

# SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMES OF REFERENCE FOR DECISION- MAKING IN ART SCHOOLS

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Value-systems and their social embeddings from the perspectives of field-theory, pragmatist sociology and the art worlds approach

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# SOCIOLOGY AS SCIENCE OF INSTITUTIONS

EMILE DURKHEIM

Institution – broadly defined by Emile Durkheim (1982  
[1901])

„An institution is a previously instituted set of actions or ideas with which individuals find themselves confronted and which more or less impose themselves upon them“.

Durkheim on this basis defined sociology as “the science of institutions, their genesis and their functioning”.

SOCIOLOGY AS SCIENCE OF SOCIAL FIELDS AND  
THE MECHANISMS OF THEIR REPRODUCTION  
AND TRANSFORMATION

PIERRE BOURDIEU

## Goal of field-theoretical sociology

„(...) is to

- uncover the most deeply buried structures of the different social worlds that make up the social universe,
- as well as the ‚mechanisms‘ that tend to ensure their reproduction or transformation.“

(Bourdieu, 66b [1989], 1)

## Axioms: Correspondence of social and mental structures (representations)

„there exists a **correspondence between social structures and mental structures**, between the

- **objective divisions of the social world – especially the division into dominant and dominated in the different fields –**
- **and the principles of vision and division that agents apply to them.“**

(Bourdieu, 1996b [1989], 1)

# INSTITUTION – PHILOSOPHY OF ART



## Artworld as theory: Arthur Danto's grounding of institutional definitions of art

“The groundwork for institutional definitions was laid by Arthur Danto (...)

Danto coined the term **,artworld‘**, by which he meant **,an atmosphere of art theory‘**.” (Adajian, 2012)



Andy Warhol, Brillo Soap  
Pads Box (1964) und  
Campbell's Soup Cans  
(1962)

INSTITUTION AS FIELD – BOURDIEU'S REJECTION  
OF THE INSTITUTIONAL DEFINITION

Institution = (field + habitus)

„What the ahistorical analysis of the work of art and of aesthetic experience really describes is an **institution** which, as such, enjoys a kind of twofold existence, **in things and in minds**.

- In **things**, it exists in the form of an **artistic field** (...).
- In **minds**, it exists in the form of **dispositions** (...).“

Bourdieu (1996a [1992], 289)

# INSTITUTION AS „INSTANCE“ AND FORMAL ORGANISATION

## Art schools among the „specific institutions“ of relative autonomous fields of cultural production

„(...) the indices of the (artistic) **field's autonomy**,  
such as the emergence of a *set of specific institutions* (...)

- places of exhibition
- institutions of consecration
- **institutions for the reproduction of producers (art schools, etc.).“**

(Bourdieu (1996a [1992], 292)

Relatively autonomous artistic fields also presuppose  
„specialized agents“ (...)

„(....) endowed with

- the dispositions objectively required by the field and with
- specific categories of perception and appreciation which are irreducible to those in common use and which are
- capable of imposing a specific measure on the value of artists and their products.“ (Bourdieu (1996a [1992], 292)

LEGITIMATE ARTS: INSTITUTIONS OF EDUCATION,  
LEGITIMATION AND CONSECRATION



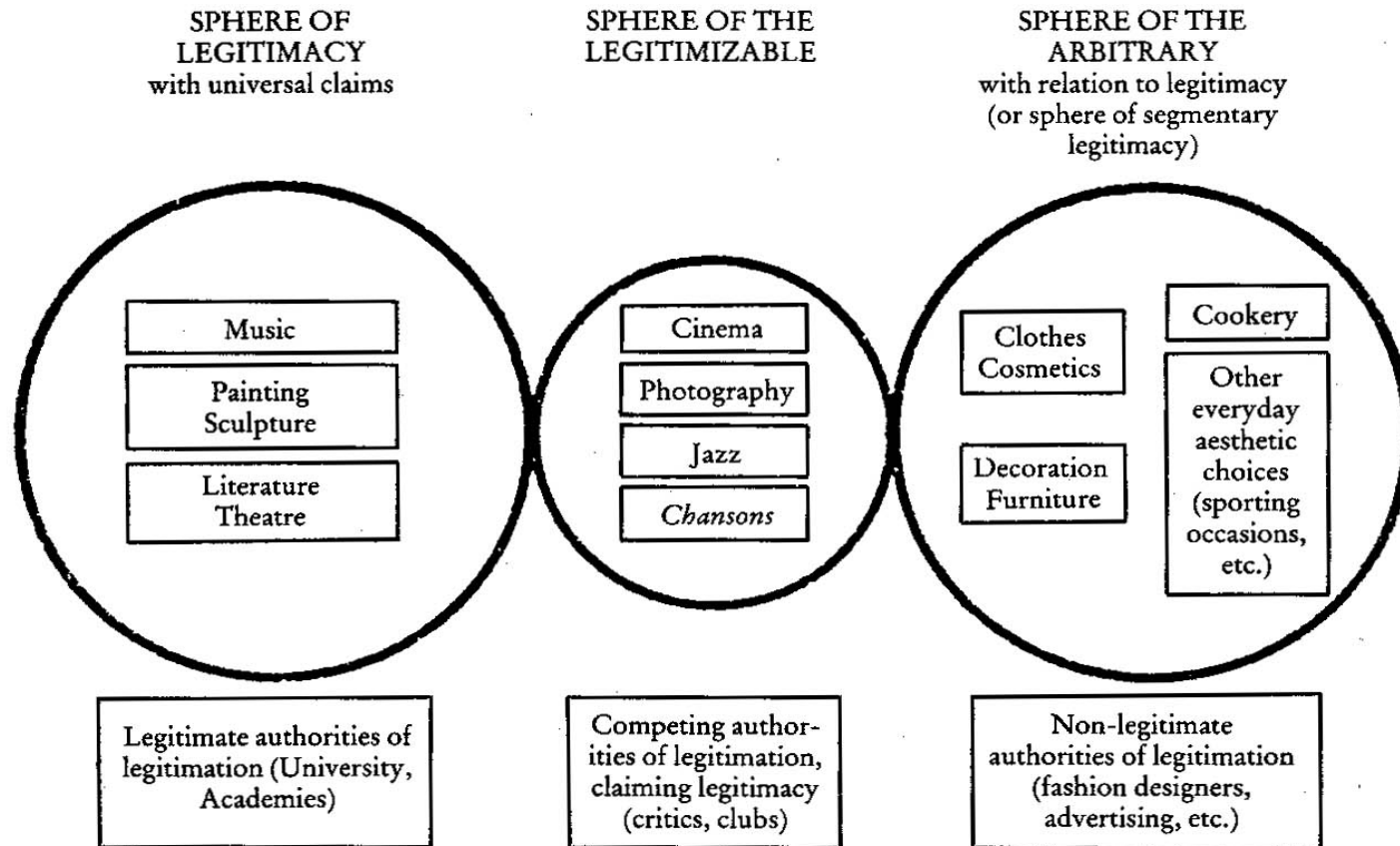
# Consecrated art and culture vs. sphere of the arbitrary

