuring structure” (Bourdieu 1984: 170) across domains, an approach largely inspired by Jean Piaget’s structured theory of developmental psychology (Lizardo 2004): someone’s musical taste will bear a resemblance to her culinary taste or her disposition toward gardening (Bourdieu 1984). Bourdieu added nuance to this idea in his later work with the concept of the “split” or “divided” habitus (*habitus clivé*) (Bourdieu 2004; Bourdieu 2000; Bennett 2007). Yet even the dual structure of a split habitus shows more coherence than “routines” or “scripts,” which are fragmented and largely inconsistent.

An additional difference emerges when considering how the Bourdieusian framework might apply to organizations, since it is unclear what an “organizational habitus” would resemble. Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) point out the concept’s usefulness but also warn against its risk of reification. The concept of organizational habitus should be understood as a compromise resulting from the complex strategies taking place within organizations, which they also understand as fields (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008: 19; Swartz 2008; see also Fligstein and McAdam 2012). This concept is promising but raises several practical questions. First, since any field is made up of many organizations, it follows that one would have to study each and every one of them in order to define their habitus before turning to the field level, which would seem difficult to implement (in qualitative research, at least). Second, it is problematic to analyze organizations as fields, since organizations usually lack the specific symbolic capital and relative autonomy from the larger environment that are necessary conditions for the existence of a field (Lahire 2012: 180, but see Bourdieu 1997 and Bourdieu 1999). Take the example of journalism. Each newspaper has a specific editorial line, which differs from the line of others, and much of the interactions between newspapers consist in emphasizing how dramatically different their respective worldviews are (Benson and Neveu 2005). But do these differences really grant them enough autonomy from the rest of the field in order to consider each news organization a field of its own?

Hence, we argue here that the Bourdieusian and neo-institutionalist frameworks attend to different types of actors – organizations versus individuals – and different micro-foundations – routines versus habitus.

Field boundaries

There is no obvious difference at first sight between Bourdieusian fields and organizational fields in regard to what constitutes the boundaries of a field. Indeed, Bourdieu and D&P both argue that fields should be defined empirically rather than *a priori*. Yet differences become

evident when examining the practical ways in which the authors define field boundaries.

Bourdieu has the broadest definition, since he recommends including everyone who has something at stake in the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96). More precisely, he argues that the boundaries of a field can be delineated by looking at the “effects” of the field on the agents. For example, when writing about the field of French “grandes écoles” (elite institutions of higher education), Bourdieu points out that they influence one another “like heavenly bodies belonging to the same gravitational field,” before adding that “the existence of field effects... is one of the chief indicators of the fact that a set of agents and institutions functions as a field, as well as one of the reliable instruments for empirically determining the limits of this field, which are simply the point at which these effects are no longer found.” (Bourdieu 1998: 132).

D&P’s definition appears to be more restrictive than Bourdieu’s. The authors insist on the importance of actual interactions and transactions (“connectedness”) between organizations, which is a more restrictive condition than Bourdieu’s focus on “effects.” The neo-institutionalist approach also adds a subjective dimension: members of a field must be aware that they are involved in a common enterprise (DiMaggio & Powell 1983: 148; Scott 1994: 206). In other words, field boundaries are relevant only insofar as they are perceived as such by the participants (DiMaggio & Powell 1991). This double focus on actual interactions and subjective feelings of belonging does not appear in Bourdieu’s framework,⁵ which consequently includes a broader range of participants.⁶

Field dynamics, stability, and change

Finally, how should stability and change in a field be understood? It is often claimed that *champs* and organizational fields focus on stability rather than social change (Fligstein and McAdam 2012; Clemens and Cook 1999). Yet the two concepts in fact emphasize different mechanisms in order to explain how social order is actively reproduced.

Let us start with Bourdieu, who uses the metaphor of a battlefield or “field of struggle” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 17). In this perspective, competition is the central force at work. Depending on their positions in the field, participants adopt different strategies: those who occupy dominant positions tend to be more conservative, while those who occupy dominated positions jockey for change and engage in classification struggles, constantly trying to redefine the rules of the game to their advantage. Yet dominated participants rarely manage to overthrow the structure of the field, which is relatively resistant to change (but see Bourdieu 2013).

In contrast, D&P's approach emphasizes imitation and convergence as the main mechanisms for change. According to their theory of institutional isomorphism, organizations are not engaged in a zero-sum game in order to acquire more capital. Rather, they are mostly interested in attaining legitimacy in the field and engage in ceremonial strategies in order to reach this goal. D&P do not particularly examine the role of conflict in this process (Fligstein and McAdam 2012; Stinchcombe 1997). Thus, Bourdieu and D&P delineate opposing mechanisms for incremental change: Bourdieu insists on conflict and distinction, whereas D&P focus on convergence and imitation. Finally, let us note that neither of these two theories provides clear predictions about the conditions that would allow for dramatic changes in the field or even the disappearance of a given field (Fligstein and McAdam 2012; Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury 2012). This question is explored in great detail in Fligstein and McAdam's analysis (2012: 83); thus, we do not discuss it in depth here.

4) *A "sufficiently distinct core"?*

In his piece on field theory, Martin argues that there is a "sufficiently distinct core" (2003: 3) common to the Bourdieusian and neo-institutionalist concepts of field in order to promote "field theory" as a "general explanatory approach for the social sciences" (2003: 28). Martin concedes that the theories differ in some respects, but points out that these differences are outweighed by the commonalities between the two frameworks. In this section we adopted a different approach and focused instead on the theoretical differences between neo-institutionalist and Bourdieusian fields. Any attempt to combine *champs* and organizational fields into one single, unified approach would lead to a relative conceptual impoverishment (Swartz 2014), since it would have to remain vague about micro-foundations, field boundaries, and the question of social change – all important topics in sociological analysis.

Our review of the concepts also brings to the fore an ontological difference between the two approaches in their understanding of the social world: Bourdieu stresses the role of conflict and power relations in social practice, whereas DiMaggio and Powell are more interested in imitation, convergence, and the importance of conformity in the quest for legitimacy. These differences in the elaboration of the concepts might indicate something about the intellectual contexts in which they were developed (Camic and Gross 2001), that is, the French and American sociological disciplines at different points in time. In the next section, we explore the ways in which "*champs*" and "organizational fields" have been used in sociological research over the past thirty years. The article will come back to the internal differences between the two concepts in the discussion section.

