

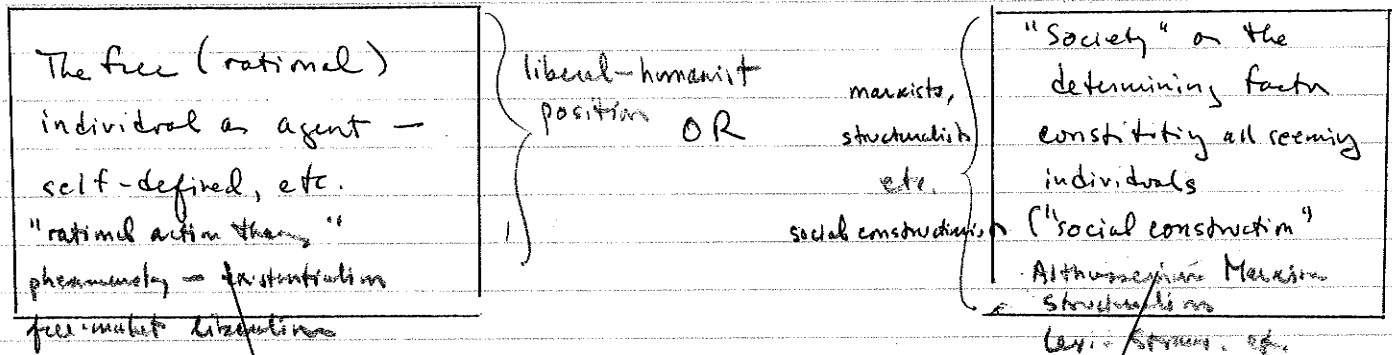
Bourdieu
1st Session

12

(1a)

open w/ diagrams (to make sense)

Normally:



Bourdieu nuances both terms — both are unnuanced or overly simplified, far too crude — Thus he redefines the terms!

Agent endowed with a HABITUS (a set of "dispositions" in part determined by available positions in the field: a "feel for the game")

interaction

FIELD consisting of charged positions in pursuit of various types of capital. "relations" betw. positions

Critics (J. Habermas) — find this still too deterministic.

— mainly a site of power struggles + self-advancement

interaction in pursuit of profits (economic? cultural? symbolic?)

+ the matching of dispositions with positions

+ GRAND SHIFT TO THOSE WHO "USE" ART as a mode of acquiring cultural-symbolic capital.

QUOTES — p. 36 "All critics declare not only their judgement of the work but also their claims to the right to talk about it and judge it. In short, they take part in a struggle for the monopoly of legitimate discourse about the works of art...."

p. 92 "Every survey aimed at establishing the hierarchy of [composers] preetermines the hierarchy by determining the population deemed worthy of helping to establish it.... The fundamental stake in [musical/musicological/theoretical] struggles is the monopoly of [musical] legitimacy, inter alia, the monopoly of the power to say with authority who are authorized to call themselves [composers]."

Bourdieu — bridging the "false dichotomy" (needed — a double reading of both sides!)

subjectivism ("social phenomenology"):

individual agency / volition / perceptions
phenomenology ("consciousness; subject")
rational action theory (RAT)
idealistic + essentialist valuation of writer
as "creator"

"charismatic victim of the artist" (3)
Jean Paul Sartre (Being + Nothingness)

Society viewed as a "mere aggregate of individual strategies" (LW 9)
(= "constructivist" approach, LW 11)

Flaws — social structures are more resilient + deterministic than this.
Individual mind in large measure a product of social field.

