The study of organizational culture through practices: a proposal in the light of Bourdieu's legacy

Eda Castro Lucas de Souza
Universidade de Brasília / Programa de Pós-Graduação em Administração, Brasília – DF, Brazil

Renato Ribeiro Fenili
Universidade de Brasília / Programa de Pós-Graduação em Administração, Brasília – DF, Brazil

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the study of organizational culture through its management practices, based on Bourdieu's theoretical framework. In order to achieve this, it has a secondary objective, which is to analyze the state of the art of organizational studies that employ this theoretical framework. Initially, a categorization of the prevailing trends in the study of culture is presented, followed by a discussion over the concept, which highlights its approach as directly related to practices. The focus of this study is the management practice, understood as a cultural manifestation of the organization, through which normative, symbolic, semantic and organizational values are broached. The adopted cutting was restricted to Bourdieu's Theory of Practical Action. Brazilian and foreign academic literature that employed this theoretical framework was reviewed through the survey and analysis of articles published in scientific journals from January 2003 to December 2013. The analysis of the state of the art of organizational studies, comprising 74 selected articles, of which 24 are Brazilian and 50 are foreign, all making use of the central concepts of the Theory of Practical Action, revealed a deficiency of the associate employment of *habitus*, field and capital constructs in studies concerning practices as manifestations of organizational culture. Finally, a research agenda that employs the Bourdieusian theoretical legacy in cultural studies in organizations is proposed, which is justified in view of the gap in cultural approaches to the theoretical basis in question.

Keywords: Organizational culture. Bourdieu. Practice. Theory of practical action.

O estudo da cultura organizacional por meio das práticas: uma proposta à luz do legado de Bourdieu

Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é propor o estudo da cultura organizacional por meio das práticas de gestão, à luz do quadro teórico de Bourdieu. Para tanto, apresenta-se como objetivo secundário analisar o estado da arte dos estudos organizacionais que empregam esse quadro teórico. Inicialmente, é apresentada uma categorização das tendências predominantes no estudo da cultura e discorre-se sobre esse conceito, salientando sua abordagem como diretamente relacionada às práticas. O foco do estudo é a prática de gestão, entendida como manifestação cultural da organização, através da qual são trazidos à baila aspectos normativos, simbólicos, semânticos e de valores organizacionais. O recorte adotado restringiu-se à teoria da ação prática, de Bourdieu. Foi realizada uma revisão da produção acadêmica brasileira e estrangeira que empregou o quadro teórico de Bourdieu, por meio de levantamento e análise de artigos publicados em periódicos científicos, no período compreendido entre janeiro de 2003 e dezembro de 2013. A análise do estado da arte dos estudos organizacionais, efetuada em 74 artigos selecionados, 24 brasileiros e 50 estrangeiros, os quais se valem dos conceitos centrais da teoria da ação prática, revelou a carência do emprego associado dos construtos *habitus*, campo e capital em trabalhos sobre práticas como meio de manifestações da cultura organizacional. Por fim, propõe-se uma agenda de pesquisa que emprega o legado teórico bourdieusiano em estudos culturais em organizações, justificada ante a lacuna de esforços em abordagens culturais com a base teórica em questão.

Palavras-chave: Cultura organizacional. Bourdieu. Prática. Teoria da ação prática.

El estudio de la cultura organizacional a través de prácticas: una propuesta a la luz del legado de Bourdieu

Resumen

El objetivo de este trabajo es proponer el estudio de la cultura organizacional a través de las prácticas de gestión, basado en el marco teórico de Bourdieu. Por lo tanto, aparece como objetivo secundario analizar el estado de la técnica de los estudios de organización que emplean este marco teórico. Inicialmente, una categorización de las tendencias predominantes en el estudio de la cultura se presenta y se elabora en este concepto, destacándose su abordaje como algo directamente relacionado con las prácticas. El objetivo del estudio es la práctica de la gestión, entendida como una manifestación cultural de la organización, a través de la cual se ejercen los aspectos normativos, simbólicos, semánticos y valores de la organización. El recorte adoptado limita a la teoría de la acción práctica, de Bourdieu. Una revisión de la producción académica brasileña y extranjera que utiliza el marco teórico de Bourdieu se llevó a cabo a través de estudios y análisis de artículos publicados en revistas científicas en el período comprendido entre enero de 2003 y diciembre de 2013. El estado de la técnica de análisis de los estudios organizacionales, llevado a cabo en 74 artículos seleccionados, 24 brasileños y 50 extranjeros, que hacen uso de los conceptos centrales de la teoría de la acción práctica, pusieron de manifiesto la falta de empleo asociada a las construcciones de habitus, trabajos de campo y de capital en las prácticas como medio de manifestaciones de cultura de la organización. Por último, se propone un programa de investigación que emplea legado teórico bourdieusiano en los estudios culturales en las organizaciones, justificados ante la brecha de los esfuerzos brecha en los enfoques culturales de la base teórica tratada.

Palabras clave: Cultura organizacional. Bourdieu. Práctica. Teoría de la acción práctica.

[Translated version] Note: All quotes in English translated by this article's translator.

INTRODUCTION

From the 1980s on, the academic debate around the role of culture in organization management was increased, because studies from Western researches interested in the "superior performance of Japanese companies as compared to North American ones" (HILAL, 2006, p. 140). Meanwhile, significant efforts were made in order to understand the role played by national and corporative cultures as mediators of adoption and of the development (successful or not) of organizational practices (IJOSE, 2010). This shows evidence of the centrality of culture in the dynamics of the organization.

Organizational challenges – such as innovation and expanding markets – are related to cultural differences (intra or inter-organizational), and impact directly in the organizational survival. The conditions imposed by the cultural environment, according to Miroshnik (2002, p. 524), are present in the managerial behavior, and in managerial practices. For Miroshnik, "strategies, structures and technologies that are adequate in a specific cultural context can lead to failure in another". This fact demands the manager to work with the problem of the "relationship between multicultural organizations and their cultural environments" by adopting "accurate perception, diagnostic and adequate adaptation".

The studies on culture have not been homogeneous through time. Rather, Crespi (1997, p. 80), says they have been "a set of positions, very different from each other". In general, the author classifies the theories that propose to clarify cultural aspects of society in three categories: (i) those that lead to the control of the structures over the individual's action; (ii) those that consider community as, above all, a result of the way individuals act; and (iii) those theories that tend to consider "both the structures and the individual's action, as interdependent dimensions, and one cannot be considered more important than the other". (CRESPI, 1997, p. 80).