II. Comparing the Diffusion of *Champs* and Organizational Fields in France and the United States

How do sociologists use the concepts of “organizational fields” and “*champs*” respectively in the United States and France? Drawing on a data set composed of 373 articles published in top U.S. and French sociology journals, the second part of this article explores the diffusion of the two concepts in their national intellectual communities and document strikingly different trajectories for *champs* in France and organizational fields in the United States.

1) *Data and Methods*

We assembled an original data set that includes all the articles citing one of the concepts of field in the top three American and French sociology journals spanning a thirty-year period between 1983 (when D&P published their article on organizational fields) and 2012.⁷

Journals and definition of the sample

In the United States, the top three generalist sociology journals are easy to identify since there is a relative consensus about which journals make a strong impact on sociological research and receive consistently high rankings from the Social Science Citation Index. Following several existing analyses, we focus on the *American Sociological Review (ASR)*, the *American Journal of Sociology (AJS)*, and *Social Forces (SF)* (Phelan 1995; Gaston 1979; Glenn and Willemez 1970; Sallaz and Zavisca 2007).⁸ All three journals rely on anonymous peer-review.

In France, sociologists agree on the strong impact of the *Revue Française de Sociologie (RFS)*, founded in 1960, as well as *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales (ARSS)*, launched in 1975 by Pierre Bourdieu and directed by him until his death in 2002. As for the third journal, we included *Sociologie du Travail (SdT)*, founded in 1959, in the sample despite its specialized title (“*Sociology of Work*”).⁹ The editorial board of *SdT* emphasizes that the mission of the journal is to be a generalist publication¹⁰; it thus publishes articles on topics ranging from social movements to the sociology of prisons, health, or economic sociology. Both *SdT* and *RFS* rely on anonymous peer-review to select the articles they publish. In contrast, *Actes de la Recherches en Sciences Sociales* mostly publishes invited articles, usually as part of special thematic issues.

The selection of the journals informs some of our findings. For example, the decision not to include a leading journal in organizational and management studies (such as the

Administrative Science Quarterly in the United States) probably leads to an underestimation of the number of citations for “organizational fields” in the United States (Mizruchi and Fein 1999). Similarly, we do not include in our French sample journals such as *Sociétés Contemporaines* or *Politix*, which published a large number of articles drawing on the Bourdieusian framework. Our point is not to gather an exhaustive sample of the articles citing one or the other concept of field theory, but rather to follow the reception of field theories in mainstream, influential sociological journals in the United States and France.

Variables

We used online search engines to browse the sample of all articles published between 1983 and 2012. For the three American journals, as well as for *RFS*, we used the advanced search setting on JSTOR. For *ARSS*, we used Persée for the period from 1983 to 2001 and Cairn.info for the rest of the time period to 2012. For *SdT*, we used a mix of manual coding on the print version of the journal (from 1983 to 1999) and ScienceDirect after 1999. We automatically searched for the use of the word “field” in the text (“*champ*” in French journals), with either “DiMaggio and Powell” (1983 or 1991) or “Bourdieu” (no specific date). After gathering all possibly relevant articles through this automatic search process, we manually coded each article. First, we checked that the word “field” was indeed being used in reference to field theory (and not in a description of an agricultural area, for example). Second, we only included an article in our sample when the name of the author (DiMaggio and Powell and/or Bourdieu) was used to justify or support the definition of the concept of fields. For example, we did not include articles that used the word “field” at some point in the text but only cited Bourdieu when developing an analysis about habitus.

This two-step search process gathered a total of 114 articles for the three U.S. journals under consideration. These articles that cite the term “field” in the U.S. represent 2.8 percent of the total number of original research articles published in the three journals in the period under consideration (4,104 articles between 1983 and 2012).¹¹ For the French journals, 259 articles cite “*champ*” and “Bourdieu.” These articles amount to 11.9 percent of the total number of articles published in the three French journals during the period under consideration (2181 articles between 1983 and 2012) – a percentage more than four times as high as in the United States.

In addition, we coded for a “comprehensive” use of field theory in the articles¹² – pieces that propose a theoretical engagement with several related concepts of the theoretical frameworks at hand. As emphasized in the first section of this article, the two concepts of

“fields” make sense within their broader theoretical frameworks: in the Bourdieusian perspective, “field” is connected to capital and habitus; in the neo-institutionalist perspective, it operates in conjunction with isomorphism. Consequently, we relied on a two-step coding scheme. First, using search engines, we automatically selected all articles that cited at least two concepts of each theoretical framework. For the neo-institutionalist perspective, an article was coded as comprehensive if it cited the authors “DiMaggio and Powell” (1983 or 1991), the term “field,” and the term “isomorphism.”¹³ For the Bourdieusian approach, an article was coded as “comprehensive” if it cited the author “Bourdieu,” the term “field,” and the terms “capital” or “habitus.”¹⁴ This first step is a necessary but not sufficient criterion for being coded as “comprehensive.” Second, we adopted a more qualitative approach and manually selected among this sample all the articles that were significantly drawing on the different concepts at hand. In U.S. journals, comprehensive articles usually devoted a significant part of the literature review, hypotheses (in cases of quantitative analyses), and discussion section to a presentation, critique, and extension of the concepts. Good examples of comprehensive articles for D&P’s organizational fields include Clemens (1993) on organizational repertoires and institutional change; Edelman, Riggs Fuller, and Mara-Dita (2001) on diversity rhetoric and the managerialization of law in organizational fields; and McTague, Stainback, and Tomaskovic-Devey (2009) on the organizational determinants of workplace segregation.

In French sociology journals, however, research articles are organized differently. Literature reviews and discussion sections are highly unusual; theory is interwoven throughout the text, often without explicit discussion of the concepts at hand; and, like in Mexican sociology journals, theory tends to function as a general framework or “meta-viewpoint” (Abend 2006: 7; Abend, Petre, and Sauder 2013) that informs not only the interpretation of the results but also the construction of the data used in the analysis. Hence, in French journals, we coded articles as “comprehensive” when the author(s) used the different concepts of the Bourdieusian framework as a generative principle of analysis, data selection, and interpretation throughout the text, regardless of whether they discussed the concepts in a literature review. Examples of comprehensive articles for Bourdieu in French journals include Heinich (1983) on the overlap between artistic and scientific fields in seventeenth-century France, Dezalay and Garth (2006) on the global and national hegemony of economic and legal knowledge, and Lafarge and Marchetti (2011) on the field of journalism schools.

