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Translation as a Measure of International Consecration

Mapping the World Distribution of Bourdieu's Books in Translation

by Gisèle Sapiro *and* Mauricio Bustamante

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1. Introduction

In this paper, we examine translation as a significant indicator of the international reputation or, to use Bourdieu's own concept, symbolic capital, of a thinker in the human and social sciences, and of the circulation of his work. Among the indicators of scientific recognition, citations are the most frequently used. This method has recently been applied to study the international reception of Bourdieu. Marco Santoro [2008a] showed that, according to the US ISI Web of sciences, the number of citations of Bourdieu in the world every year from 1999 to 2007 was higher than those of three other contemporary renowned sociologists, Giddens, Goffman and Habermas, and that it has been increasing in this period (from a little less than 900 to 1650). A comparison of the geographic distribution of the citations of Bourdieu, Luhmann and Giddens in the world from the 1970s to the present reveals the role of the US in the international consecration of these authors [Keller 2007]. A survey on the reception of Bourdieu in the US has shown the growing number of citations in American sociological journals [Sallaz and Zavisca 2007]. Yet no quantitative survey on Bourdieu's work in translation has been done before.

An indicator of recognition [Bourdieu 1984, 68 ff.], translation is also a measure of the international circulation of works and of ideas [Bourdieu 1999; Heilbron and Sapiro 2007]. International scientific exchange has been assessed by articles in collaboration and foreign citations in journals [Gingras 2002; Gingras and Heilbron

2009; Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson forthcoming]. Most of these studies rely on SSCI, which imply, as pointed in these studies, at least three biases for the study of reception: journals are classified according to disciplines (whereas Bourdieu's work, for instance, had a reception across disciplines); Anglo-American journals are overrepresented; it limits the study of reception to the academic world. Moreover, in the social and human sciences, the book still plays a significant role in the diffusion of scientific knowledge and in the evaluation of the production, a role which varies according to the discipline [Larivière *et al.* 2006]: it is more important in the humanities, especially literature and history, than in the social sciences, economy being in this respect the closer to the natural sciences, while sociology stands in an intermediary position (all the more in a country like France where it has historical links with philosophy). We shall therefore focus here on books in translation.

For books written in a language other than English, translation is more and more a precondition for being read and cited abroad, because of the increasing (hyper-) centrality of English as assessed by number of primary and secondary speakers [De Swaan 1993, 2001]. Although French is also a central language, its centrality has been decreasing, and it can be assumed that, apart from francophone areas, Bourdieu's works are more often read worldwide in the English translations than in the French original (most of the citations to Bourdieu's work in American sociological journals are to the English translations). Yet Bourdieu's translations were far from being limited to English.

Analyzing the transnational circulation of books in translation provides a picture of the larger reception of a thinker: whereas citations in scientific journals is a good indicator of peers' recognition, translating a book involves the publishing field [Bourdieu 1999; Sapiro 2008a] and aims at introducing the work to a larger public, including scholars from other disciplines, students, non academic intellectuals, and other educated readers [on the case of Derrida, see Lamont 1987]. Although being translated into English can be considered today as a sufficient condition for having a chance to get attention in the international field of a discipline in the social sciences, being a "global thinker" paradoxically requires to be translated in as many languages as possible.

In this paper, we shall address the international reception of Bourdieu's works through a quantitative analysis of his books in translation, by language and by country. This is thus a study of the circulation of Bourdieu in linguistic and geographic spaces, in the book format. Four indicators of international reputation were considered over time: the number of translations in different languages, the number of languages, the number of countries, and the rhythm of translation. The evolution pattern of his translations can be described as a "Matthew Effect" as defined by Merton [1973, 439-459].

After presenting the methodology (section 2), we shall analyze the structure of the linguistic and geographic diffusion of his work in 2008 according to the books translated in different languages and countries (section 3). We shall then turn to comparing the evolution, mainly between two phases, before and after 1996 (section 4). Until 1996, Bourdieu achieved international scientific recognition, first as a specialist in certain research domains (education, culture), then as a social theorist. After 1996, a period when he engaged in a fight against neo-liberalism as a public intellectual, he acceded to the position of a “global thinker.” The translation patterns can also provide some evidence on the question whether he is becoming a “classical author.”

2. Data and Methodology

The main source for building the database of Bourdieu’s work in translation was the bibliography by Yvette Delsaut and Marie-Christine Rivière, which is a very reliable source [Delsaut and Rivière 2002, www.letempsdescerises.net]. This data was completed for the recent period with the help of the UNESCO database of translation *Index Translationum*, and checked with the Delsaut and Rivière database, which was being updated while we were working on the data. This database included nine variables: the French title of the book¹ (the collections of articles in foreign languages were coded as such), the year of original publication, the year the translation was published, the language, the publisher, the city, the country, the translator, the number of pages, to which a few other variables we built in order to classify the books by type (collection of essays in foreign language, translated title, pocket format), by research domain (anthropology, education, culture, etc.), by content (collection of essays, interviews, research books, etc.).² We shall focus here on dates, languages and countries, and leave the other variables, namely the publishers for a further research.

Since linguistic and geographic spaces do not overlap, the variables of language and of country were treated separately. Bourdieu’s translations into Spanish, for instance, appeared not only in Spain, but also in Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, etc. Conversely, in Spain were published translations into four different languages: Castellan, Catalan, Galician, Valencian.

In order to avoid an overestimation of the titles in translation, the indicator used was the first translation of a title in a language or in a country. For instance, in the

¹ The corresponding title in English can be found in Appendix 2.

² Some of the earlier books, published in the 1960s or 1970s, are co-authored but this did not appear as a relevant variable, these books being considered as part of Bourdieu’s work.

case of *Contre-feux*, which was published in Portuguese in 1998 by two publishers, Jorge Zahar at Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and Celta at Oeiras (Portugal), we considered it as one translation into Portuguese, but two editions in different countries. This problem regards mainly English, and to a lesser extent, Spanish and Portuguese. It raises the question, to be addressed in our further inquiry, of whether the books were co-published (which usually implies sharing the translation costs) or whether the rights were sold. In English, most of Bourdieu's titles were translated by British publishers (mostly by Polity Press in Cambridge), and co-published or sold to American publishers (mostly Stanford University Press), which made the books available in the US at the same time, but in some cases, the American publisher was first.

Two books appeared first in a foreign language. *L'Ontologie politique de Martin Heidegger* (Paris: Minuit, 1988), was initially published in German under the title *Die Politische Ontologie Martin Heideggers* (Frankfurt a.M.: Syndicat, 1976): the German edition was a translation of an article Bourdieu published in his journal *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* in 1975; Bourdieu then published it as a book in French in 1988 with minor changes, at the height of the polemics on Heidegger and Nazism in France. *Esquisse pour une auto-analyse* was also first published in German under the title *Ein soziologischer Selbstversuch* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2002) before it appeared in French in 2004, two years after his death, at *Raisons d'agir*, the publishing house he founded. Although it included a chapter which had formerly appeared in French in the proceedings of a conference, the German edition was the first large diffusion of this very personal writing, the reception of which Bourdieu preferred to test first abroad for this reason. He intended to rework it before the French publication, but his sudden death interrupted his projects.

An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology,³ a book co-authored with Loïc Wacquant, was written in English and sent to The University of Chicago Press. As Loïc Wacquant told us,⁴ in the meantime, it was read by Le Seuil in Paris, who decided to translate an abridged version. As trade French publishers work faster than the American university presses, the French translation appeared first in January 1992 under the title *Réponses. Pour une anthropologie réflexive*, before the English original co-published by the University of Chicago and Polity Presses. It appears in our figures as *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*.

A more complicate case is the collection of essays *Language and Symbolic Power*, published in 1991 by Polity Press and by Harvard University Press with a preface

³ Not to be confused with *In Other Words. Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology* (1990), which is a translation of *Choses dites* (1988).

⁴ Interview with Loïc Wacquant conducted by Gisèle Sapiro, September 3rd, 2008.

by Bourdieu's publisher in England, John Thompson. The book is an enhanced version of *Ce que parler veut dire* (Paris: Fayard 1982), including a paper which was not in the French version. A pocket format including new articles appeared in French ten years later under the title *Langage et pouvoir symbolique* (Paris: Le Seuil, 2001). Like the bibliography by Delsaut and Rivière and the *Index Translationum*, we considered all these translations as referring to the Fayard edition *Ce que parler veut dire*.

The titles translated in two volumes, like the Japanese translation of *Les Règles de l'art* (1995 and 1996), and the Korean translation of the edited book *La Misère du monde* (2000 and 2002), were considered as one item. We kept the date of the first translated volume as the reference. It was also the case of the German translation of the collection of essays *Interventions. Science sociale et action politique* (2002), which appeared in four different volumes in German between 2002 and 2004. The decision to divide the translation of these books into many volumes is a commercial decision which is dictated by the publishing policy. Yet it was also made possible by their structure: *Interventions* is a collection of political essays edited by Franck Poupeau and Thierry Discepolo; *La Misère du monde* is a collection of interviews conducted by a team under Bourdieu's supervision, and edited by Bourdieu (it ends with methodological reflections); in the case of *Les Règles de l'art*, it is more surprising, but can be justified by the fact that it includes on one hand a study of the French literary field and, on the other a methodological part plus some case studies.

Conversely, some texts published separately in French were gathered under one volume. This was the case for the Turkish and Chinese translations of the collection of political papers *Contre-feux* and *Contre-feux 2*. In the Chinese case, since a translation of each volume had been published before, we ignored this third volume, which was a new edition. In the Turkish case, referring to the original publication, we considered the unique volume as two translated books. *Leçon sur la leçon* (Paris: Minuit, 1982) was included in German in a collection titled *Sozialer Raum und « Klassen »* (1985) and in English in the volume *In Other Words. Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology* (1990). In the second case, we counted it as two translated books. The first case could have been considered as an original collection of essays in German, but we preferred to keep track of it as the German translation of the inaugural lecture at the Collège de France *Leçon sur la leçon*.

This raises the question of the relation between articles and books, which exceeds the scope of this paper. Seven of Bourdieu's books in French are collections of articles first published in journals or of talks he gave: *Questions de sociologie*, *Ce que parler veut dire*, *Choses dites*, *Raisons pratiques*, the two volumes of *Contre-feux* and *Interventions*. 40 volumes out of the 345 translated books were specifically composed

for the foreign language edition. There are of course many other articles published in edited volumes, which were not taken here into account but should be in qualitative studies, especially in those considering the two first decades of Bourdieu's reception, when he was not yet widely known and recognized outside France [as illustrated by the case of the UK, see Robbins 2008].

In order to provide a visual representation of the relation between titles and languages or countries, we used the network analysis program UCINET.⁵ Centrality is assessed according to the count of ties (degree) between titles and languages or titles and countries. Consequently, the figures represent the centrality of certain works according to the number of translations in different languages, and the centrality of certain languages or countries, according to the number of books translated in this language or country. Network analysis was applied to the whole database of books in translation since Bourdieu's first French publication in 1958 and up to 2008 (see figg. 1 and 2).⁶ Analyzing the evolution of the number of translations per year, we found that 1996 marked a significant increase in the number of translations (see Figure 3). Therefore, we compared, using again network analysis, the configuration of the linguistic and geographic diffusion of his work in two periods, 1958-1995, 1996-2008 (see figg. 7, 8, 9, and 10).

To give a view of the geographic distribution of Bourdieu books in translation, we used Philcarto. The maps (see Appendix 1) represent the number of translated titles edited in each country (including for instance American editions of English translations). What was defined previously as the first period was divided here in two, in order to present the evolution for three periods, 1958-1980, 1981-1995, 1996-2008, which shows the role of a few central countries in the first importation of Bourdieu's work, and the spreading of his work around the world. We defined four classes according to the degree of centrality as explained in the third section.

Another indicator of growing international consecration is the time it takes to translate a book. We assumed that the rhythm of translation would accelerate as Bourdieu becomes more consecrated. We define the indicator as the average time-lag between the year of original publication in French and the year of translation into other languages (section 4).

⁵ The statistical treatment was done by Mauricio Bustamante.

⁶ We stopped in 2008 since the list for 2009 is not yet complete, and there are many other ongoing translations projects.

3. The Structure of the Linguistic and Geographic Distribution of Bourdieu's Work in the World

From 1958 to 2008, Bourdieu's work includes 37 titles in French and 347 titles in translation, published into 34 languages and 42 countries.⁷ This worldwide importation of his work is a sign of high consecration. We shall now consider the distribution of the translations according to languages and countries on the one hand, and titles on the other.

