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RESEARCH NOTE

Pierre Bourdieu in management and organization studies—A citation context analysis and discussion of contributions

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Summary The work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has received increased attention in management and organization studies (MOS). However, the full potential of his work has so far rarely been exploited. This paper aims to pinpoint the contributions of Bourdieu's work to research in MOS. I conducted a citation context analysis of nine leading journals to investigate how citations to Bourdieu's work have developed over time, which contents from Bourdieu's work are cited and how comprehensively researchers have so far engaged with Bourdieu. Based on these findings, I discuss how Bourdieu's work may contribute to research in MOS, particularly to a micro-foundation of new institutional theory and to the reflection of academic practice in MOS.
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Introduction

The work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has recently received increased attention in management and organization studies (MOS): First, popular concepts in MOS such as organizational field have been influenced by Bourdieu (Greenwood & Meyer, 2008). Second, an increasing number of researchers apply concepts such as habitus, field or capital to investigate phenomena in MOS (see, e.g., Battilana, 2006; Lounsbury & Ventresca, 2003; Mutch, 2003). Third, in the course of the so-called 'practice turn' (Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina, & Savigny, 2001) in the social sciences, management and organizational researchers began to view organizations through a 'practice lens' and applied Bourdieu's work for this

purpose. Some examples include the strategy-as-practice community (see, e.g., Splitter & Seidl, 2011; Statler, Jacobs, & Roos, 2008), research on (organizational) learning (see, e.g., Nicolini, Gherardi, & Yanow, 2003; Slutskaya & De Cock, 2008) and the new institutional theory (NIT) community (see, e.g., Battilana, 2006; Oakes, Townley, & Cooper, 1998), particularly research on institutional work (see, e.g., Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Voronov & Vince, 2012).

Although these developments have led to an increased interest in Bourdieu's work among management and organization scholars, some researchers criticized that Bourdieu's ideas were decontextualized from the inner logic of his work and that some key concepts have been misrecognized (Mutch, Delbridge, & Ventresca, 2006). For instance, Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) argued that scholars tend to separate Bourdieu's theoretical triad (field, capital and habitus), thereby ignoring their inner logic (see also Golsorkhi, Leca, Lounsbury, & Ramirez, 2009). Likewise, Dobbin (2008, p. 53) stressed that "[t]he whole of this theory [Bourdieu's

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theory] is more than the sum of its parts and so the potential of the theory has not been realized in American practice even if some of the parts have been embraced''.

To overcome the limited applications of Bourdieu's work in MOS, researchers presented comprehensive and well-crafted introductions to his work (see, e.g., Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Everett, 2002; Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005). Although these works contributed significantly to a better understanding of Bourdieu's work among MOS scholars, I can identify some gaps: First, while these prior studies provided in-depth introductions into Bourdieu's work, the discussion mainly centered on Bourdieu's three theoretical core concepts, i.e., habitus, capital and field (see, e.g., Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Everett, 2002; Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005). Thereby, they left aside other important parts of Bourdieu's work (e.g., the cognitive concept of Bourdieu's theory) that have received increased attention outside MOS (e.g., in sociology, see Lizardo, 2012), but are mostly unknown to MOS researchers. Second, previous studies particularly focused on the question how Bourdieu's theory of practice can be put into empirical research in MOS (see Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Everett, 2002). While these discussions have helped to advance empirical research using Bourdieu's theory of practice, I argue that they might be complemented with a discussion of the contributions of Bourdieu's work to conversations in the field of MOS (see also Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). Based on this discussion and the prior empirically focused articles, management and organization researchers might start to exploit the full potential of Bourdieu's work for MOS.

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to pinpoint the contributions of Bourdieu's work to further develop research in MOS. I conducted a citation context analysis to analyze current applications of Bourdieu's work in MOS. Although such an analysis has already been conducted for Bourdieu's work in the field of sociology (see Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007), I argue that the growing interest in practice theories, particularly in Bourdieu's work, among management and organizational researchers justifies a detailed investigation. Moreover, the citation context analysis is important, because it enables me to better pinpoint those concepts and ideas of Bourdieu which have received little attention in MOS so far. Particularly, I focus on three research questions:

1. How have citations to Bourdieu in management and organization journals developed over time?
2. What contents from Bourdieu's work are cited by management and organization scholars?
3. How comprehensive are citations to Bourdieu's work?

The first research question investigates how citations to Bourdieu's work developed over time. Although it is frequently argued that there is an increased interest in Bourdieu's work in the field of MOS (e.g., Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Golsorkhi et al., 2009), there is so far no systematic analysis of this claim. Such an analysis is important for the field of MOS in that it provides evidence for the proclaimed turn toward practice (Schatzki et al., 2001; Whittington, 2006). Furthermore, the citation analysis indicates Bourdieu's position in the field of MOS, i.e., his influence in the field, developed over time, since citation counts represent a good proxy for a theorist's influence (e.g., Anderson, 2006; Greenwood & Meyer, 2008; Macdonald & Kam, 2010).

The second research question aims to analyze which parts of Bourdieu's work are applied in MOS. Some researchers (e.g., Anderson, 2006; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008) argued that scholars often do not apply all parts of a theory but refer to a few concepts, i.e., subcategories of theories (Bort & Kieser, 2011). For instance, researchers citing Giddens (1984) often refer to his idea of 'structuration' (see, e.g., Barley & Tolbert, 1997) without applying all knowledge claims and assumptions of structuration theory. Therefore, the analysis of the applied concepts helps to understand which parts of Bourdieu's work are (un)known to management and organization scholars.

