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# STRUCTURAL BENCHMARKS OF SOCIAL MODELING

Review  
Article

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## Keywords

*Bourdieu,  
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System values,  
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## Abstract

*In this article, the attempts to structure social reality by Bourdieu were linked to the system of values proposed by Allport, Vernon and Lindszey to systematize the fields of human action, in order to better understand their content and the relationships between them. The starting point is the concept of habitus proposed by Bourdieu, and critical analysis and conclusions refer to some useful points in building a possible model of explanation and understanding of social life.*

## INTRODUCTION

In substantiating his theoretical ideas, Bourdieu puts emphasis on the importance of the symbolic system and its reflection in language, as a form of expression of power relations. Social conditions are not placed outside the language, since the linguistic exchange is a practical activity that reflects these conditions by adequate linguistic practices. Therefore, the language can't be studied outside the social context, separated by the meaning it transmits according to using and production conditions, or by considering it as a "pre-built object". As a result, there can be no universal norms of linguistic practice. The legitimacy (of *what they say, how they say, to whom they say*) is given by the social and economic conditions, and the linguistic competence requires not only the ability to generate correct statements logically and grammatically, but also the ability of adapting to the situation, considering the power relation between sender and receiver. To *understand* the meaning of a message, the semiotic analysis must be accompanied by the analysis of the communication context. The context of communication reveals aspects of recognition of the sender's legitimacy / authority, of symbolic forms of power involved by the relations between participants, of tacit agreement that allows or prohibits manifestation in a particular social space, of accepted practices and norms revealed by specific inculcated *dispositions*, associated *practical sense* or specific *corporal hexis* (Bourdieu, 2012).

This complex perspective on language permits the author to propose a model of representation of social space, model that we analyze critically in this article, and put it in relation to other theoretical ideas, in an attempt to structure the social reality. We mention that the topic is presented in a general manner for the moment, and the approach requires new interventions.

## GENERAL THEORETIC FRAMEWORK TO BOURDIEU

### Conceptual clarifications

The concept of *habitus* is placed in the core of Bourdieu's theoretical system. It is defined as a *set of dispositions that makes the agents to act and react in certain ways* (Thompson, 2012, in Bourdieu, 2012).

The set of dispositions generates "ordinary" practices, perceptions and attitudes, without being led or governed consciously by any "rule".

The dispositions that constitute the *habitus are inculcated, structured, sustainable, generative and can be transposed*, i.e. (*idem*, pp. 20-21):

- *Dispositions are inculcated* – they are gradually acquired through contingent training and learning processes that get to outline the body;

- *Dispositions are structured* – they reflect the social conditions they were acquired in;

- *Dispositions are sustainable* – they are maintained throughout life, operating pre-consciously;

- *Dispositions are generative and transposable* – they generate different practices in different areas they were acquired in.

The *habitus* is "a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems" (Bourdieu, 1977). As well, "the dispositions durably inculcated by the possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions inscribed in the objective conditions (which science apprehends through statistical regularities such as the probabilities objectively attached to a group or class) generate dispositions objectively compatible with these conditions and in a sense pre-adapted to their demands" (Bourdieu, *Le Sens Pratique*, 1980, *apud* Mangi, 2009).

This system called *habitus*, that incorporates *solutions* in line with objective structures, explains the specific action way of individuals. At this point we can't fail to notice the similarity that exists between the concept of *culture* (we rather refer to the anthropological vision) and Bourdieu's *habitus*: *culture* is, for example, *the answers / solutions found by individuals to their facing problems* (Hampden-Turner, Trompenaars, 2004). *All alternative solutions are possible in all societies, at any moment, but the preference for a particular solution varies from one society to another* (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck *apud* Hills, 2002; Bosche, 1993). It is the culture that marks the border between what is allowed or not to an individual. Hofstede (1996) understands by (*secondary*<sup>ii</sup>) *culture the collective mental programming of thinking, that distinguishes the members of a group by the ones of another group*. Specific ways of thinking, feeling and action are interiorized by the individual through learning, often unconsciously. Individuals are part of a number of different groups and categories at the same time. Everyone is the depositary of several layers of *mental programming* that correspond to different cultural levels (national, regional / ethnic / religious / linguistic affiliation, gender, generation, social class, organizational, etc. - Hofstede, 1996; Hofstede *et al.*, 2012). For the anthropologist E. Hall (1984, 1992), founder of *Intercultural communication*, the culture (seen as a *total social*