The linguistic distribution of Bourdieu's translated titles is highly concentrated around a few central languages, and dispersed around many peripheral languages (see Table 1). Four classes of languages can be distinguished, as it appears on Figure 1:

a) Five languages have more than 20 translated titles (21 to 40): German, Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Italian. They account for almost half of the translated titles (47.3 %), and can therefore be defined as central in Bourdieu's international reception.

b) Five languages have 11 to 20: Japanese, Chinese, Greek, Korean, and Arabic. They account for almost a quarter (22.5 %) of the translated titles. Regarding their position in Figure 1, they can be considered as semi-central.

c) Ten languages have 6 to 10 translated titles: Romanian, Danish, Norwegian, Polish, Catalan, Swedish, Bulgarian, Finnish, Hungarian, and Turkish. They account for 21 % of the translated titles, and can be defined as semi-peripheral in Bourdieu's reception.

d) The rest (1 to 5 books in translation) include, apart from Russian, smaller national languages like Hebrew, Croatian, Slovene, or regional languages like Galician, which can be defined as peripheral.

Figure 1 represents the relation "is translated into" between Bourdieu's works (red rounds) and languages (blue squares). The size of the squares and rounds refers to the count of ties (degree): the red rounds to the number of translations for each book; the blue squares to the number of books translated. The centrality of the first five languages appears clearly: as they translated at least two thirds of Bourdieu's titles, they are located at the core of the network of Bourdieu's translated books. Around them are the semi-central languages, while the semi-peripheral and the peripheral are located on the left part of the figure.

⁷ The number of titles edited in different countries is higher, between 388 and 391 if we count or not the new editions. There are 435 if we include the titles in French, with 5 reprints in Pocket format.

TAB. 1. *Number of translated titles by Bourdieu per language (1958-2008).*

Language	Collection	Books	Total
<i>Central languages</i>			
German	11	29	40
Spanish	7	30	37
English	1	32	33
Portuguese	5	23	28
Italian	3	23	26
<i>Semi-central languages</i>			
Japanese		18	18
Chinese		17	17
Greek	3	14	17
Korean		15	15
Arabic	1	10	11
<i>Semi-peripheral languages</i>			
Romanian	2	8	10
Danish		9	9
Norwegian	1	7	8
Polish		8	8
Catalan		7	7
Swedish	1	6	7
Bulgarian		6	6
Finnish		6	6
Hungarian	1	5	6
Turkish		6	6
<i>Peripheral languages</i>			
Dutch	1	4	5
Estonian		4	4
Hebrew		4	4
Russian	1	3	4
Czech		3	3
Slovene		3	3
Serb		2	2
Croatian		1	1
Galician	1		1
Georgian		1	1
Latvian		1	1
Lithuanian		1	1
Ukrainian	1		1
Valencian		1	1

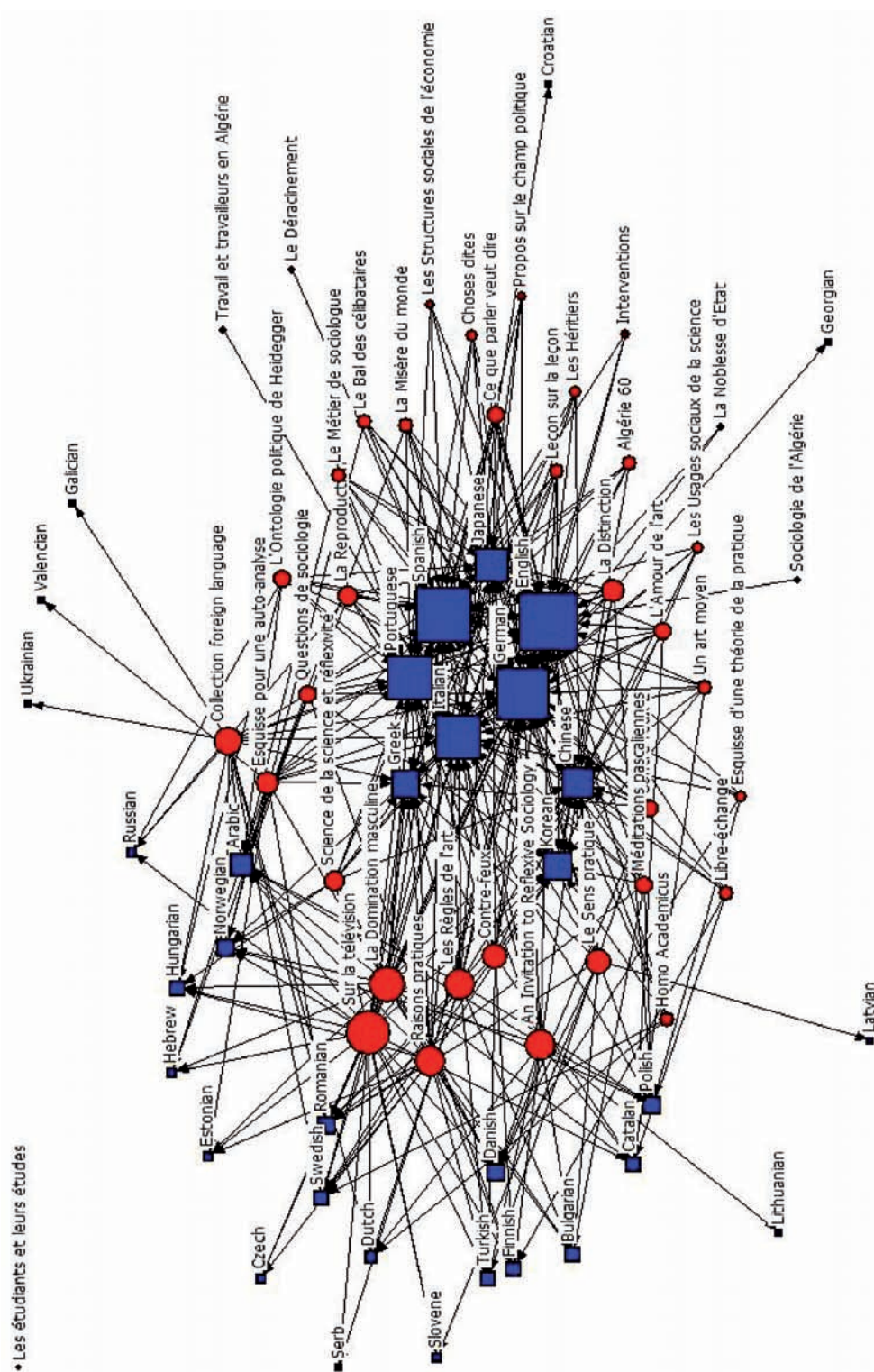


FIG. 1. The distribution of Bourdieu's translated titles per language (1958-2008).

Figure 1 also shows that the titles are not distributed randomly among languages. The semi-peripheral languages tend to focus on a core of books that they share with the central languages. We shall now examine the hierarchy of works translated. The collection of essays specifically composed for a foreign language are the most numerous (40), they will be left apart here. We can distinguish on Figure 1 three classes of titles, one central, one semi-peripheral first circle and a second peripheral circle:

a) Five books were translated into 17 languages or more. They appear to have a central position in Bourdieu's international reception. *Sur la télévision* comes first, with 25, then *La Domination masculine* (20), *Raisons pratiques* (17), *Les Règles de l'art* (17), and *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology/Réponses* (17).⁸ All of these books belong to Bourdieu's later work, they were published in the 1990s (see section 4).

b) Fifteen titles were translated into 7 to 16 languages. They appear to have a semi-peripheral position in Bourdieu's international reception. They include major works from the middle of his career like *Distinction* and *Le Sens pratique*, both very fat books, as well as books from the later period like *Méditations Pascaliennes* and *Science de la science et réflexivité*. Yet some of these books play a role in integrating peripheral languages in the network, like *Ce que parler veut dire* for Croatian.

c) Sixteen books translated into 1 to 6 languages are more peripheral. They include his earlier work on Algeria which was republished in French only after 2000, or, later books printed by smaller publishers or academic presses like *Propos sur le champ politique*, which was a lecture he gave in Lyon. The only book published in the late 1980s is *La Noblesse d'Etat* (1989), which is a very long empirical research on the French elite higher education system.

There is only one book which is not translated in any language: *Les Etudiants et leur études*, published with Jean-Claude Passeron in 1964 at the academic press Mouton.⁹ This can be explained by the fact that it is a former version of *Les Héritiers*, which appeared the same year, and was widely translated.

If we examine now the geographic distribution of Bourdieu's books in translation, the same phenomenon of concentration around a few countries and of high dispersion around many others can be observed. We distinguished again four classes:

⁸ Three new translations of *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* will be published in Czech, Korean, and in complex Chinese, as well as a new revised translation of the whole book into French under the original title: *Invitation à la sociologie réflexive*.

⁹ According to Callejo [2008], this book was translated into Spanish, but it does not appear in the database by Delsaut and Rivière and we found no trace of it, at least as a book.

TAB. 2. *Number of translations per title (1958-2008).*

Title	Number of translations per language	Number of translations per country
Collection of translated essays	40	41
<i>Sur la télévision</i>	25	27
<i>La Domination masculine</i>	20	21
<i>Les Règles de l'art</i>	17	19
<i>Raisons pratiques</i>	17	19
<i>An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology</i>	17	19
<i>Contre-feux</i>	14	16
<i>Le Sens pratique</i>	13	14
<i>La Distinction</i>	12	14
<i>Esquisse pour une auto-analyse</i>	12	13
<i>La Reproduction</i>	10	11
<i>Science de la science et réflexivité</i>	10	11
<i>Contre-feux 2</i>	9	11
<i>Méditations pascaliennes</i>	9	11
<i>Ce que parler veut dire</i>	9	10
<i>L'Ontologie politique de Martin Heidegger</i>	9	10
<i>Questions de sociologie</i>	9	10
<i>L'Amour de l'art</i>	8	9
<i>Leçon sur la leçon</i>	7	8
<i>Un art moyen</i>	7	8
<i>La Misère du monde</i>	7	8
<i>Le Métier de sociologue</i>	6	7
<i>Algérie 60</i>	6	7
<i>Homo Academicus</i>	6	7
<i>Le Bal des célibataires</i>	6	7
<i>Libre-échange</i>	6	7
<i>Les Héritiers</i>	5	7
<i>Choses dites</i>	5	6
<i>Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique</i>	5	5
<i>Les Usages sociaux de la science</i>	5	5
<i>Les Structures sociales de l'économie</i>	4	5
<i>Interventions</i>	3	5
<i>Propos sur le champ politique</i>	4	4
<i>La Noblesse d'Etat</i>	2	3
<i>Le Déracinement</i>	1	1
<i>Sociologie de l'Algérie</i>	1	1
<i>Travail et travailleurs en Algérie</i>	1	1
<i>Les Etudiants et leurs études</i>	0	0
Total	347	388

a) Germany, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States appear to be the leading countries for Bourdieu's international reception (more than 30 titles translated), followed by Italy and Brazil (between 21 and 30). These six countries account for almost half of Bourdieu's titles in translation published in different countries (47.7 %). They are central in Bourdieu's international reception. As already suggested, the diffusion of the translations in different countries belonging to the same linguistic area was in some cases supported by co-publishing or rights selling, as in the case of English, thanks to the agreements Polity Press passed with American publishers (mainly Stanford University Press but also The University of Chicago Press). But one must consider that the books translated into Spanish in Spain were also distributed in Latin America, along with the 16 books edited in Mexico and Argentina. Conversely, it must be stressed that there are only 25 books translated into Castellan in Spain, the others being in Catalan (7), Galicean (1), Valencian (1).

b) Five countries have translated 11 to 20 titles and can be said semi-central: Japan, China, Greece, Korea, Argentina. They account for 20.1 % of Bourdieu's translated titles published in different countries.

c) Ten countries are semi-peripheral with 6 to 10 titles translated titles (Romania, Denmark, Portugal, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, and Turkey). They account for 17.3 % of Bourdieu's translated titles published in different countries.

d) 21 countries translated from 1 to 5 books and are thus peripheral. They account for 12.9 % of Bourdieu's translated titles published in different countries.

TAB. 3. *Number of translated titles by Bourdieu per country (1958-2008).*

Country	Collections	Books	Total
<i>Central countries</i>			
Germany	11	28	39
Spain*	2	32	34
United Kingdom	1	30	31
United States	1	29	30
Italy	3	23	26
Brazil	5	20	25
<i>Semi-central countries</i>			
Japan		18	18
China		17	17
Greece	3	14	17
Korea		15	15
Argentina	4	7	11

TAB. 3. *Number of translated titles by Bourdieu per country (1958-2008).*

Country	Collections	Books	Total
<i>Semi-peripheral countries</i>			
Romania	2	8	10
Denmark		9	9
Portugal		9	9
Norway	1	7	8
Poland		8	8
Sweden	1	6	7
Bulgaria		6	6
Finland		6	6
Hungary	1	5	6
Turkey		6	6
<i>Peripheral countries</i>			
Egypt		5	5
Mexico	2	3	5
Estonia		4	4
Israel		4	4
Netherlands	1	3	4
Russia	1	3	4
Czech Republic		3	3
Slovenia		3	3
Lebanon		2	2
Morocco	1	1	2
Serbia		2	2
Syria		2	2
Tunisia	2		2
Austria		1	1
Belgium		1	1
Bolivia		1	1
Croatia		1	1
Georgia		1	1
Latvia		1	1
Lithuania		1	1
Ukraine	1		1
Total	43	345	388

Translation patterns are not random [Heilbron 1999]. The configuration of the geographic distribution of Bourdieu's titles in translation reflects in large part the unequal structure of the global book market, which is highly concentrated around some countries, the US, the UK, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and even in some

cities, like New York and Paris [Sapiro 2009]. The central countries all have a large readership in the national language, most of them exceeding the national borders. They diffuse the books in linguistic areas. This explains at least partly why areas like Africa, where publishing is not developed and still dominated by publishers from the former colonial states, are left out, as can be seen on Map 4 (Appendix 1).