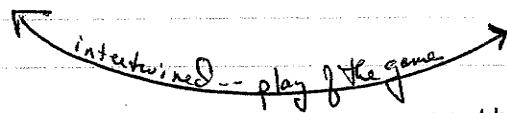
Rational Action Theory (RAT), e.g., esp. :
James S. Coleman Foundation of Social Theory 1982
Jon Elster Rational Choice 1986
voluntarism

objectivism ("social physics"):

"individual" — an illusion constructed by society.
Emile Durkheim (e.g. Suicide)
Althusserian Marxism
Saussurean semiology
Structuralism (Claude Lévi-Strauss)

Society = an objective structure, grasped from outside (LW 9)
∴ Individual experience bracketed out.
— typically deterministic, mechanistic
Individual a mere "bearer" (Träger) for Althusserians

Flaw if used exclusively → reifies structures by treating them as if they acted volitionally, as agents (LW 8) ["scholastic fallacy"]



Bourdieu — when brought together: "social praxeology"

"objectivity of the second order"

HABITUS ("dispositions")
main q. of critics = how "free" is this habitus?
Isn't it more determined?

"objectivity of the first order"

FIELD ("positions")
(still a necessary first step in analysis)

HABITUS (defined, p. 5 of intro.)

- "dispositions" - system of disposition (6)
- inculcated and taught while young ("structured" structures) (5) and yet:
- aim → to structure structures within certain limits (to organize + play within the structured 'field')
- a "feel for the game" (6)
- a "practical sense (savoir pratique)" (6)
- habitus is Bourdieu's escape hatch from a more rigorous determinism
- produces a strategy, ^{↑ up} (17) = orientation of practice (17)
- + trajectory → changes of position in the field

FIELD (CHAMP) 6

- "positions"
- social formation = hierarchically organized series of fields (economic, cultural, educational, political) - - Each structured similarly but relatively autonomous -
- Structure = position of agents in the field. A set of RELATIONS / RELATIONSHIPS
- Agents → struggle for control of power or authority or domination within field.
- Note = different interests + resources at stake in diff. fields.
- (cultural field → recognition, prestige, consecration distinction) → symbolic power

Cultural capital = the knowhow, ^{→ resources} competence, code-bearing ability of an agent within a field.
Symbolic Capital = the payoff in honor, rank, prestige - the cash value
 → the bank account

Bourdieu:

Ruthless Demystification of Art and the Art Experience

- Collapse into a deadly serious "game" of position-takings and struggle to gain, retain, and impose domination within a diverse, collective field.
- relentless refusal to consider the value of art as aesthetic or as enrichment.
- All part of a struggle for position (and all other views are consigned to the world of illusion + deception).

Cf. Max Weber → Die Entzauberung der Welt. (hallmark of modernism)

Cf. Darwin (!) → struggle for survival, struggle to adapt, survival of the fittest (an ongoing "blind" process in which metaphysical essence / God is no longer required)

Cf. the "blind marketplace" of free-market economics. ("invisible hand")

Thus Bourdieu pops the bubble of "belief" in art and insists on the blind-struggle aspect of what's REALLY going on, homo homini lupus.

(Hermeneutic of Suspicion → Remember Ricoeur's 3 grand masters of suspicion - Marx, Nietzsche, Freud) of Unmasking

Strategies

(cf. p. 77 - less like a religion than "setting into a select club")

① Refer ironically [words with which one cannot personally identify] to the system of art using the language of religion (esp. as anthropologist/sociologist might do → from "outside," "clinically," -- non-participatory distance.)

- System of "belief" (Ch. 2, "The production of belief" ^{from 1977}), even more intimately, "the circle of belief" (p. 77) (= congregation of observants)
- "faith" and "bad faith" [Also to marxist terms] p. 78

⁷⁶ "charismatic ideology" = ultimate basis of belief

- "Creator" (76) [less like religion than a "select club" p. 77]
- "monopoly of the consecrate" (78); "consecrated wks. + artists"; "charisma" (81) ¹⁰⁸ "authority" (77)
- "ritual sacrifice" (80) + break "circle of belief" (80)

NB - all based on false "disavowals" (79) of economic interest -- "purported microcognition" (81) and, at bottom, illusio (72)

② Switch from time to time to more loaded religious language - (as on p. 81) 81 - artist [only] "perform[s] a magic act... [before] the universe of celebrants and believers."

i.e. artist as charlatan, duping a naive public, unable to see the emptiness of the illusion. (magician, p. 81)

③ More normally, switch rapidly to a startlingly juxtaposed sociological language more familiar from economics + Darwinian struggles.

