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## NOTES

## NOTES TO PROLOGUE — JOURNALISM AND POLITICS

1. To avoid producing "finger-pointing" or caricature (effects easily produced whenever recorded interviews or printed texts are published as is), I have had to leave out documents that would have given my argument all its force and—because highlighting pulls them out of a familiar context—would have reminded the reader of similar examples that ordinary observation fails to see.

2. [*On Television* raised a widespread controversy that lasted several months and engaged the most important journalists and columnists from the daily papers, the weekly news magazines, and the television stations. During this period the book was at the top of the best-seller list.—T.R.]

3. [Pierre Bourdieu et al., *La Misère du monde* (Paris: Seuil, 1993), trans. P. Ferguson et al. (Cambridge: Polity Press, forthcoming). This book contains some seventy interviews with individuals across the spectrum of French society, which are placed within a theoretical, historical, political, and personal context of the interviewer. The work is a multifaceted ethnographic and sociological study by Bourdieu and his team, but it is also a collection of wonderfully evocative (if rather depressing) life stories. It is these narratives that made *La Misère du monde* the best-seller that it became.—T.R.]

4. [*The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*, trans. L. Clough (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996). The *Grandes Écoles* are prestigious wholly state-subsidized, nonuniversity schools in a number of areas, including engineering (the *École Polytechnique*), the humanities and science (the *École Normale Supérieure*), administration (the *École Nationale d'Administration*), and commerce (*Hautes Études Commerciales*). Unlike the universities, which admit students on the basis of their high school diploma (the *baccalauréat* examination), the *Grandes Écoles* admit students after a highly competitive entrance examination.—T.R.]

5. [*Iliad*, trans. R. Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 2:212–256.—T.R.]

6. See James Fallows, *Breaking the News: How The Media Undermine American Democracy* (New York: Vintage, 1997).

7. See Patrick Champagne, “Le Journalisme entre précarité et concurrence,” *Liber* 29 (Dec. 1996).

#### NOTES TO PREFACE

1. This text is the revised and corrected unabridged transcription of two television programs that were part of a series of courses from the Collège de France. The shows were taped on March 18, 1996, and shown by the Paris Première station the following May (“On Television” and “The Field of Journalism,” Collège de France—CNRS audiovisual production). The appendix reproduces an article from a special issue of the *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* [founded by Pierre Bourdieu in 1975] on the power of television, which addresses the themes of these two lectures more rigorously.

2. [Jean-Luc Godard, “Pour Mieux écouter les autres,” 1972 interview with Jean-Luc Godard, in *Jean-Luc Godard par Jean-Luc Godard*, ed. Alain Bergala (Paris: Cahiers du cinéma—Editions de l’Étoile, 1985), p. 366. The earlier reference is to Godard’s extensive analysis of the political subtexts and uses of the widely diffused photograph of Jane Fonda talking to North Vietnamese. “Enquête sur une image,” 1972 interview, originally a film entitled “Letter to Jane,” in *ibid.*, pp. 350–362.—T.R.]

#### NOTES TO PART ONE:

##### IN FRONT OF THE CAMERA AND BEHIND THE SCENES

1. [Bouygues is the largest French company in commercial and public works construction. The subsidiaries of the holding company cover a wide range of goods and services, including telecommunications. It controls 42 percent of the TF1 television station.—T.R.]

2. [“The View from the Media,” in Pierre Bourdieu, et al., *La Misère*. The French “suburbs” [*banlieue*] correspond to the American “inner city,” which is the translation used here.

3. [Bourdieu here refers to the controversy in France which began in 1989 when Muslim girls, children of relatively recent immigrants from North Africa, were expelled from public school for wearing headscarves (*le foulard* in French, *le hidjab* in Arabic, sometimes tendentiously translated as “veil”). After much debate the then-Minister of Education Lionel Jospin authorized wearing the scarf in class.—T.R.]

4. [English in the original, as are “fast-thinkers,” “talk-show,” “news” below.—T.R.]

5. [Jostein Gaarder, *Le Monde de Sophie: roman sur l’histoire de la philosophie* (Paris: Seuil, 1995), translated from the Norwegian by H. Hervieu and M. Laffon, was a curious and phenomenal best-seller, perhaps luring unsuspecting readers by the subtitle that announces a novel instead of an introduction to philosophic thought.—T.R.]