*fact* and considered synonymous with *communication* in the same time) can be analyzed based on three dimensions of culture: cultural context of communication, cultural space and cultural time. *Culture*, reflected by the cultural dimensions to Hall, interferes also with the concept of *habitus* to Bourdieu. Another closeness between *culture* and *habitus* results from listing the determinant factors, including gender, generation, social position, social origin (rural / urban, old / recent), ethnic origin etc. (Bourdieu 2012), factors that define just some of the specified culture levels (ethnic, generational, social class, professional, etc.). It indicates that we may understand by Bourdieu's *habitus* a *transversal section* of these levels, in time and space. This perspective that crosses culture levels allows the author to leave the relative static vision of culture, which we were accustomed with. In his theoretical system, although it incorporates sustainable dispositions, *habitus* is characterized by an adaptive generative dynamism (this further allows to develop ideas about language, by creating links with well-known theories of language, and its symbolic power by considering the social conditions reflected by the language<sup>iii</sup>).

Other concepts used by Bourdieu (see *Table 1*) are an adaptation of economic terms (market, capital, etc.) to his own theoretical construction, or are closely related to his basic assumptions (symbolic power or violence, for example).

### **Linguistic circulation and production model**

At Bourdieu, the linguistic circulation and production model takes into account the relationship between linguistic habitus and markets that offer products (*Fig. 1*). Without considering the social conditions of production, the information imprinted in them is lost. The meaning of a linguistic product derives more from outside. It is interpreted by reference to a linguistic habitus and linguistic market, that puts the sense in competition with other products and where some interpretation schemes operate (Bourdieu 2012). The link between habitus and market depends both on the acquisition / learning conditions and on their use, as the linguistic dimension is accompanied by other dimensions, such as the corporal and the emotional ones. They release together a certain worldview (*idem*, p. 105) and, at this point, we are again approaching the axiological context which we will exploit in the last part of the article, in an attempt to propose a model of structuring *the social*.

Bourdieu (2012) mentions that purposes and means are predetermined by habitus. Linguistic habitus is associated to habitus, transmitting instructions as permissions, prohibitions, injunctions. Because habitus reflects an axiological / normative dimension, its interference / overlay to the notion of culture is again pointed out, the values being the

core of culture as we mentioned before (some authors classified the values of a culture in instrumental values, linked to means, and final values, associated to goals - see Rokeach, 1973). Markets or fields are based on specific combinations of capital and value, but also on specific institutions and institutional mechanisms. The logic of the model of structuring the social, regarded in light of the behavior / action - language / communication relationship can be reduced to the following assertions:

- a) social practices involve the compatibility between a certain habitus and the associated market;
- b) linguistic practices involve the compatibility between a certain linguistic habitus and a certain linguistic market.

### **Model of cultural and social reproduction to Bourdieu**

#### **1. Description of model**

In the Bourdieu's model, *the social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) built on principles of differentiation and distribution that form the ensemble of active properties in the considered social universe* (Bourdieu 2012). Agents are defined by the relative position they have in this space, based on the capital held on various markets specific to this space (*field of forces*). Mainly it's about economic capital, with its different subspecies (cultural, social, symbolic, etc. capital). A position in all possible playing spaces can be defined for each agent.