↳ ne plus ultra?
— 61 → 4 up

The literary and artistic [and musical] field... is the arena par excellence of struggles over job definition.

[plays on the striking incongruity between the "art experience" and the workaday language of business relations]

[i.e. much of effect → due to PB's play of language]

jump to 62, 10 up: "awareness of the fundamental law of the field."

— flattens out ART into a commodity-status, as a token of cultural-capital exchange in pursuit of symbolic-capital profits.

— "symbolic profits" (66) "symbolic, long-term profits" (54)

— profits usually go "only to a small number of agents" (66, 5 up)

— all amounts to "games of distinction" (109) ← READ "mandarin games" → 110, top

— "authority" in the field = accrued "credit" (78) of agents

— cf. p. 35: art = "object" of belief... + a "fetish" [PIVOT PARAGRAPH]

— All this, of course, by the celebrated and axiomatic move → conceiving the cultural world as "the economic world reversed" in which the model is a free-market struggle for profit or economic capital.

— here cultural capital (knowhow; possession of artistic goods)

— and symbolic capital (prestige, authority, consecration)

— "loser wins" in this cultural-production sphere. (39)
("systematic invasion..." 39)

Economies of prestige that reverse the expected capital of the larger economy.

— P. 72: are the players in this game of art + social positioning merely

* CYNICAL CALCULATORS? Two answers

1) Some may well be (72... "it varies from agent to agent")

2) Some (most?) are mere dopes believing in the illusio. (72)

cf. p. 243 (Manet) + Fr. Academies! → Grad. School of Music Theory, Musicology

④ Impish or provocative references to HIMSELF, to how UNWELCOME his message of demystified truth must be... how he will scandalize the believers

A) delights in his own "sacrilege" (80) *

— "the one unforgivable transgression" (81) in "refusing to play the game" (80)

— (73) → "the unforgivable sin"

in acting as truth-bearer, laying bare the power-foundations of the illusio, the field of cultural production.

Derealization

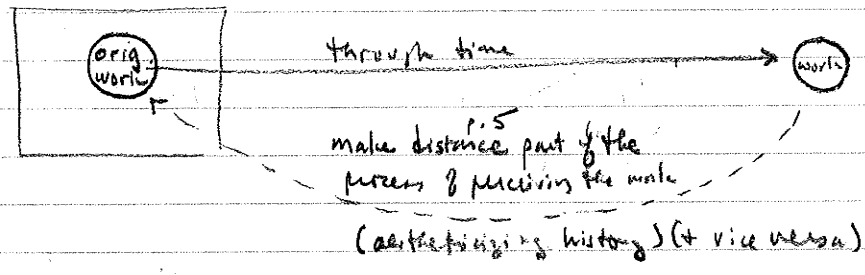
Bourdieu's Charge of a work's "derealization" over time, once its original connections to its original society have been severed. Exists in a non-real status, a mere token of capital (cultural capital) in a power-struggle within a field of cultural production.

Real → p. 31 (7up) - p. 32 "task of a sociologist + derealization" = p. 32

Point → thereafter (empty) = turned into a counter of cultural/symbolic capital + prestige in one's jockeying for dominance within the (sub)field

Cf. e.g., Dahlhaus FMH Ch. 1 (pp. 3-4) a defense of the persistence of aesthetic presence through changes in time in culture.
READ

CD's take on this (at least here) = Gadamerian... persistence yes, but no simple persistence - rather one mediated by our temporal distance from the work.



Recall Gadamer - full "truth" of a work dispersed in time with its Wirkung, creating a tradition or history of interpretation. (Work discloses more truth, thus becomes more "real" through time)

Wellck 155

Phenomenologists are similar but have a different take about why a work of music preserves its core-identity through time.

Wellck - work as "system of norms" [Langue] - p. 155 (bottom) = "structure" remains the same for all listeners... passes through their minds in the same ways.