„One (...) passes gradually from the **fully consecrated arts** (theater, painting, classical music ...) to signifying systems which are abandoned - at least at first glance - to the **arbitrariness of individual taste** (...).“

(Bourdieu 1996c [1965], 96)

# Spheres of cultural legitimacy in the 1960ies

Bourdieu (1996c [1965], 96)



## Specific schools in the sphere of cultural legitimacy

„The meanings that fall within the sphere of legitimacy all share the fact that they are organized according to a particular type of system,

- developed and inculcated by the school,
- an institution specifically responsible for communicating knowledge, organized into a hierarchy,
- through a methodical organization of training and practice.“

(Bourdieu 1996c [1965], 96)

## Legitimate culture based on high levels of systematization and cultural capital

„preferences or skills belonging to the sphere of legitimacy (...)

- tend towards a hierarchical or methodical organization;
- systematization clearly operates on a more or less elevated level (...)
- systems of taste with regard to legitimate works are closely linked to educational levels.“

(Bourdieu 1996c [1965], 97)

## Functions of art schools: communication, distribution and legitimation

„The existence of consecrated works (...) presupposes an **institution** whose function is not only

- one of communication and distribution but also
- one of legitimation.“

(Bourdieu 1996c [1965], 97)

# BOURDIEU'S NOTION OF SOCIAL FIELD INSTEAD OF SOCIAL SYSTEM

## Objective dimension: field of forces

On the one hand there are **objective forces** active in fields, analogous to those in the field of physics.

CF. Bourdieu (1999, 7).

## Subjective dimension: field of struggles

On the other hand Bourdieu emphasizes **struggles and conflicts** in fields, **subjective aspects** of fields, since they are based on **dispositions** of agents, their „**habitus**“ and „**incorporated cultural capital**“.

(Bourdieu 1993, 30)



## Field of forces and field of struggles

„The literary or artistic field is a **field of forces**, but it is also a **field of struggles** tending to **transform or conserve this field of forces**.“

(Bourdieu 1993, 30)

## Field as game with mostly implicit rules and regularities

„We can indeed, with caution, compare a field to a **game (jeu)** although, **unlike the latter, a field is not the product of a deliberate act of creation, and it follows rules or, better, regularities, that are not explicit and codified.**“

(Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992, S. 97, 98)

# FIELDS VS. SYSTEMS

## Specific codes in systems theory

Luhmann (2000) differentiates functional systems based on their specific binary oppositions or codes, also termed „guiding differences“. E.g.:

### Science

- „true/false“

### Art

- „beautiful/ugly“, later being substituted by
- „interesting/uninteresting“ and
- „originality/derivativeness“.

## Specific interests in field theory

Field theory differentiates social fields based on **specific interests** and investments in objects or subjects, of the players being part of the game.

They are also termed as **illusio or libido**, examples being **amor sciendi** or **libido artistica**.

„Illusio“, specific interest: investment in the game,  
consensus and conflict

„We have an **investment in the game, illusio** (from ludus, the game): **players** are taken in by the game, they **oppose one another**, sometimes with ferocity, only to the extent that **they concur in their belief (doxa) in the game** and its stakes (...).“

(Bourdieu / Wacquant 1996, 97, 98)

## Interests, illusio, tacit recognition

„There are as many ‚interests‘ as there are fields. Each field calls forth and gives life to a specific form of **interest**, a **specific illusio**, as **tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and its practical mastery of its rules.**“

(Bourdieu / Wacquant 1996, 117)

## Interests, illusio dependent on position in the game

„This **specific interest** (...) differentiates itself according to the **position occupied** in the game

- **dominant vs. dominated** or
- **orthodox vs. heretic**
- and with the **trajectory** that leads each participant **to this position.**“

(Bourdieu / Wacquant 1996, 117)



# SOME PROPERTIES OF RELATIVE AUTONOMOUS (SUB)FIELDS

## Properties of (sub)fields I

(Sub)fields are characterized by specific

- rules, logics and necessities
- goals
- agents and institutions
- sorts and weights of capital effective in them

## Properties of (sub)fields II

Fields and sub-fields are characterized by specific

- „illusio“
- habitus, dispositions, competencies, forms of cultural capital
- forms of transmission of competencies and dispositions, informal and formal