The third research question takes into account that not all citations are of equal importance for an article's rationale. For instance, Moravcsik and Murugesan (1975) found that some citations are not truly needed but have the function of acknowledging previous work. Similarly, Lounsbury and Carberry (2005) distinguished between ceremonious and substantive citations of Max Weber's work and identified a high ratio of ceremonious citations, which indicates that scholars do not substantially engage in his work but merely acknowledge its impact. Hence, this analysis is important to assess management and organization scholars' depth of discussion of Bourdieu's work.

Based on the citation context analysis, I discuss potential contributions of Bourdieu's work to conversations in MOS. Particularly, I aim to answer my fourth research question:

4. In which ways does Bourdieu's work provide new insights to theories and conversations in MOS?

This research question focuses on the potential contributions of so far rather neglected aspects of Bourdieu's work to MOS. I draw on the findings of the citation context analysis to identify concepts that have so far received little attention or whose full potential has so far not been released. The discussion focuses on two conversations in MOS: Micro-foundation of NIT and reflection of academic practice. The discussions have been chosen, because of management and organization researchers' long-standing interest in the topics and because I argue that these conversations might benefit significantly from a comprehensive engagement with Bourdieu's work.

The paper is structured as follows: In the first part, I describe the methodology of the citation analysis with regard to the data collection and analysis. The second part presents the results of the citation context analysis. In the third part, I discuss the findings of the citation context analysis. Finally, in the fourth part, I outline in which ways so far neglected aspects of Bourdieu's work might contribute to research in the field of MOS. It should be noted that the paper does not include an introduction to Bourdieu's work, because there are already some excellent reviews of his work available in MOS (see, e.g., Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005).

Methods

To analyze the application of Bourdieu's work in MOS, I conducted a content analysis of articles including references to Bourdieu's work. However, because I am only interested in

the specific context in which Bourdieu is cited, I chose to conduct a 'citation context analysis' (see, e.g., Small, 1982). Citation context analyses have recently received some attention in MOS (see, e.g., Anderson, 2006; Anderson & Sun, 2010; Golden-Biddle, Locke, & Reay, 2006; Lounsbury & Carberry, 2005) because they allow researchers to analyze in greater detail which knowledge claims of a theory are cited. In difference to a content analysis of an entire article, a citation context analysis examines only those parts in the citing article that contain citations to the work under investigation. I argue that a citation context analysis offers the advantage of an in-depth analysis of the claims from Bourdieu's work retrieved by management and organization scholars while at the same time limiting the number of relevant passages, thereby enabling the empirical analysis of large-scale data sets.

Sample

The citation context analysis began with a search of citations of works by Pierre Bourdieu. I used the Social Science Citation Index to collect articles in the field of MOS citing Bourdieu. I followed previous studies (see, e.g., Anderson, 2006; Lounsbury & Carberry, 2005) and limited the analysis to top outlets for research on MOS. I selected nine journals (*Academy of Management Journal* (AMJ), *Academy of Management Review* (AMR), *Administrative Science Quarterly* (ASQ), *British Journal of Management* (BJM), *Journal of Management* (JoM), *Journal of Management Studies* (JMS), *Organization* (Org), *Organization Science* (OrgSci) and *Organization Studies* (OrgSt)) for the analysis for two reasons: first, the journals have their roots in the European (BJM, JMS, OrgSt and Org) and North American scientific communities (AMJ, AMR, ASQ, JoM and OrgSci). Because previous research revealed significant differences in citation patterns between researchers from North America and Europe (see, e.g., Battilana, Anteby, & Sengul, 2010; R. E. Meyer & Boxenbaum, 2010; Üsdiken & Pasadeos, 1995), it is important to include journals from both geographical regions to obtain a comprehensive overview of the application of Bourdieu's work in MOS. Second, the journals are among the most prestigious in the field of MOS (see, e.g., Harzing, 2011) and have been used in previous studies (see, e.g., Bort & Kieser, 2011; Lounsbury & Carberry, 2005; R. E. Meyer & Boxenbaum, 2010).

Because each volume of the journals was electronically available, I used search engines to conduct a search in articles' full texts using the keyword "Bourdieu". I included all published articles except book reviews published until 2012. After an initial reading of the articles, I excluded all articles in which Bourdieu's name is mentioned but without any reference to his work; this results in a total of 347 articles. Because I observed some occasional misspellings of Bourdieu ('Bordieu'), I additionally searched for 'Bordieu' in full text. I identified five additional papers, which increased the sample to 352 articles.

Analysis

At the beginning of the citation context analysis, I developed a codebook to analyze the articles with regard to the research interests. First, I analyzed which concepts of Bour-

dieu's work are applied by management and organization scholars. In line with the literature (see, e.g., Bacharach, 1989; Bort & Kieser, 2011), I argue that concepts are subcategories of theories and that theories consist of several concepts that are related to each other. With regard to Bourdieu's work, I can identify concepts such as field, capital, habitus and doxa, which are in relation with each other but which can also be applied separately. In preparation for the analysis, I reread four of Bourdieu's major books (*Outline of a Theory of Practice*, *Distinction*, *The Logic of Practice* and *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*) and excerpted several concepts. This list of concepts was adjusted if an unlisted concept was cited. To identify the cited concept, I scanned the context of the citation for any direct reference to a concept of Bourdieu. In cases without any direct reference, I read the entire paragraph to understand its content, interpreted the meaning of the statement and then classified the context in terms of Bourdieu's work. Because some articles referred to more than one concept, multiple codings were possible.

Second, I analyzed the depth of the references to Bourdieu. I followed Sallaz and Zavisca (2007) and classified an article as "limited", "intermediate" or "comprehensive". The classification of the article by no means indicates an evaluation of its quality; it is merely an evaluation of scholars' engagement in the work of Bourdieu. An article was classified as being "limited" if it briefly referred to one of Bourdieu's concepts without any further elucidation (see, e.g., Oh, Chung, & Labianca, 2004). Articles classified as "intermediate" discuss Bourdieu's work or built measures around one of his concepts (see, e.g., Mutch, 2007). Finally, if an article shows a significant engagement with Bourdieu, for instance, if it discusses one of Bourdieu's concepts in great length (see, e.g., Battilana, 2006), it is classified as being "comprehensive". Further information about the classifications can be found in Appendix A.