But the centrality of these countries in the international reception of Bourdieu is not a mere reflection of the structure of the book market. The semi-central position of countries like Brazil and Greece suggests that other factors than the size of the market should be taken into account, namely political (cultural policies) and cultural factors [Heilbron and Sapiro 2007]. Moreover, in the present case, the academic field plays also a role, though publishers can act independently. To understand this configuration, it is necessary to consider its evolution.

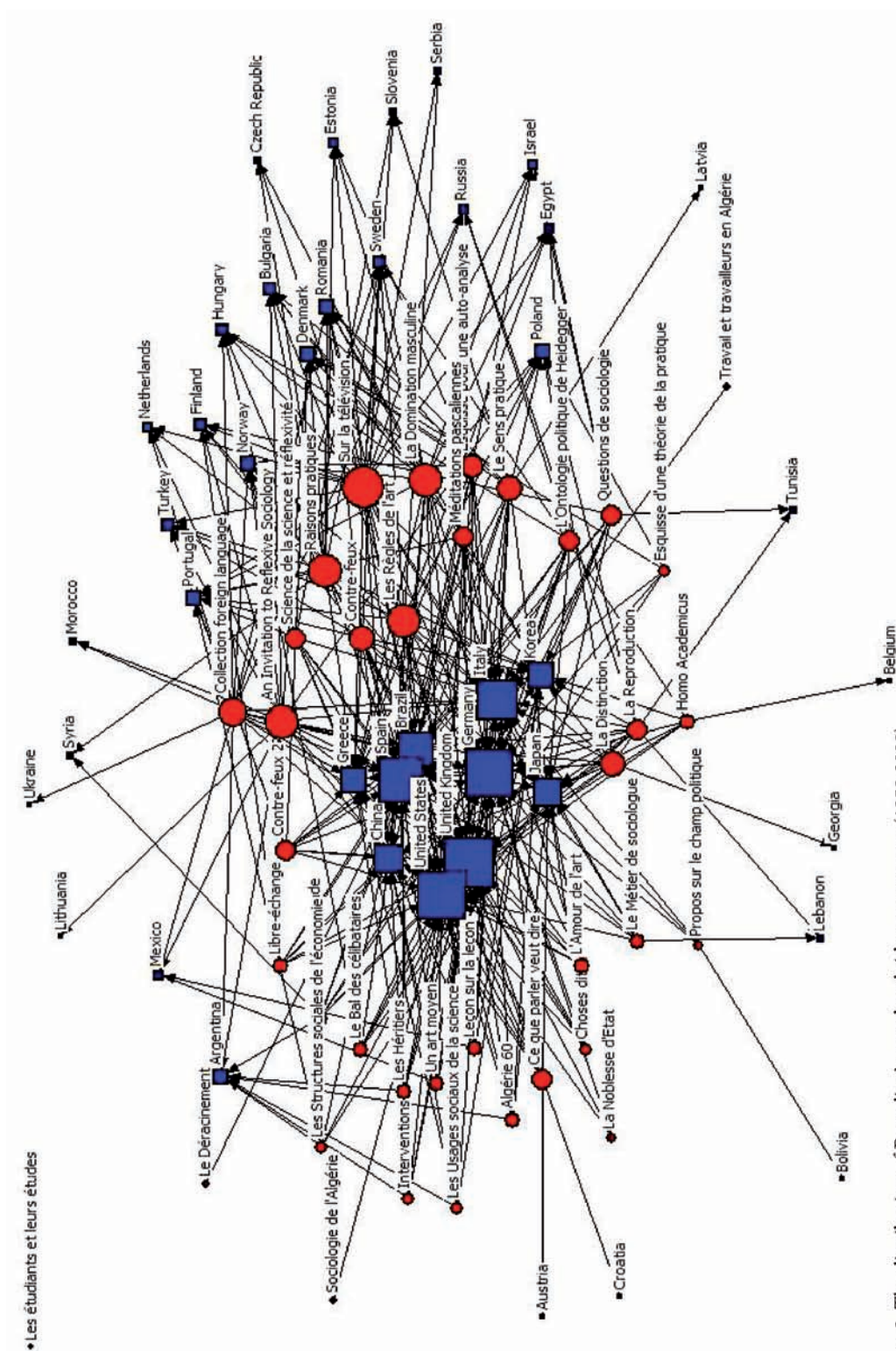


FIG. 2. The distribution of Bourdieu's translated titles per country (1958-2008).

4. From the Social Theorist to the “Global Thinker:” Two Phases of Bourdieu’s International Reception

In this section, we shall examine two phases of Bourdieu’s international reception. As already stated, his reception can be divided at least in two periods, before the publication of *Sur la télévision* in 1996, and from that moment on, when he can be said to have achieved the position of a “global thinker.” Two thirds of the translations were done in the last period. From 1996 to 1998, the number of translated books rose twofold, from 14 to 28 (see Figure 3). This evolution clearly indicates a “Matthew Effect.” We expected that the structure of the distribution between languages and countries would change between these two periods, and that the rhythm of translation would accelerate.

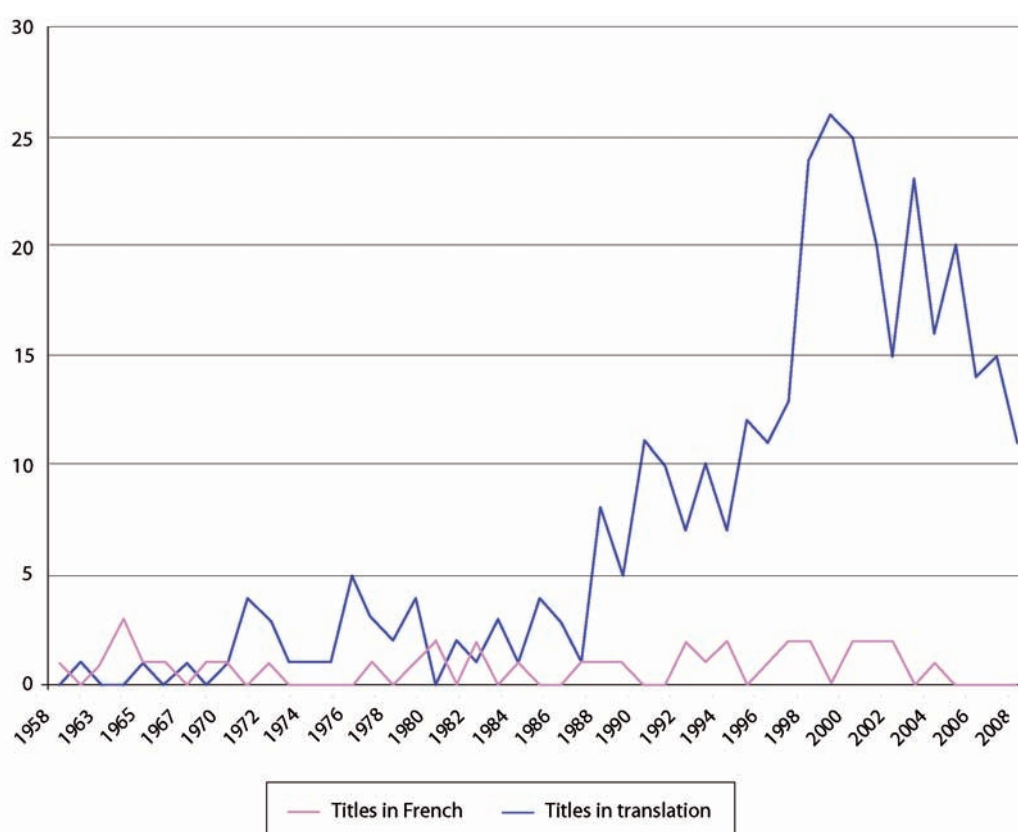


FIG. 3. The evolution of the number of translated titles by Bourdieu, as compared to the publications in French (1958-2008).

Figures 3 and 4 compare the evolution of Bourdieu’s books in translation to his production in French (in Figure 4 the collections in foreign languages are presented separately). A first growth of the count of translations occurred around 1989-1990, it began to increase again in 1995-1996. From that moment on, the gap between the

number of books in translation and the books in French has been increasing. A peak was reached by the end of the 1990s.

For all of Bourdieu's books, the average time-lag between the year of the original French edition and the year of its translation in different languages is 8.5 years. This average is similar for the two periods: it was of 8.3 years for the translations published until 1995 and of 8.6 for those published from 1995 to 2008.¹⁰ The difference is not significant because in the second period are included books first published during the previous period. But if we look only at the translations of books first published in 1996 and after, the translation delay falls to 3 years. Figure 5 displays this average for each of Bourdieu's books, represented on the horizontal axis according to the date of its first publication in French, as compared to the number of translations of each title. Whereas the number of translations tends to increase, the time delay decreases: the later books get translated faster than the earlier ones.

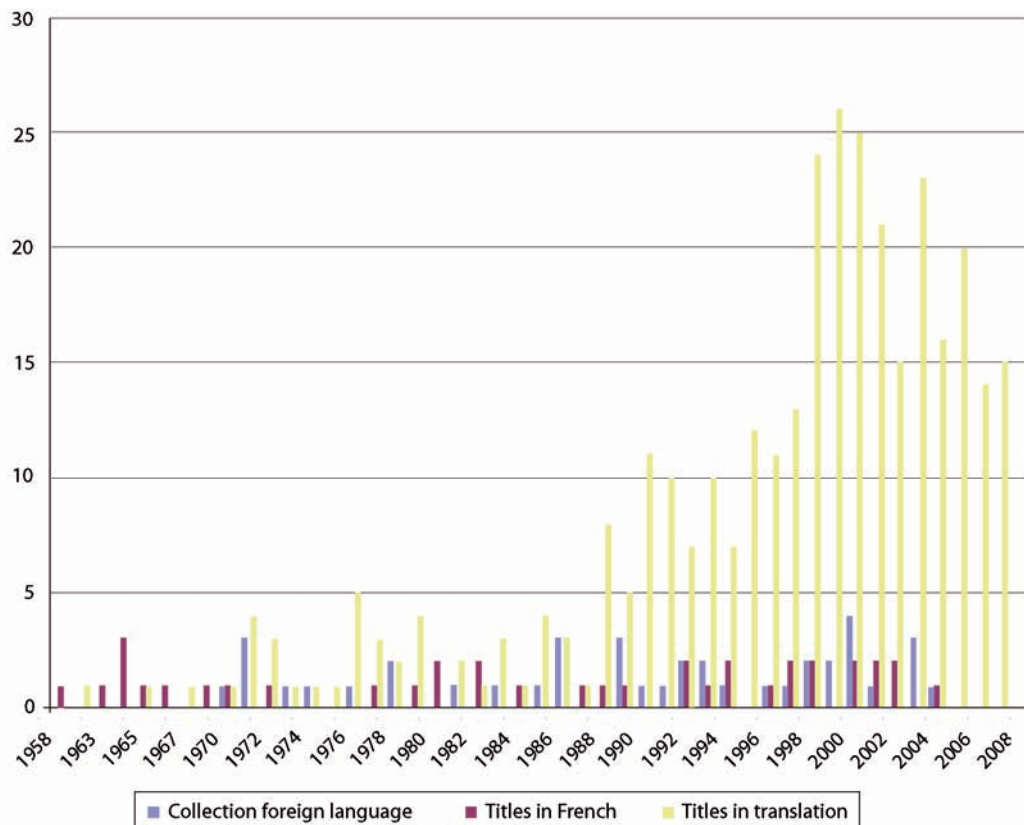


FIG. 4. The evolution of the count of translated titles and of collections in foreign language by Bourdieu, as compared to the count of publications in French, per year (1958-2008).

¹⁰ The German translation of *L'Ontologie politique de Martin Heidegger*, which appeared twelve years before the French version, was not taken into account, since it would have introduced a bias in the calculation of the time-lag for the first period (which falls to 5).