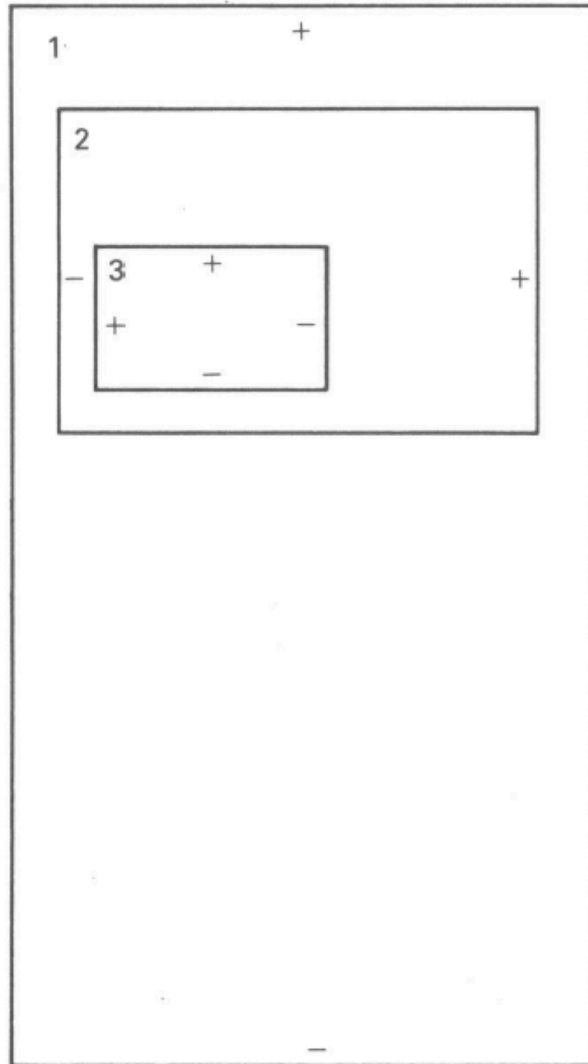
## Properties of fields III

Fields are characterized by

- interaction with other fields (e.g. with journalistic field, media)
- „relative autonomy“ or „relative heteronomy“ with regard to **field of power** (politics, economy, including global forces)
- boundaries, strategies of closure and selection, inclusion and exclusion

# EMBEDDING AND INTERNAL DIFFERENTIATION OF FIELDS OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION

# Nested Fields (squares). The field of cultural production as part of the field of power embedded in social space

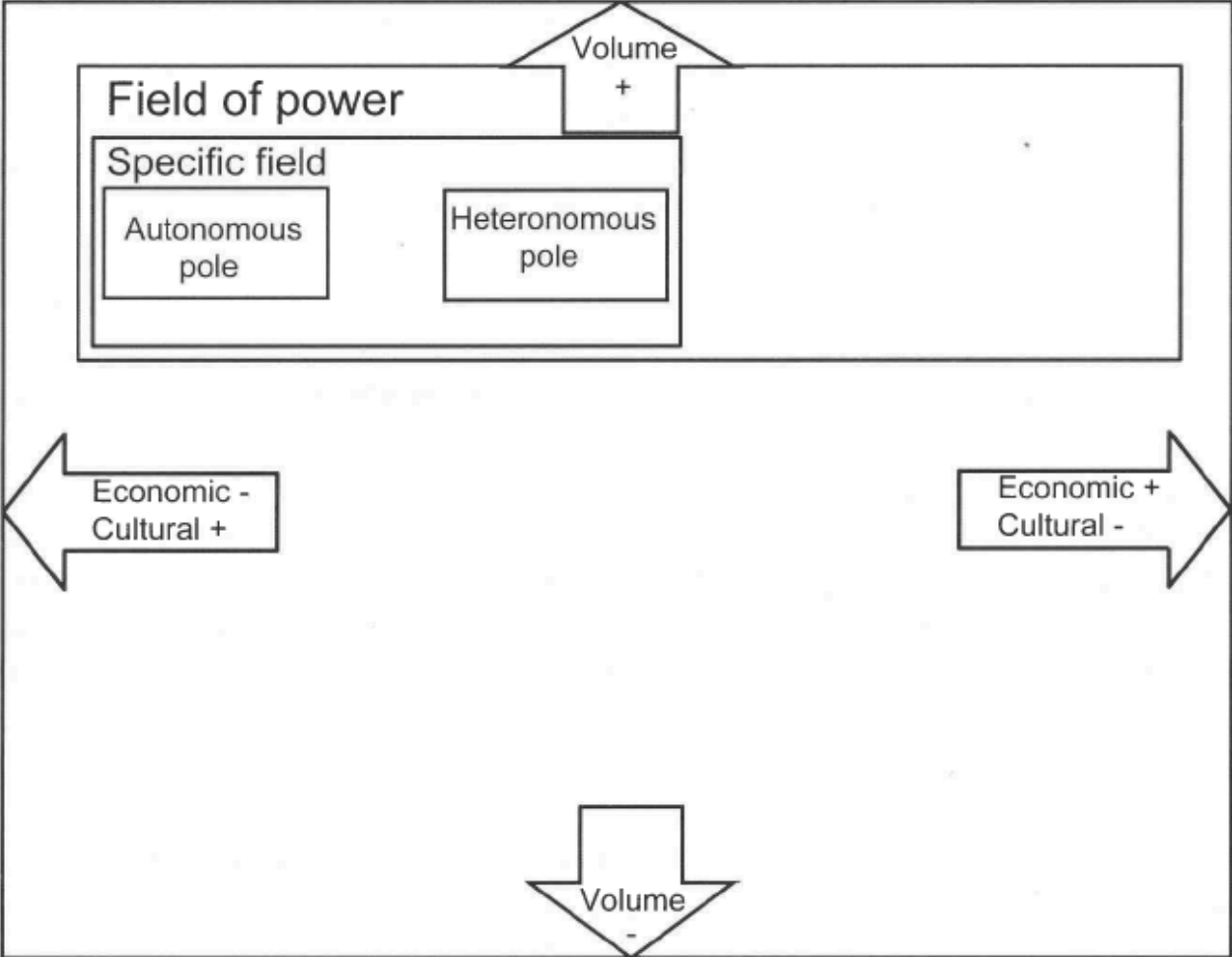


„the literary and artistic field (3)  
is contained within the field of power (2)  
while possessing a relative autonomy with  
respect to it, especially as regards its  
economic and political principles of  
hierarchization:

It occupies a dominated position  
(at the negative pole) in this field, which is  
itself situated at the dominant pole of the  
field of class relations (1).“

Bourdieu (1993, 37f.)