The coding was made by one researcher. In some cases, the coding of the referred concept was difficult, as the citations were vague. In these cases, I expanded the context of the citation by including the paragraphs before and after the citation. If the classification remained ambiguous, the context was discussed with a colleague familiar with Bourdieu's work until we came to a consensus regarding its classification. Similar problems occurred when classifying citations as "limited", "intermediate" and "comprehensive". In ambiguous cases, I again discussed the contexts with a colleague to resolve the problem. To control the reliability of the codings, I performed an intra-coder reliability test, in which I recoded all 352 articles six weeks after the initial coding. I had reasonably high agreement with regard to the cited concepts (95.8%) and citation depth (90.9%), providing evidence for the reliability of the codings. All articles in which initial coding and re-coding diverged were again analyzed until coming to a final decision.

Findings

The first research question investigates the development of citations to Bourdieu's work over time. Fig. 1 shows a steady increase in the ratio of articles citing Bourdieu between the years 1980 and 2012. Whereas only a small number of articles
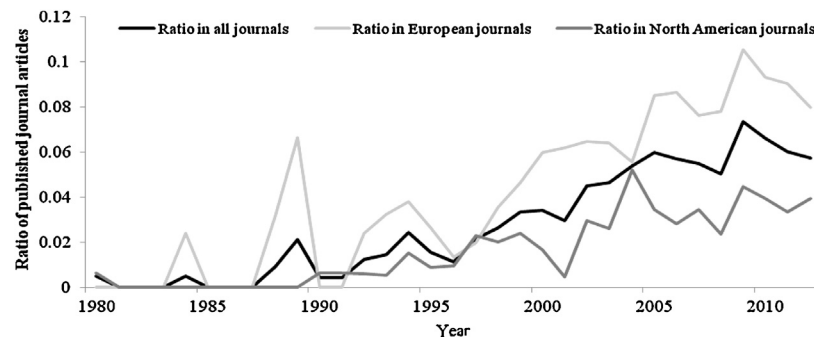
Figure 1   Ratio of articles citing Bourdieu in nine MOS journals.

cited Bourdieu in the 1980s, the ratio was on average approximately one citation per 250 articles (0.4% of all articles), and this figure increased to about one citation every 55 articles (1.8% of all articles) in the 1990s. From the years 2000 to 2012, the ratio of articles citing Bourdieu further increased to approximately one citation per 19 articles (5.3% of all articles).

In addition to the general increase in articles citing Bourdieu in MOS, Fig. 1 also reveals a higher citation frequency for Bourdieu in MOS journals that are located in Europe. In every decade, the citation count for European journals is at least twice as high as that of North American journals. Although this finding does not necessarily indicate a higher interest in Bourdieu among European researchers, as European researchers often publish their work in North American journals and North American researchers in European journals, it at least indicates that the European journals included in this study appear to be more interested in his work than their North American counterparts.

The second research question asked what contents of Bourdieu's work are cited by management and organization scholars. This question is important for investigating whether the common notion of a rather fragmented application of Bourdieu's work in the literature can be confirmed (see, e.g., Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). Moreover, it reveals which ideas and knowledge claims of Bourdieu have already been retrieved. I categorized the citation context of each citation among the 352 articles. However, I only investigated whether authors refer to a concept in the article and not how often they refer to that specific concept, so that more frequent citations of a context within a text were not considered. The analysis yielded a total of 63 different concepts and 476 citation contexts within the 352 articles. Table 1 reports the eight most frequently cited concepts, along with the number of times each was cited along with an example citation. Each concept was cited at least eleven times, and together, the concepts represent 66.3% of the total number of cited concepts.

The analysis reveals that 'capital' is by far Bourdieu's most frequently cited concept, with 92 (19.3%) citations. Because of the concept's importance, I analyzed in greater detail which specific form of capital is cited (for a similar approach, see Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007). I find that social capital (70 citations; 47.2%) is by far the most frequently used form of capital, followed by cultural (27; 18.2%), symbolic (26; 17.6%) and economic capital (19; 12.8%). Furthermore, six citations (4.1%) refer to other forms of capital, such as

political and academic capital, and in another five articles (3.4%), no specific form of capital is cited.

In addition to the concept of capital, scholars most frequently refer to Bourdieu's two other main concepts, 'habitus' (66 citations; 13.9%) and 'field' (64; 13.4%). The three concepts capital, habitus and field combined cover 221 citation contexts, which represent 46.6% of all 476 citation contexts. The two other concepts to which authors referred at least 20 times were the concept of 'social practices' (29; 6.1%) and Bourdieu's attempt to overcome the 'duality of structure and agency' (23; 4.8%). The next three most frequently cited categories are the following (with the number of citation contexts; the percentage of citation contexts): 'theory of practice' (18; 3.8%), 'logic of practice' (13; 2.7%), and 'power' (11; 2.3%). These figures reveal that most of the papers in MOS citing Bourdieu concentrate on his theoretical triad — habitus, field and capital — and almost neglect other important contributions such as his concept of the human body, field logics, hysteresis and doxa.

The third research question focuses on scholars' depth of discussion regarding Bourdieu's work. Following Sallaz and Zavisca (2007), I classified articles according to their 'limited', 'intermediate' or 'comprehensive' engagement of Bourdieu's work. The findings are summarized in Fig. 2. The data reveal that the depth of citations has increased over the years; whereas citations to Bourdieu's work were mostly limited during earlier periods, particularly in the 1980s and early 1990s, there is an increase in the ratio of intermediate and comprehensive citations in the periods starting from the year 2000.