6. [Bourdieu refers to well-known and often-seen political pundits and social commentators, journalists and writers as well as academics, all of whom have written numerous books and have multiple connections in journalism and publishing. Alain Minc is an industrialist and social commentator closely connected to *Le Monde*; Jacques Attali was a prominent adviser to the Socialist President François Mitterrand; Guy Sorman is a journalist and newspaper editor; Luc Ferry is a professor of philosophy at the University of Caen, who writes regularly for *L’Express*; Alain Finkielkraut is a philosopher who teaches at the École Polytechnique; the historian Jacques Julliard, a regular commentator on the radio station Europe 1, is Director of Studies at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales [the prestigious, nonuniversity institution for teaching and research in the social sciences where Pierre Bourdieu also holds an appointment], and is associate editor of *Le Nouvel Observateur*; Claude Imbert is the editor of the middle-of-the-road business-oriented news magazine *Le Point*; Nicolas Sarkozy is an important figure in the conservative RPR [Rally for the Republic] party of President Jacques Chirac. Bourdieu cites Jacques Julliard’s diary, *L’Année des dupes* (Paris: Seuil, 1996), for an illustration of how the system works.—T.R.]

7. [Guillaume Durand hosts a late-night talk show on TF1.—T.R.]

8. [Since 1990, Jean-Marie Cavada has produced and moderated a talk show on the France 3 television channel. In December 1996 he was appointed as director of the educational channel La Cinquième.

The strike in question was called in November 1995, when the then-conservative prime minister Alain Juppé proposed raising the retirement age for workers on the national railway system. The general railroad strike lasted into December. Juppé eventually withdrew the proposal, leaving the retirement age at fifty.—T.R.]

9. [Television in France developed comparatively late: in 1963, France had some 3 million TV sets against 12 million in Great Britain. It has since caught up so that by 1984 there were television sets in 93 percent of French households and 94 percent of homes in Great Britain.—T.R.]

#### NOTES TO PART TWO:

##### INVISIBLE STRUCTURES AND THEIR EFFECTS

10. [See Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).—T.R.]

11. [See Pierre Bourdieu, "The Institutionalization of Anomie," in Randal Johnson, ed., *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 238–53.—T.R.]

12. For example, the long-running show of Bernard Pivot (see note 17, below). The American equivalents are found on PBS.—T.R.]

13. [The Puppets [*Les Guignols*] is a weekly satirical program where prominent political figures are represented by marionettes with exaggerated features and such.—T.R.]

14. [Bernard-Henri Lévy is one of the most prominent of contemporary journalist-philosophers, so well known in fact that he is often referred simply as "BHL." Besides his many books and essays, he has written plays and directed films (and has acted in television drama). Lévy has also taken a particularly active stand in favor of Bosnia (see his film from 1992, *La Mort de Sarajevo*).—T.R.]

15. [Remi Lenoir, "La Parole est aux juges: crise de la magistrature et champ journalistique," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 101–102 (March 1994), pp. 77–84; and Patrick Champagne, "La Loi des grands nombres: mesure de l'audience et représentation politique du public," in *ibid.*, pp. 64–75.—T.R.]

16. [The eminent sociologist and political scientist Raymond Aron (1905–1983) was appointed (in 1958) to the Chair in Sociol-

ogy at the Sorbonne, originally occupied by Émile Durkheim, and elected to the Collège de France in 1970.—T.R.]

17. [From 1975 to 1990, Bernard Pivot was the extraordinarily popular host of *Apostrophes*, a book review show on the Antenne 2 television station. An appearance on this show made reputations and all but guaranteed sales. His current program, on France 2, has a somewhat different format and rather less impact.—T.R.]

18. [Alain Peyrefitte is a well-known writer and essayist, member of the Académie Française, one-time Attorney General of France, who is currently also a columnist for the conservative newspaper *Le Figaro*.—T.R.]

19. [France abolished the death penalty in 1981 under the newly elected Socialist government of François Mitterrand. The National Front is the extreme right-wing party led by Jean-Marie LePen.—T.R.]

#### NOTES TO THE POWER OF JOURNALISM

1. I thought it useful to reproduce this text, which has already been published in *Les Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, in which I had set out, in a more tightly controlled form, most of the themes discussed in a more accessible fashion above.

2. See for example the work of Jean-Marie Goulemot and Daniel Oster, *Gens de lettres: écrivains et bohèmes, l'imaginaire littéraire, 1630–1900* (Paris: Minerve, 1992), which gives numerous examples of observations and remarks by writers themselves that constitute a sort of spontaneous sociology of the literary milieu. They do not, however, derive the basic explanatory principle, largely because of their efforts to objectify their adversaries and everything they dislike about the literary world. But the picture that emerges of the functioning of the nineteenth-century literary field can be read as a description of the concealed or secret functioning of the literary field today (as Philippe Murray has done in "Des Règles de l'art aux coulisses de sa misère," *Art Press* 186 [June 1993], pp. 55–67).

3. [Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).—T.R.]