Jurgensen - schematic prescriptions for performance (score) "bind together" all performances + concretizations and guarantees an identity to the work despite all variants. (140-151)

Jser - More complex ("history" more in there: "apertoir" etc.) - between Jurgensen + Dahlhaus/Gadamer?

BUT BOURDIEU will have NONE of this! There are merely utterances within the "circle of belief" - mystification - prises des positions. "magic" (p. 81)

works persist as mere tokens of capital in a struggle for power

Let's return to the

AUTONOMY question (cf. Dahlhaus + Bourdieu)

Recall CD's central argument in FMT → It's not that social aspects of music do not exist -- they obv. do! -- but for practical music histories seeking to be most helpful and relevant one creates a hierarchy of structures of greater + lesser importance and relevance for each age in question (adapt our inquiry to the self-declared principles of the age). For Dahlhaus, in 19th c = Autonomy principle (the right of each work to be listened to for ^{its own} sake + in terms of aesthetic presence, a concern that often turned its back on the material rewards of market forces. ^{Max = base - superstructure})

— Autonomy/aesthetics = gewichtiger und fundamentaler

— Thus permitting us to answer Wellek's rephrased question - "How can we write a history of music that is a history of music"

— ∴ Defense of internal (or largely internal) histories of music, 19th c., as not only his preference but that which is ipso facto most suited to the topic.

It seems to me that there are 3 broad categories of reply/objection to this argument - and 2 are directly thematized in Bourdieu. The first, perhaps, is not so directly there... but it's close to Bourdieu

① [Sarah Hoit essentially stated it in her first presentation]: Dahlhaus's "era" (or problem) lies in the attempt to define/stamp an age or period with one central, dominant conception... the leading-idea or main bkgd. concern of an age. (Majority rules → or, an age's self-representation rules. But a period's reality lies not only in its majority tendency, but in the conflicts and nuances + struggles that lie behind that majority... stormy counter-pulls and the like. [Dahlhaus too ready to ratify HEGEMONIC THINKING...] ∴ i.e., in the larger FIELD!)

∴ 55% - 60% tendencies toward autonomy, while majoritarian + important (not to be discarded) should not encourage us to give it alone the palm of victory. I.e., it may be gewichtiger oder fundamentaler, but it is still part of a messy coalition of forces. [JH: a constellation/field of tensions]

One doesn't need Bourdieu to get here (obv.) → Gadamer would do it, Iser could do it, and obviously the standpoint theorists, feminist and gay-lesbian epistemologists, etc., would insist upon it... and dispute the 55% victory (recent!)

∴ One could claim (using Dahlhaus's own logic) that the real gewichtiger und fundamentaler idea is no single majoritarian winner but rather the broad coalition of the winner AND its counter-ideas or alternatives.

∴ Histories based on autonomy alone can come up short.

OR:

② Bourdieu's "spin" on all this. He would agree with ① above, declaring the ^{constellation} coalition to be a subfield of cultural production, a site of possibles and position-takings...

— And would further argue that NO POSITION (such as "autonomy" in a Brahms String Quartet or Quintet) should be regarded as self-defined. (And MUCH LESS should we accept its own definition of itself) — Instead every position is defined ONLY by its placement in a site of possibles — and its struggle for power within the field.

— THUS: every position ("autonomy") must be understood as defining itself only by or against what it opposes, what it is not.

∴ THIS locus of opposition + denial of status to other positions, argues Bourdieu, is crucial/central to that position's claim to be what it is. Brahms's Quintet is not just B's Quintet = it is also, by declaration, NOT a Lisztian symphonic poem or a piece of entertainment for the local Gasthof.

∴ AUTONOMY must be understood fundamentally (fundamentaler) via its negative relationship to alternatives.