Although the analysis provides insights into the depth of citations to Bourdieu's work, it does not reveal whether there are differences in the depth of citation with regard to the cited concepts. For instance, Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) argued that Bourdieu's concept of field and capital have been well-established in the field of MOS, whereas the concept of habitus has received less attention. Because these three concepts together reach almost half of the citations, it is reasonable to examine them in greater depth. For this purpose, I analyzed each article which cited the concepts and classified it as having 'limited', 'intermediate' or 'comprehensive' engagement of the concepts. Overall, the analysis reveals that at least 50% of the articles in which the three concepts are cited address them in a limited manner (see Fig. 3). However, there are differences in the depth of citations between the three concepts: The concept of capital has the lowest citation depth; in 62.0% of the articles that

Table 1 Overview of Bourdieu's eight most frequently cited concepts.

Concept	# of citations (in %)	Example citation
Capital	92 (19.3)	"Generally, it [social capital] is conceptualized as an intangible resource of support that emanates from membership of a social group which can be mobilized in times of need (Adler and Kwon, 2002; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988)." (Wiertz & de Ruyter, 2007, p. 351)
Habitus	66 (13.9)	"A main feature of the habitus in response to the demands of the branch or social field is the ability to 'fit in' with regard to conventions and regulations (Bourdieu 1979, 1984)." (Alvesson, 1994, p. 539)
Field	64 (13.4)	"For Bourdieu, fields are networks of social relations, structured systems of social positions within which struggles or maneuvers take place over resources, stakes, and access." (Oakes et al., 1998, p. 260)
Social practices	29 (6.1)	"Other scholars have also repeatedly noted that the collective enactment of practices over time can produce and reproduce social order and meanings (Ortner, 1984; de Certeau, 1988; Bourdieu, 1990; Knorr-Cetina, 1999; Swidler, 2001)." (Anteby, 2010, p. 631)
Duality of structure and agency	23 (4.8)	"This article preserves that analytical distinction, but argues that the continual counterposing of framework and interaction is unhelpful because of its implicit and inaccurate opposition of "constraint" to "agency." The recent works of Bourdieu (1971, 1977, 1979) and Giddens (1976, 1977) suggest a more fruitful perspective, focusing upon the interpenetration of framework and interaction as expressing a relationship that is often mutually constituting and constitutive." (Ranson, Hinnings, & Greenwood, 1980, p. 2)
Theory of practice	18 (3.8)	"Bourdieu's theory of practice (1990) helps to explain why business ownership continues to be such unfavourable territory for women." (Wilson, Carter, Tagg, Shaw, & Lam, 2007, p. 156)
Logic of practice	13 (2.7)	"Bourdieu (1990: 90) writes: 'The logic of practice is a logic which understands only in order to act, a logic that is performed directly in bodily gymnastics, without passing through explicit apprehension.'" (Gherardi, 1999, p. 115)
Power	11 (2.3)	"The link between power and the legitimation of knowledge-use practices is supported by the work of Goffman (1967) and Bourdieu (1977), who observed that power inheres in the practices and interactions in which people collectively engage." (Nag, Corley, & Gioia, 2007, p. 843)
Others	160 (33.6)	
Total	476 (100)	

refer to the concept, it is cited limitedly, whereas only in 27.1% and 10.9% of all articles it is cited intermediately and comprehensively, respectively. Regarding the concept of habitus, the findings show that in 50.0% of the articles, researchers deal limitedly with it, whereas I find a relatively high number of intermediate citations (34.8%) but a lower number of comprehensive ones (15.2%). Finally, articles referring to Bourdieu's concept of field cited it limitedly in 50.0%, intermediately in 29.7% and comprehensively in 20.3% of all cases.
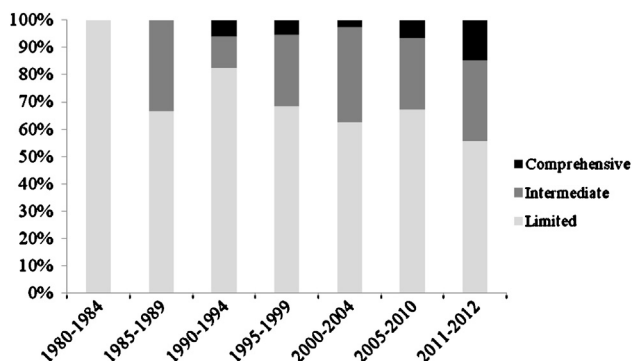
Figure 2 Depth of citation by time period.

Discussion

The following discussion focuses on the first three research questions and aims to put the findings from the citation context analysis into perspective, i.e., shows how the findings are related to results of prior studies.

The first research question analyses citations to Pierre Bourdieu in nine leading management and organization journals between the years 1980 and 2012. I find a steady increase in the number of citations to Bourdieu's work over time. The growth in the ratio of articles citing Bourdieu in the field of MOS parallels that in North American sociology journals, where the ratio increased from approximately 2% between the years 1980 and 1984 to more than 10% between the years 2000 and 2004 (Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007). Following Bort and Kieser (2011), citing Bourdieu might have become a "fashion" in the field of MOS (see also Abrahamson, 2009; Starbuck, 2009). However, Abrahamson (1996) argued that the diffusion of fashions — he referred to so-called management fashions — is characterized by a bell curve, which means that a rapid increase in the number of applications is followed by a swift drop. Several studies on (management) fashions support Abrahamson's claim of a fashion bell curve (see, e.g., Kieser, 1997; Nicolai, Schulz, & Thomas, 2010). Because citations to Bourdieu increased rather slow and steady over the years, which bears little resemblance to a bell curve,
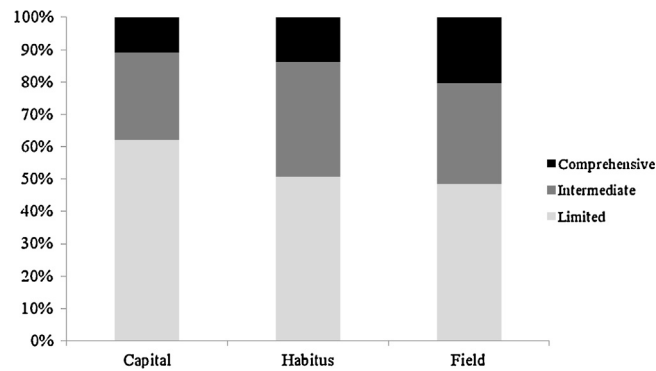
Figure 3 Depth of citation of Bourdieu's three core concepts: capital, habitus and field.