Bi-polar field of cultural production („specific field“) in the field of power and in social space. (Hilgers / Mangez 2014, 12)



INTERNAL DIFFERENTIATIONS AND  
OPPOSITIONS BETWEEN VALUE-SYSTEMS  
IN THE FIELD OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION



## Dual structure of fields of cultural production

„we have here all the recognized characteristics of the opposition between two sub-fields practically closed in themselves,

- the **sub-field of restricted production**, which constitutes its own market,

and

- the **sub-field of large-scale production.**“ (Bourdieu 1993)

## Dual structure of fields of cultural production

„On the one hand, a

- maximal independence with regard to the demands of the market and the exaltation of values of disinterestedness;

On the other,

- direct dependence rewarded with immediate success, with respect to
  - bourgeois demands, (...),
  - petit-bourgeois or, indeed,
  - working-class demands.“ (Bourdieu 1993)

## All times struggle between two principles

„the literary or artistic field is at **all times the site of a struggle** between the two principles of hierarchization:

- the **heteronomous** principle, favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically

and

- the **autonomous** principle.“ (Bourdieu 1993, 40)

# THE OPPOSITION IN THE AUTONOMOUS SUBFIELD

## Sub-field of restricted production (production-for-producers)

- „those who are assured of the **recognition of a certain fraction of the other producers**, a presumed **index of posthumous recognition**,

are opposed to

- those who, (...) **contest the legitimation principle** dominant within the autonomous sub-field, either
  - in the name of a **new legitimation principle** or
  - in the name of a **return to an old one.**“ Bourdieu (1993, 169)

Four sub-fields: Four kinds of specific interests and value-systems, four types of symbolic goods, producers and publics (consumers) (Hilgers/Mangez 2014, 12)



# THE OPPOSITION IN THE SUBFIELD OF LARGE- SCALE PRODUCTION

## Sub-field of large production

„Likewise, at the other pole of the field, that of the market and of economic profit, authors

- who manage to secure 'high-society' successes and bourgeois consecration

are opposed to those

- who are condemned to so-called 'popular' success (...).“  
(Bourdieu 1993, 169)



BOURDIEU'S MODEL APPROPRIATED AND  
REFRAMED BY EVE CHIAPELLO

## Pragmatist Sociology: „Orders of worth“ (Boltanski / Thévenot 1991)

Economist Chiapello (1993), draws on Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot, *On Justification: The Economies of Worth*, 2006 [fr 1991].

They argue that **modern societies** are not a single social order but an **interweaving of multiple orders**.

# Six fundamental value-systems with different criteria of evaluation

Boltanski / Thévenot (1991) identify six "orders of worth", systematic and coherent principles of evaluation. Actors might be „great“ or „small“ according to the standards of these value-systems.

- 1) Inspirational Cité
- 2) Domestic Cité
- 3) Cité of Renown
- 4) Civic Cité
- 5) Market Cité
- 6) Industrial Cité

## Standards for „tests“ in justificatory regimes

Each of these justificatory regimes is **based upon a different principle of evaluation.**

In terms of a given standard, **test** (“épreuve” in French) **results of persons** (e.g. students or teachers in art schools) **can vary**, and thus **their specific** - for example „creative“ (Inspirational Cité) or „entrepreneurial“ (the Market Cité) - **value for the rest of society.** (cf. Boltanski / Chiapello 2002, 8f.)

## „Greatness“ and „smallness“

„A ‚great one‘ being a person who strongly embodies the Cité’s values, contributes to the common good, or is of use to ‚small‘ persons.

The state of ‚smallness‘ is defined as lack of greatness.“

Boltanski / Chiapello (2002, 8ff.)

## Greatness in the Inspirational Cité

„greatness is defined as being **akin to a saint** who has reached a **state of grace** (or else to an **inspired artist**).

This quality (...) is expressed mostly through **manifestations** of inspiration (**sainthood, creativity, an artistic sense, authenticity, etc.**).“

(Boltanski / Chiapello 2002, 8)

## The regime of inspiration

„The regime of inspiration is characterised by the grandeur of inspiration, singularity, originality, creativity and movement. What is important here is to avoid routines and habits, to free oneself from stasis and inertia. Inspiration is about transgressing oneself.“

(Diken 2002, 3)

## Greatness in the Market Cité

„the one who **makes a fortune for him- or herself** by offering highly coveted goods in a competitive marketplace - and **who knows when to seize the right opportunities.**“

(Boltanski / Chiapello 2002, 8)