The debate about the most adequate way to study culture touches a wider discussion regarding the social researcher's choice for ontological and epistemological assumptions to approach the research object. This reality is illustrated by clashes in the

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* Image: Available at <http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-RkgPSB1mwIw/UPr9pbT7EwI/AAAAAAAABTw/0HdsrVtgLBM/s1600/bourdieu001.jpg>. Accessed on 14 March 2016.

organizational studies involving contradictory theoretical lines of thought focusing on elements, first seen as incompatible among themselves: structure and agency, economical and sociological aspects, or in a macro perspective, objectivism versus subjectivism.

It is not rare, based on the mapping conducted by Burrel and Morgan (1979), that the objectivist paradigms (functionalism and radical structuralism) and subjectivist paradigms (interpretation and radical humanism) are seen as mutually excluding, because they identify segregated social and scientific realities. Moreover, the objectivism, as well as a sociology marked by regulation – main characteristics of the functionalist paradigm – both have been presented as an orthodoxy of the organizational research (VERGARA and CALDAS, 2005). The mainstream takes to the expansion of functionalism for around two decades in the field of organizational studies, as argued by Bertero, Caldas and Wood (2005).

Notwithstanding, scientific works using theories on social practices propose to look beyond the dichotomies between objectivism and subjectivism. According to Spaargaren (2006, p. 1) these works present two main advantages. First, they break up with the personalist approach towards practices, where behaviors are considered as result of decision-making of the individual. This new approach does not mean that social actors "reasoning, motives, interests and emotions" are ignored. Second, the emphasis on routine and pragmatic characteristics of the action, without depriving the individual of their capacity of reflection.

Limited in this scope, the works of Giddens and Bourdieu are considered fundamental because they highlight the practices as central objects of analysis in order to produce theory and research in social sciences (SPAARGAREN, 2006).

When approaching the relationship between agency and structure, Giddens (1979) develops the so-called structuration theory, which states that "structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute those systems" GIDDENS, 1979, p. 69). The concept of duality of structure is formed, connected to the recursive aspect of social life, expressing the mutual dependency between structure and agency. Moreover, according to Cohen's analysis (1999, p. 297), Giddens is "unwilling to shape his inquiries to conform to a predetermined set of epistemological principles", considering ontological concerns as more prominent. This is the focus of the structuration theory:

> "Concentration upon epistemological issues draw attention away from the more 'ontological' concerns of social theory, and it is these upon which structuration theory primarily concentrates. Rather than becoming preoccupied with epistemological disputes and with the question of whether or not anything like 'epistemology' in its time-honoured sense can be formulated at all, those working in social theory […] should be concerned first and foremost with reworking conceptions of human being and human doing, social reproduction and social transformation." (GIDDENS, 1984, p. xx)

Bourdieu (2009), presents what he calls practical knowledge, connecting actor and social structure in a dialectical way. Bourdieu's proposal is to transcend the concepts of objective and phenomenological knowledge, in order to apprehend the connection between the dimension of the action or subjective practices; and the dimension of structures. This is the "double process of interiorization of the exteriority and exteriorization of interiority" (BOURDIEU, 1983, p. 60), which considers *habitus* as a mediating element between structure and agency, capturing both the durable dispositions that establish conditions to the practices, and the capacity of creative responses of the agents to the requests of their means.

Disregarding the focus on the practices carried out in organizational contexts, the main objective of this article is to propose the study of the organizational culture through the managerial practices, using Bourdieu's theoretical framework. In order to achieve this main objective, the article presents an analysis of state of the art organizational studies that employ the same theoretical framework.

The choice to use Bourdieu's work in this article is to minimize the lack of application of this author's theoretical framework in organizational studies, as pointed out by Emirbayer and Johnson (2008), who claim the underuse and the lack of consideration for the potential of Bourdieu's theoretical framework to perform organizational analysis. While the concepts of 'field' and 'capital' are well known in the organizational literature, the authors argue that "the specific ways in which these terms are being used provide ample evidence that the full significance of his (Bourdieu's) relational mode of thought has yet to be sufficiently apprehended." Moreover, the authors identify the lack of attention to the concept of habitus, "without which the concepts of field and capital […] make no sense". The result, they argue, is "misappropriation of his (Bourdieu's) ideas" and "lack of appreciation of their (the ideas) potential usefulness" (EMIRBAYER and JOHNSON, 2008, p. 1).

In the same direction, Khanchel and Ben Kahla (2013) point to the lack of quotations from Bourdieu's work in journals of the Academy of Management, observing that the introduction of key concepts of his theory "could help remedy the limited attention to his works from the mainstream of organization and management studies" (KHANCHEL and BEN KAHLA, 2013, p. 86). This lack is even more pronounced if considered only the studies focused on the characterization of organizational culture, through managerial practices.

This article is structured in five sections, starting by presenting a classification of the dominant trends in the study of culture. The following section discusses the concept of culture, emphasizing its approach as directly related to practices, The third section synthesizes the main elements inherent in Bourdieu's theory of practice; The fourth characterizes the state of the art organizational studies in which Bourdieu's theoretical framework was applied, presenting an analysis of this specific scientific production. Finally, the fifth section compiles the main issues discussed in this study and presents proposals for articulating Bourdieu's thinking for research on organizational culture.

DOMINANT TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF CULTURE

Crespi (1997) argues it is possible to identify three dominant trends in understanding the issue of the relationship between culture and society. These trends are presented in Chart 1.

Chart 1

Trends in the sociology of culture approach

Trend	Main characteristics	Theories
Culture perceived as a relatively autonomous set of elements within the social system	The influence resulted from this trend was in place until the end of the 1950s. The main aspect is the functions that cultural norms and values play in guiding social action	• Émile Durkheim's sociological theory;[1] • Scientific theory of culture. (Malinowski);[2] • Talcott Parsons' Social action theory; • Theory of cultural supersystems (Pitirim Sorokin).
Focus on the structural aspect and on the constructive function of the symbols referring to social reality	Theories that emerge from the 1960s, highlighting the correlation between the dynamic, the social interactions and the cultural forms.	• Lévi-Strauss' structuralist theory; • Ferdinand de Saussure's linguistic theory; • Structural-functional theory of phonology (Roman Jakobson); • Symbolic Interactionism (George Mead and Erving Goffman, among others); • Social construction of reality (Alfred Schutz; Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann); • Ethnomethodoloy (Harold Garfinkel).

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[2] For Emirbayer (1996), Durkheim is the classic author regarding the subject of culture, especially because of his analysis on how collective representations come from social structures and support them. According to Durkheim, culture is an emerging network of representations, which comprehend values, beliefs and symbolic systems of the natural collectivity in a holistically way, such it is in the case of the tribal societies on which he focuses his studies (LINCOLN and GUILLOT, 2005). Crespi (1997) argues that symbolic forms socially created (cultural forms), are representations of society, as an autonomous entity. In Durkheim's work, the role of cohesion and social consensus are credited to culture, establishing a "control system, supported in sanctions and rewards, which will guide the act of individuals in every situation, limiting their desires and indicating the concrete objective individuals should pursue to achieve"(CRESPI, 1997, p. 83).