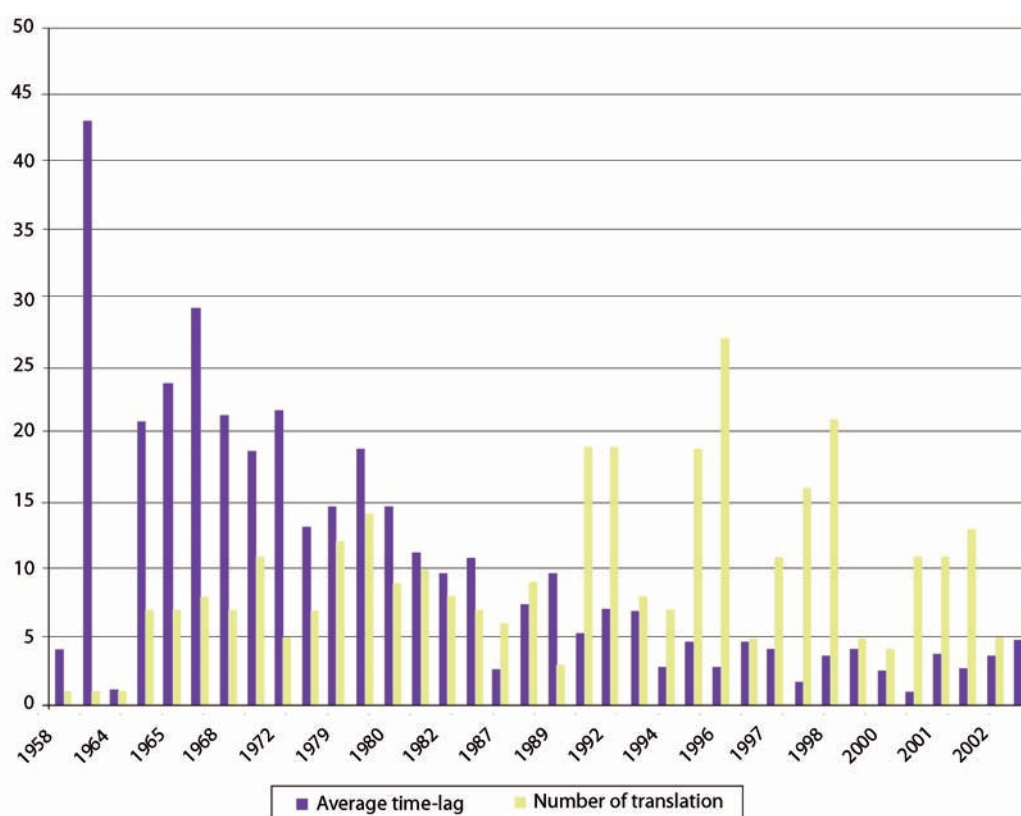


FIG. 5. Number of translation per title and average time lag between the year of publication of the original book in French and the year it was translated in different languages (1958-2008). The German version of *L'Ontologie politique de Martin Heidegger* [1988] is not included in the calculation of the time-lag for translating this book, in order to avoid a bias (see note 11). But it is taken into account in the number of translations.

The projection of this data on a bi-dimensional scale, with on the vertical axis the number of translations and on the horizontal the average time delay between the year a book was published in France and the year of its translations, allows us to distinguish three clusters (see Figure 6). In the left upper quadrant are located the books that were the most and the fastest translated: *Sur la télévision* appears at the highest point, followed by other books from the 1990s. They are opposed on one hand to the less translated books (on the lower part of the figure), including either very recent or older books, with at the bottom the three oldest books on Algeria. On the other hand, the first cluster is opposed to the books that it took much longer to translate in different languages (on the right part of the figure), the longest being the co-authored *L'Amour de l'art* (an average of more than 25 years). These include Bourdieu's major works from the 1970s and the 1980s, *La Distinction* and *Le Sens pratique* being the most translated, though it took between 14 and 18 years to translate them (the upper right quadrants). On the time axis, there seems

to be a relation between the size of the book and the number of years it takes to translate it (the shortest like *Sur la télévision* and *Contre-feux* being on the left, while the longest, *La Distinction* and *Le Sens pratique* on the right) that will be explored in our further inquiry, which will also take into account the research domain (or topic).

Let's now consider how the linguistic and geographic configurations of Bourdieu's international reception have evolved. Until 1995 (see Figure 7), Bourdieu's work was translated into 22 languages in 27 countries. The leading languages were German and English (19 titles each), followed by Spanish (15), Italian (14), Portuguese (10) and Japanese (10). Characteristic of this first phase is the tendency to publish specific collection of essays in different languages. The reception of the other titles in translation is segmented, despite the central position of a major work like *Distinction* (we expect this fragmentation to be more pronounced when the collections of essays, which are here undifferentiated, will be distributed among the research domains). This phenomenon is even more striking in the distribution by countries. Four countries play a central role in Bourdieu's international reception: the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy, whereas three countries (Spain, Japan and Brazil) play a semi-central role (see Figure 8).

A closer attention to the chronology within what we defined, for the purpose of this paper, as the first phase of Bourdieu's reception suggests a subdivision in two periods, before and after 1981. Until 1980, translated books by Bourdieu appeared only in nine countries, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, Spain, Brazil, Mexico, Romania and Hungary (see Table 5 and Map 1 in Appendix 1). From 1981 to 1995, the number of countries publishing Bourdieu in translation jumped to 26 (see Table 5 and Map 2 in Appendix 1).

Apart from Hungary (which will reappear after 1996), all the former countries keep translating his work, while its international reception extends to new areas of the world, namely East Asia (Japan, Korea), the Maghreb (Morocco, Tunisia), the Middle-East (Lebanon, Turkey), and within Europe, to the North (the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland) and to the East (Austria, Greece, Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Croatia). Despite the irregular curve of the count of translations until the end of the 1980s as displayed in Figure 4, the circulation pattern is of geographic expansion rather than displacement from one country or area to another: most countries continue to translate Bourdieu's work.

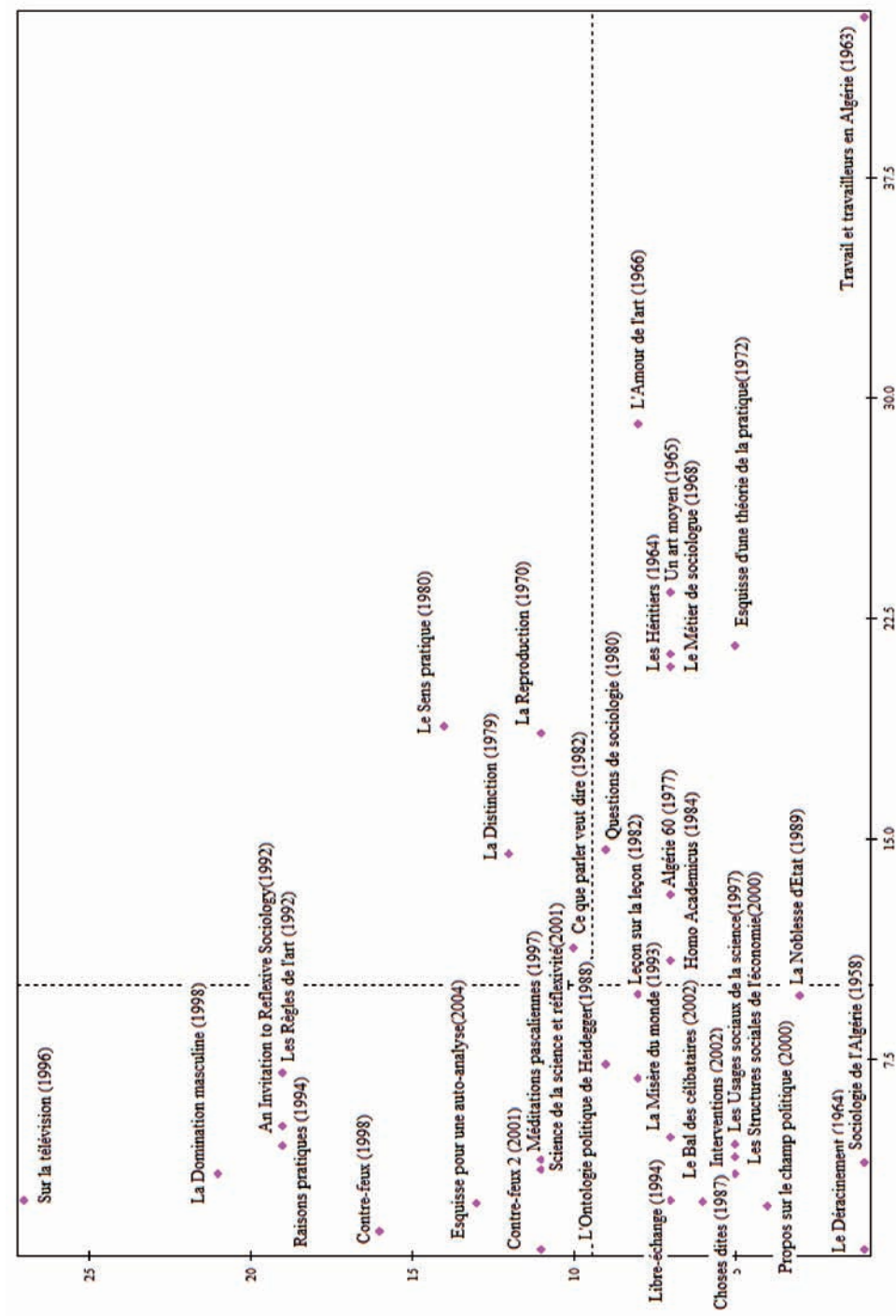


FIG. 6. Bourdieu's titles in translation: number of translations and average number of years for translating them (1958-2008).

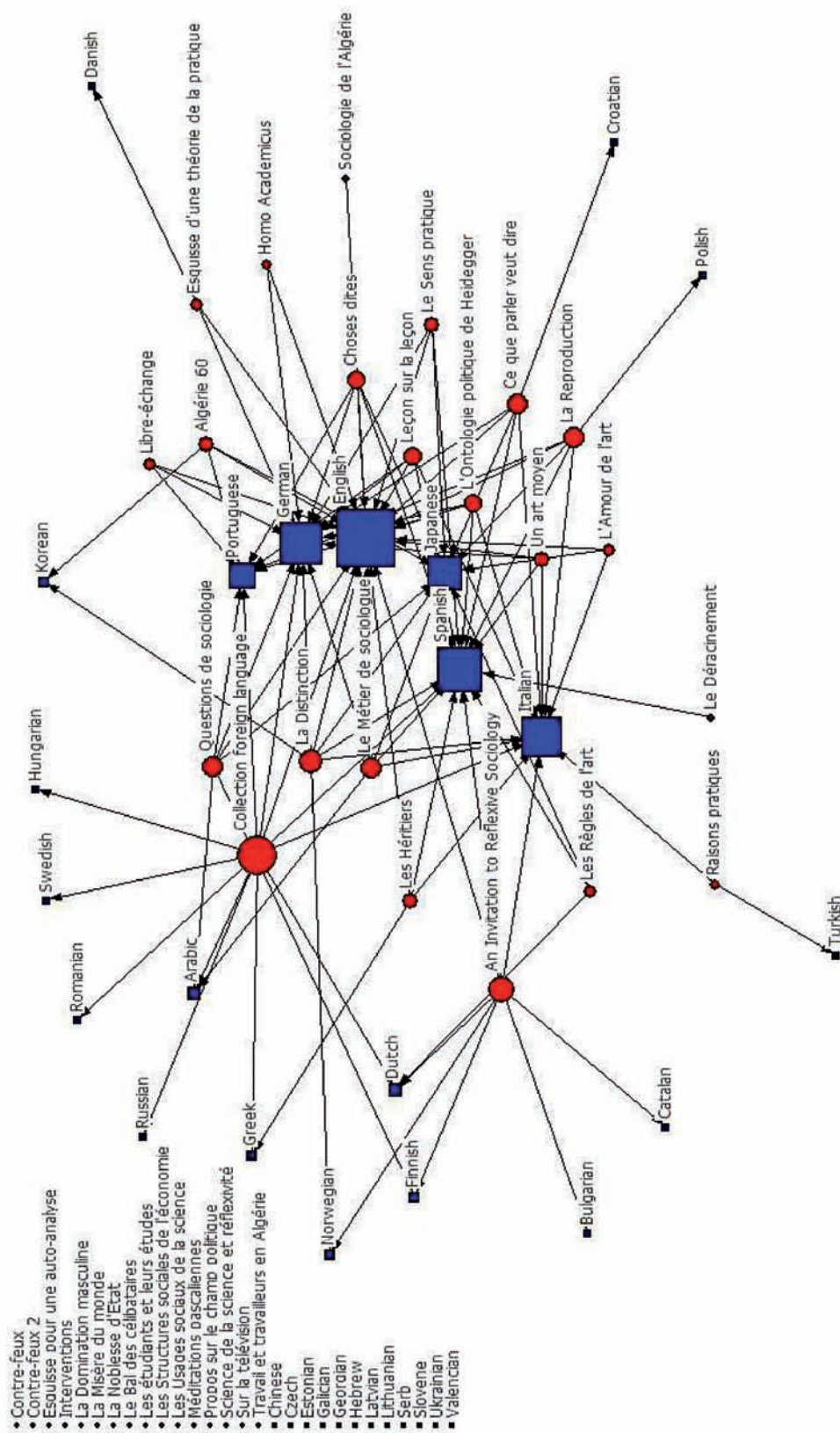


FIG. 7 The distribution of Bourdieu's translated titles per language (1958-1995)