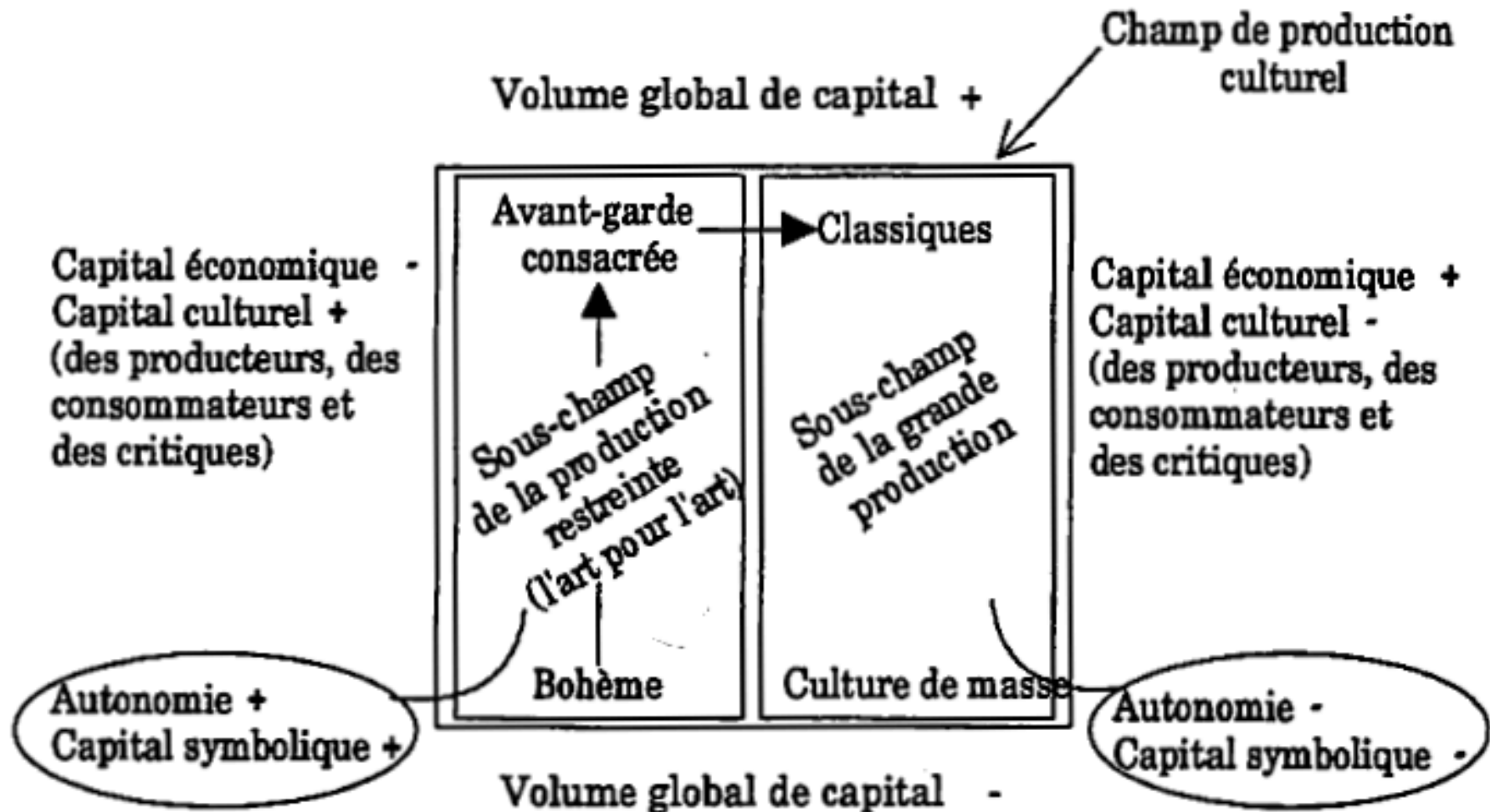
## Greatness in the Industrial Cité

„in the Industrial Cité, greatness is based on **efficiency** and determines a scale of **professional abilities**.“

(Boltanski / Chiapello 2002, 8)

# Reconstruction of Bourdieu's field of cultural production model by Eve Chiapello (1993, 10)

*Représentation du champ culturel d'après Bourdieu (1992)*



## Oppositions between the value systems (Chiapello 1993, 7)

### **Oppositions cité inspirée / cité marchande**

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| - L'art pour l'art                      | L'art - commercial<br>- comme produit |
| - La recherche de la qualité artistique | La recherche du profit                |
| - L'artiste maudit                      | L'artiste "arrivé"                    |

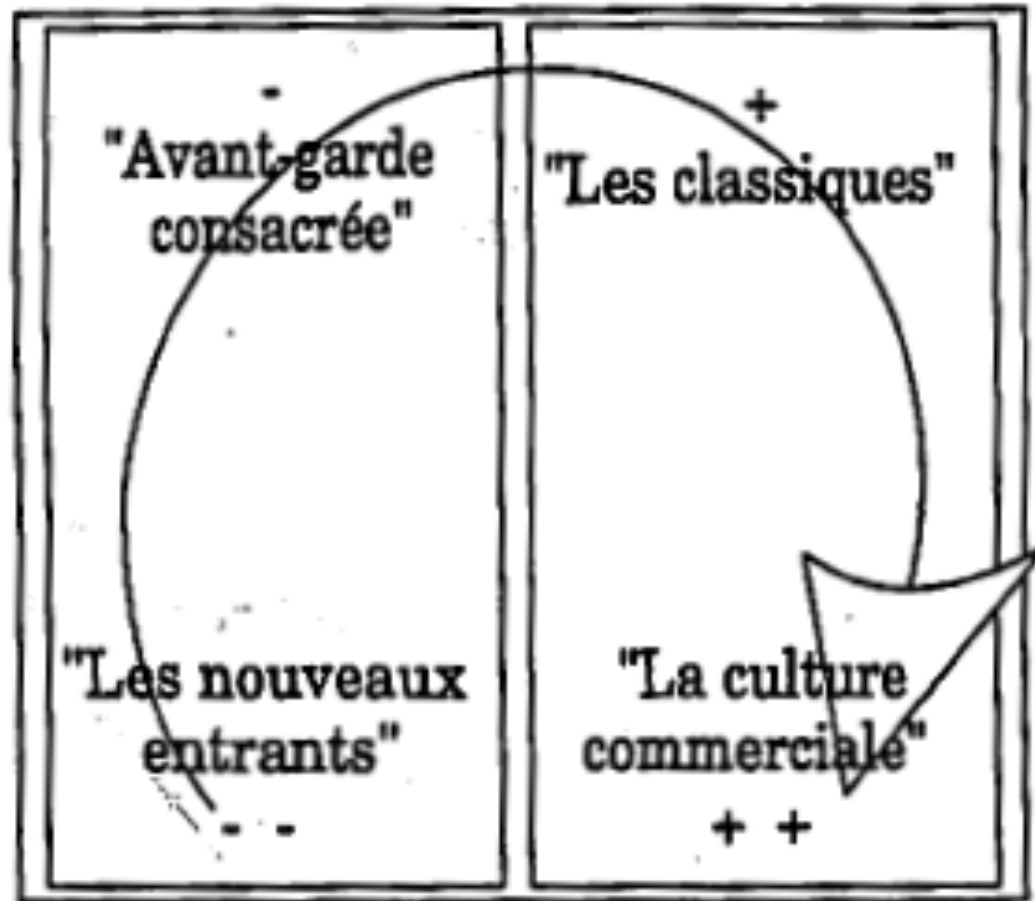
### **Oppositions cité inspirée / cité industrielle**

- |                        |                              |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| - Rupture - Innovation | Routine                      |
| - Unicité              | Standardisation              |
| - Non mesurable        | Mesurable                    |
| - Imprévisible         | Prévisible, ponctuel, fiable |
| - Création             | Reproduction                 |
| - Flexibilité          | Organisation figée           |
| - Gaspillage           | Efficience                   |
| - Irrationnel          | Rationnel                    |

### **Oppositions cité inspirée / cité domestique**

- |                 |                             |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| - Subversif     | Respectueux de la tradition |
| - Vie de bohème | Honorabilité                |
| - Spontané      | Appris                      |
| - L'avant garde | L'académisme                |

Expected value-orientations by (position in) subfields: Anti-economism (disinterested disposition) (-, --) vs. acceptance of commerce and management (+, ++) in fields of cultural production, Chiapello (1993, 11)



# The seventh cité: project-oriented cité of contemporary network based society

Boltanski / Chiapello 2007 [1999], 2002 added a seventh cité, representing the „new spirit of capitalism“.