4. On the emergence of this idea of "objectivity" in American journalism as a product of the effort of newspapers worried about

their respectability to distinguish news from the simple narrative of the popular press, see Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic Books, 1978). On the opposition between journalists oriented toward the literary field and concerned with style, and journalists close to the political field, and on what each contributed, in the French case, to this process of differentiation and the invention of a "job" of its own (notably, with the advent of the reporter), see Thomas Ferenczi, *L'Invention du journalisme en France: naissance de la presse moderne à la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1993). On the form that this opposition takes in the field of French newspapers and news magazines and on its relationship with the different categories of reading and readers, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* [1979] trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 442–51.

5. As with the literary field, the hierarchy that is constructed according to the external criterion—sales—is just about the reverse of that set up by the internal criterion—journalistic "seriousness." The complexity of this structurally chiasmic distribution (which is also the distribution in the literary, artistic, and juridical fields) is redoubled by the fact that, at the heart of print media or television, each one of which functions like a subfield, the opposition between a "cultural" pole and a "market" pole organizes the entire field. The result is a series of structures within structures (type a::b1:b2).

6. It is through temporal constraints, often imposed in purely arbitrary fashion, that *structural censorship* is exerted, almost unnoticed, on what may be said by television talk show guests.

7. If the assertion that "it's out-of-date" or "we've gone beyond that" today so often takes the place of critical argument (and this is true well beyond the journalistic field), this is because the rushed actors have an obvious self-interest in putting this evaluative principle to work. It confers an indisputable advantage to the last-in, to the youngest. Further, because it is reducible to something like the virtually empty opposition between "before" and "after," this kind of assertion obviates the need to prove one's case.

8. All that has to be done is to formulate the problems of journalists (like the choice between TF1 and Arte) in terms that could be those of journalism. See Dominique Wolton, "Culture et télévision: entre cohabitation et apartheid," in *Éloge du grand public: une*

*théorie critique de la télévision* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), p. 163. In passing, and to justify how rough and even laborious scientific analysis can appear, let me stress the degree to which adequate construction of the analytic object depends on breaking with the pre-constructions and presuppositions of everyday language, most particularly with the language of journalism.

9. The uncertain boundaries of "journalist-intellectual" category make it necessary to differentiate those cultural producers who, following a tradition that began with the advent of "industrial" cultural production, ask of the journalistic professions the *means of existence* and rather than powers (of control or validation) capable of acting on the specialized fields (the Zhdanov effect). [Andrei Aleksandrovich Zhdanov (1890–1948), a loyal Stalinist, member of the Politburo, and general in the Finnish-Russian war of 1939–1940. Bourdieu refers to Zhdanov's political control of the intellectuals in the post-war Soviet Union.—T.R.]

10. A number of recent battles over modern art are hardly distinguishable, except perhaps by the pretension of their claims, from the judgments that would be obtained if avant-garde art were put to a referendum or, what comes down to the same thing, to an opinion poll.

#### NOTES TO THE OLYMPICS — AN AGENDA FOR ANALYSIS

1. This text is an abridged version of a talk given at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the Philosophical Society for the Study of Sport in Berlin, held in Berlin on October 2, 1992. It was subsequently published in the *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 103 (June 1994), pp. 102–103.

2. "Sponsors were offered a complete communication package based on product category exclusivity and continuity over a four-year period. The programme for each of seventy-five matches included stadium advertising, official supplier's titles, the use of mascots and emblems and franchise opportunities." For £7 million [\$14 million] each sponsor in 1986 had the possibility of a share of "the biggest single televised event in the world," with "unparalleled exposure, far in excess of other sports" (Vyv Simson and Andrew Jennings, *The*

*Lords of the Rings: Power, Money and Drugs in the Modern Olympics* [London: Simon and Schuster, 1992], p. 102).

3. The top competitive sports increasingly rely on an industrial technology that calls on various biological and psychological sciences to transform the human body into a efficient and inexhaustible machine. Competition between national teams and governments increasingly and ever-more emphatically encourages the use of prohibited substances and dubious methods of training. See John M. Hoberman, *Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport* (New York: Free Press, 1992).

4. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. S. Emanuel (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996).

5. For a gross indicator of the real value of different actors of Olympic "show business," the presents distributed by the Korean authorities to different important figures went from \$1100 for IOC members to \$110 for the athletes. See Simson and Jennings, *Lords of the Rings*, p. 153.

6. One could, for example, imagine an *Olympic charter* that would define the principles to be followed by everyone involved in the production of both shows (beginning, obviously, with the men who run the Olympic Committee, who are the first to benefit from transgressions of financial disinterestedness they are supposed to enforce). Or an Olympic oath could bind the athletes (prohibiting them, for example, from joining in patriotic demonstrations like carrying the national flag once around the stadium) and those who produce and comment on the images of these exploits.

#### NOTES TO TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

1. See Jean-Luc Pouthier, "L'Etat et la communication; le 'modèle français,'" pp. 582-586 in *L'Etat de la France 95-96* (Paris: La Découverte, 1995).

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