[3] For Malinowski (1962, p. 43) culture is "the integral whole consisting of implements and consumers' goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs", connecting the individual biological essence and their relationship with the natural environment.

Trend	Main characteristics	Theories
Culture is considered a variety of sets comprised by ways to do and behave	From the 1980s, the focus on practices and rituals in different situations was left aside, on account of requirements put by the several strategies in concrete social situations	• Luhmann's systems theory (reducing complexity); • Production of society (Alain Touraine); • Theories focusing on practices and strategies for action: transcending objectivism and subjectivism (Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Ann Swidler and Margareth Archer, among others).

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on Crespi (1997).

The approach discussed in this article is inserted in the contemporaneous trend amongst those described in Chart 1. This approach focuses on managerial practices, understood as expressions of the organization's culture, through which it is possible to observe normative, symbolic and semantic aspects, as well as organizational values (D'IRIBARNE, 1993). The scope adopted in this article is limited to Bourdieu's theory of practice.

Before presenting the main elements of this theory, it is important to clarify the relationship between culture and social/organizational practices, as is shown in the next section.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURE AND SOCIAL PRACTICES

One of the first scientific definitions for culture is that coined by Tylor (1903, p. 1), who wrote that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and any other habits acquired by man as a member of society". In spite of the dominance of this definition for decades, in the middle of the twentieth century, as a result of the increasing maturity of the social sciences, a multiplication of definitions of culture was observed.

In 1952, Kroeber and Kluckholn (1952) listed 164 different definitions for culture, and classified them into six categories: (i) catalog of content, influenced by the definition of Tylor (1903); (ii) social heritage or tradition; (iii) standards of human behavior; (iv) learning, habit or other psychological aspects; (v) structural definitions, with emphasis on the standardization or organization of culture; and (vi) culture seen as a product, artifact, idea or symbol. For the authors, culture is referred to as "an abstraction from concrete human behavior, but it is not itself a behavior" (Krober and Kluckhol 1952, p. 155).

The view of culture as an abstraction of behavior is criticized by White (1959), given the lack of efforts to clarify what one understands by 'abstraction', relegating to anthropology an intangible, imponderable, and therefore non-existent phenomenon. Nevertheless, White continues to express the concern to distinguish a culture of behavior, and the core of his differentiation is the meaning of the scientific interpretation.

Culture, says White (1959, p. 247), "is the name [attributed to] things and events dependent upon symboling considered in an extrasomatic context", i.e., the name given according to the relationship these things and events establish to one another, rather than with human beings. As for behavior, it involves interpretation in a somatic context, relating social actors with facts linked to symbols. In this sense, this author refers to culture as the independent variable and behavior as the dependent variable. Therefore, if culture varies, so does the behavior.

The relation between culture and behavior is at the root of the semiotic concept presented by Geertz (2011, p. 4), according to which "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun". For the author, the webs and the analysis conducted on these webs are the culture itself. In this approach, culture is not confused with behavior, but the socially established structure of meanings that form culture is an element that influences the action. This normative view is put forward by Geertz (2011, p. 32), who proposes that culture should be seen "as a set of control mechanisms – plans, recipes, rules, instructions – for the governing of behavior".

Considering that the aforementioned control mechanisms are formed by any artifice used to impose meaning on existence, then culture gives meaning to human behavior. After all, according to Geertz (2011, p. 33), "undirected by cultural patterns – organized systems of significant symbols – man's behavior would be virtually ungovernable, a mere chaos of pointless acts and exploding emotions, his experience virtually shapeless".

Following this trend of thought, culture is an indispensable factor in human nature, leading Geertz (2011, p. 36) to state that "without men, no culture, certainly; but equally, and more significantly, without culture, no men". Here is the impact that the concept of culture has on the concept of man, in Geertz's view: it is through cultural patterns, historically shaped, that social actors give form and direction to their lives.

In discussing cultural analysis, this author gives relevance to social action, insofar as it plays the role of connector of cultural forms. In addition, Geertz (2011, p. 12-13) explains that, such forms are found not only in behavior but also "in various sorts of artifacts, and various states of consciousness". However, in these cases, the meaning of forms emerges "from the role they play [...] in an ongoing pattern of life, not from any intrinsic relationships they bear to one another".

Social practice emerges as the core of cultural analysis, since it is, in itself, what it proposes to interpret. In this sense, Geertz (2011, p. 21) argues that "to look at the symbolic dimensions of social action – art, religion, ideology, science, law, morality, common sense – is not to turn away from the existential dilemmas of life for some empyrean realm of de-emotionalized forms; it is to plunge into the midst of them".

From this perspective, D'Iribarne (1993, p. V-VI) understands culture as "a permanent repository for actors, so they can give significance to their world and their own action". Based on the culture the actors obtain patterns of interpretation, as well as establishing agreements and making commitments. Culture serves as a point of support for their cooperation. This is also the understanding of Dupuis (1996), who argues that culture is formed, altogether, by models, symbols and values, which are not subject to segregation from behaviors and actions.

Thus, culture can be referred to the collective memory, manifested and kept alive in the everyday of individuals, which adds to their understanding the notions of "movement, transformation and dynamic form of the performance of social actors in the world of praxis" (SOUZA, CASTRO- LUCAS and TORRES, 2010, p. 8).

It should be noted that Bourdieu (1979; 1986; 1987) adds to the concept of culture a political bias, presenting it as an instrument of power between classes. Bourdieu argues that the dominant culture contributes to the integration of the ruling class, while it demobilizes classes that are dominated, legitimizing social distinctions: "the culture which unifies [...] is also the culture which separates [...] and which legitimates distinctions by forcing all other cultures [...] to define themselves by their distance from the dominant culture" (BOURDIEU, 2001b, 11).

For this article, culture is defined as a reference for significance (D'IRIBARNE, 1993), and the objective is to understand the internal logic of the forms of social life. In this sense, it is from culture that actors and social groups obtain interpretation frameworks capable of influencing their perceptions and practical orientations, raising the capacity to give meaning to power relations between actors or social groups and legitimize the current order[4] (BOURDIEU, 2001b).

Considering the level of organizational analysis – adequate to the purpose of this article – the analysis turns to the relationship between culture in organizations and their managerial practices.

Using Burrell and Morgan's (1979) typology of sociological paradigms, Parker (2000) analyzes the studies on organizational culture. Preliminarily, the author understands that functionalist approaches tend to see culture in an organization as an expression of social engineering, whose management makes it possible to solve problems of order. When organizational culture is considered to be valid regarding its functionality, it will be administered and taught to new members of the organization. According to Parker (2000), the assumption is that such basic premises can be managed from the top if they are sufficiently understood. For Parker, this is a vision that converges towards the creation of consensus, neglecting the possibility of culture to create or reinforcing tensions that are endemic to the organization.