They argue, that in the connexionist, net-work based Western contemporary societies, since the 1980s this value-system combines with the cité of the market and the industrial cité to a new dominant configuration of a „third spirit of capitalism“.

Max Weber had characterized the „first spirit“.

## 7) Project-Oriented Cité

# The Grammar of the project-oriented Cité I (shortened)

## General Standard

- activity
- project initiation
- remote links between people

## A State of Greatness

- adaptability, flexibility, polyvalence
- sincerity in face to face encounters
- ability to spread the benefits of social connections, to generate enthusiasm and to increase teammates' employability  
(Boltanski / Chiapello 2002, 9)

# The Grammar of the project-oriented Cité II (shortened)

## A State of Smallness

- inability to get involved, to trust in others, to communicate;
- close-mindedness, prejudice, authoritarianism, intolerance, stability, over-reliance on one's roots, rigidity

## Format of Investment

- ready to sacrifice all that could curtail one's availability, giving up lifelong plans

## Standard (Paradigmatic) Test

- ability to move from one project to another.

# ARTISTIC FIELD VS. WORLD OF ART



# HOWARD S. BECKER'S NOTION OF „ART WORLD“

Art world conceived not as an „atmosphere of theory“, but as a „network of cooperating people“

„Art works can be conceived as the product of the cooperative activity of many people. Some of these people are customarily defined as artists, others as support personnel. (...)

Cooperation is mediated by the use of artistic conventions. (...)

The artist thus works in the center of a large network of cooperating people, all of whose work is essential to the final outcome.“

(Becker 1974, 767, 769)

# Activities and presupposed abilities in an art world

„Generally speaking, the **necessary activities** typically include

- conceiving the **idea for the work**,
- making the **necessary physical artifacts**,
- creating a **conventional language** of expression,
- **training artistic personnel and audiences to use the conventional language to create and experience**,
- and providing the necessary mixture of those ingredients for a particular work or performance.“ (Becker 1974, 768)

# BOURDIEU'S CRITIQUE OF THE ART WORLD APPROACH

## The notion of art world as a „regression“

„the notion of art world, which is in use in the United States in sociological and philosophical fields, is inspired by a social philosophy completely opposed to that which informs the idea of the Republic of Letters as Bayle presents it, and marks a regression in relation to the theory of the field as I proposed it.“ (Bourdieu 1996a, 204 f.)

## Field: Not a population linked by interaction

„the theory of the literary or artistic field (...) is not reducible to a population, that is to say, to the sum of individual agents linked by simple relations of interaction or, more precisely, of cooperation.“ (Bourdieu 1996a, 205)

Lacking objective structural relations (e.g. of dominance and subordination, homology)

„what is lacking, among other things, (...) are the **objective relations** which are constitutive of the **structure of the field** and which orient the struggles aiming to conserve or transform it.“ (Bourdieu 1996a, 205)

## Structural relations vs. interaction

„Perfectly illustrating the distinction **between relations of interaction and the structural relations** which constitute a field,

**the polar individuals may never meet, may even ignore each other systematically, (...) and yet their practice remains determined by the negative relation which unites them.**“ (Bourdieu 1993, 46)



## Cosy picture of solidarity vs. innumerable struggles?

„In reply to those who might seek to refute these arguments by invoking a **cosy picture of solidarity** between 'fellow producers' or 'colleagues', one would have to point to

- all the forms of '**unfair competition**' (...),
- or the violence - purely symbolic, of course - of the **aggressions with which producers endeavour to discredit their rivals (...).**“

(Bourdieu 1980, 265)

THE NOTION OF ART WORLD REFUTED, BUT THE  
CONCEPT OF SOCIAL NETWORK USED AND TERMED  
AS „SOCIAL CAPITAL“

# Social capital

„Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group.“ (Bourdieu 1986)

TRANSMISSION: THE INTERACTION OF SEVERAL  
FORMS OF CAPITAL – EDUCATIONAL CAPITAL,  
INHERITED CAPITAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

## Hereditary transmission of cultural capital

„(...) the transmission of cultural capital is no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital, and it therefore receives proportionately greater weight in the system of reproduction strategies, as the direct, visible forms of transmission tend to be more strongly censored and controlled.“ (Bourdieu 1986)

## Yield of educational action and qualification dependent on inherited cultural and social capital

„(...) the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family.

Moreover, the economic and social yield of the educational qualification depends on the social capital, again inherited, which can be used to back it up.“ (Bourdieu 1986)

# BOUNDARIES OF FIELDS, SELECTION, EXCLUSION

## Entry of fields

„To enter a field (...), to play the game, one must possess

- the habitus which predisposes one to enter that field, that game, and not another.

One must also possess at least the

- minimum amount of knowledge, or skill, or 'talent' to be accepted as a legitimate player.“ (Johnson in Bourdieu 1993, 8)



## Formal and informal boundary

The boundary of a field „may or may not be institutionalized, that is to say,

- protected by conditions of entry that are tacitly and practically required (such as a certain cultural capital) or
- explicitly codified and legally guaranteed (e.g. all the forms of entrance examination aimed at ensuring a *numerus clausus*).“

Bourdieu (1993, 43)

## Tacit requirements, hidden criteria

„Subsidiary characteristics (may) function, in the form of **tacit requirements**, as **real principles of selection or exclusion** without ever being formally stated (this is the case with

- **ethnic origin** or
- **sex**).

A number of official criteria in fact serve as a mask for **hidden criteria**: for example the requirement of a **given diploma** can be a way of **demanding a particular origin**.” (Bourdieu 1984)

## Soft elimination

„(...) **hidden forms of elimination** such as (...)