All of the graphs and tables in the next sections rely on absolute numbers. We find similar results when we use the relative percentage of articles citing “fields” compared to the total number of research articles published in top U.S. and French journals (see Appendix A).

2) Citation Patterns for Bourdieusian Fields in French Sociology Journals

How did sociologists use the Bourdieusian concept of fields in France between 1983 and 2012? Graph 1 traces the evolution of the number of articles citing “*champs*” conjointly with “Bourdieu” over five-year periods in the three French sociology journals under consideration. The graph shows that the number of citations was already quite high at the beginning of the period. In 1983 through 1987, 46 articles cited the concept. The number of articles citing the concept slightly decreased from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s (around 35 articles per five-year period). After 1998, the number of citations increased again: between 2008 and 2012, 49 articles cited the concept of “field” in the three journals.

< Graph 1 about here. Citation patterns for Bourdieu’s fields
in French journals (*RFS*, *ARSS*, *SdT*) >

Yet it is essential to break down these results by journal in order to better understand what they mean. In fact, most of these citations come from one journal only, since *ARSS* (Bourdieu’s journal) provides 85 percent of the citations on the period (222 articles) (Table 1). *RFS* and *SdT* only provide 12 percent (32 articles) and 3 percent (5 articles), respectively, of the citations over the period. These descriptive statistics on the diffusion of Bourdieu’s theory of fields in French sociology journals since 1983 reveal a division between the different journals that became particularly salient in the late 1980s and 1990s, when the *RFS* suddenly stopped publishing articles about Bourdieusian fields (the numbers drop from 16 in 1983- through 1987 to only 2 in 1993- through 1997). In the 2000s, the differences between journals seem somewhat less marked: *RFS* and *SdT* started publishing more articles about fields than during the previous 15 years.

< Table 1 about here. Citations of Bourdieusian fields
in France by journal (1983 – 2012) >

It is beyond the scope of this article to provide a full-fledged overview of the French sociological discipline and its evolutions over the past 50 years, but some elements of context are essential in order to get a better sense of the Bourdieusian theory’s reception in French sociology journals. In contrast to American sociology, the French discipline is organized not so much around universities or research sections but around institutional structures such as

centres de recherche and *laboratoires de recherches* (Lamont 2000). These research centers usually specialize in a set of related research objects, theoretical frameworks, and methods. They are often associated more or less directly with a journal. The French sociological discipline's structure can be traced to its reemergence after World War II, when the French state opened several lines of funding for sociological research on specific research topics of major interest for its welfare policies during the postwar boom years (mostly education, culture, and work) (Masson 2008). According to Masson (2008:40), several charismatic institutional entrepreneurs then gathered teams of young sociologists and promoted intensive forms of collective work in their labs with dedicated seminars, publications in the lab's journal, collective inquiries, and strong research programs.

The three journals under consideration here emerged from this system. The oldest journal, *Sociologie du Travail*, was created in 1959 by Michel Crozier and Alain Touraine, two sociologists influenced by the work of Talcott Parsons. Both are institutional entrepreneurs from the post-war era: Touraine founded the Laboratoire de Sociologie Industrielle in 1958 and the Centre d'Étude des Mouvements Sociaux in 1969; Crozier launched the Centre de Sociologie des Organisations in 1966. Similarly, the *Revue Française de Sociologie* was created in 1960 under the patronage of several prominent sociological figures of the time, including Raymond Aron, George Friedman, Georges Gurvitch, Gabriel Le Bras, Raymond Boudon, and Jean Stoetzel (Baehr 2013). Of particular interest is the role of Stoetzel, a sociologist and statistician strongly inspired by Paul Lazarsfeld, who remained editor-in-chief of the *RFS* until 1984. This long tenure did not go unnoticed. In his memoirs, Bourdieu vividly recalls the despotic control that Stoetzel and his followers (including Boudon, a rational choice theorist studying educational choices) exercised over the *RFS* (Bourdieu 2004: 46). Yet, despite the Lazarsfeldian and rational choice orientation of some of the founders of the journal, in the 1960s and 1970s *RFS* was publishing a broad range of articles, including Bourdieu's own work during the second half of the 1960s.

The third journal, *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, was launched by Pierre Bourdieu in 1975, shortly after the creation of his research center, the Centre de Sociologie de l'éducation et de la culture (CSEC), which will be merged into the Centre de Sociologie Européenne (CSE) following Bourdieu's nomination at the Collège de France. Bourdieu strongly criticized the theoretical frameworks, research methods, and political orientations of several figures associated with the other journals, including Jean Touraine and Michel Crozier at *SdT* and Raymond Boudon and Henri Mendras at the *RFS*. Thus Bourdieu's creation of *ARSS* should be understood as a reaction to the influence of *SdT* and *RFS* by launching a new

prestigious generalist journal where sociologists of Bourdieusian inclinations could publish their work. The emergence of this new journal reinforced the polarization already present in the 1960s between Bourdieusian and non-Bourdieusian researchers, labs, and publications (Masson 2008: 70).

This brief overview of the structure of the sociological discipline in France helps to explain the differing patterns of citations of Bourdieusian fields in the three journals under consideration. The complete absence of citations in *SdT* until 1997 makes sense given the strong antipathy between Bourdieu and several of the founders and editors of *SdT*. With respect to the *RFS*, the sharp decrease in the number of citations in the 1990s stems from the growing polarization of the different journals according to their theoretical orientations. Thus several sociologists of Bourdieusian inspiration – including Victor Karady, a member of the Centre de Sociologie Européenne – left the *RFS* editorial board after the creation of *ARSS*, whereas another of that board’s members – Jean-Claude Chamboredon, who had co-authored several books with Bourdieu – distanced himself from the Bourdieusian perspective around that time.

Finally, even within *ARSS*, which provides more than 80 percent of the citations, most of the articles drawing on field theory were written by only a handful of researchers: just 14 authors (Bourdieu included) wrote 84 of the 222 articles published in *ARSS*, more than a third of the sample. Bourdieu wrote 12 percent of the articles drawing on the concept of fields in *ARSS* (19 percent for the period between 1983 and his death in 2002). Among the 13 remaining authors, 9 had (or still have) an institutional affiliation to the Centre de Sociologie Européenne.¹⁵ Five of these authors wrote their dissertations under the supervision of Bourdieu himself.

In other words, until the early 2000s, theoretical differences between Bourdieusian and non-Bourdieusian approaches and people were channeled through the stark division of scientific labor between journals. Yet, starting in the 2000s, the polarization of sociology journals seems to have somewhat lessened: *RFS* and, to a lesser extent, *SdT* started publishing articles that cited the concept of fields more regularly.