The social field is described as a multidimensional space of positions, where each position can be defined by a *multidimensional system of coordinates whose values correspond to different pertinent variables* (*idem*, pp. 258-259):

- In the first dimension, agents are distributed according to *the overall volume of capital they possess*;
- In the second dimension, agents are distributed according to *the structure of their capital*, i.e. according to *the relative share of different species within all their possessions: economic titles of property, cultural titles of property* (i.e. scholar titles), *social titles of property* (i.e. titles of nobility).

In each field / market there is a *form of distribution of various capital species that determines current and potential powers from different fields and opportunities for access to specific gains* (*idem*, p. 259).

Knowing the agent's position in this space contains information on intrinsic properties (agent's *condition*) and relational ones (agent's *position*). Agents with similar positions can be grouped in *classes* (in the logical sense of the term) with dispositions, interests, practices and similar

standpoints. These *theoretical classes* (probable classes) allow explanations and planning of practices and properties of the classified matters (*idem*, p. 260).

The agent's position in a particular social field is reflected by the linguistic capital held in accordance with specific discursive practices and the conditions of *acceptability and success* on that market. The *symbolic enforcement* is based actually on these conditions (*idem*, pp. 94 -95).

In this way, agents are grouped into classes based on the capital held on social and linguistic markets. Bourdieu considers more probable the stability and durability of classes based on capital allocation, than on other principles that may reflect a common vision, though they are not rejected (i.e. ethnic, national, etc. principles). It is interesting how, by creating a deterministic model, the author takes also into account the adaptability capacity of agents and he emphasizes that dispositions are "generative". Moreover, he states that "the proximity of closest people is never *necessary*" as "the proximity of the most distant ones is never *impossible*" (*idem*, p. 261).

The symbolic association becomes extremely responsible and useful in the context of current research. The change operates in Bourdieu's model within this association. Basically, it can act upon the world taking action on the knowledge about the world, imposing representations (mental, verbal, graphical, theatrical etc. - *idem*, p. 163). The role of language is a creative one: it "*occurs in existence producing the recognized collective representation and thus achieved, of the existence*" (*idem*, p. 57).

## 2. Critical analysis

The model offered by Bourdieu, based on the concept of *habitus*, offers, by the attributed characteristics, the possibility of combining collective and subjective practices. By this strategy, Bourdieu manages to evade the mechanistic determinism and gives place to the individuals' capacity to receive / build the meaning of the world which they live in. A similar approach appears while dealing with the concept of *situational framework*, used in shaping the economic behavior (Dinga, 2016). Both the concepts of *habitus* and the *situational framework* give place to a teleological type determinism, based on purposes; it is associated with cultural determinism that offers, unconsciously, an axiological guidance of purposes.

The influence of structuralism (the French, Weberian, Durkheimian one) is highlighted by critical studies (Jenkins, 1982; Sulkunen, 1982; Lizardo, 2004), but Bourdieu's structuralism is a "constructive", "generative" one, which enables new solutions through specific combinations, being also noticed the influence of the Piaget's genetic structuralism<sup>iv</sup>.

The emphasis on the deterministic relationship between objective structures, on *habitus* (as a place of *internalizing the reality and outsourcing the internality*) and on social practices undermines, *apparently* (NT – A.N.N), the idea of agents' freedom (Jenkins, 1982). But, considering the fact that *habitus*, as defined by the author, provides a common framework that ensures understanding between individuals and not a set of requirements that individuals must comply with – the compliance depends on their interests (Sulkunen, 1982; Mangi, 2009), we can understand the author's perspective.

Although Bourdieu expresses somehow ambiguous, it seems he favors the economic capital as a contributor in positioning the individual in the social space. In addition, he considers the cultural, social and symbolic capital as its species. We believe that in-depth analysis of these issues in his work could bring us further clarifications.