- **relegation into second-class courses**, entailing a stigma that tends to induce proleptic (anticipatory) recognition of scholastic and social destiny; and finally,
- **the awarding of devalued certificates.**“ (Bourdieu 1984)

## „Cooling out“

„(...) the blurring of hierarchies and boundaries between the elected and the rejected, between true and false qualifications, plays a part in ,cooling out' and in calm acquiescence in being cooled out.“ (Bourdieu 1984)

## Informal exclusion, absence of explicit criteria

„In fact the most select groups prefer to avoid the brutality of discriminatory measures and to combine the charms of the apparent absence of criteria (...), with the certainties of selection, which ensures maximum group homogeneity.“

(Bourdieu 1984)

BEYOND FAMILY AND SCHOOL: THE IMPORTANCE OF  
SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MEDIA FOR DEVELOPPING A  
SPECIFIC INTEREST (,ILLUSIO‘) IN ART

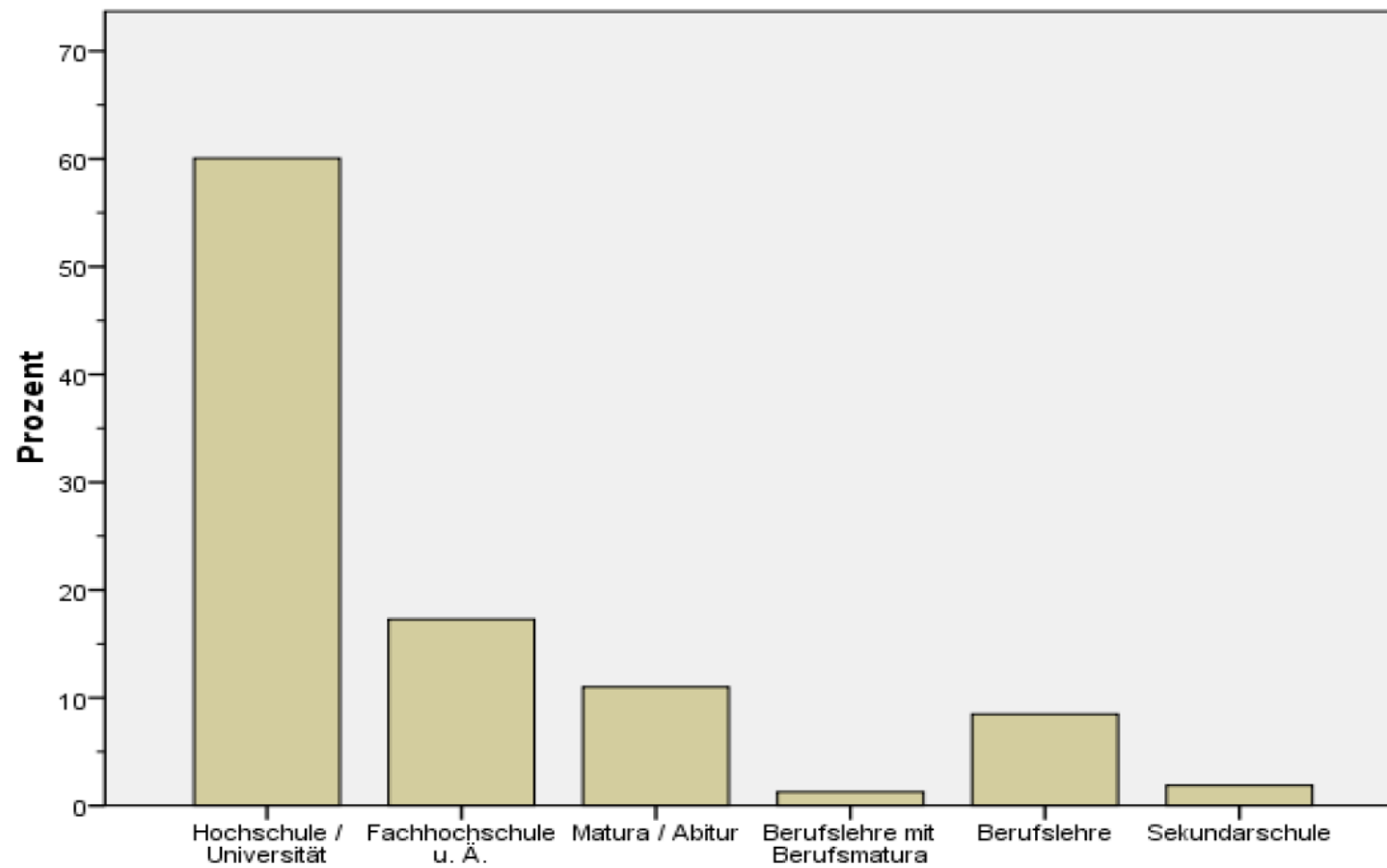
RESULTS OF THE STUDY  
MUNDER / WUGGENIG (EDS.)  
DAS KUNSTFELD  
ZURICH 2012

**VISITOR STUDY**

**2009/2010**

**ZURICH**

# Institutionalized cultural capital (educational capital) in the contemporary art field of Zurich (survey 2009/10, N = 810)





IMPULSES FOR DEVELOPPING AN INTEREST  
(ILLUSIO) IN ART BY

FAMILY

SCHOOL

FRIENDSHIP NETWORK

AND MEDIA

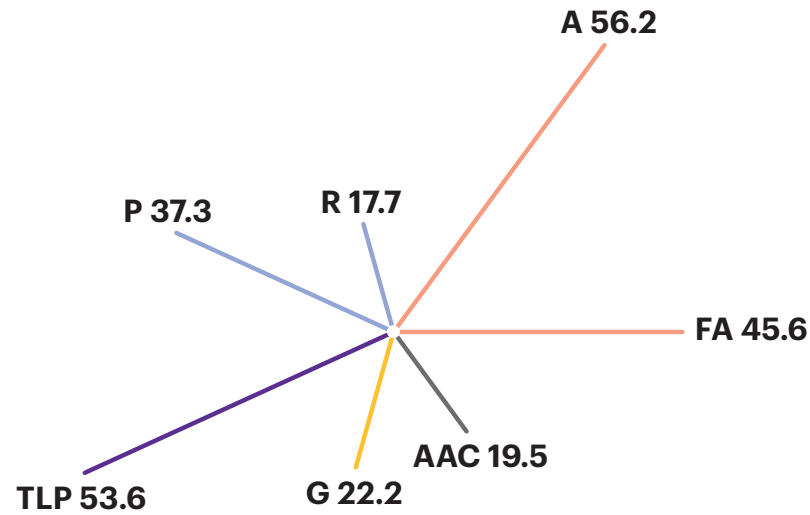
# Relevance of network and „social capital“