Two main factors can help us understand this modest pacification of the discipline in recent years.¹⁶ First, a generational change has transformed the structure of editorial committees. Bourdieu passed away in 2002, Stoetzel in 1987, and Crozier and Boudon in 2013. In the meantime, French sociology witnessed a second expansionary phase with the recruitment of a significant number of assistant professors and researchers resulting from a dramatic increase in the number of undergraduate and graduate students (Beaud 2003), as

well as the creation of many new research centers. As a consequence, a new generation of sociologists emerged in the mid-2000s who largely redefined theoretical paradigms, methods, and topics (Masson 2008: 173). Several of these more eclectic sociologists entered the editorial boards of *SdT* and *RFS*, opening these journals to more Bourdieusian articles.

In addition, the international recognition of Bourdieu's work has had a feedback effect on the French discipline, as often occurs when transnational circulations take place (Bourdieu 1991; Dezalay and Garth 2002). Not unlike the case of thinkers commonly grouped under the label of "French Theory," which entered the philosophy canon in France after they became part of the mainstream in the United States, Bourdieu's success in the United States and other countries (Sapiro and Bustamante 2009; Sallaz and Zavisca 2007; Lamont and Lareau 1988) probably contributed to his redefinition as a "classical" author in France (Calhoun 2012), even though Bourdieu already had much more institutional power in France before his international recognition than for example Jacques Derrida (Lamont 1987; Cusset 2003).

These different factors, taken together, contributed to a relatively more diversified use of the Bourdieusian concept of field in journals others than *ARSS*. Yet, surprisingly, these evolutions did not translate into a less comprehensive use of the concept. In Graph 2, we distinguish the number of comprehensive citations compared to the total number of articles drawing on Bourdieusian fields in French journals.

< Graph 2 about here. Comprehensive citations
for Bourdieu's fields in French journals >

Graph 2 shows that the relationship between the total number of articles drawing on Bourdieusian fields and the number of articles with "comprehensive" citation patterns has remained stable over the period under study. Overall, between 1983 and 2012, the number of articles with comprehensive uses of the Bourdieusian framework amounts to about half of the total number of articles citing "fields." This percentage does not change significantly over the period: its highest point is 52 percent in 1983-1987; its lowest point is 46 percent in 1998-2002. Additional data (available upon request) document that there is no noticeable discrepancy between the different journals or themes regarding this percentage. These findings indicate that there has been no obvious change in the ways in which the Bourdieusian framework has been put to use over time, at least in the sense that a stable percentage of articles continue to use the concept of fields in a comprehensive manner in the three French journals under consideration.

3) *The Diffusion of Organizational Fields in U.S. Journals*

D&P's concept of organizational fields had a different trajectory in the United States between 1983 and 2012. Graph 3 shows the evolution of the number of articles that cite D&P's fields in all three U.S. journals. The descriptive statistics that underpin the graph are overall consistent with Mizruchi and Fein's findings (1999: 659).¹⁷

< Graph 3 about here. Citation patterns for
D&P's organizational fields in U.S. journals >

Similarly to Mizruchi and Fein, we find a dramatic rise in the number of citations of organizational fields between 1983 and 1997, from 5 articles in 1983-1987 to 23 articles in 1993- through 1997. Between 1998 and 2007 the increase in the number of citations is more modest and there is even a relative decrease in recent years. A total of 24 articles cited the concept in 2008-2012.

Table 2 breaks down the number of citations by journal over the period and documents that all three journals published articles about organizational fields. *AJS* comes in first, publishing 58 out of the 114 articles that cited the concept (45 percent of the U.S. sample). The number of citations in *AJS* reached a peak in 1998-2002, with 18 articles citing the concept. *ASR* comes second, with 36 articles (32 percent) and a stable rate of publication over the period. *SF* is last, with still 20 articles (18 percent); it started publishing field theory-related articles rather late, after 1993.

< Table 2 around here. Citations of D&P's organizational fields
by journal, U.S. (1983 – 2012) >

These findings starkly differ from the French case, where Bourdieu's *ARSS* published more than 80 percent of the articles drawing on the concept of fields over the period under study. Such differences come in part from the different role and organization of sociology journals in the United States. The three U.S. journals were created long before the French journals, which mirrors the earlier institutionalization and professionalization of the sociological discipline in the United States (Turner and Turner 1990; Calhoun 2007). Thus, the *American Journal of Sociology* was created in 1895 at the University of Chicago (Abbott 1999), the *American Sociological Review* in 1936 (30 years after the creation of the American Sociological

Association, or ASA), and *Social Forces* in 1922 (before the creation of the Southern Sociological Society). All three journals explicitly emphasize their generalist mission, as well as their goal to publish articles that contribute to the progress of the sociological discipline as a whole (Abbott 1999; Gaston 1979).¹⁸ Even though the blind peer-review process that was gradually adopted by most American sociology journals is not devoid of conflicts and potential biases (Kennedy and Centeno 2007; Chubin and Hackett 1990; Mallard, Lamont, and Guetzkow 2009; Jacob 2004), such a mechanism (coupled with the large number of scholars who submit articles for publication) is meant to ensure that there is no obvious discrimination in the selection of the articles to be published.

In addition, the organization of the sociological discipline in the United States differs from the French case in several important ways. Rather than being structured around charismatic leaders and their associated journals – as was still largely the case in U.S. sociology until the 1950s and 1960s – over the last 40 years, sociological research developed around different sections of the ASA (Turner and Turner 1990). Even though the number of ASA members has remained stable since 1975 (around fifteen thousand), the number of sections has more than doubled over the same period (Christin and Ollion 2012): there were 20 sections in 1980, 27 in 1990, 40 in 2000, and 52 sections in 2013. Several prominent scholars have criticized this dramatic increase in the number of sections as a signal that the discipline is becoming too specialized and “balkanized” (Crane and Small 1992; Collins 1986). Indeed, many theoretical and methodological dialogues now take places within the sections rather than at the level of the discipline as a whole.

Consequently, U.S. sociology journals are less tied to specific theoretical frameworks than French journals. U.S. editors also believe in promoting articles that foster sociological knowledge, broadly defined, regardless of the theoretical orientations of the authors. This situation is due in part to the organization of the sociological discipline around sections and topics rather than research labs. Hence it is not surprising to find that citations of organizational fields are distributed relatively evenly between *ASR*, *AJS*, and *SF*.