I argue that it is rather unlikely that citing Bourdieu has become a "fashion". Instead, the findings indicate that the interest of management and organization scholars in Bourdieu's work and, as a consequence, his influence in the field has increased over time. Because there are few similar studies of citations to the work of other theorists, it is difficult to compare Bourdieu's influence in the field of MOS with that of other theorists. However, compared to Max Weber, who was cited in approximately 15.0% of all ASQ and OrgSt articles published between 1980 and 2002 (Lounsbury & Carberry, 2005), Bourdieu's influence is significantly smaller. However, this finding is not surprising if we take into account that Bourdieu conducted little research on management and organizations, whereas Weber is regarded as one of the founding fathers of organization studies (Lounsbury & Carberry, 2005).

The second research question investigates what content of Bourdieu's work is cited by management and organization scholars. I find that the three concepts of capital, habitus and field combined cover almost half of the citations. This finding provides interesting insides into the reception of Bourdieu's work in the field of MOS: First, it supports the impression that MOS researchers tend to equate Bourdieu with capital, habitus and field, although his theory is much broader. However, the vast inattention to Bourdieu's other concepts is not a peculiarity of MOS researchers; Sallaz and Zavisca's (2007) study about the reception of Bourdieu in North American sociology also found that capital, habitus and field cover almost 60% of the citations to Bourdieu's work. Moreover, Anderson's (2006) study of citations to the work of Karl Weick further revealed that a selective reception of a theorist's work is not uncommon; for instance, Weick's concept of 'enactment' accounts for 16.6% of all citations to Weick's work in leading MOS journals. Second, the findings contradict the commonly held assumption of an "almost total inattention to *habitus* [emphasis in the original]" (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008, p. 1) among management and organization scholars. Indeed, I found that habitus is the second most often cited concept of Bourdieu in the nine analyzed journals. Third, the finding indicates a vast inattention to concepts other than the 'big three' (i.e., capital, habitus and field) in MOS. Thereby, management and organization scholars forgo the chance to release the full potential of Bourdieu's work for MOS. For instance, concepts such as doxa and the human body, to name just a few, might provide new insights for MOS. Hence, the finding is important in order to

present new ways in which Bourdieu's work might contribute to research in MOS.

Finally, the third question analyzes the comprehensiveness of citations to Bourdieu's work. I find that over time, management and organization researchers engaged more deeply with Bourdieu's concepts; whereas citations in the 1980s were mostly limited, there is a more comprehensive usage of Bourdieu's work in the 2000s, which parallels findings from citations for the work of Max Weber (Lounsbury & Carberry, 2005). However, a comparison of these findings with those of Sallaz and Zavisca (2007) for the North American field of sociology reveals differences: Although Sallaz and Zavisca (2007) found that citations to Bourdieu increased over time, their analysis revealed a decreasing ratio of comprehensive and intermediate citations from 1980 to 2004. An explanation for the opposite trend in the field of MOS might lie in the current popularity of the 'practice perspective' among management and organization scholars. For instance, there is an increased interest in practices in general (see, e.g., Miettinen, Samra-Fredericks, & Yanow, 2009) as well as an inclusion of practice theory in discussions in the field of MOS such as strategy-as-practice (see, e.g., Jarzabkowski & Spee, 2009) and institutional work (see, e.g., Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2011). Because Bourdieu is one of the most prominent practice theorists, this observation may explain why his theory is currently applied more comprehensively.

An additional finding of the analysis is that the depth of citations to Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field significantly differs between the concepts: Contrary to the observation of Emirbayer and Johnson (2008), I find that capital and not habitus is the least comprehensively used concept of Bourdieu in the field of MOS. This finding might be caused by my focus on nine leading MOS journals. For instance, I cannot rule out that Bourdieu's concept of capital is used in a more comprehensive way in other journals. For instance, Sallaz and Zavisca (2007) argued, based on Bourdieu's (1988) study of the French academic field, that they would expect earlier and more frequent citations to Bourdieu's work in peripheral and less prestigious journals due to Bourdieu's "outsider status". Another explanation is that the rather high number of citations to Bourdieu's concept of capital, although many of them were limited, generates the perception of a rather comprehensive engagement with the concept. The perception of an almost complete inattention of Bourdieu's concept of habitus (see Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008)

may be caused by a rather low number of comprehensive citations. Although I find a high number of intermediate citations, many of them being definitions of habitus, there are few studies that work with the habitus and apply the concept as a central part of their research (for an exception, see Kerr & Robinson, 2009; Mutch, 2003). Whereas the concepts of capital and habitus are seldom applied in a comprehensive way, there is a deeper engagement with Bourdieu's concept of field. A possible explanation for the finding is the similarity between Bourdieu's concept of field and the new institutionalist concept of organizational fields, since DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) concept of organizational fields was inspired by Bourdieu (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Greenwood & Meyer, 2008). Therefore, institutional scholars often apply Bourdieu's field concept (see, e.g., Battilana, 2006; Oakes et al., 1998), which may explain the high number of comprehensive engagements.