„What made you receive important impulses to occupy yourself with the fine arts?“ (multiple answers possible)

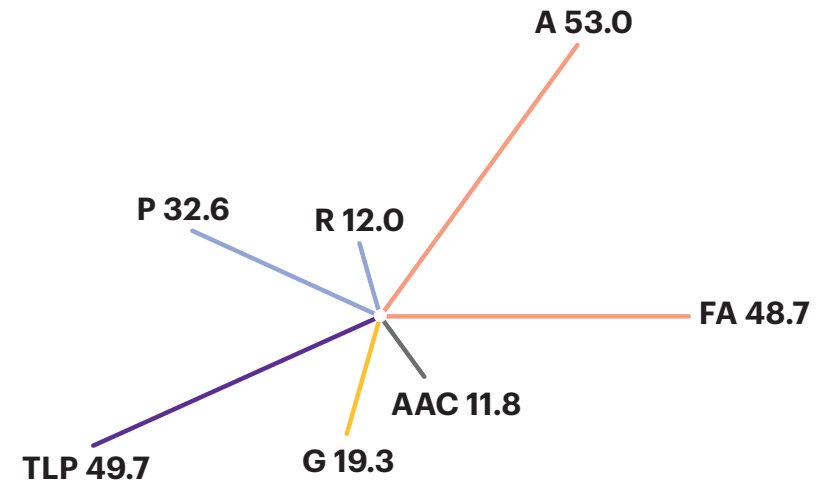
Ca. 1400 visitors of contemporary art exhibitions in Zurich 2009/10 and in Vienna 1993

- Parents
- Relatives
- Artist/s with whom you are acquainted or are friends with
- (Other) friends or acquaintances
- Teachers, lecturers, professors
- Art critics, art writers, curators whom you know personally
- Gallerists
  
- Wuggenig 2012a, 242.

a) Zurich



b) Vienna



- P — Parents
- R — Relatives
- A — Artist/s with whom you are acquainted or are friends with
- FA — (Other) friends or acquaintances

- AAC — Art critics, art writers, curators whom you know personally
- G — Gallerists
- TLP — Teachers, lecturers, professors

# Relevance of media

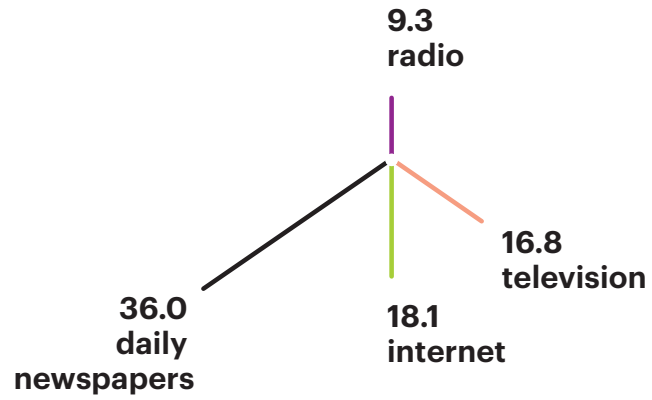
„What made you receive important impulses to occupy yourself with the fine arts?“ (multiple answers possible)

Visitors of contemporary art exhibitions in Zurich 2009/10 and in Vienna 1993, Hamburg 1993/94 and Paris 1994 (sample N = ca. 2300)

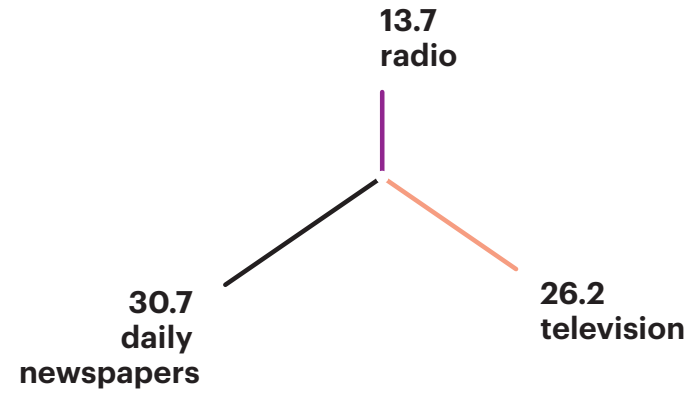
## Media

- Television
  - Radio
  - Daily newspapers
  - Print media
  - (Internet)
- 
- Wuggenig 2012b, 406.

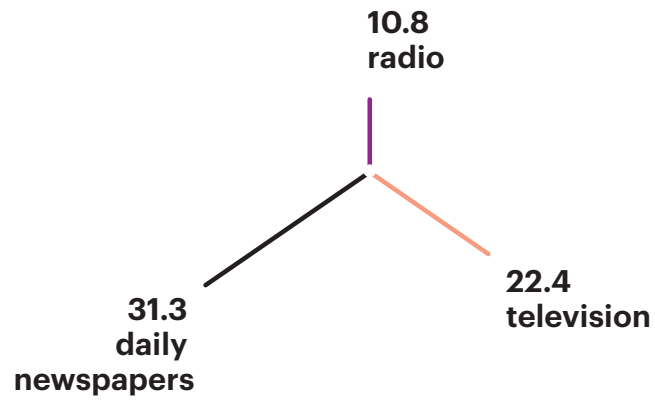
a) Zurich 2009/10



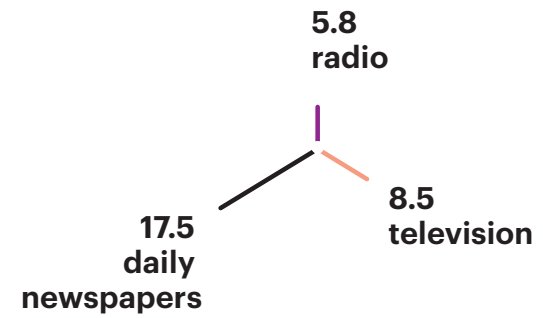
b) Vienna 1993



c) Hamburg 1993/94



d) Paris 1994



# Literature

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