Let us now turn to the different ways in which organizational fields are cited. Graph 4 focuses on “comprehensive” citation patterns. It shows that the ratio between total number of articles drawing on organizational fields and the number of articles with comprehensive uses of D&P’s framework has evolved over the period.

< Graph 4 about here. Comprehensive
citation patterns for organizational fields in the U.S.>

During the first 15 years, the percentage of articles with comprehensive citations of D&P's framework represents more than half of the total number of articles citing the concept of organizational fields. Over the last 15 years, however, the relative number of comprehensive citations has fallen significantly. As a result, in 2008-2012, only 29 percent of the articles citing organizational fields relied on comprehensive citations (7 articles, for a total of 24 articles). Thus, in the case of organizational fields, the diffusion of the concept went hand in hand with a less comprehensive use of the theoretical framework over time, in the sense that people who draw on the concept of organizational fields were less likely to include a discussion of fields and isomorphism in the 2000s than in the 1980s.

4) *Concept and Context: A Story Within a Story*

To conclude this section, let us take a step back and interpret the findings presented so far. We find that the diffusion of the Bourdieusian concept of fields in French journals took place in a polarized and contentious space of publications. In the 1980s and 1990s, the different journals took strong stances for or against the Bourdieusian framework. Hence *ARSS* published an overwhelming number of articles citing the concept, whereas *SdT* and *RFS* barely published any articles using Bourdieusian *champs*. This contentious situation wound down somewhat in the 2000s. The relative number of comprehensive citations for Bourdieusian fields remained stable over time, thus revealing a consistent use of the concept despite its diffusion. In the United States, a different picture emerges. All three U.S. journals published articles drawing on organizational fields. Citations increased exponentially until the late 1990s and more moderately in the 2000s, yet we also document a significant decrease in the proportion of articles drawing on comprehensive citations in the 2000s.

How to make sense of such different situations? Drawing on the internal differences between the concepts that we documented earlier in the article, as well as on institutional differences between the disciplines in both countries, we add a "story within a story" directly connected to the different concepts of fields under consideration. Interestingly, the diffusion of Bourdieusian *champs* in French sociology journals in the 1980s and 1990s is consistent with the Bourdieusian theory of fields: a space of positions in which the three dominant journals engaged in symbolically charged position-takings in order to establish a monopoly on the definition of what sociology should look like, through decisions to publish or not to publish specific articles. Thus the Bourdieusian concept of field turns out to be a useful framework for analyzing the strong polarization of the three sociological publications

included in the sample.

In contrast, the diffusion of organizational fields in the three top U.S. journals bears more affinity with the neo-institutionalist framework. The structuration of sociology in the United States has been under way for more than a century, but it was really in the 1970s and 1980s that the discipline started to take its current form, with a high number of ASA memberships, regular meetings and conferences, and strong pressure on scholars to publish in flagship journals (Phelan 1995; Gaston 1979) – in other words, with the emergence of regular and institutionalized interactions between the participants in the field. Within this broader context, the diffusion of neo-institutionalist theory and, more specifically, of the concept of organizational fields can be fruitfully analyzed as a ritual of conformity and deference toward prestigious actors and theories. As Mizruchi and Fein (1999: 670) emphasize, most authors cite D&P’s article in a brief and sometimes irrelevant way, something Mizruchi and Fein interpret as a signal that the authors of the articles try to conform to the dominant norms of the discipline.

This preliminary interpretation should not be understood as a new instance of the “short-circuit fallacy” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 69), establishing a deterministic causal link between intellectual production and the social context in which it takes place (Griswold 2012; Camic and Gross 2001; Lukács 1999). Here we content ourselves with noting the homology between the internal characteristics of each concept and the sociological context (or should we say the “field”?) in which its elaboration took place.

III. Discussion

This article compares two sociological concepts – Bourdieu’s *champs* and DiMaggio and Powell’s organizational fields – and how they are put to different uses in French and American sociology journals. First, we explored the theoretical differences between the two concepts. Second, we highlighted the distinct ways in which these terms have been used in their own national contexts since 1983. In this concluding section, we discuss the relevance of these findings.

First, our analysis of the theoretical differences between *champs* and organizational fields addresses recent efforts to promote a unified “field theory” (Fligstein & McAdam 2012; Martin 2003). We agree with Fligstein and McAdam’s view that “instead of being concerned about who originally constructed the idea or whether or not scholars have sufficiently genuflected to one theorist or another, we all ought to be encouraged by the fact that field

theory – as a way to understand all kinds of mesolevel social orders... – seems to be influencing our empirical and theoretical discussions of these phenomena” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012: 215). Yet we also believe that additional theoretical leverage can be gained by delineating precisely what the different concepts of fields have in common and how they differ. Specifically, we find that Bourdieusian fields and organizational fields provide different definitions of micro-foundations, field boundaries, and dynamics of change that take place within fields. These discrepancies might help to explain why there are only 15 articles in our U.S. data set (less than 8 percent of the U.S. sample) that draw on both Bourdieusian fields and organizational fields¹⁹: “field theory” as a unified framework remained largely programmatic in our sample.

In addition, the citation patterns for *champs* and organizational fields in French and U.S. sociology journals provide a glimpse of the distinct structures and logics driving sociological practice in the two countries. We find that the circulation and use of Bourdieusian fields in the three French journals under consideration in the 1980s and 1990s can be analyzed using the Bourdieusian framework as a polarized space where editors with different habitus, capital, and positions in the field took strong stances for or against Bourdieu’s work. In contrast, the diffusion of DiMaggio and Powell’s organizational fields in U.S. journals bears some affinity with the neo-institutionalist perspective. Our analysis of citation patterns can be interpreted fruitfully as a case of institutional isomorphism: when a field (here the sociological discipline) becomes structured, its participants send signals of conformity to the central actors (here by citing D&P’s organizational fields in top journals) that often become ceremonial and largely devoid of any productive function.

This intriguing homology between theoretical concepts and their national academic environments raises many questions. It is impossible to draw any direct causal conclusions in this specific case. First, the citations of the two concepts in sociology journals occurred, by definition, after the concept was created. Thus claiming that the structure of the space of academic publications directly influenced the development of the concept would require a rather acrobatic line of reasoning. Likewise, it seems far-fetched to argue that the development of such concepts had a direct causal influence on the evolution of the space of publications in each country in the following years.