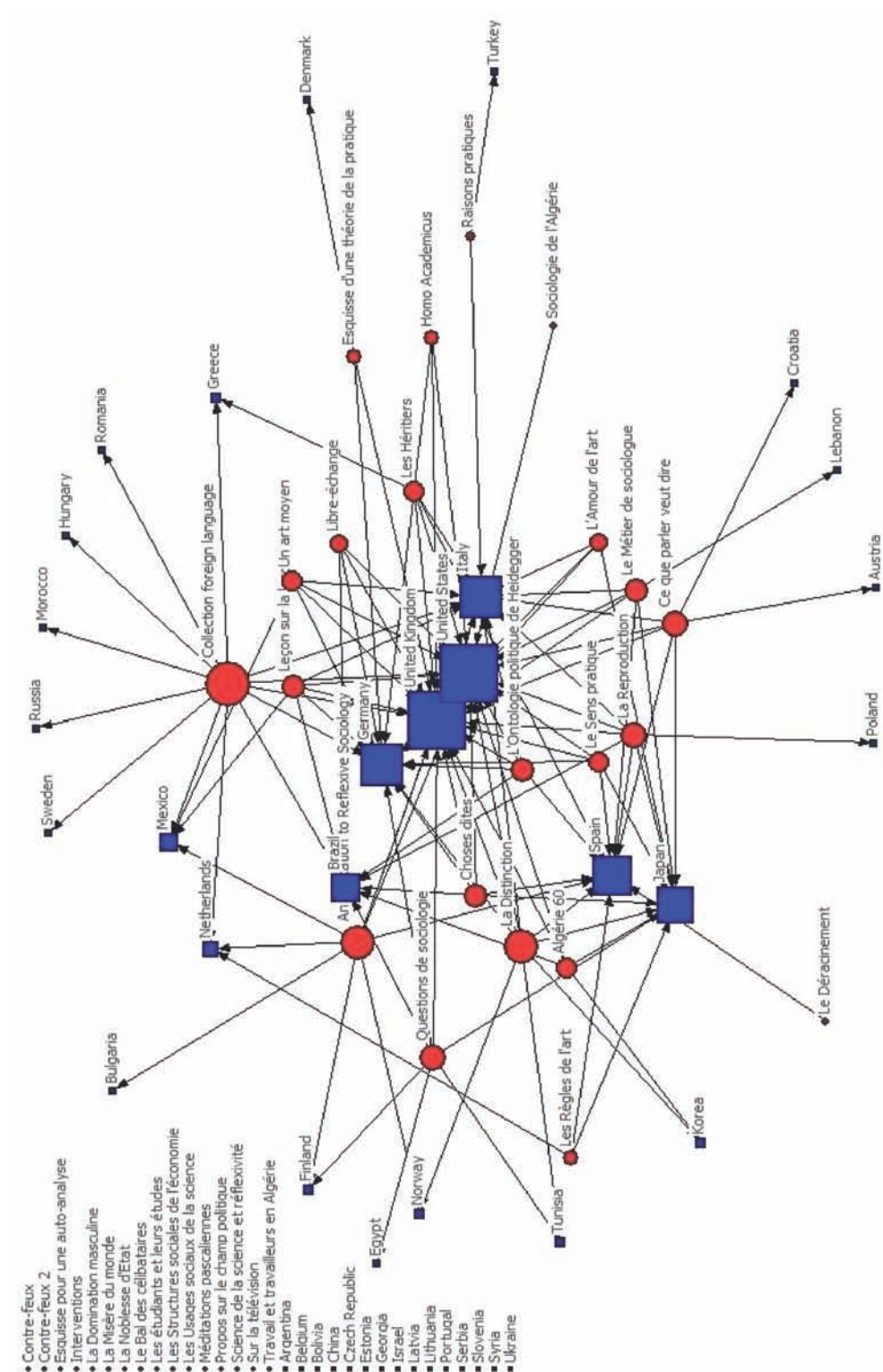


FIG. 8 The distribution of Bourdieu's translated titles per country (1958-1995)

Elements of chronology and of a preliminary qualitative research on Bourdieu's international reception, which take into account publishers and mediators, can be proposed here in order to understand the role some countries played at the very first stage, until 1980. The first title by Bourdieu which got translated was *Sociologie de l'Algérie*, published in English in 1962 by Beacon Press (Boston), in the context of the independence of Algeria. There will be no other English translation until 1977, when two British academic presses publish *La Reproduction* (Sage) and *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Cambridge University Press), followed in 1979 by *Algérie 60* (Cambridge University Press) and, in the US, by *Les Héritiers*, co-authored with Jean-Claude Passeron (The University of Chicago Press). It was in Spanish that, closely after their publication in French in 1964, two more books were translated: *Le Déracinement*, co-authored with Abdelmalek Sayad (1965) and *Les Héritiers* (1967). At the beginning of the 1970s, three collections of essays by Bourdieu were published in Germany, two of which by Suhrkamp, a prestigious trade literary publishing house which became Bourdieu's main publisher in German. As Michael Gemperle [2009] shows, after a first introduction during the 1960s by the co-editor of the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* Alfons Silberman as a model for empirical sociology of art, the reception of Bourdieu's work was fragmented in the 1970s between, on the one hand, the intellectual avant-garde around Suhrkamp who was combating Critical Theory and who labelled as "structuralism" the collection titled *Zur Soziologie der symbolischen Formen* (1970), on the other, critical Education research [see also Jurt 2004 for a chronological bibliography of Bourdieu's translations in German]. At the same time, the Italian Guaraldi published four titles in translation, *Les Héritiers*, *La Reproduction*, *L'Amour de l'art*, *Un art moyen*, and a collection of essays on the intellectual field. This publisher will also translate *Le Métier de sociologue* in 1976. In Brazil, the first translation was a collection of essays on the economy of symbolic goods edited and introduced by Sergio Miceli, who also translated most of the texts, and published in 1974 the prestigious publisher Editora Perspectiva, where Miceli was an editor.¹¹ *La Reproduction* and *Algérie 60* were also translated in the late 1970s.

This mapping of the first translations of Bourdieu gives a hint of the segmentation of the international reception of his work according to research domains: education, culture, anthropology, in which he becomes a major reference. *Les Héritiers* is the only book translated in Spanish, Italian, and English, highlighting the centrality of the sociology of education in the first stage of Bourdieu's international reception, while it becomes more marginal later: there will be only two more translations of

¹¹ Written testimony by Sergio Miceli to Gisèle Sapiro, May 28, 2009. See also Filhon [2009].

Les Héritiers, in Greek in 1993 and in Chinese in 2002 [on the UK, see Robbins 1989; on Spain, Callejo 2008].¹² Ary and Vera Zolberg first heard of his work on education in 1964, as they were in Africa, from a French sociologist, Remy Clignet. Vera Zolberg was then doing a research on colonial education policies and practices. In 1968, they were in Paris and Ary Zolberg met him at that time. *Les Héritiers* was then much discussed. After he returned to the US, Ary Zolberg proposed it to the University of Chicago Press (he was a member of the scientific board). It was accepted, although Edward Shils was reluctant, but was published only in 1979, because of problems with the first translation. They became closer in 1972, during their stay at the Institute of advanced studies of Princeton, where Ary Zolberg and Bourdieu were both invited that year. By that time, Vera Zolberg was working on art museums and *L'Amour de l'art* was a reference for her. They both played a role in Bourdieu's translations in the US.¹³

In the Anglo-American world, anthropologists were also interested in Bourdieu's work on practice. Among Bourdieu's major importer in the US, Craig Calhoun read *Outline of a Theory of Practice* when it appeared in 1977 (a student at Oxford, he found it in a bookstore in Manchester) and he introduced Bourdieu in 1982-1983 in the discussion of a working group on Social Theory at the Centre for Psychosocial Studies in Chicago, where he was a post-doctoral fellow. As he recalls:

And at that point we had been reading Marx and structuralist interpretations of Marx on the one hand; and linguistic theory, both structuralist and post-structuralist linguistics on the other hand (and some related anthropology). And I introduced Bourdieu into the discussion and at that point we began to try to read Bourdieu more systematically. [...] So by 1983, there were several things in English, but they were somewhat disconnected. They were parts of different conversations. So his work on education and reproduction was almost completely disconnected from work on so-called practice theory. And the earlier work on Algeria, which had actually been fairly famous among specialists in anthropology and in Middle East studies, was more or less not known to sociologists, except in so far as it appeared in *Outline of Theory of Practice*. [...] Bourdieu was known at that time in these, for these different works, but not quite famous. And it was really when *Distinction* was translated – I think in 84 – that he became famous in a big way. This was the breakthrough sort of book into broader general recognition.¹⁴

¹² It is less true of the more theoretical *La Reproduction*, which was translated in four languages from 1972 to 1977 (Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, English) and to six other from 1990 on: Polish (1990), Japanese (1991), Korean (2000), Chinese (2002), Russian (2007), Arabic (2007).

¹³ Interview with Ary and Vera Zolberg, conducted by Gisèle Sapiro, June 19, 2009, and written testimony of Vera Zolberg to Gisèle Sapiro, June 8, 2009.

¹⁴ Interview with Craig Calhoun conducted by Gisèle Sapiro, February 3, 2009.

Italy and Germany first imported the works on sociology of culture and of intellectuals, whereas these works were not translated into English world before the mid 1980s. The publication of *Distinction* in 1984 by Harvard University Press, translated, like most of Bourdieu's books in English, by Richard Nice, coincided with and contributed to the development of the sociology of culture in America [Santoro 2008b]. The role of the journal *Theory and Society*, in the foundation of which Bourdieu took part, and the translation of two of Bourdieu's articles (on the market of symbolic goods and on the literary field) in *Poetics* in 1983 and 1985 should also be mentioned. The latter were included in the 1993 collection of essays titled *The Field of Cultural Production* (co-published by Polity Press and Blackwell). But it was not until 1990 that the works from the mid-1960s on the sociology of culture (*Un art moyen* and *L'Amour de l'art*) were published in English by Polity Press. The dialogue with Loïc Wacquant, *An Invitation to reflexive sociology* (1992) and the collection edited by Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma and Moishe Postone, *Bourdieu. Critical Perspectives* [Calhoun *et al.* 1993], an outcome of the discussion of the Social Theory group, to which Bourdieu participated in 1986 and in a conference in 1989, contributed by that time to introduce Bourdieu's field theory in the US. Up to that moment, the concepts of "cultural capital" and, to a lesser extent, "habitus" prevailed in his reception in American sociology [Sallaz and Zavisca 2007, 28]. They also fostered more broadly his reception as a social theorist.

Translations are only one indicator of the international reception, as already said. On the one hand, for a work written in a central language like French, as opposed to peripheral languages like Korean or Hebrew, the international reception does not depend only on translation. On the other, the fact that publishers decide to translate a work is just one aspect of the importation in a national intellectual field and does not ensure in itself an academic reception, all the more in countries like Germany or Italy where it was published by trade and not academic publishers [on the Italian case, see Santoro 2008a].

In both cases, a more thorough study of the reception process would require to take into account the role of mediators in this first phase (though, as already suggested, the translations were in many cases undertaken independently by publishers). Such mediators can be identified in the different countries, like Ary and Vera Zolberg, Craig Calhoun, Loïc Wacquant, Paul Di Maggio, Roger Brubaker, Michèle Lamont, Priscilla Ferguson, Richard Schusterman in the US, Sergio Miceli in Brazil (which explains the centrality of Portuguese in the first period), Beate Kreis, Joseph Jurt and Franz Schultheis in Germany, Harushi Kato in Japan, Nikos Panayatopoulos in Greece, Itamar Even-Zohar in Israel, Donald Broady in Sweden [see some testimonies in Mauger ed. 2005; and Wacquant 2008]. The fact that three of these

“importers” (Jurt, Kato and Even-Zohar) are literary scholars is telling of Bourdieu’s cross-disciplinary reception. Although books by Bourdieu were published in Hebrew only in the last period, some of his articles were translated into Hebrew by the end of the 1980s and taught at Tel-Aviv University, in the department of Poetics and Comparative literature and afterwards in the Unit of Culture Research founded by Even-Zohar.¹⁵ In Japan, Harushi Kato, a specialist of Sartre, discovered Bourdieu’s work through Anna Boschetti’s PHD dissertation on Sartre, published under the title *Sartre et ‘Les Temps modernes’* by Les Editions de Minuit in Bourdieu’s series “Le sens commun.” This highlights also the direct and indirect role of Bourdieu’s former students (he was the PHD advisor of Sergio Miceli, Loïc Wacquant, Anna Boschetti and Nikos Panayatopoulos).

In the last period, defined here as the second phase of his international reception (1996-2008), Bourdieu’s work was translated into 33 languages in 38 countries. This means that its international reception includes twelve new languages (Chinese, Czech, Estonian, Hebrew, Slovene, Serb, Galician, Georgian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Valencian) and fifteen new countries (Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, China, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania, Portugal, Serbia, Slovenia, Syria, Ukraine), whereas there is only one language (Croatian) in which he was translated during the first period and three countries (Austria, Croatia, Mexico) that have not any work translated in the second (see Tabb. 4 and 5).