Although some explanations are inconsistent (perhaps because of their adaptation to different themes of the author) and some concepts cause some confusion (i.e. linguistic competence and linguistic capital appear substitutable terms), the presented model seems useful by its ability to create a link between the semiotic and structuralist approaches, but also by treating social and linguistic practices in parallel. Furthermore, the concern to analyze *the taken position in the social structure, synchronically and diachronically*, provides the opportunity to take into account the variations produced in time, even if it is noted that his work's explanations succeed only to suppress history (see Jenkins, 1982).

Using semiotic patterns in understanding social / economic systems may be outlined by adapting ideas from Bourdieu's model, which we consider to be valuable themselves, and also in relation to the aim of such research.

We further present some vulnerabilities and personal considerations, providing that they are formulated from a future mission's perspective, related to a wider research idea, as mentioned above.

a. We believe that Bourdieu is tributary to the reality he analyzes, to the French social system, the hierarchical one, with specific problems, with specific exaggerations (remember the period when supplying these reflections), but the components and described phenomena are extremely useful. We also believe that the model proposed by Bourdieu is valid in a context that can be approached from the (quasi) structuralism perspective. We wonder if in the context of tomorrow's world (characterized by fragmentation) these *hierarchical* criteria will be valid / will make sense. We notice now that social networks, Internet, technology require other criteria for setting up groups, criteria that correspond better to their heterogeneous nature and to the need for individuality's expression (the emergence of so-

called "tribes"). It seems that globalization doesn't unified, but fragments, and produces more division, leaving a higher integration / self-integration freedom to the individual.

b. Privileging the economic field and / or the economic capital in "positioning" the individual is contradicted by empirical evidence. There are situations where cultural capital, for example, gets far ahead the economic capital, the intellectual capital and intellectual dominance being extremely important and ensuring an extremely comfortable general social position to the holder.

c. It doesn't seem fair to consider the economic capital as *genus* and the other forms of capital as *species*, when a social system that includes the economics is described. Although *the economic field* is more "populated" than other fields, this criterion doesn't allow us to consider it as *genus* because it isn't a logical criterion to differentiate *genus* from *species*. *The economics* is a *species* of *social*, therefore *the economic field* is a *species* of *social field*, like the other fields (political, religious, cultural, etc. one) - (even if *economics* appears in other fields, because these activities are also paid; but "interferences" with other fields are also present in the economic field). Bourdieu's language is quite hermetic, with returns, takeovers, re-contextualized reformulations that can confuse. While we understand that the author gives a limited acceptance to social capital, this capital defines the position of class and social network; but just this position derives from the capital forms – the logic of the explanation is questionable, hence, the need to clarify it through the presented proposal.

#### STEPS TOWARDS THE MARKS OF A POSSIBLE MODEL FOR EXPLAINING AND UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE

From the above presented information we may remark that the axiological dimension of *habitus* is easily noticed. In these circumstances, we wonder whether a more detailed analysis of Bourdieu's proposed social fields by reference to values (considering also the idea of capital specific to a field, with some related amendments listed in the critical analysis), could be a solution to get a more complete picture related to the components and the relations of the social system. *Habitus* allows us to associate specific dominant values to each field, with some changes in the author's classification. To achieve this we have chosen a very close system to the fields described by Bourdieu, namely, Allport, Vernon and Lindszey value system<sup>v</sup> (*apud* Ionescu, Toma, 2001).

We believe that as long as man is guided by values in his choices, and material values reflected in *accumulations* / *economic properties* have different