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[4] The concept of culture presented here is convergent to Bourdieu's notion of habitus, because it is shown as models of perception, conception and practical orientation. The closeness between these concepts was identified by Hofstede (2003), who defines culture as the collective programing of the mind, which distinguishes members of a group or category of people from others. According to Hofstede, "the concept of 'collective programming of the mind resembles the concept of "habitus" proposed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu [...]"(HOFSTEDE, 2003, p. 19).

As far as radical structuralism is concerned, organizational cultures are seen as "superstructural legitimation of economic inequalities" (PARKER, 2000, p. 68). Culture, in this perspective, acts in organizations as a control mechanism, aiming for the intensification of labor, the proletarianization of employees and disguising class disparities, presenting itself as a product of capital. There is, therefore, a limitation of the concept of organizational culture, which acts only as a mechanism of repression.

According to the interpretative paradigm, the notion of culture moves away from a normative system, contemplating the local nature of cultural micro-processes, in which the agent plays a preponderant role. In this context, culture, says Parker (2000, p. 70), is conceived as "sets of common 'typifications' held by actors in particular organizational settings"; and such typifications being continuously in process. In this way, culture ceases to be a prescriptive artifact and is materialized in the meaningful action.

Finally, according to the radical humanism, organizational culture is the situation of contesting meanings, considering "the distinctive understanding of a particular social group which may conflict with those of other social groups" (PARKER, 2000, p. 74). The studies in this paradigm emphasize the disputes, and the culture of an organization is then determined by the effort the different subcultures employ in order to establish hegemony.

Bourdieu's theoretical framework, on the other hand, seeks a dialectic relationship between actor and structure. Thus it not only preserves, but surpasses the objective knowledge, adding the first knowledge of the social world, inherent to phenomenology. The so-called praxiological knowledge is consolidated (BOURDIEU, 1983), advancing by transcending the usual paradigmatic typologies in scientific research on culture.

In this article, the idea of organizational culture refers to a subsystem of culture itself, which is the result of the particular history of a specific organization through which specific webs of significance are obtained, webs that provide meaning to interpretation, experiences and interactions of its members (GEERTZ, 2011).

In addition, it is assumed that social/organizational practices are cultural expressions (D'IRIBARNE, 1993; DUPUIS, 1996). The concept of organizational practices – embedded in the category of social practices – adopted here refers to Bourdieu's conception, regarding the product of a dialectical relationship between a concrete situation and the *habitus*. Practice, in this sense, moves away from both a direct and mechanized action arising from the structural characteristics, and from the purely intentional action driven by the actors' goals. This is because the practice merges a social context and a matrix of perceptions historically constructed by individuals (BOURDIEU, 2002). At this point, it is important to present the main elements of Bourdieu's theory of practice (2002; 2009), which is the objective of the next section.

BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF PRACTICE

The theory of practice conceived by Bourdieu (2009) is based on the dynamics inherent of three main concepts: habitus, field and capital. These concepts and their interrelationships are presented as follows.

THE CONCEPT OF *HABITUS*

For Bourdieu (2009, p. 87), *habitus* can be understood as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions," social structures that, without acting in a deterministic way, are adapted by individuals in their practices, without "conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them".

In discussing this concept, Bourdieu (2009) emphasizes the mutual relationship between past experiences and the *habitus*. For Bourdieu, because the *habitus* is product of history, it is through it that the conformity of practices and their constancy over time are guaranteed. In the historical process of *habitus* construction, Bourdieu (2009, p. 100) gives significant importance to the early experiences of the individual. This is because "*habitus* tends to ensure its own constancy and its defence against change through the selection it makes within new information by rejecting information capable of calling into question its accumulated information, if exposed to it accidentally or by force, and especially by avoiding exposure to such information."

However, as noted by Reay, Crozier and Clayton (2009) and Oliver and O'Reilly (2010), Bourdieu highlights some possibilities of the *habitus* to reinvent itself, especially in situations where the individual is confronted with unfamiliar situations. In these cases, the " resulting disjunctures can generate not only change and transformation, but also disquiet, ambivalence, insecurity and uncertainty " (REAY, CROZIER and CLAYTON 2009, p. 1105). In the same sense, Thiry-Cherques (2006, p. 34) states that *habitus* is "the product of individual biographical experience, of collective historical experience and of the interaction between these experiences."

Bourdieu (2009, p. 91) denies that *habitus* leads to a determinist government of social practice, allowing "the free production of all the thoughts, perceptions and actions inherent in the particular conditions of its production – and only those". For Bourdieu, *habitus* is responsible for creating middle ground in practices, between a total freedom of the agent and a mechanical determinism. According to Bourdieu (2001a, p. 169), one of the main functions of the *habitus* is "to dispel two complementary fallacies, each of which originates from the scholastic vision: on the one hand, mechanism, which holds that action is the mechanical effect of the constraint of external causes; and, on the other, finalism, which, with rational action theory, holds that the agent acts freely, consciously, and, as some of the utilitarians say, 'with full understanding', the action being the product of a calculation of chances and profits."

In organizational terms, the applicability of the concept of *habitus* would not be adequate, because it presents a level of analysis restricted to the individual. There is, therefore, a discussion of "a minimum of concordance between the *habitus* of the mobilizing agents […] and the dispositions of those who recognize themselves in their practices", since it would be "dangerous to conceive collective action by analogy with individual action" ignoring the logic of institutions of mobilization and the eventual institutional contexts in which they operate (BOURDIEU, 2009, p. 98).

In this way, Bourdieu (2009) conceives what he calls class or group *habitus*, justified by the fact that "each member of the same class is more likely than any member of another class to have been confronted with the situations most frequent for members of that class" (BOURDIEU, 2009, p. 99). Bourdieu clarifies the relationship between the individual *habitus* and the group *habitus*, considering the latter as an expression of the class in the form of a subjective but not individual system of interiorized structures, presenting common schemes of perception, conception and action. The individual *habitus* is thus a singularity, a specific variation of the collective *habitus*, a "deviation in relation to the style of a period or class" (BOURDIEU, 2009, p. 100), thus not constituting different forms of social being. In organizational terms, for example, the organization's *habitus* is historically shaped based on the shared experiences of its members, which remain with their specific individual *habitus*.