(presence of absence)

(cf. Derrida + différance → each word containing its negative)
or Saussure p. 178

Cf. Bourdieu, then, ^{again} p. 31 ^{bottom*}, then p. 57 ^{6 down} Practical Suggestion for the Historian*
p. 61 ^{2 down} ("one has to possess the whole history of the field")

This would fundamentally alter how we write our histories
(enter Dahlhaus)

Cf. 238 on Hanet! Same declaration, 1st 6 lines. (AND STAY
VALUE-FREE — don't judge merit!)

But there's MORE! (Recall our 1st 2 reports to Dahlhaus's
Gewichtiger und fundamentaler —

One of Dahlhaus's key points of argumentation was (Ch. 8, etc.) that 19th-c composers often worked against their own economic interest.
And is Bourdieu read, for that!

Thus fundamentally revising or rejecting the idea of the centrality of the material-economic superstructure.

3

Bourdieu - No! Art does NOT ESCAPE from the principles of economy - Far from it! It's just that it is interested in a different type of currency + capital. → prestige + authority, in its own market.

Moreover, for its own ends it tends to invert the norms of the monetary economy, disdaining ~~those~~ profits in favor of its own. ("the economic world reversed" - - "Loser wins")

- i.e., by a disavowal [denégation] (p. 75) of the monetary economy that lies outside the field, ECONOMY OF PRESTIGE [but - a "false" disavowal in bad faith!]

Instead:

- CULTURAL CAPITAL (define?) = ^{→ your investment, accruing resources -} the resources; the education; the credentials; the class; the knowhow; the certified competence; the skill; the code-bearing ability of an agent in the field.

All in pursuit of

- SYMBOLIC CAPITAL (define) = the profits; the cash-value; the accrued prestige, power to consecrate, power to retain authority, distinction, bestowed honors, power to influence successors, etc.

∴ If Dahlsens suggests that composers abandoned monetary self-interest in favor of higher pursuits freed from self-interest, Bourdieu will simply reply, "No! They've simply exchanged one economic order for another, like a currency conversion."

At stake in a "site of struggles" ^{42, 14 down} ^{42, 6 up = a stake of struggles} in a cultural field or "space of possibilities" ⁶⁴ _{3 down}

Struggles for self-legitimation and the power to dominate the subfield, much as the robber barons of the late 14th century.

∴ Richard Wagner, Johannes Brahms are somewhat analogous to the House of Rothschild or Andrew Carnegie or J. Pierpont Morgan, only they've exchanged one type of economy + profit for another. - HIGH STAKES

CP. BUBBLE BURSTING OF AUTONOMY as a MANDARIN GAME (pp. 109 - 110) ^{bottom} ↑

Bourdieu:

Diff. views of author (composer)

Cf. Gadamer → a communication of an individual

Heidegger → author/composer minimized → "used" by Art (= Being, World)

Barthes → Death of the author (birth of the reader) (jouissance)

Iser → artistic pose → produced a structured text w/ which reader interacts, "lights up."

Bourdieu (p. 76 on creating the creator)

- 1) Status confirmed only (→ thus created only) by those in the field of cultural production "authorized" to "consecrate" → = "true producer of the value of a work."^{76, 10, up}
 - "the cultural businessman" (76 → though more the art dealer, publisher)
 - the art trader (77) (cf. the academic? the critic? the performer?)
Mozart is great only because you say he is?
 - Via "the 'charismatic' ideology" ⁷⁶ — [in itself false, a ploy, mere magic]⁸¹
 - Power to consecrate → the field itself (p. 78!!) (5 up)
(cf. "unconvention" of jazz, pop studies)

This → shift away from "meaning" of author + indiv. utterance

toward a struggle for domination in the force-relation within the field.

— what matters is not the author/composer, but how the composer is used in the accumulation of prestige / symbolic-cultural capital.

∴ 79^{up} makers + marketers (incl. us!) are "adversaries in collusion"

Again → content drained away (as illusio) in order to view everything as a counter within power struggles.