Therefore, we propose only tentative explanations. How do social scientists craft theories about the social world? A list of possible criteria would surely include the influence of the existing literature and the ways in which the author positions herself with respect to different theoretical traditions; explanatory power and how well new theories help to make

sense of a wide range of processes in the social world; and the feedback received from the “consumers” of the theory (for example, colleagues, students, and possibly the media or government). But this list forgets an essential point: the influence of living in the academic world. It seems only reasonable that academics – and perhaps social scientists in particular – also draw on what they witness in their daily lives: that is, the peculiar functioning of academic communities. This includes the organization of academic departments, labs, and journals; changing distinctions between “good” and “bad” research through review processes and recruitment; and more broadly the complex ways in which scientific prestige is constructed in academia (Lamont 2009). Not unlike the “scholastic fallacy” criticized by Bourdieu (2004; 1998: 127-140), academics are prone to project the specific experiences linked to their scholastic condition onto the social world at large.

How would this framework apply to the case of Bourdieusian and organizational fields? In his autobiographic work, Bourdieu describes his academic training, first at the *École Normale Supérieure*, then at different departments and laboratories in Paris, in philosophy and later in sociology, and finally at the *Collège de France* (Bourdieu 2004). He provides fine-grained descriptions of the polarized and contentious organization of the philosophical discipline at that time, split between powerful “mandarins” such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Raymond Aron, and Claude Lévi-Strauss (Joas and Knöbl 2009: 339-400). Similarly, the sociological discipline was torn between the quantitative and positivistic approach of Jean Stoezel and the highly abstract analyses of Georges Gurvitch (Bourdieu 2004, 1988). Perhaps, then, when developing the concept of fields later in his career, Bourdieu drew not only on different intellectual traditions (such as Weber, Lewin, Piaget, or Cassirer’s works) but also on what he observed in his daily academic practice. Unsurprisingly, twenty years later, with the sociological discipline still highly contentious in France, Bourdieu’s work itself became a central stake in the polarization of the sociological community.

Similarly, DiMaggio and Powell published their article on organizational fields in 1983. The sociological discipline had witnessed several major changes during the 1970s in the United States: an exponential increase in the number of undergraduate and graduate students, a sudden drop in the number of available faculty positions for young PhD graduates, and a strong push toward specialization with the emergence of new thematic and methodological subfields (Turner and Turner 1990). In this context of high uncertainty, what were the right signals to send in order to show that one “belonged” to the most prestigious research communities? Mimetic processes and signals of deference to prestigious norms were probably the safest bet. This academic situation thus worked its way into the concept of organizational

field in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Unsurprisingly, its reception followed the same trajectory, with other scholars making similar claims to consensual legitimacy.

Conclusion

To conclude, this article makes several contributions to the existing literature. First, it offers a new examination of the concept of field, which has become a key term in sociological research over the past thirty years. We first emphasize three important internal differences between the two main theories of fields that have shaped most of the sociological research on both sides of the Atlantic – Bourdieu’s “*champs*” and DiMaggio and Powell’s “organizational fields.” We grouped these differences into the categories of field boundaries, micro foundation, and dynamics of change. Consequently, a “unified” theory of fields would need to solve all three issues, which we argue might result in conceptual vagueness.

Second, the article takes the specific case of “fields” as a window through which to examine how sociological theory is constructed and received in different national contexts. We find that *champs* and organizational fields have different “epistemological styles” (Abend 2006), both internally and in their diffusion patterns over time, which mirror the structural and cultural differences between the French and American sociological communities. Examining how different intellectual fields interpret and recreate “theory” in ways that reflect their own academic preoccupations is a promising path of inquiry for the sociology of knowledge. Instead of simply noting the effects of the “scholastic fallacy” delineated by Bourdieu, future research could expand this program in a productive way by comparing the effects of the scholastic condition on the production of sociological theory depending on the features of the context in which it takes places. In the meantime, we conclude with the idea that, rather than looking for a unified (and perhaps weak) field theory, a more promising path for sociological research might be to keep both concepts – “*champs*” and “organizational fields” – at hand.

Endnotes

¹ For example, Abbott's (2005) "linked ecologies" in sociology or Scott and Meyer's (1983) "sectors" in organizational analysis are not taken into account in this article, even though these frameworks share important similarities with field theories.

² Bourdieu also defines the habitus as "embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history" (1990: 56).

³ As summarized in this equation: $[(habitus) (capital)] + (field) = practice$ (Bourdieu 1984: 101). Yet it is also important to note that many studies drawing on the Bourdieusian framework do not rely on the concept of "habitus" strictly speaking, using instead more flexible terms such as "dispositions."

⁴ DiMaggio and Powell briefly define the related concept of "competitive isomorphism," based on economic competition between organizations, but they refer to organizational ecology for its analysis.

⁵ The concept of "illusio," which takes into account the participants' subjective feelings of belonging in the field, provides a weaker criterion than the ones delineated by DiMaggio and Powell.

⁶ It should be noted here that in the 1983 article, D&P include a diversified set of actors: organizational fields include not only productive organizations but also consumers and regulatory agencies. Yet this broad definition has not really been implemented in empirical research: most of the analyses drawing on D&P's framework still consider regulatory agencies and consumers to be explanatory rather than dependent variables.

⁷ The data collection ends in 2012, the year of publication of Fligstein and McAdam's *Theory of Fields*, an important publication that is bound to change citation patterns for the concept of field but which is not central to the comparative argument developed in this article.

⁸ Contrary to Sallaz and Zavisca, we did not include *Social Problems* in our sample, mostly for the sake of comparability with the French case over the period.

⁹ We considered another option: *Sociétés Contemporaines*, which is a generalist journal. However, it was only launched in 1990, thus making comparisons over the whole period (1983-2012) problematic.

¹⁰ See the editorial statement at <http://www.sociologiedutravail.org/spip.php?article2>

¹¹ We excluded from this count book reviews, introductions and letters from the editors, presidential addresses, replies, and commentaries.

¹² We borrow this approach in terms of "limited" and "comprehensive" citations from Sallaz and Zavisca (2007) but our coding scheme differs slightly from theirs.

¹³ We coded "isomorphism" and "isomorphic" as indicating the same thing. We also checked robustness by searching all of the articles using the word "conformity" in addition to "DiMaggio and Powell," "field," and "isomorphism." This search process gathered seven additional articles for the entire period and did not change the findings presented in the next sections.