Part of this evolution reflects the geo-political reconfiguration after the fall of communism as illustrated by the presence of countries which were part of the USSR. Given the concentration of German-language publishing in Germany, the fact that Austria disappears is not surprising: the unique Austrian translation of Bourdieu was an exception. The situation is different in the Spanish-speaking area where Latin-American publishers fight the domination of Spanish firms, but Argentina supplants Mexico in the importation of Bourdieu during this last period [on the reception of Bourdieu in Argentina, see Baranger, 2008]. A sign that Bourdieu’s international reception is continuing to expand is that in Chile, where his work was not very well known before a first conference on Bourdieu, organized by Javier Couso at the University Diego Portales, was held in March 2008.

¹⁵ One of us (Gisèle Sapiro) was involved in the project of translating articles by Bourdieu into Hebrew at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, and also in two titles published in Hebrew: *Questions de sociologie* [Resling 2005] and *La Domination masculine* (2007).

TAB. 4. *The hierarchy of languages according of the number of translated titles (comparison of two periods).*

1958-1995		1996-2008		1958-2008	
(French)	(24)	(French)	(13)	(French)	(37)
German	19	Spanish	22	German	40
English	19	German	21	Spanish	37
Spanish	15	Portuguese	18	English	33
Italian	14	Chinese	17	Portuguese	28
Portuguese	10	English	14	Italian	26
Japanese	10	Greek	14	Japanese	18
Greek	3	Korean	13	Chinese	17
Arabic	3	Italian	12	Greek	17
Dutch	3	Japanese	8	Korean	15
Korean	2	Arabic	8	Arabic	11
Romanian	2	Romanian	8	Romanian	10
Norwegian	2	Danish	8	Danish	9
Finnish	2	Polish	7	Norwegian	8
Danish	1	Norwegian	6	Polish	8
Polish	1	Catalan	6	Catalan	7
Catalan	1	Swedish	6	Swedish	7
Swedish	1	Bulgarian	5	Bulgarian	6
Bulgarian	1	Hungarian	5	Finnish	6
Hungarian	1	Turkish	5	Hungarian	6
Turkish	1	Finnish	4	Turkish	6
Russian	1	Estonian	4	Dutch	5
Croatian	1	Hebrew	4	Estonian	4
		Russian	3	Hebrew	4
		Czech	3	Russian	4
		Slovene	3	Czech	3
		Dutch	2	Slovene	3
		Serb	2	Serb	2
		Galician	1	Croatian	1
		Georgian	1	Galician	1
		Latvian	1	Georgian	1
		Lithuanian	1	Latvian	1
		Ukrainian	1	Lithuanian	1
		Valencian	1	Ukrainian	1
				Valencian	1
Total translations	113	Total translations	234	Total translations	347

TAB. 5. *The hierarchy of countries according to the number of translated titles published (comparison of three periods).*

Countries	1958-1980	Countries	1981-1995	Countries	1996-2008	Countries	1958-2008
Italy	7	Germany	13	Spain	23	Germany	39
Germany	5	United Kingdom	13	Germany	21	Spain	34
United Kingdom	4	United States	13	China	17	United Kingdom	31
United States	4	Japan	10	Brazil	15	United States	30
Spain	4	Spain	7	United Kingdom	14	Italy	26
Brazil	3	Brazil	7	Greece	14	Brazil	25
Mexico	2	Italy	7	United States	13	Japan	18
Romania	1	Greece	3	Korea	13	China	17
Hungary	1	Netherlands	3	Italy	12	Greece	17
Poland	1	Mexico	3	Argentina	11	Korea	15
		Korea	2	Portugal	9	Argentina	11
		Norway	2	Japan	8	Romania	10
		Finland	2	Romania	8	Denmark	9
		Tunisia	2	Denmark	8	Portugal	9
		Romania	1	Poland	7	Norway	8
		Denmark	1	Norway	6	Poland	8
		Poland	1	Sweden	6	Sweden	7
		Sweden	1	Bulgaria	5	Bulgaria	6
		Bulgaria	1	Hungary	5	Finland	6
		Egypt	1	Turkey	5	Hungary	6
		Turkey	1	Egypt	4	Turkey	6
		Russia	1	Finland	4	Mexico	5
		Lebanon	1	Estonia	4	Egypt	5
		Morocco	1	Israel	4	Estonia	4
		Austria	1	Russia	3	Israel	4
		Croatia	1	Czech Re-public	3	Netherlands	4
				Slovenia	3	Russia	4
				Serbia	2	Czech Re-public	3
				Syria	2	Slovenia	3
				Netherlands	1	Lebanon	2
				Lebanon	1	Morocco	2
				Morocco	1	Serbia	2
				Belgium	1	Syria	2
				Bolivia	1	Tunisia	2
				Georgia	1	Austria	1
				Latvia	1	Belgium	1

TAB. 5. *The hierarchy of countries according to the number of translated titles published (comparison of three periods).*

Countries	1958-1980	Countries	1981-1995	Countries	1996-2008	Countries	1958-2008
				Lithuania	1	Bolivia	1
				Ukraine	1	Croatia	1
				Mexico	1	Georgia	1
						Latvia	1
						Lithuania	1
						Ukraine	1
Total	33	Total	99	Total	258	Total	388

Comparing the central languages in the first and second periods (Figg. 7 and 9), it appears that German, English, Spanish and Portuguese keep their central place, whereas Japanese and Italian become more peripheral. Other languages come to play a central role: Chinese (17), Greek (14) and Korean (13). At the semi-peripheral level are located some languages and countries which were previously peripheral (like Arab countries, Korea, the Northern and Eastern European countries) and new countries like Argentina.

The main outcome highlighted by the network analysis is that, in this phase, the centrality of languages and countries is replaced by the centrality of a core of works which are translated in a large number of languages (Figg. 7 and 8). These are all works published in the 1990s. They include the ones we identified before as central (*Sur la télévision*, *La Domination masculine*, *Les Règles de l'art*, *Contre-feux*) to which other works from this same period should be added: *Méditations Pascaliennes*, *Science de la science et réflexivité*, the second volume of *Contre-feux* and *Esquisse pour une auto-analyse*. They were all published either by Le Seuil, a large and prestigious trade publishing house which had been occupying since the 1970s a central position in French edition of human and social sciences [Serry 2007; Serry Forthcoming],¹⁶ and to which Bourdieu moved after quitting his former publisher Les Editions de Minuit in 1992, or by Raisons d'agir, the publishing house Bourdieu launched in 1996: *Sur la télévision* and the two volumes of *Contre-feux* are short collections of politically committed texts published in the series "Liber-Raisons d'agir," *Science de la science et réflexivité* and *Esquisse pour une auto-analyse* appeared in the more academic series "Cours et travaux."

¹⁶ Le Seuil is, with Gallimard, one of the publishers which had the highest number of translations in American University Presses in from 1990 to 2007 according to a current survey conducted by Gisèle Sapiro [2008b].

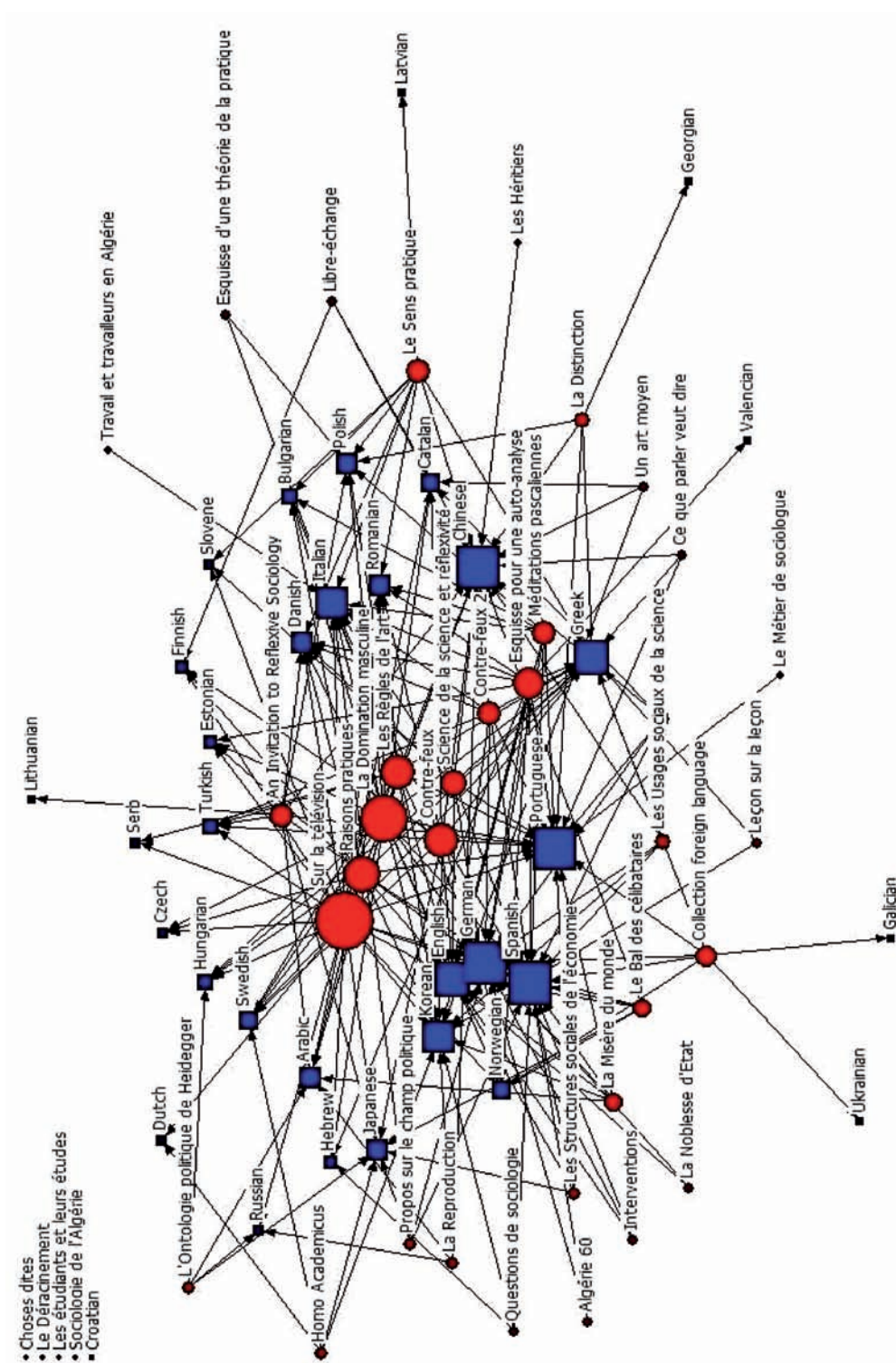


FIG. 9. The distribution of Bourdieu's translated titles per language (1996-2008).

The evolution of the international reception of Bourdieu's work can therefore be characterized by four features: it includes a growing number of languages and countries (the "Matthew Effect"); it tends to be translated faster; it evolves from a fragmented importation to a more unified reception of his work ("oeuvre") as a whole; it expands from the academic field to the intellectual field. This description does not enclose its explanatory factors. It does not save from the need of a qualitative study of the consecration process and of its effect on Bourdieu himself. While the "Matthew Effect" can be partly the result of the delay in international cultural transfers, the quantitative and qualitative evolution of his international reception is in large part related to his political commitment against neo-liberalism in the mid-1990s and of his growing presence in the public space (though this statement should be nuanced regarding the fact that his work has always had a critical dimension and was received as such in France and in some other countries; on Bourdieu and politics, see Wacquant 2004; Swartz 2005; on his reception in Germany as a public intellectual in the 1990s, Gemperle 2009]. He can thus be said to have moved, in the mid-1990s, from the position of an internationally recognized sociologist to that of a "global thinker." An indicator of this is the fact that, while all of Bourdieu's books in English were published until then by academic presses (Polity in England, Chicago, Stanford, Harvard in the US), *On Television* appeared in the US at The New Press, a non profit politically committed publishing house, founded by André Schiffrin, who published the same year, in 1998, *Contre-feux*, and in England at Pluto Press, an independent progressive publisher.¹⁷ Yet the fact that his academic work and his earlier major research books continue to be translated during this last period indicates that he is also becoming a "classical author." In this respect, one should mention the project launched by Franz Schultheis and Stephen Egger ten years ago of a thematic edition of Bourdieu's writings (*Schriften*) in fourteen volumes organized by academic domains (sociological theory, anthropology, political economy, sociology of culture) to be co-published by Universitätsverlag Konstanz and Suhrkamp, in cooperation with the Bourdieu Foundation.

¹⁷ The fact that the translator, Priscilla Ferguson, was urged to translate the book very quickly for the New Press (she did it in three months), is another indicator, as well as the book review in the *New York Times*. Interview with Priscilla Ferguson, conducted by Gisèle Sapiro, 15 June 2009.