importance for different individuals, *discrimination* that occurs between fields to Bourdieu (by privileging the economic field) can lead to misinterpretation. That is why we propose to correlate some aspects of Bourdieu's model with the mentioned values system, associating dominant values to fields, considered themselves in a struggle for the definition / constitution of a space positioned as well as possible (for example, theoretical values versus political values, social class values versus professional values, etc.). Fields have a great dynamic, they are interconnected, intertwined, while the individual is located in more fields, in the same time. There is a competition of values that creates dilemmas and puts the individual to choose. The *axiological* position of the individual guides his preferences, favoring specific manifestations of a particular field. In fact, *the hierarchy of values* (see Classification Sitaram&Codgell, in Ionescu, Toma, 2001) establishes what is more relevant for the individual and structures his activities in the corresponding fields. For example, for an individual, the economic values can be *principally*, the cultural ones can be *secondary*, the artistic ones can be *tertiary* etc.; to another individual the artistic values can be *principally*, the cultural ones can be *secondary* and the economic ones can be *tertiary*<sup>vi</sup> etc., so *the effort* will be allocated "proportionally" in those fields (there are exceptions, of course). It could lead or not to the establishment of a certain type of capital, depending on the effort (we know, at least in business, many failures). Therefore, a *capital* structure correlated to the distribution of effort could result or not. For example, a very good artist could hold a wealth / economic capital larger than a person who favors the economic field, wealth that would allow him a very good position in the economic field, too. But not the *economic capital* will coordinate his action in the future, but the values, so he will further manifest, with priority, in the artistic field. So, not only the capital configures the individual's position in social space, but also values, because his actions are guided by values. But values are closely related to needs. The variation of the latter ones may produce variations in values. It depends on the persistence and the type of needs. A long unmet need (i.e., the need for security) can lead to appreciation / desirability of security, becoming a value.

The presented reasoning is a starting point, much of this article requiring further clarifications and developments (for example, how determinism-freedom relationship is regarded, how the change is explained, etc.) for the establishment of some consistent hypotheses.

Therefore, the proposal we make in this article is limited to a classification of fields consistent with a values' classification system. We come up with general proposals to define the content (Table 2).

By describing each field in relation to the associated categories, we may get an image of the social system that allows us theorizing about explaining human behavior.

### CONCLUSIONS

From the analysis of the main aspects of the theoretical system proposed by Bourdieu emerges that the entire construction is extremely valuable and can form the basis of future developments related to explanation and understanding of phenomena that occur within social systems. We note that *habitus* is the key concept, which offers the possibility of more generous constructions than the ones provided by functionalist traditional acceptions or even the interpretative ones regarding concept of culture (see Onea, 2010). Bourdieu locates himself at the intersection of some epistemological approaches considered to be in opposition, not to reconcile them, but to raise ideas that occupy themselves a median position. *Habitus* is an enriched option of the concept of culture that allows to explain the adaptation and mobility of agents in various fields of the social space. Associating *the linguistic habitus* is another advantage because it opens the possibility of interdisciplinary connections; theories of language and semiotic models can be accessed and connected with other constitutive aspects. The way to conceptualize enables a synchronous and / or diachronic analysis.

There are also weaknesses of the model, some of them presented in this article, such as the idea of positioning the individual on the basis of the held capital. According to Bourdieu, individual's position in social space is reflected by the position he occupies in various fields, depending on the total volume<sup>vii</sup> of his capital and the structure of this capital; a priority place is assigned to the economic capital. It is true that he mentions that, besides the principles of division that determine the structure of the social space, there may be other principles, independent by the economic and cultural properties, but we believe that the axiological dimension of *habitus* is not fully exploited by the author.

These were some of the reasons that led us to the idea of classifying the fields of the social system by analogy with the value system proposed by Allport *et al.* In fact, some of these fields have been defined by the author in his examples (economic, political, religious, cultural - intellectual / artistic etc.). We believe that this combination and analysis of what is related to each field individually (dominant capital, dominant logic, type of domination, axiological definition, specific linguistic capital) and the relationships between

these elements may open new research directions, which we hope to exploit further.