ECONOMIES + systems of capital

World → a struggle for gain, for increased position within a field

Economics

- 1) the more normally, "economic" field of monetary profit, material comfort
= economic / material CAPITAL.
- 2) the field of cultural production, At stake in the profit-loss column

a) Symbolic Capital = prestige, consecration, distinction,
authority, power to consecrate, bestowed honors, etc.

b) Cultural Capital = the resources; the education; the class; the knowhow;
the competence; the knowledge; the skill; the code-bearing ability of
an agent within a field.

The successful use of cultural capital within a field of cultural production
can lead to the acquisition of personal symbolic capital.

Crucial for Bourdieu → 2 spheres of CAPITAL and interest within the larger,
pan-social FIELD OF POWER. AND: in the field of cultural production
the central feature is the relation to the larger motivating feature of the
monetary field = acquisition of worldly success + cultural power.

Theories of generational change in the field (= "history")

- (cf. Russian formalists → mainly internal
 Marxists → historical, external
 Foucauldians, etc → epistemes)

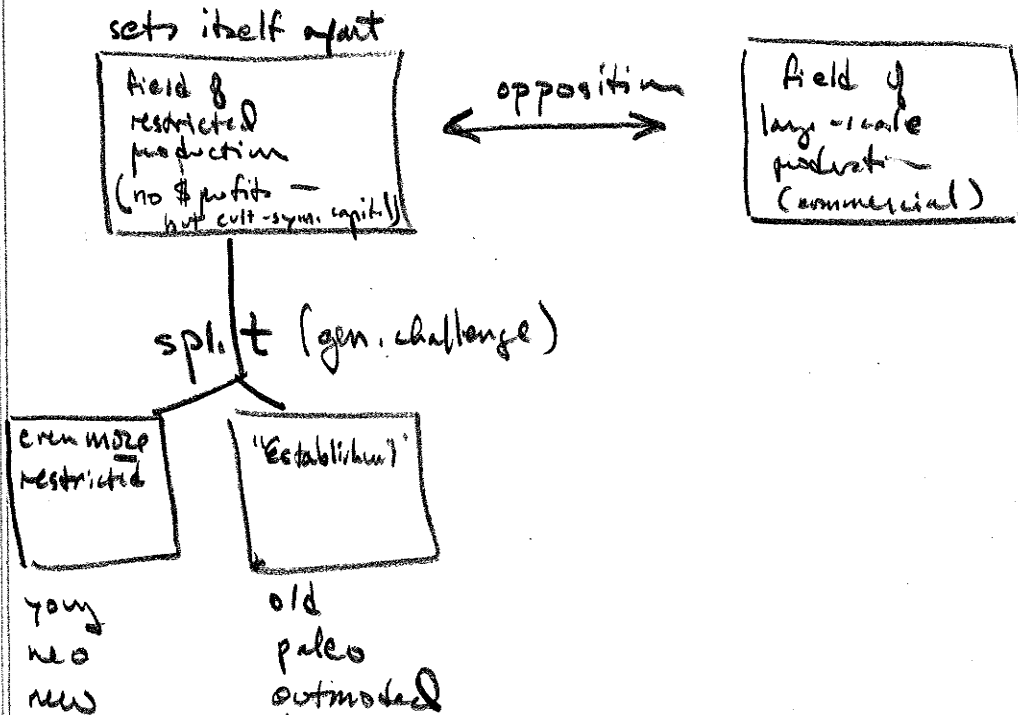
(p. 53)

p. 57, bottom → newcomers seeking to displace the old establishment or consecrators — Mostly a struggle within a relatively autonomous [55] subfield [53], in effect trumping the establishment by unmasking it (its illusim) + calling its bluff.
 — But NB → both external + internal changes are in play (55, 57) ^{bottoms}

Detailed more pp. 82-84

— "zealots" reject the material-economic foundations of establishment
 — not "pure" enough — — want to show, boldly, even more economic disinterest (economic world reversed) in search of cultural-symbolic capital + power to consecrate.

back to p. 53



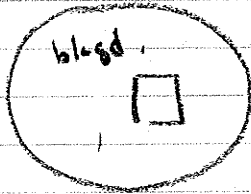
Esp. via return to the sources (p. 84) (more "pure" + uncompromised than the sellout establishment)

importance of slogans, titles, "distinctive marks" (p. 60)
 Read top 15 lines!