Contributions of Bourdieu's work to management and organization studies

The findings of the citation context analysis reveal that although management and organization scholars' interest in the work of Pierre Bourdieu has increased over time, so that his work is nowadays relatively well-known in the field of MOS, the reception has so far largely focused on the concepts capital, habitus and field, thereby neglecting other important parts of his work. Moreover, even citations to these concepts are seldom comprehensive. I argue that these findings indicate the importance of the fourth research question: In which ways does Bourdieu's work provide new insights to theories and conversations in MOS? In the following section, I discuss potential ways in which Bourdieu's work might inform research in MOS. The discussion is by no means complete; rather, I present ideas that might provide opportunities for future research.

The discussion focuses on two conversations in MOS: Micro-foundation of NIT and reflection on academic practices. The conversations have been selected for several reasons: First, the conversation about a micro-foundation of NIT has been selected, because although NIT is currently one of the most dominant theories in MOS (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, & Suddaby, 2008) and despite calls by prominent scholars (e.g., DiMaggio & Powell, 1991), the theory still lacks a micro-foundation that describes and explains micro-level institutional processes. I discuss in which ways Bourdieu's work, particularly the concept of habitus, might contribute to the conversation. Second, Bourdieu's contribution to research on academic practices in MOS has been chosen, because his work is characterized by a high level of reflection on academic practices. That is, he frequently discussed topics such as the reception of his theory in academia behind the background of his theory (see, e.g., Bourdieu, 1993). The high degree of reflexivity and the theoretically based discussion might provide further insights into academic practices within the field of MOS (see, e.g., Golsorkhi et al., 2009), which have received much attention in the literature (see, e.g., Abrahamson, 2009; R. E. Meyer & Boxenbaum, 2010).

Bourdieu and a micro-foundation of new institutional theory

The need to develop a micro-foundation of NIT is an enduring discussion among institutional scholars. First calls emerged in the early 1990s (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Zucker, 1991) and have been repeated since (see Powell & Colyvas, 2008). A micro-foundation is important for the further development of NIT, because "institutions are sustained, altered, and extinguished as they are enacted by individuals in concrete social situations" (Powell & Colyvas, 2008, p. 276), i.e., the macro-level (institutions) and the micro-level (individuals) are interconnected. Thus, a micro-foundation helps to better describe and explain micro- and macro-level institutional processes (Powell & Colyvas, 2008).

However, a micro-foundation of NIT is confronted with two challenges: First, it has to take into account NIT's social constructivist origin in the work of Berger and Luckmann (1967), i.e., institutions are not 'objective' or 'natural' features of society but the result of a process of social construction (see, e.g., J. W. Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Second, institutional scholars put great emphasis on human cognition (see, e.g., DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; George, Chattopadhyay, Sitkin, & Barden, 2006). Indeed, NIT's focus on cognitive institutions, i.e., institutions that are institutionalized in the human mind, is a distinguishing feature of the theory (Phillips & Malhotra, 2008). Hence, a micro-foundation of NIT must also provide a realistic concept of human cognition.

I argue that Bourdieu's concept of habitus has the potential to serve as a micro-foundation of NIT: First, the concept of habitus takes human cognition seriously (Bourdieu, 1986, 2000). For instance, the habitus explicitly builds on a cognitive foundation, i.e., Piaget's cognitive theory (Lizardo, 2004). Based on the cognitive theory, Bourdieu defined the habitus as a set of (cognitive) schemas, namely schemas of perception, appreciation and action, which bring forth individuals' practices (Bourdieu, 1986). The cognitive foundation of Bourdieu's theory, which has received increased attention in the field of cognitive sociology (Lizardo, 2012), has been found to be in line with knowledge in cognitive science (Lizardo, 2007; Lizardo & Strand, 2010). Second, Bourdieu takes into account the socially constructed nature of reality (Bourdieu, 2001). While he argued that individuals' cognitive schemas structure their perception of the world and their practices, he also acknowledged that cognitive schemas are structured by the social conditions in which individuals were socialized (Bourdieu, 2001), i.e., the knowledge stored in cognitive schemas is socially constructed. Additionally, Bourdieu's concept of doxa takes into account the presence of shared beliefs and taken-for-granted assumptions within a social field (Bourdieu, 2000), which are also important fundaments of NIT (see, e.g., DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Hence, Bourdieu's concept of habitus is well aligned to basic assumptions of NIT and provides a (realistic) cognitive concept that has the potential to open up NIT's cognitive "black box" on the micro-level.

I argue that the habitus provides new insights into micro-institutional processes: First, the concept of habitus might add to our knowledge about the process of institutionalization, i.e., the process by which institutions are transmitted from actor to actor (Zucker, 1977). The process is important

for NIT, because it explains how individuals come to develop a shared understanding of reality. Previous research has highlighted the role of language and discourse in this process (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004). However, Bourdieu (1990a) argued that institutions might also be transferred through mimesis, i.e., the unconscious imitation of other individuals' practices. Individuals tend to imitate the practices of more experienced individuals within a field. By imitating the practices, they learn the new practices but also unconsciously understand the meanings associated with the practices (Bourdieu, 1977). Both steps are important for the process of institutionalization: Since the same practice can be associated with different meanings, institutionalization requires both the routinization of a practice and the transfer of meaning associated with the practice (Zilber, 2002). Although research in psychology (e.g., Chartrand & Bargh, 1999) and cognitive anthropology (e.g., Tomasello, 2001) provided evidence for the importance of mimesis in cultural processes, institutional scholars have paid little attention to mimesis in the process of institutionalization (for an exception, see Sieweke, 2014). However, mimesis might complement the current focus on linguistic processes of institutionalization (see, e.g., Phillips et al., 2004) and might provide a more comprehensive understanding of the micro-level process of institutionalization.