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**ANNEXES**

Table No. 1  
*Basic concepts to Bourdieu*

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<i>Linguistic habitus</i>	Species of <i>habitus</i> ; subset of linguistic dispositions acquired in particular different contexts (p. 26); <i>Form of expression of social class habitus</i> that “by comparison, the linguistic habitus represents only one dimension; in fact, that is the occupied position in the social structure, synchronically and diachronically” (p. 107);
<i>Institution</i>	“Relatively sustainable complex of social relations that gives power, status and different resources to individuals” (p. 16);
<i>Field (market / game)</i>	The struggle field where “people try to keep or change the distribution of specific forms of capital” (p. 23); “Structured space of positions, where positions and networking are determined by the distribution of different types of resources or <i>capital</i> ” (p. 22); An autonomous universe, a game space where a game is played with certain rules, different to the ones from adjoining areas and where gamers have specific interests, that are not defined by their principals (p. 238 );
<i>Linguistic capital or linguistic competence</i>	“The ability of various agents employed in change to impose those assessment criteria that favor their products the most; production capacity and assessment and approaching capacity, at the same time” (p. 88); “It implies a practical mastery of language use and a practical mastery of situations where this use of language is socially acceptable” (p. 106); “It is not a mere technical capacity, but a statutory capacity which is most often accompanied by the technical capacity” (p. 91);
<i>Legitimate competence</i>	“The statutory recognized capacity of an authorized person, of an “authority”, to use the legitimate language in official ( <i>formal</i> ) occasions, namely the official ( <i>formal</i> ) language; it is the authorized language whose authority is recognized, an accredited and veracious speaking, or, in short, a <i>performative</i> one, claiming (with the best chance of success) to be followed by effects” (p. 91)
<i>Symbolic capital</i>	“The institutionalized or not <i>recognition</i> , that they (agents–TN – <i>translator’s note</i> ) receive from a group; a symbolic enforcement”(p. 94);
<i>Symbolic power</i>	“the power to set up the given through enunciation, to make us see and believe, to confirm or convert the worldview and, thus, the action regarding the world ...” (p. 182); “Invisible power that can’t be exercised without the complicity of those who don’t want to know they bear it or even perform it” (p. 175); “The power <i>recognized</i> by the one who bear it in the one who exerts it, <i>acknowledging</i> it to him” (p. 208);
<i>Symbolic violence</i>	That type of violence where domination is rather carried by interpersonal relationships; it is “a violence of trust, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, dedication, duty, piety (virtues exalted by the ethic of honor)”; it is actually a means of using power (p. 34);

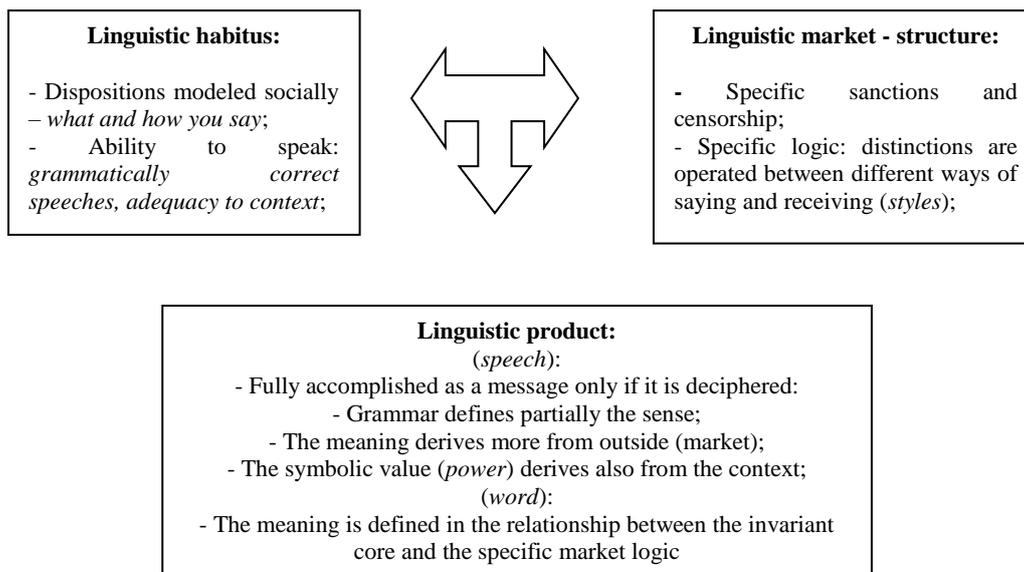
Systematization (A.N.N.) *apud* Bourdieu, 2012; Thompson, in Bourdieu, 2012.