THE CONCEPT OF FIELD

In addition to the notions of capital and *habitus* – "incorporated history", Bourdieu (2009, p. 108) presents the concept of field – "objectified history". For Bourdieu, the field is an "arbitrary social construct, an artefact whose arbitrariness and artificiality are underlined by everything that defines its autonomy – explicit and specific rules, strictly delimited and extra-ordinary time and space" (BOURDIEU, 2009, p. 109). It is a space replete with positions whose properties are independent of their occupants, and which refers to a specific state of power relations (BOURDIEU, 2009).

For Mangi (2009, p. 328), Bourdieu's concept of field "denotes a structured arena of conflict where practices occur, and connects the action of the habitus to the stratifying structures of power in modern society". In this sense, Peci (2003, p. 43) states that this structured space of positions can be analyzed "independent of the characteristics of its occupants", while there are typical elements and universal laws, as well as it can be "defined according to the own specific games and interests, irreducible to the games and interests of other fields".

Misoczky (2003, p. 13) argues that social spaces or fields can only be understood by identifying the "structure of distribution of forms of power (types of capital), efficient in the considered social universe", a temporal and spatial variable. Moreover, at each moment the definition of the field structure is given by the "state of the relations of force between players" (BOURDIEU and WACQUANT, 1992, p. 99).

Lopes (2009, p. 393) considers that the structure of social fields is in constant movement, whose dynamics "resemble [that] of an endless game, counting on an eternal retreat of the groups in dispute." This situation is well characterized by the search for

individuals or groups for the maintenance or evolution of their relative positions within the social order, based on the pursuit of power in its various forms – material, cultural, social or symbolic, inherent to the concept of capital for Bourdieu (1986).

According to this view, the field, when mediating the relationship between social structure and cultural practice, is seen as a space constructed and organized around "specific types of capital or combinations of capital" (MANGI, 2009, p. 328).

THE CONCEPT OF CAPITAL

Bourdieu (1986, 2001a, 2001b, 2009) shows the relations of power as central to the structuring and functioning of the social world. For the author, the accumulated history regarding the distribution of forms of power in a given society is crucial to dictate its functioning. This promotes unequal capacities of influence and success, as well as maintain temporal inertia.

> The social world is accumulated history, and if it is not be reduced to a discontinuous series of instantaneous mechanical equilibria between agents who are treated as interchangeable particles, one must reintroduce into it the notion of capital and with it, accumulation and all its effects. Capital is accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour. It is a *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the imminent regularities of the social world. It is what makes the games of society [...] something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle". (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241)

Bourdieu (1986) analyzes that, depending on the field in analysis, and the potential for conversion to economic advantages or to its mere perpetuation or reproduction, capital can come in three forms: economic, cultural and social. The economic form can be converted directly and immediately into pecuniary advantages, and may be formalized as property rights.

The concept of cultural capital, per se, shows significant scope when it comes to the different forms of power coming from factors such as: (i) tastes, domain of language and information assimilated over time (incorporated state); (ii) material objects and media, such as books, works of art, paintings, tools, etc. (objectified state); and (iii) academic qualifications (institutionalized state) (BOURDIEU, 1986)

Social capital, in Bourdieu's theory (1986, p. 51), refers to 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". These are the prerogatives arising from belonging to a particular social group, made effective through the connections established between its members, providing material and symbolic benefits.

After exposed the concepts of *habitus*, field and capital, the next section addresses their interrelationships, which give form to Bourdieu's theory of practice.

THE THEORY OF PRACTICE

The treatment of the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism – the core of Bourdieu's philosophy of action – is developed from the "two-way relationship between objective structures (social fields) and incorporated structures (of *habitus*)" (MISOCZKY, 2003, p. 11). According to Peci (2003, p. 32), the relation between field and *habitus* could be seen as a privileged means of achieving the "theoretical ambition to overcome the alternative between subjectivism - phenomenology - and objectivism - structuralism".

By assuming a dialectic relationship between the subject and society, or between the individual *habitus* and the structure of a field, actions are no longer derived from simple rational calculations, but from the result of the pressures and stimuli of a conjuncture over structures of the agents (SETTON, 2002).

Thiry-Cherques (2006), when discussing the system of concepts used by Bourdieu, understands that the dynamics between the field and the *habitus* is centered on the search for the maintenance or change of the relations of force and distribution of the forms of capital. According to this view, in each field, the *habitus*, formed by confrontations between individuals and groups, would determine the positions in society and, on the other hand, the set of positions would determine the *habitus*.

Bourdieu (2009, p. 108) makes use of the analogy with what sports language calls a "sense of the game", considering that this metaphor "gives a fairly accurate idea of the almost miraculous encounter between the habitus and a field". According to Bourdieu, the "sense of the game" – the product of the experiences of the game space – implies a meaning, a reason for being and an orientation to those who participate in it. In this sense, Bourdieu (2009, p.108) attributes the concept of *illusio* – Latin expression originating from *ludus* (game) – related to the "sense of investment in the game and the outcome, interest in the game, commitment to the presuppositions – doxa – of the game".

To the individual who is endowed with the "sense of the game", everything that goes on in the field of the game seems to make sense. However, when suspending the adhesion to the game, the actions that take place in it lose significance, reducing to become absurd. In social fields, Bourdieu (2009, p.109) clarifies that "one does not embark on the game by a conscious act, one is born in the game, with the game". There is, in this case, a practical belief – or a practical sense (*illusio*) – just as natural and immediate as affected by individuals' primary learning.