I recommend future research that analyses the transfer of institutional meanings through mimesis. For instance, researchers might investigate how newcomers learn institutionalized practices and whether or not they (unconsciously) understand the meanings more experienced individuals associate with the practices. I argue that ethnographic studies, which are a common research method in NIT (see, e.g., Zilber, 2002), are particularly appropriate for such an analysis, because in this way researchers might experience themselves how they develop a better understanding of a field's practices simply by imitating other actors. Wacquant's (2004) ethnographic study in a boxing gym might be a good example for such an approach.

Second, the concept of habitus points our attention to the human body as further important aspect in institutional processes. While NIT has so far paid little attention to the bodily dimension of institutions (for an exception, see Weik, 2012), the human body has recently received much attention in MOS (see, e.g., Gärtner, 2013; Gherardi, Meriläinen, Strati, & Valtonen, 2013). Moreover, it is a central part of Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Bourdieu (2001) argued that the human body is the place through which society inscribes in the habitus. For instance, in each society, individuals learn certain bodily techniques such as postures, gestures and movements that are related to the social conditions (e.g., social class and gender) in which they are socialized (Bourdieu, 2001, 2004). Such postures, gestures and movements, which represent individuals' bodily hexis (Bourdieu, 1977), are related to socially constructed meanings. For instance, in several Latin societies, upright postures are associated with a sense of honor (Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011). Bourdieu (2001) argued that forcing individuals into such postures and movements activates the meanings related to the posture in individuals' minds; hence, individuals are unconsciously reminded of the socially constructed meaning associated with a bodily practice.

Bourdieu's hypothesis of a priming of individuals' minds through bodily practices has been recently supported by research in social psychology (see, e.g., Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011). However, institutional scholars have paid little attention to the connection between the human body and human cognition, although this might have important implications for research on micro-level institutional processes. Particularly, it raises the question about bodily dimensions of institutions: For instance, Dacin, Munir, and Tracey (2010) analyzed the connection between dining rituals at Cambridge colleges and the institution of the British class system. While their comprehensive study provided rich insights into the effect of such rituals on institutional maintenance, the authors ignored the role of the human body in such rituals. However, rituals such as dining consist of bodily practices such as sitting (upright) in a chair and using the cutlery in a prescribed way. Such bodily practices might transport an institutional meaning which is unconsciously learned by individuals over time. Performing these practices during rituals might have the effect of reminding individuals of the institutional meaning. Thus, the human body might act as a "memory pad" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 141) of institutions, thereby contributing to institutions' maintenance.

The supposed connection between bodily practices and institutions calls for future empirical research. Particularly, I recommend experimental studies such as those by Ijzerman and Cohen (2011) to analyze the causal influence of performing bodily practices on institutional maintenance. For instance, in the case of dining rituals, researchers might manipulate individuals' way of sitting at the table or the use of the cutlery. After performing the rituals, individuals should indicate their attitude toward the British class system in order to analyze whether or not the treatment and the control group's attitude toward the class system differ. Additionally, the research hypothesis might also be investigated using qualitative research methods such as ethnographic studies. For instance, institutional scholars might to analyze in which ways the body is manipulated during (organizational) rituals, i.e., forced into certain positions, and how the bodily techniques are connected to institutions and institutional logics. Ethnographic studies are appropriate for such an analysis, because by participating in such rituals, researchers themselves experience the manipulation of their body, which helps them to reflect how such seemingly meaningless bodily techniques influence the human mind and in which way the techniques are connected to macro-level institutions.

Bourdieu and the reflection of academic practice

Bourdieu's work is characterized by a high degree of reflexivity, particularly with regard to the implications his theory for his own academic work (see, e.g., Bourdieu, 1988). For instance, Bourdieu (1975, 1988) argued that his concept of field can be applied to academic disciplines, because they are fields like any other (e.g., politics, economy) which follow particular rules and in which a kind of 'scientific game' is played. Moreover, he applied his theory to explain the sparse reception of his work in U.S. sociology, which might be influenced by differences in the field of French and U.S. sociology that influence how U.S. sociologists understand the theory (Bourdieu, 1993).

Similar to Bourdieu, management and organization scholars have dedicated much attention to the reflection of academic practices within their field. For instance, they analyzed fashions in organizational theory (e.g., Bort & Kieser, 2011), the circulation of ideas in MOS (e.g., Battilana et al., 2010) and differences between the European and North American MOS community (e.g., R. E. Meyer & Boxenbaum, 2010). While these studies contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of academic practice, I argue that Bourdieu's work provides new perspectives for management and organization scholars that might further contribute to a better understanding of academic practices in MOS: First, Bourdieu was very reflective about the boundaries of scholarly thinking (see, e.g., Bourdieu, 1990b). Such boundaries result from scholars' embeddedness within social contexts: When individuals are socialized in a new field, they incorporate the fundamental laws that guide actions in the field (*nomos*) and develop an appreciation of the stakes that are at play (*illusio*) (Bourdieu, 2000). In the case of science, this means that scholars learn that science is an activity for its own sake and that they appreciate the "(journal) publication game." Furthermore, they also unconsciously become familiar with and accept the field's doxa, i.e., the taken-for-granted assumptions and presuppositions in their academic field (Bourdieu, 1990a; Golsorkhi et al., 2009).

Scholars' familiarization with their academic field's doxa is an important step in their professional career: Learning the "rules of the game" and the taken-for-granted assumptions is an important prerequisite for playing the game successfully (see, e.g., Butler & Spoelstra, 2012). However, becoming accustomed to an academic field and its doxa has the effect that scholars tend to align their ideas to the field's doxa, which reduces the likeliness that they challenge established paradigms and come up with new perspectives and ideas (Weick, 1996).