¹⁴ Another option was to code as "comprehensive" the articles that used the conceptual trilogy developed by Bourdieu: "field," "capital," and "habitus." However, this would have been a more restrictive criterion than for neo-institutionalism, which only includes two main concepts ("field" and "isomorphism"). Hence, for the sake of comparability, we decided to limit the criterion to two concepts for Bourdieu as well.

¹⁵ The authors are Afrânio Garcia, Monique de Saint Martin, Loïc Wacquant, Johan Heilbron, Patrick Champagne, Christophe Charle, Yves Dezalay, Julien Duval, Frédéric Lebaron, Roland Lardinois, Rémi Lenoir, Louis Pinto, and Gisèle Sapiro.

¹⁶ This pacification is merely relative, as indicated by a recent statement of the former editor-

in-chief (1998-2003) of *RFS*, Philippe Besnard, who criticized the “peculiar functioning of *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*” before describing Bourdieu’s international success as a “strange fact” (Marcel 2004).

¹⁷ Mizruchi and Fein count the number of citations to D&P’s 1983 article in six journals, including three organizational studies and management journals, whereas we only count the citations with a reference either to the 1983 article or to the 1991 introduction in three sociology journals. Thus the statistics should not be precisely compared.

¹⁸ For example, ASR’s statement insists on its “mission to publish original works of interest to the sociology discipline in general, new theoretical developments, results of research that advance our understanding of fundamental social processes, and important methodological innovations. (...) Emphasis is on exceptional quality and general interest.” The statement is available at: http://www.asanet.org/journals/asr/american_sociological_review.cfm

¹⁹ We also collected data on Bourdieu’s citations in the U.S. sample (not shown here but available upon request).

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Tables**Table 1. Citations of Bourdieusian fields in France by journal (1983-2012)**

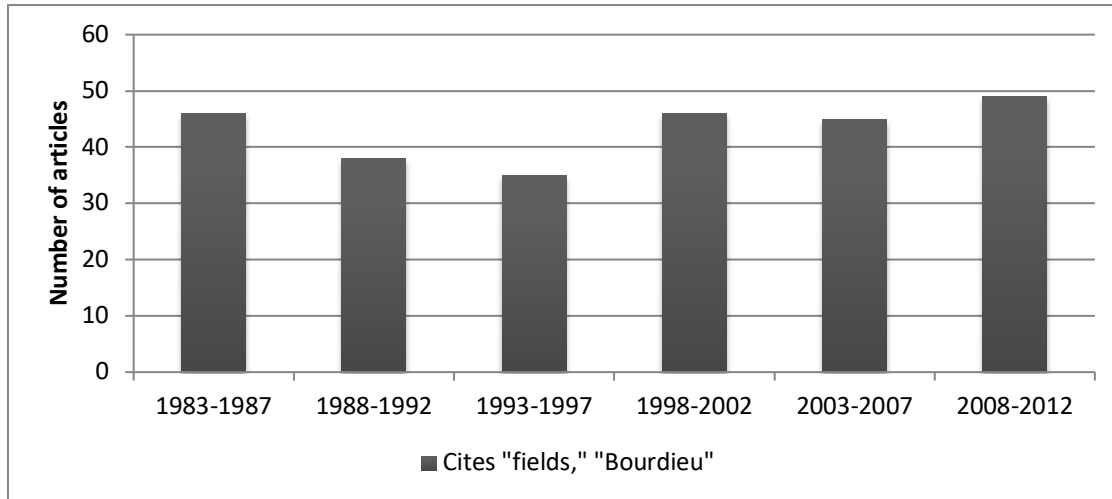
Citations of Bourdieusian "fields" by journal	<i>Revue Française de Sociologie</i>	<i>Actes de la Recherche (ARSS)</i>	<i>Sociologie du Travail</i>
1983-1987	16	30	0
1988-1992	3	35	0
1993-1997	2	33	0
1998-2002	4	41	1
2003-2007	3	41	1
2008-2012	4	42	3
Total	32	222	5

Table 2. Citations of D&P's organizational fields by journal, U.S. (1983-2012)

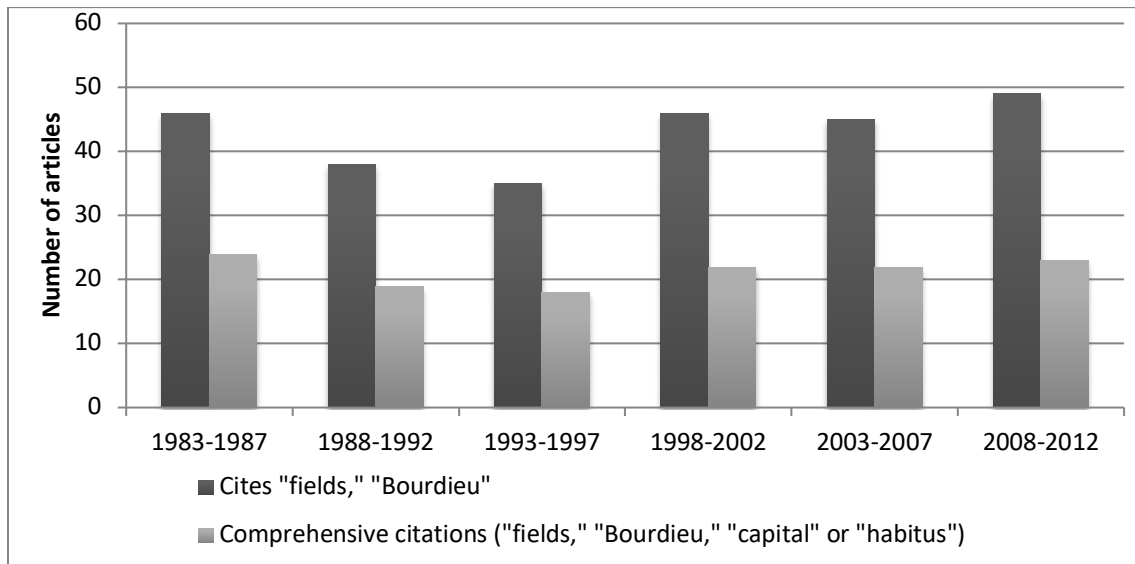
Citations of DiMaggio and Powell's "fields" by journal	<i>American Sociological Review</i>	<i>American Journal of Sociology</i>	<i>Social Forces</i>
1983-1987	5	0	0
1988-1992	3	5	0
1993-1997	8	10	5
1998-2002	4	18	2
2003-2007	7	15	8
2008-2012	9	10	5
Total	36	58	20