The bridge between interest (*illusio*) and action itself is brought by the notion of strategy. This concept is defined by Bourdieu (1990, p. 36) as "the orientation to practice, which is neither conscious nor calculated nor mechanically determined". The practice aims at certain purposes, guiding the conduct of the social actor. The internalization of the "sense of the game" allows the creation of strategies for the achievement of certain interests. *Habitus* thus works as a "system of strategies-generating schemes", which conforms to the objective interests of its actors" (PECI, 2003).
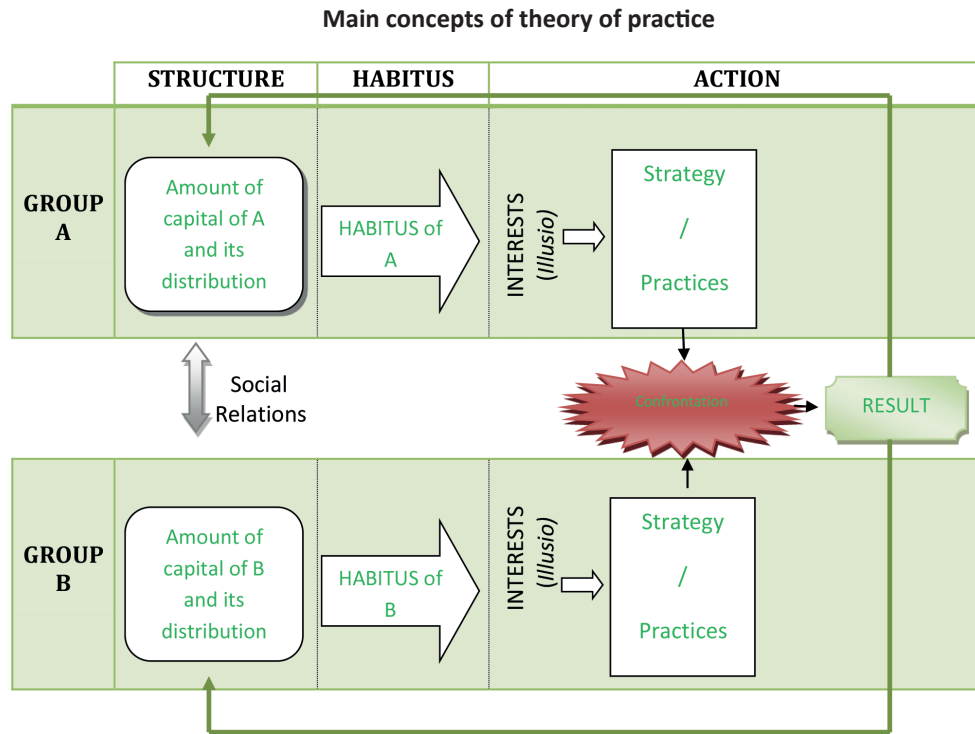
Thus, the strategies would be inspired by the stimuli of a certain historical situation, tending to be adjusted to the needs imposed by a specific social configuration. For Setton (2002), this concept encompasses practices characterized as unconscious, without, however, depriving them of agents' ability to reflect. In the same direction, Peci (2003, p. 32) highlights Bourdieu's critique of the utilitarian view in the social sciences, arguing that the principle of strategies involved in the various fields would not be the "cynical calculation, the conscious pursuit of profit maximization, but an unconscious relationship between a habitus and a field".

The relevance of considering the role of the field in social practice – coming from a deterministic view – is the understanding that it mediates the relationship between social structure and cultural practice, constituting spaces built and organized around "specific types of capital or combinations of capital" (MANGI, 2009, p. 328). According to Bourdieu (2009), the lack of consonance between the *habitus* and the objective conditions of a field entails greater reflexivity on the part of the agents on what structures the actions, provoking a change in the practices.

In addition, for the purposes of organizational studies, Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) stress the possibility of adopting the concept of organization-as-field. Such is Bourdieu's (2005, p. 205) proposition when analyzing, "if we enter the 'black box' that is the firm, we find not individuals, but, once again, a structure – that of the firm as a field". The structure of this field is determined by the volume and types of capital inherent to the various positions in the organization, raising the constraint of agents ("field of forces") and/or the dynamics between their positions ("field of struggles") (BOURDIEU, 2009).

A synthesis of the dynamics of the theory of practice is presented in figure 1. The interrelationship of its main concepts is represented by a hypothetical autonomous field.

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Figure 1

Main concepts of theory of practice

STRUCTURE	HABITUS	ACTION

GROUP A

Amount of capital of A and its distribution

HABITUS of A

INTERESTS (*Illusio*)

Strategy / Practices

Social Relations

Confrontation

RESULT

GROUP B

Amount of capital of B and its distribution

HABITUS of B

INTERESTS (*Illusio*)

Strategy / Practices

Sources: Adapted from Hurtado (2010).

According to Hurtado (2010), the conditions of the structure of a given social group are seen based on the amount and distribution of capital. Socialization in these groups generates a class *habitus*, whose dispositions are manifested through practices, producing the "sense of the game". In this context, the arena of conflict between groups produces results that act on the stratification of power in social unity, usually reinforcing the objective conditions of the field.

In methodological terms, the applicability of Bourdieu's theory of practice lacks specific approaches. According to the analysis by Emirbayer and Johnson (2008), the organizational study based on the Bourdieu's theoretical framework demands, initially, the in-depth knowledge of the organization's history, as well as in-depth knowledge of the field in which the organization is inserted. Ethnography is pointed out as a suitable method for research on the *habitus*, whereas relational and social network analysis are appropriate for the research on intra and inter-organizational capital dynamics. In addition, the use of questionnaires requires the segmentation of individuals into groups of likely analogous representativeness in the organization, making it possible to "characterize the positions of power through the properties and powers of their holders" (BOURDIEU, 1988, p. 76).

For Emirbayer and Johnson (2008, p.2), while field and capital are concepts constantly used in organizational literature, "the specific ways in which these terms are being used provide ample evidence that the full significance of his relational mode of thought has yet to be sufficiently apprehended". In the present study, this fact led to a look more focused on the state-of-the-art of the organizational studies based on the theoretical tools developed by Bourdieu in order to delineate an overview of how their contributions have been effectively employed.

THE USE OF BOUDIEU'S THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK IN ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES

In order to establish the state of the art use of Bourdieu's theoretical framework in organizational studies, an analysis of articles published in scientific journals was conducted, considering issues released between January 2003 and December 2013.

The database used in the analysis were the Academic Search Premier (EBSCO), Cambridge Journals Online, Emerald Fulltext (Emerald), Gale – Academic OneFile, Highwire Press, JSTOR Arts & Sciences (Social Sciences), OECD iLibrary, Oxford Journals (Oxford University Press), PsyArticles (APA), SAGE Journals Online, ScienceDirect (Elsevier) and Scielo.ORG, accessed through the online portal of journals provided by Capes. They were chosen because they cover the most prominent journals in the literature subject of the study, and because they are in the field of Applied Social Sciences – sub-area of business management, public administration and accounting, according to classification provided by the research tool of Capes online portal.

The data was complemented by a consultation of the websites most important Brazilian journals in administration classified according to Capes' assessment of the quality of intellectual production (Qualis): *Revista Eletrônica de Administração* (READ), *Revista de Administração de Empresas* (RAE), *Revista Brasileira de Gestão de Negócios* (RBGN), *Revista de Administração Contemporânea* (RAC), *Revista de Administração Pública* (RAP) and Brazilian Administration Review (BAR), among others.

The research was conducted using *Bourdieu* as keyword, which avoided any possible limitation of the survey's coverage. The criteria adopted for the selection of articles among those retrieved by search engines were: a) published between January 2003 and December 2013; and b) the centrality of the conceptual study of Bourdieu's theoretical framework or its application in a given organizational analysis. The search on the system of the Capes portal for the most relevant studies, as well as the search on journals' websites, resulted in 191 articles that had their abstracts analyzed. The articles that did not refer to organizational studies, especially those focused on class conflicts and research in the area of education and literary and linguistic analysis were disregarded. The final sample was reduced to 74 articles, of which 24 were published in Brazilian journals and the others in non-Brazilian publications.