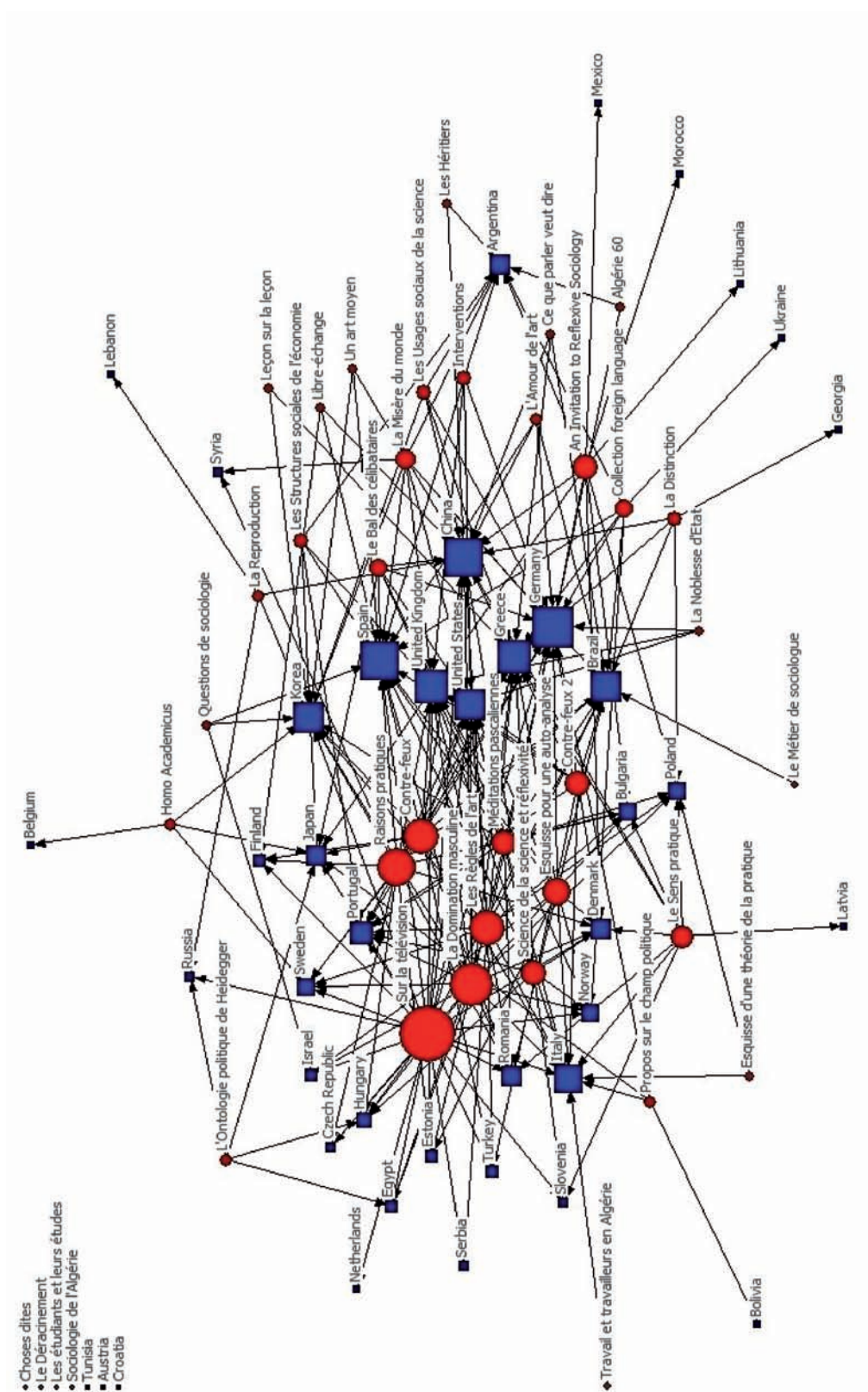


FIG. 10. The distribution of Bourdieu's translated titles per country (1996-2008).

One of our hypotheses, to be tested in a further inquiry, is that in this last period, the role of the mediators decreases, whereas the role of the publishing field becomes more important in the international diffusion of Bourdieu's work. This can be explained by two converging facts: the development of trade publishing in many countries as a result of globalization (this is the case of China); the fact that Bourdieu's name has become an international reference which hence encapsulates symbolic capital, like those of Barthes (also published by Le Seuil), Foucault, Derrida, to which he is often associated as a representative of "French Theory," illustrating the misunderstandings that the circulation of texts without their context can generate [Bourdieu 2002; on the American making of this notion of "French Theory," the role of which was crucial in the international diffusion of these thinkers, see Cusset 2003; at another level, on the biases of the reception of Bourdieu's work in the US, see Wacquant 1993].

An example of the combination of these two factors can be provided by the Israeli case. As already said, Bourdieu's work was known and taught in Israel, in particular at the University of Tel-Aviv since the end of the 1980s. But the project of a collection of essays by him was never completed. The translations of Bourdieu were linked to the development of the book trade in Israel [Sapiro 2008c]. The first book by Bourdieu to be translated into Hebrew was *Sur la télévision* in 1999. It was undertaken by a small new trade publisher, Babel, specialized in translations from French, which was not connected to the Tel-Aviv University group. A few years later, another new small trade publisher, Resling, specializing in human and social sciences, translated two books by Bourdieu, *Questions de sociologie* (2005) and *La Domination masculine* (2007), with the financial support of the French Embassy.¹⁸ A large part of the booklist of this publisher was composed of translations from French, mainly authors of the second half of the Twentieth Century, identified with "French theory," poststructuralism and "postmodernism:" Bataille, Barthes, Derrida, Lacan, Foucault, Deleuze, Althusser, Lévi-Strauss, Kristeva, Irigaray, Bourdieu. Mediated by their reception in the US, their importation in Israel aims at exerting a critical function within the Israeli society, as opposed to the more "neutral" analytical philosophy, which is dominant in the philosophy departments, like in the US.¹⁹ In 2007, a Hebrew translation of *Esquisse pour une auto-analyse* was also published by a prestigious literary publisher.

¹⁸ One of us (Gisèle Sapiro) was asked to take part as in this project as scientific editor, and connected it to the first project at Tel-Aviv University.

¹⁹ Interview with Itzhak Benyamini conducted by Gisèle Sapiro, May 25, 2005.

5. Translations and Transnational Intellectual Exchanges

The indicators we have built give a first general picture of the linguistic and geographic distribution of Bourdieu's work in translation and of its evolution over time. These indicators can be used for other thinkers or intellectuals, in a comparative perspective, and therefore contribute to the study of transnational intellectual exchanges. They include the number of translations in different languages and countries, its time evolution, the changes in the average time taken to translate books from French into other languages, the relation between number of translations and translation time, the configuration of the linguistic and geographic distribution of the translated titles at different periods using tools like network analysis (the centrality of languages, countries and works), maps of geographic diffusion and its time evolution. Thanks to these indicators, we have shown that the centrality of languages and countries decreases in relation to the increasing centrality of the books, an evolution that indicates a less fragmented and more unified reception of Bourdieu's work in the last period. More indicators will be introduced in our further research, like the standard deviation between the year of publication of the original and its translation in different languages, "between-ness" as compared to "degree" in network analysis, and other variables such as: publishers, research domains, length of the work, translators.

One of the limits of this approach is that it does not take into account the different interpretations and uses of Bourdieu's work, which is of course an important aspect of the reception process, all the more in Bourdieu's case, where it varies from superficial citations based at best on secondary reading to the appropriation of a research posture and of an empirical approach [Lagrave and Encrevé 2003; Bouveresse and Roched 2004; Durand and Dubois 2005; Swartz and Zolberg 2005; Lardinois and Thapan 2006; Schultheis 2007; Sallaz and Zavisca 2007; Sallaz and Zavisca 2008; Callejo 2008; Rahkonen 2008; and the series of conferences organized by Loïc Wacquant "Putting Bourdieu to work" in New York in 2004, at Berkeley in 2005, in Ann Arbor in 2006, in Manchester in 2007; the Ann Arbor conference was co-organized with George Steinmetz and titled "Practicing Bourdieu: In the Field and Across the Disciplines"],²⁰ or to the development of new approaches within sociology [see for instance the special issue of *Theory and Society* on Bourdieu and organizational theory; Emirbayer and Johnson 2007; and the issue of the *Social Service Review* 79/4, 2006, on "Bourdieu and social work," etc.) or in other disciplines like literary studies [Jurt 2004; Sapiro 2007], media studies [Benson 1999; Benson and Neveu 2005] or history [Gorski forthcoming]. Furthermore, this approach does neither consider the

²⁰ The two next conferences will take place in Austin and in Copenhagen.

critical reception, as a qualitative study of the reviews and discussions would provide, nor the crucial question of the relation between the translated text and its original [Clough 1998; see also, on the “translation” of the illustrations in *La Distinction*, Wuggenig 2008].

Another limit is the absence of translated articles. Taking them into account in the quantitative survey would require a much more complicate methodology, which might not be the most adequate. However, completing the quantitative survey on books in translation with a qualitative inquiry on some case-studies, in the line of those already published in the *Sociologica* symposium, allows to focus on some specific questions, which have not yet been addressed thoroughly, especially that of the relation between the academic field [Bourdieu 1984], the intellectual field [Bourdieu 1980] and the publishing field [Bourdieu 1999], in which the international circulation of books in the human and social sciences is embedded altogether [Sapiro and Popa 2008].

Focusing on the natural sciences, the science studies have paid much more attention to journals, which are central in these disciplines, than to books, which are usually devoted to popularization, and to citations rather than to translations, most of the articles being written in English. The sociology of the social and human sciences has to take into account the specificity of these disciplines [Heilbron, Lenoir and Sapiro 2004]. One of these specificities is, as already stated, the importance of books in many of them as an inner evaluation criteria while claiming to speak to a larger audience than the group of peers, be it for the sake of the diffusion of knowledge or in order to exert a critical function in society and take part in the debates in the intellectual field (even in disciplines which have adopted the model of the natural science, like economy, there is an important production of books, notably by heterodox economists, aiming to exert such a critical function). Publishers play a role in this broader reception of the work of a thinker or of a social scientist. They contribute to the making of an “oeuvre” [Serry 2007] and of a classical author. The indicators we constructed allow to distinguish different kinds of international consecration: an internationally recognized specialist who is a reference in a research domain (education, culture), an internationally consecrated social theorist, a “global thinker,” a “classical author.”

Although translations into English are usually sufficient for a work to circulate among scholars, translations in other languages are usually required to introduce debates within the national intellectual field, in which the media take an active part. Consequently, translation is paradoxically often a precondition for the internationalizing of intellectual discussions, as opposed to more specialized academic debates where a *lingua franca* (mostly English) usually exists.

The existence of translations of a work in the national language also ensures a better transmission within academic training in linguistic areas other than that of the original work. The access of students to English translations in non-Anglophone areas is limited;²¹ they usually read in the best case fragments or articles in readers or collections of essays, and more frequently secondary literature (textbooks, articles about a thinker).²² The extent to which the development of publishing and translation gives students access to foreign thinkers and research depends on many variables, like the price of books, the intellectual tradition, the place of books in education, which would require a large comparative survey, but it certainly increases the chances of access. The lack of development of publishing and the high price of books excludes large parts of the world, especially areas like Africa, from the international circulation of works. Of course, books from colonial countries circulate in the former colonies in their original language, which have become dominant languages for intellectual discussion, but the high price of books, the centralization of publishing and the problem of distribution all make access to them more difficult (though certain books can also be found in academic libraries). This approach thus reminds us of the asymmetrical structure and the unequal social conditions of the circulation of ideas.

The fact that Bourdieu wrote in French, a central albeit slightly declining language in the global market of translation – as measured by the share of books translated into other languages [Heilbron 1999; Sapiro 2008d] – is not indifferent to the widespread diffusion of Bourdieu's work in other languages. How is centrality on the international book market related (or not) to centrality in the international academic fields [for a "geography of knowledge" as structured around centres and peripheries, see Burke 2000]? In the case of Bourdieu, his large reception in the US contrasts with the comparatively limited reception of other French sociologists [Steinmetz 2008]. One of the characteristics of central countries is their mediating role in the circulation of works and ideas, and their ability to impose an intellectual agenda. According to Keller [2007], the US played a central role in the international reception of Bourdieu and of Giddens: they were first cited in the US in the 1970s before being cited in European countries other than their own. Although there might be a bias due to the overrepresentation of Anglo-American journals in SSCI, this finding indicates a changing balance of power between Europe and the US, in favour of the latter,

²¹ Although sales on internet makes it now easier to buy foreign books than in the past, it is still more expensive, and students will more spontaneously buy books in their language which are sold in the academic bookstore of their university. Libraries are thus their main access to these works in foreign languages.

²² The case of Tel-Aviv University, where, as already mentioned, an unpublished collection of Hebrew translations of articles was taught, is more of an exception.

during this period. How were the circulation and reception patterns of Bourdieu's work affected by this change in the balance of power?