Bourdieu — Questions for Seminar

① Recall Collingwood Dictum

Recall Gadamer's + CD's embrace (even Issa's embrace)



Dahlgren on Max Weber PHI 83

"It is the task of the historian to reconstruct the pattern of meanings behind past actions"

blogd. structures / a medium order of magnitude — AND ones that give practical results — presupposition + debates of the age, Begriffspsychologie, etc.

Q → Does Bourdieu, in effect, urge the Collingwood Dictum on us? Does he set up the "question" in a different way? (Background becomes PB's "field" of relations + positions.)

② Bourdieu concerned w/ 19th-c theater, lit., + painting. Does his theory work for only the 19th - 20th centuries, i.e., for the period of the unfolding + flourishing of capitalism?

— Is there a similar field for Renaissance Italy? 12th-c Paris?

— universalized through HUMAN AMBITION / COMPETITION? (more institutionalized today?)

③ Consider Diagram of Fr. literary field, ca. 1850-1900 (p. 49)

— On what evidence is it based?

— What would be involved in the production of a similar chart of say, early 19th-c Austro-Germanic music, 1800-1830? or 1820-1850?

— OR = the Field of Music in the USA, 1990-2001? Where is John Adams? John Williams? Eminence? Yo-Yo Ma? ...? Writers for commercials? The State Department? Music?
OR = the Field of published commentary on music? Where are the NYT reviewers? The New Yorker reviewers? The Rolling Stone reviewers? The MTV web-site? The Yale Dept. of Music? What struggles + what capital is at stake — How are positions taken? How do they define themselves and each other (+, -)
(Great assignment → produce a diagram!)

④ PB → Non-falsifiable claims?

To anyone who argues that he flattens out aesthetics (Dahlhaus would charge insensitivity + philistinism), he would merely reply that their very charges illustrate his point. . . . There is nothing in his method to lead us to believe that he would consider it a corrective, or even a valuable discussion [indeed as more evidence]

Cf. Popper story from Session 1.

∴ A refusal to engage content in favor of strategy + positioning
(News networks → "horse-race" of politics?)

⑤ Imp. → theory of the HOMOLOGIES (or natural attractions, like valences) — SIMILAR STRUCTURES — between diff. positions on the field (producers + consumers or "factions" thereof)

— big claims, p. 44, on homologues + alliance between the dominant cultural producers + culturally dominated factions of the economic world (lower classes)

— Hence: explanation of affinities of much art for social radicalism + the left?

⑥ Also imp — Theory of Changes of Style within Art (in Music)
("Structures and Change" p. 55-61)

+ varied factors → sometimes almost total internal change within an art (56)
(the more autonomous the art, the more internal... opening to Dahlhaus?)
— sometimes a coincidence (56) of internal + external factors.

Main q → How do consecrated groups retain their power over time?
→ How do newcomers challenge that power?

(Note: they never challenge the validity of the game itself!! p. 80, for example)
and esp. 82-84 ("zealots" — "return to the sources" etc.)

⑦ Diff. outlets + diff reviews of same event (87-89) ⇒ JAMS? NPR? Met Sat Broadcast? NBC? NY Times?
cf. p. 93! "Meaning of words" depends on the market in which they are uttered" (!)
Rollins Stone?

Chronological Order of Bourdieu Essays

1968-71 - by far the hottest in terms of radical rhetoric

Post 1976 - cooler -

1968 - "Outline of a Sociological Theory of Art Perception"

1971 - "The Market of Symbolic Goods"

MIT - outline of a theory of practice

① 1977 - "The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods"

1979 - Distinction

① 1983 - "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed"

1984 Homo Academicus

1986 - "Principles for a Sociology of Cultural Works"

1987 - "Manet and the Institutionalization of Anomie"