The next step was the analysis of the content of the articles in the sample. The studies were grouped according to two perspectives, established according to the way in which the theoretical framework inherent to the theory of practice was used. The conceptual perspective refers to articles dedicated to the analysis of the theoretical tools proposed by Bourdieu, rather than the application of these tools in a specific situation of the organizational reality. The articles circumscribed in this perspective seek to analyze the main concepts of the theory of practice *per se*, or to analyze the relationship or contribution of Bourdieu's theoretical framework in a broad way; including, regarding methodological aspects.

On the other hand, the applied perspective brings together articles whose approach refers to the use of Bourdieu's theoretical tools in the analysis of organizational aspects, or the organizational environment. In this group were classified the articles aimed at elucidating power relations in organizations, the study of organizational practices understood as cultural expressions or organizational phenomena through practices, as well as the description of organizational fields, the dynamics between structure and agency, and the relationship between *habitus* and socialization processes.

The analysis of the articles selected was carried out in two clusters – those published in Brazilian journals and those published in non-Brazilian journals – in order to obtain a view of the scientific production in these two contexts, evaluating the similarities and eventual singularities.

Regarding the sample formed by the 24 Brazilian articles, the distribution of the production is focused on the journals *Revista de Administração Pública* (RAP) and in *Revista de Administração de Empresas* (RAE), followed by *Revista de Administração Contemporânea* (RAC), *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, Brazilian Administration Review (BAR) and by *Revista de Administração Mackenzie* (RAM), as can be observed in table 1.

Table 1

Distribution of the Brazilian scientific production related to Bourdieu theoretical framework in the sample

Journal	RAP	RAE	RAC	RAM	BAR	Revista Brasileira de Educação	Others
% article	20.83%	16.67%	8.33%	8.33%	8.33%	8.33%	25.01%

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

As for the sample of non-Brazilian articles (50 articles), the distribution of the production was homogeneous. The journals 'Sociology' and 'Social Science & Medicine' counted on 8% each.

The articles were classified as 'conceptual' or 'applied' regarding the researchers' perspective. The content was analyzed and separated according to the sub-categories listed in table 2.

Table 2

Classification of the scientific production related to Bourdieu's theoretical framework

Perspective	Category	Sub-category	Number of articles		
			Brazilian	Non-Brazililan	Total
Conceptual	Analytical	Analysis of Bourdieu's theoretical framework	5	7	12
		Connections between Bourdieu's work, the research from other authors and other organizational theories	2	4	6
		Contributions from Bourdieu's theoretical framework to organizational theories.	1	4	5
	Methodological	The use of Bourdieu's work as fundamentals of specific research methods	0	2	2
Applied	Behavioral	Dynamic between structure and agency	2	9	11
		Habitus and the process of socialization/social interaction	2	3	5
	Cultural	Study of the practices as cultural expressions	1	1	2
		Comprehension of the organizational culture based on Bourdieu's theoretical framework	0	1	1
	Descriptive	Description of specific organizational field	1	3	4
	Political	Intra or inter-organizational power relations	6	4	10
	Praxeological	Analysis of specific organizational practice based on the concepts of *habitus* and capital	0	3	3
		Study of organizational phenomenon through practices	4	9	13

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

In the conceptual perspective, the majority of articles focused on the isolated analysis of the theoretical framework related to the theory of practice. Although it was possible to observe articles that provide an overview of Bourdieu's work (THIRY-CHERQUES, 2006; VALLE, 2007), there are some focusing on particular concepts. In this last sub-category, the following studies stand out, with the following concepts on the agenda: Oliveira (2005) – *illusio*; Lizardo (2010) and Navari (2011) – practice; Wacquant (2011) – *habitus*. In addition, it was possible to identify articles dedicated to clarifying the relationship between Bourdieu's theoretical framework and contributions from other authors or other organizational theories. In

this sub-category, the work of Benson (2006) and Mangi (2009), focused on the relationship between neo-institutionalism and Bourdieu's theory, is worth highlighting.

Still concerning the conceptual perspective, two articles were identified using Bourdieu's central concepts in exhibiting specific research methods. It is the work of Sweetman (2009) that, based on the concept of *habitus*, defends the use of visual methods (eminently photographs) in the research in an area called visual sociology; and the article by Feldman and Orlinowski (2011), which discusses the empirical, theoretical and philosophical approaches inherent in research methods centered on organizational practices.

The applied perspective, on the other hand, gathered a greater diversity of categories. Three of them are worth highlighting in terms of quantity: behavioral, praxeological and political.

Preliminarily, the behavioral category – in which a micro-sociology focused on individual actions prevailed – showed two biases: the dynamics between agency and structure; and the socialization processes discussed from the concept of *habitus*. In the first case, the discussions were centered on aspects such as reflexivity and possibility of change of the *habitus* (AKRAM, 2012; CARGILE, 2011; MACLEAN; HARVEY and CHIA, 2012). In a different point of view, Peci's (2003) work is cited, to whom Bourdieu "is characterized by a stronger propensity to structuralism" (Ibidem, 31), showing "a considerable degree of determinism, expressed, perhaps with greater force, in the search for homologies between different fields" (Ibidem, 32). As far as the socialization processes are concerned, studies have been made in terms of the conformation of the *habitus* in military institutions (ROSA and BRITO, 2010); religious institutions (WINCHESTER, 2008); institutions working with education (REAY, CROZIER and CLAYTON, 2009) or in health care (SIEGER, FRITZ and THEM, 2012).

In the praxeological category, articles were found that take practice as a unit of analysis or that turn to the analysis of specific organizational practice through Bourdieu's theoretical tools. Among the organizational phenomena studied from the practices, these stand out: the elaboration of strategies – or, according to Whittington's (2002), the strategy-as-practice approach (SILVA, CARRIERI and SOUZA, 2011; TURETA and LIMA, 2011); the technological transition at an ecological level (SPAARGAREN, 2006); The implementation of policies to stimulate diversity in Brazilian branches of a multinational company (SARAIVA and IRIGARAY, 2009); Business ethics (CLEGG, KORNBERGER and RHODES, 2007) and the implementation of the New Public Management (MCDONOUGH and POLZER, 2012).

Still in the praxeological category, three articles were identified that apply the concepts of *habitus* and capital in the study of specific organizational practice. They are: Kita (2011), who aims to study the psychodynamic therapy in incarcerated patients; Scott and Wilson (2011), who analyze a support program for mentally ill individuals; and Schueler (2011), who investigates a specific practice in the area of information technology and communication.

In the political category, articles that deal with intra or inter-organizational power relations were identified and Bourdieu's concept of capital (symbolic) is dominant in these works. The focus of study in this category varied among conflicts between managers and professional categories (NOORDEGRAAF and SCHINKEL, 2011) and power dynamics in inter-organizational networks (TEIXEIRA, MOREIRA and CASTRO, 2011), and others.