Additionally, scholars also might become more reluctant to work that challenges the field's doxa, which might have severe consequences for the field's progress: Because MOS lack criteria to objectively evaluate ideas (Astley, 1985; Pfeffer, 1993), reviewers tend to include non-scientific factors such as interestingness (Davis, 1971), authors' reputation (Ofori-Dankwa & Julian, 2005) and their own beliefs (Hergovich, Schott, & Burger, 2010) in their evaluation of scholarly work. This has the effect that works that challenge a field's doxa often experience resistance; for instance, research showed that seminal articles encountered resistance and were often difficult to publish (Campanario & Acedo, 2007; Gans & Shepherd, 1994). Such resistance might negatively affect the progress of an academic field, because it prevents the establishing of new ideas.

The critical evaluation of scientific work that deviates from a field's doxa might have significant effects for the field of MOS: First, it might explain the under-representation of non-North American authors in North American MOS journals (Baruch, 2001; Murphy & Zhu, 2012). For instance, differences in the historical development of the North American and the European field of MOS (Augier, March, & Sullivan, 2005) might have led to the establishing of a different set of taken-for-granted assumptions (R. E. Meyer & Boxenbaum, 2010). The differences in the fields' doxa might negatively influence European (but also other non-North American) authors' chances to publish in North American journal,

because if their ideas are not aligned to the field's doxa, reviewers and editors might be more likely to reject it (see, e.g., Koza & Thoenig, 1995). Second, the critical evaluation of scientific work that deviates from a field's doxa might explain problems in the circulation of ideas between MOS communities. For instance, Battilana et al. (2010) found that ideas from European management and organization scholars are seldom picked up by North American scholars; Meyer and Boxenbaum (2010) showed that articles in European journals (Org and OrgSt) cite European 'grand' theorists (e.g., Giddens, Weber, Habermas and Foucault) more often than articles in North American journals (AMJ, AMR and OrgSci). I argue that these problems might also be due to differences in the fields' taken-for-granted assumptions: As Bourdieu (1983) argued, texts and ideas are embedded within the historical and social context in the scientific field in which they were produced (e.g., the European field of MOS). Since the taken-for-granted assumptions in the field differ from those in the North American field of MOS (R. E. Meyer & Boxenbaum, 2010), North American scholars might experience problems to understand and interpret the scientific ideas (McKinley, Mone, & Moon, 1999). Thus, they are less likely to build on the work from other communities, which explains lower citation numbers.

However, how can we explain that while the North American MOS community seldom uses ideas developed in the European community, the European MOS community often builds on ideas from North America (Battilana et al., 2010)? I argue that Bourdieu's concept of domination might explain this observation: According to Bourdieu, each field, even the scientific field, is a network of relations between positions which are occupied by actors (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The positions within the field and the power that can be exerted by the actors depend on their share of the capital in the field. Actors possessing high amounts of capital occupy a dominant position in the field, whereas dominated positions are occupied by actors with low amounts of capital.

Actors who occupy a dominant position might exert power over actors in dominated positions, even in an indirect way. For instance, actors in dominated positions might feel pressed to deal with ideas of actors in dominant positions. As Wacquant (1993) argued, at the beginning of Bourdieu's career in the French social sciences, Bourdieu was in a dominated position, while scientists such as Lévi-Strauss or Sartre occupied dominant positions. This had the effect that Bourdieu felt pressure to deal with their work when developing his own ideas (Wacquant, 1993). In a similar vein, I argue that the undisturbed circulation of ideas from the North American MOS community to the European community might be due to the dominant position of the North American community. For instance, the most prestigious journals in MOS (e.g., AMJ, AMR) are located in North America and editorial board positions of important field journals (e.g., the Financial Times journal list) are (still) mostly occupied by North American scholars (Burgess & Shaw, 2010). Hence, even if ideas from the North American MOS community might challenge the doxa of the European MOS community, European researchers — because of the dominated position — might feel pressed to engage with and to apply ideas from the North American MOS community.

Of course, the theses developed in this section have to be empirically tested in future research. For instance,

researchers might investigate the hypothesis that differences in an academic field's doxa negatively influence scholars' understanding and interpretation of scientific ideas by conducting qualitative interviews with other researchers. These interviews might provide more insights into the difficulties experienced by researchers when reading and interpreting texts from other communities. Moreover, in the course of a quantitative study, it might be analyzed to what extent researchers from different research communities differ in their evaluation of articles written by scholars from their own and from other research communities. For instance, European scholars might assess the work of other European researchers and the work of North American researchers, while scholars from North America evaluate the work of their North American colleagues and the work of European MOS scholars. Such a study would provide insights into the question whether evaluations differ significantly between European and North American MOS scholars, which would provide evidence for the supposed influence of a field's doxa on the circulation of ideas.

Acknowledgement

Appendix A

Classification criteria for limited, intermediate and comprehensive citations

Limited citations: Limited citations were defined as mentioning Bourdieu but doing so briefly (typically only once in the article, often in a string of related citations) and without any further elucidation of his theory or works.
Intermediate citations: We attached the label of an intermediate citation to those citations that move beyond a cursory reference but stop short of a comprehensive engagement with Bourdieu's theory. An intermediate citation provides some discussion of specific writings, often engages Bourdieu at multiple points in the article and may even structure a measure around one of his concepts.
Comprehensive citation: We in turn label an article a comprehensive citation if it sustains a theoretical engagement with Bourdieu. Such articles derive their central research questions and/or hypotheses from his theory or build their theoretical arguments on Bourdieu.

The classifications are adapted from Sallaz and Zavisca (2007).

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