The last but not least question that this study raises is the effect of international consecration on Bourdieu's own intellectual production. Like Zola, like Sartre, like Foucault, Bourdieu put his symbolic capital in the service of a political cause, embodying the figure of the public intellectual. This brought him to write, in parallel to his academic work, books for a larger public and to address new topics, like television or neo-liberal policy. It raises more broadly the question of the effects of reception on the trajectory of a thinker, a task that the sociology of ideas should undertake.

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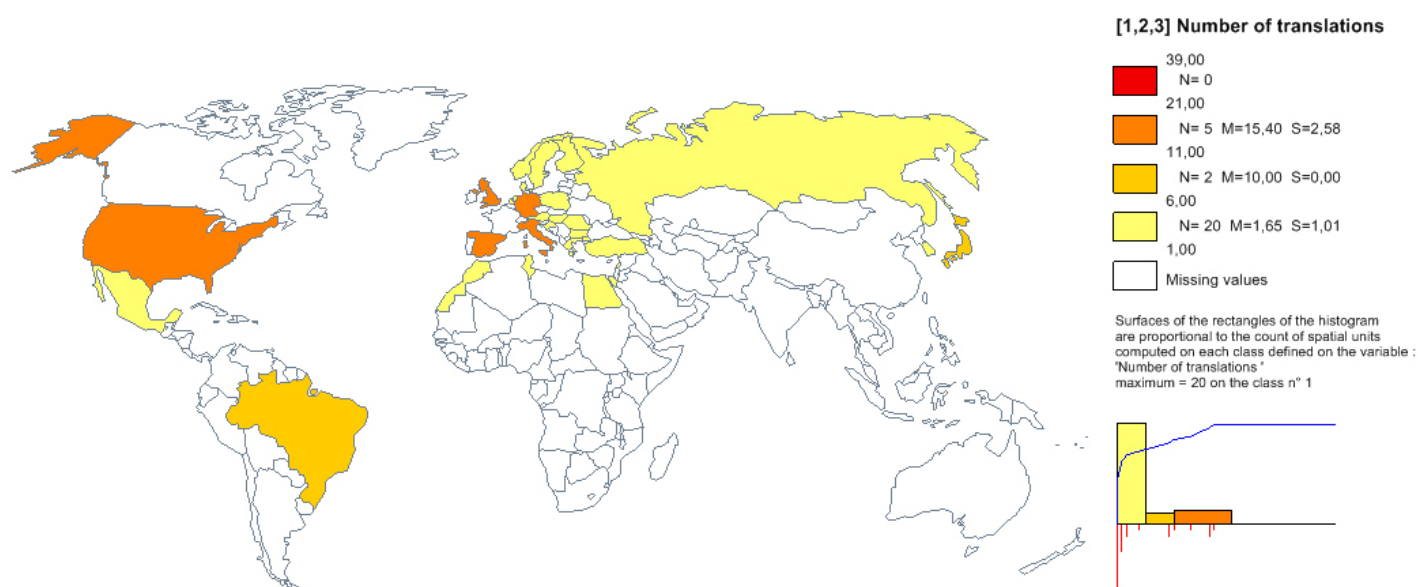
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Appendix 1. The Evolution of the Geographic Distribution of Bourdieu's Books in Translation

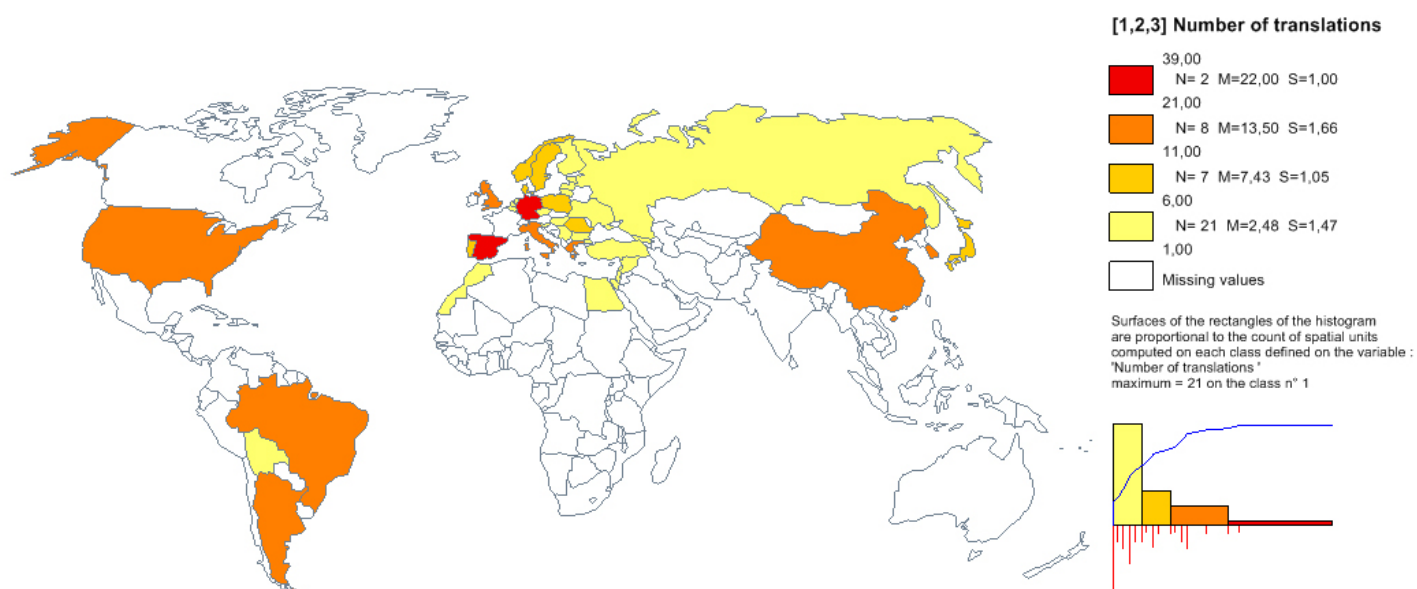
These maps were made with Philcarto <http://philcarto.free.fr>.



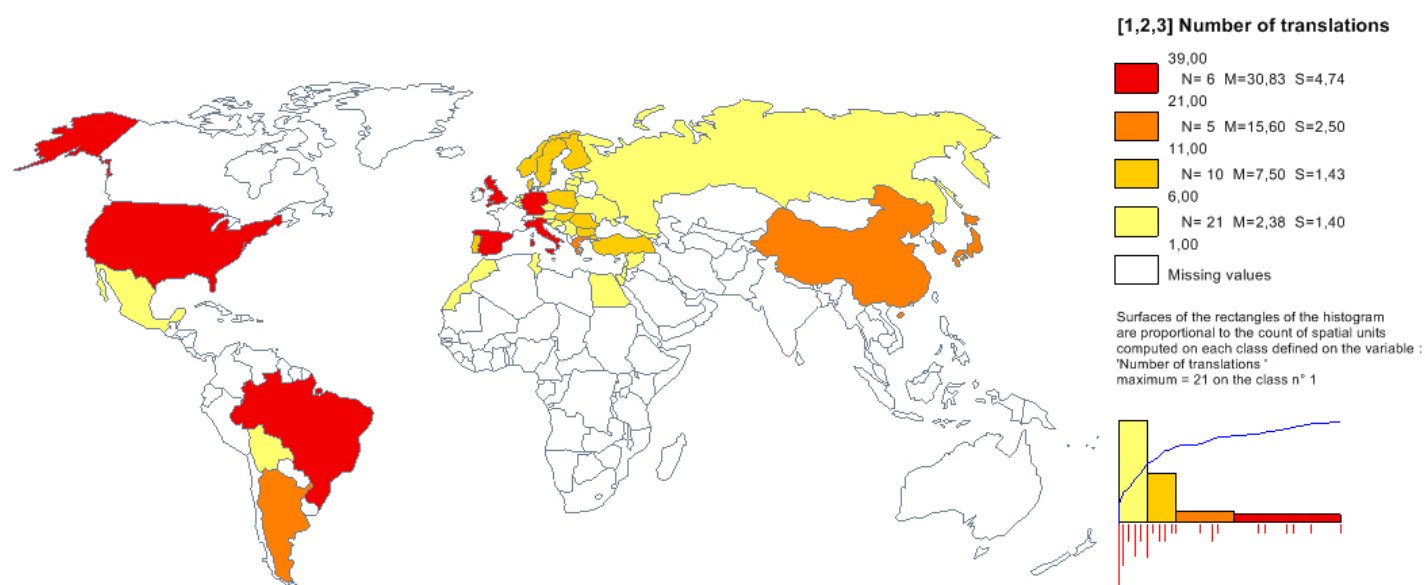
MAP 1. The geographic distribution of Bourdieu's books in translation (1958-1980).



MAP 2. The geographic distribution of Bourdieu's books in translation (1981-1995).



MAP 3. The geographic distribution of Bourdieu's books in translation (1996-2008).



MAP 4. The geographic distribution of Bourdieu's books in translation (1958-2008).

Appendix 2. French and English titles of Bourdieu's books

TAB. A

Algérie 60. Structures économiques et structures temporelles	Algeria 1960
L'Amour de l'art. Les musées et leur public	The Love of art: European art museums and their public
Le Bal des célibataires. Crise de la société en Béarn	The Bachelors' Ball: The Crisis of Peasant Society in Béarn
Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques	Language and Symbolic Power
Choses dites	In Other Words. Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology
Contre-feux	Acts of Resistance: Against the New Myths of Our Time (Polity Press)/Acts of Resistance. Against the Tyranny of the Market (The New Press)
Contre-feux 2	Firing Back
Le Déracinement. La crise de l'agriculture traditionnelle en Algérie	
La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement	Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste
La Domination masculine	Masculine Domination
Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique	Outline of a Theory of Practice
Esquisse pour une auto-analyse	Sketch for a Self-Analysis
Les étudiants et leurs études	

TAB. A

Les Héritiers. Les étudiants et la culture	The inheritors: French students and their relations to culture
Homo Academicus	Homo Academicus
Interventions. Science sociale et action politique	Political Interventions
Leçon sur la leçon	A Lecture on the Lecture
Libre-échange	Free Exchange
Méditations pascaliennes	Pascalian Meditations
Le Métier de sociologue	The Craft of Sociology
La Misère du monde	The Weight of the World
La Noblesse d'Etat. Grandes écoles et esprit de corps	The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power
L'Ontologie politique de Martin Heidegger	The Political Ontology of Martin Heidegger
Propos sur le champ politique	
Questions de sociologie	Sociology in Question
Raisons pratiques. Sur la théorie de l'action	Practical reason: on the theory of action
Les Règles de l'art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire	The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field
Réponses. Pour une anthropologie réflexive	An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology
La Reproduction. Eléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement	Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture
Science de la science et réflexivité	Science of Science and Reflexivity
Le Sens pratique	The Logic of Practice
Sociologie de l'Algérie	The Algerians
Les Structures sociales de l'économie	The Social Structures of Economy
Sur la télévision	On Television
Un Art moyen. Essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie	Photography. A Middle-brow Art
Les Usages sociaux de la science. Pour une sociologie clinique du champ scientifique	

Translation as a Measure of International Consecration

Mapping the World Distribution of Bourdieu's Books in Translation

Abstract: This paper analyzes the translation of Bourdieu's books into different languages as an indicator of recognition and of reception of his work. Until 2008, Bourdieu had 347 translated titles, published into 34 languages and 42 countries. The statistical analysis of these titles provides a picture of the linguistic and geographic distribution of his work in translation and of its evolution over time. Network analysis was used in order to display the centrality of languages, countries and works. Beyond the empirical results, the editorial reception contributes to the reflection on the international circulation of ideas. It also raises the question of the relation between the academic field and the intellectual field.

Keywords: translation, circulation of ideas, history of sociology, sociology of intellectuals, network analysis.

Gisèle Sapiro is a research director at the CNRS (Centre de sociologie européenne, Paris). Her publications include a book on French writers during World War II, *La Guerre des écrivains, 1940-1953* (1999), and many articles on sociology of literature, sociology of intellectuals and sociology of translation. She also edited or coedited five books, *Pour une histoire des sciences sociales, Pierre Bourdieu, sociologue* (both 2004), *Translatio. Le marché de la traduction en France à l'heure de la mondialisation* (2008), *Les Contradictions de la globalisation éditoriale* (2009), *L'Espace intellectuel en Europe, 19e-21e* (2009) and six special issues of journals: on literary translation, on international circulation of ideas (*Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 144 and 145, 2002), on socialist realism (*Sociétés & Représentations*, 15, 2002), on the organization of intellectual professions (*Mouvement social*, 214, 2006), on artistic vocation (*Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 168, 2007), on intellectuals (*Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 171-172).

Mauricio Bustamante Fajardo is a PhD student in sociology at the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales and is currently writing his dissertation on the adoption of the notion of "cultural diversity" in the institutional frame of the UNESCO. His research interests are the field of cultural sociology and the study of cultural policies.