Authors who described specific organizational fields were identified, such as Jacobs (2012) who wrote about the field of accounting in the public sector; Skille (2007), about sports in Norway; Araújo, Antonialli, Brito et al. (2011), who studied the scientific field in which Embrapa (Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation) is inserted; and Morberg, Lagerström and Dellve (2012) who wrote about the field of nursing schools.

Finally, the cultural category represented the lowest number of articles, which focused on the organizational culture, in some cases considering practices as expressions of culture (JACKSON, 2008; SOUZA, CASTRO-LUCAS and TORRES, 2010), or using Bourdieu's theoretical framework in order to understand the organization's culture (KAMOCHE and PINNINGTON, 2012). In their article, Kamoche and Pinnington (2012) start from an analysis based on Bourdieu that considers the constitution of significance through processes of social reproduction, discussing the later legitimacy and persecution of symbolic capital inherent in spiritual values in organizations. Souza, Castro-Lucas and Torres (2011), propose a theoretical linkage of the concepts social practices, culture and innovation, suggesting a research agenda that contemplates studies on topics such as the influence of the national culture on organizational practices and the relationship between managerial practices (expressions of organizational culture) and innovation.

DISCUSSION AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to Dupuis (1996, p. 243), "a definition of culture would not be complete if it did not take into account the meanings at the heart of the practices". Therefore, to define culture rigorously would necessarily "articulate dialectically contexts of social interaction, actors' practices and meanings of actions". In this sense, it is brought to light the recursion between the organizational culture and its managerial practices, being the latter expressions of the former (D'IRIBARNE, 2009) and, in this role, make it possible the study of culture.

The focus on practices as a unit of analysis in cultural research has led this study to limit its analysis to the use of the theoretical tools developed by Bourdieu, considering his work as one of the central theories that aims at transcending the relationship between objectivism and subjectivism (SPAARGAREN, 2006) in the studies of organizational culture.

Regarding the effective use of the theory of practice in organizational studies (HURTADO, 2010), the analysis of the state of the art studies focusing on Bourdieu's theoretical framework, showed that there is a lack of associated use of Bourdieu's constructs – *habitus*, field and capital.

In the behavioral category, for example, which is more focused on the research of social interactions, reflexivity and socialization processes, the isolated use of the notion of *habitus* is dominant. In the praxeological category, the discussion based on the concepts of *habitus* and field was recurrent, relegating to the second plan, the concept of capital. The concept of capital was present in the political category, which was less prominent in comparison to the others. In general terms, the concept of *habitus* was the most recurrent, going against the perception of Emirbayer and Johnson (2008, p. 2), who say that there is an "almost total inattention to habitus [in the organizational research], the third if Bourdieu's major concepts, without which the concepts of field and capital (at least as he deployed them) make no sense".

The use of Bourdieu's legacy in cultural studies of organizations has proven to be less significant, in quantitative terms, among the selected articles. In spite of the small sample, similar to the one observed in the behavioral category, the use of the concept of *habitus* stood out in this case. The lesser consideration of the concepts of capital and field is to some extent explained by Jackson (2008, p.168), for whom the former is the "most complex aspect of Bourdieu's whole theory", while the latter is a vague concept, making it difficult to determine boundaries between one field and another. Nevertheless, despite the supposed conceptual inaccuracy, Jackson (2008, p. 171) points out that the theory of practice "offers a useful way of becoming aware of the way action is shaped by cultural predispositions".

In this sense, it should be mentioned that an analysis of organizational culture through the Bourdieu' theoretical framework can bring together aspects of the organization's history and aspects of its present. According to Hurtado's (2010) analysis, while the *habitus* – whether individual or related to social class – is shaped over time, the field reveals the present conditions with which the *habitus* is confronted. According to Emirbayer and Johnson (2008), the use of the concepts "field" or "capital", devoid of the concept of *habitus* entails the loss of the connection between the social past and present. Thus, cultural studies such as the one conducted by D'Iribarne (1993), which privilege the history of the organization as an indispensable element to understand its culture, can benefit from Bourdieu's work in their analysis.

Studies on organizational culture through practices sound prominent, especially because they clarify how processes at the micro level are likely to form processes at the macro level. In this scope, Bourdieu's theory of practice is "useful in addressing a perennial concern of organizational theory: namely, the process by which organizational change or organizational reproduction emerges out of individual actions" (EMIRBAYER and JOHNSON, 2008, p. 29-30).

The potential for the theory of practice to be applied satisfactorily at multiple levels of analysis can be assessed by a closer look at two of its main concepts: field and *habitus*. Bourdieu's concept of field, when used in organizational studies, is usually allusive to the level of inter-organizational analysis, referring to what DiMaggio and Powell (1991, p. 64) call "a recognized area of institutional life". For Emirbayer and Johnson (2008), the potential utility of the field concept is minimized by restricting its application to the clusters level of organizations. According to the authors, the theoretical approach provided by this construct is capable of covering the analysis not only of the social configurations that circumscribe the organizational fields, but also the organizations individually.

Regarding the *habitus*, DiMaggio and Powell (1991) argue that this concept "provides a powerful way of connecting processes at micro and macro levels in organizational theory". Mangi (2012, p. 8) agrees with these authors in understanding that Bourdieu uses *habitus* "to make transitions between different levels of analysis (micro to macro) feasible and to seek generalizations across various domains of human activity".

The conclusion is that Bourdieu's theoretical framework – especially because of the dynamics it offers in approaching the connection between the class *habitus* and the field of organization (revealing its "sense of the game") – holds great potential for culture studies in organizations.

Therefore, Bourdieu's theoretical legacy applied to the studies of culture in organizations is a possibility to consider when it comes to forming a research agenda. When using Bourdieu's theory of practice to identify cultural expressions of organizations, – through practices related to authority, cooperation, conflict management, and others – the studies on organizations and their managerial models are more comprehensive. These studies are then able to provide analysis of the social context around the organizational fields as well as looking at the organization as a single subject, congregating inherent effects of the processes to individuals and organizations (careers, organizational units, informal groups). The case for using Bourdieu's theoretical framework is reinforced by the lack of research efforts in such cultural approaches, as evidenced by the reduced number of articles in the survey carried out for this research. This reveals that the study of organizational culture through managerial practices is still incipient.

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Eda Castro Lucas de Souza

PhD in Sociology from UnB/FLACSO; Associate Professor at the University of Brasília. E-mail: edalucas@gmail.com

Renato Ribeiro Fenili

PhD in Administration from the Post-graduation Program in Administration of the University of Brasília; Member of research group.
E-mail: renatofenili@yahoo.com

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