Figures

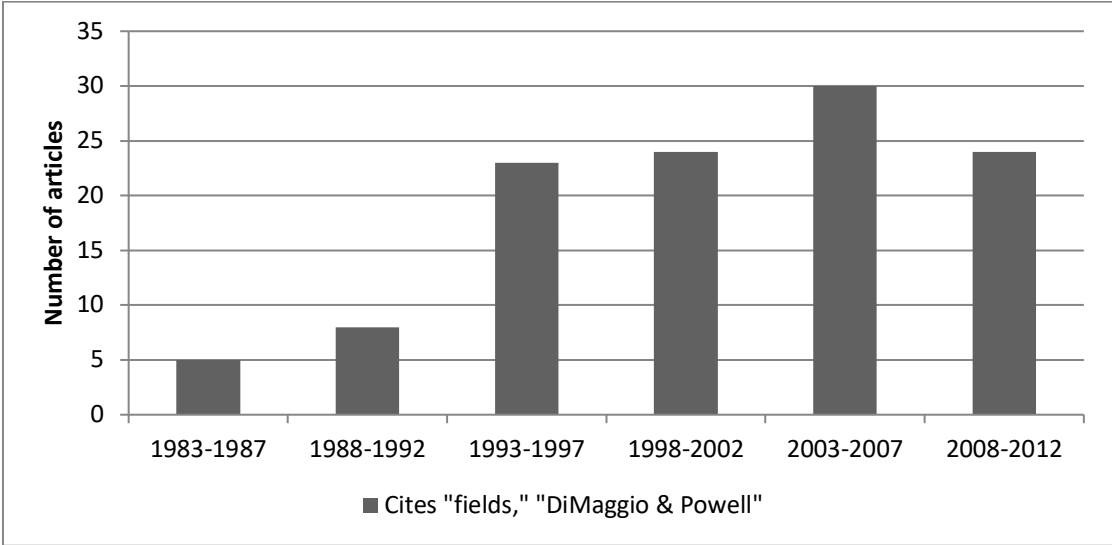
Graph 1. Citation patterns for Bourdieu's fields in French journals (*RFS*, *ARSS*, *SdT*)



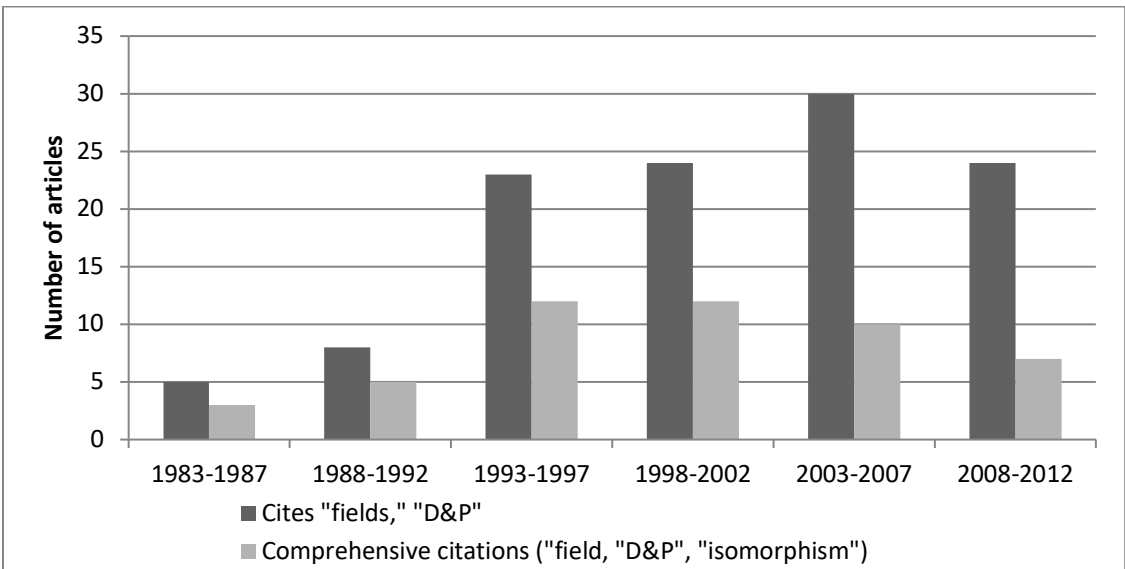
Graph 2. Comprehensive citations for Bourdieu's fields in French journals



Graph 3. Citation patterns for D&P's organizational fields in U.S. journals

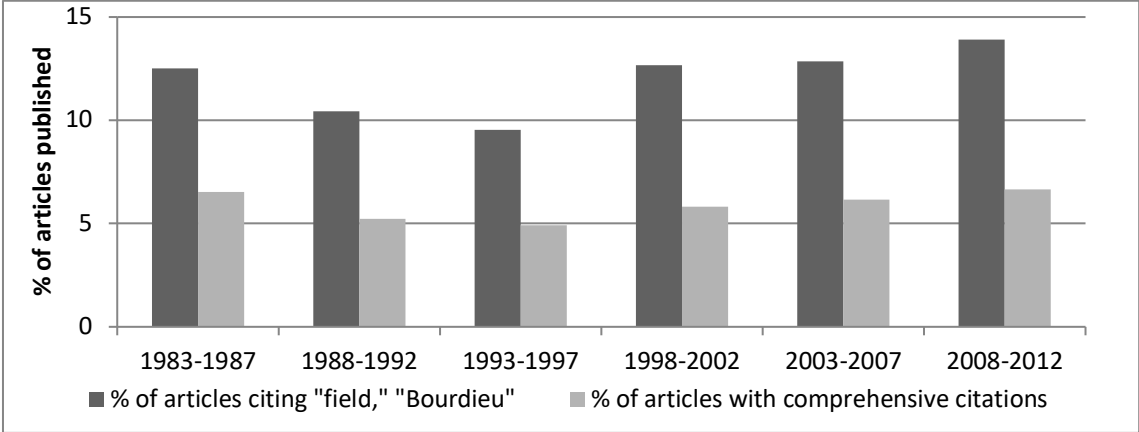


Graph 4. Comprehensive citation patterns for organizational fields in the U.S.



Appendix A. Percentage of articles with citations compared to all articles published in the three journals under consideration (1983 – 2012)

Graph A-1. Relative percentage of articles citing Bourdieu’s fields in French journals



Graph A-2. Relative percentage of articles citing D&P’s organizational fields in U.S. journals