Table No. 2  
*The fields of the social system*

<b>Field</b>	<b>Dominant capital</b>	<b>Dominant logic</b>	<b>Type of domination</b>	<b>Axiological definition</b>	<b>Linguistic capital</b>
<b>Economic</b>	Economic (material wealth)	Economic	Economic	Orientation towards material wealth	Economic
<b>Theoretic</b>	Intellectual (intellectual wealth)	Theoretic	Intellectual	Orientation towards accumulation of knowledge	Cultural
<b>Politic</b>	Politic (power)	Politic	Politic	Orientation towards acquiring power	Politic, ideological discourse

<b>Esthetic</b>	Artistic (esthetic wealth)	Esthetic	Artistic	Orientation towards beauty, harmony, through specific forms of expression	Artistic
<b>Religious</b>	Religious (spiritual wealth)	Religious	Religious, spiritual	Orientation toward achieving a communion with the divinity	Religious
<b>Social/moral<sup>viii</sup> responsibility</b>	Social-moral (moral wealth)	Socio-moral <sup>ix</sup>	by morality, just spirit	Orientation towards others - charity, seeking justice / right spirit	Social/moral

Own development (A.N.N.) based on the theoretical elements from “*Language and symbolic power*” (P. Bourdieu), associated with the values system of *Allport, Vernon și Lindszey*.



**Figure no. 1 – Bourdieu: Linguistic circulation and production model**

Notes:

<sup>i</sup> We will approach the subject, in a future article, analyzing broadly the notions of: *culture* (in a restricted sense), *social capital* and *habitus*.

<sup>ii</sup> Primary culture, named also „culture in a restricted sense”, refers to “civilization” or “mind refinement” and, in particular, to the results of this refinement as education, art and literature (Hofstede, 1996, pp. 20-21).

<sup>iii</sup> It is also a coherent idea with our proposal regarding the use of a semiotic model, to explain human action (Neculăeși, 2013).

<sup>iv</sup> Bourdieu's epistemological positioning can't be clearly defined because of his option to "cross" and / or circumscribe approaches considered traditionally to be in opposition.

<sup>v</sup> Allport, Vernon și Lindszey classification: The *theoretical* man – who values truth, he’s experimental, critical, systematical, rational; the *economic* man- who evaluates and appreciates what is useful, pragmatic; the *esthetic* man – he’s preoccupied by beauty, harmony, symmetry in art; the *social* man – he’s dominated by altruism and philanthropy; *politic* man – he appreciates power and influence, he’s looking for competition; the *religious* man – he evaluates spirituality and looks for the communion with the cosmos and the divinity.

<sup>vi</sup> The example is simplistic, we can have multiple values that function as a principal set for us and all of them not define the same field, or some of them may be located even at the intersection of fields; hence the flexibility and the adaptation possibility of the individual.

<sup>vii</sup> In theory, this field would have been named "social" to be consistent with the classification we refer to, but we chose this modification for two reasons: a) to not create confusion between “social” as a *genus* and “another social” as *species*, again; b) to create the prerequisites to adapt to the current concerns of society, related to a responsible behavior, in order to ensure sustainability.

<sup>viii</sup> In addition to this “social morality” that implies individual’s reference to “justice”, as it is defined in the social environment, there is a reference to their own conscience, and individuals can elude the collective benchmarks when they consider that they do not represent them (this is even an area that will be exploited in the presentation of aspects related to individual’s freedom).

<sup>ix</sup> Even this “summation” of forms of capital is questionable, because a certain type of capital can be considered more valuable than another, and each time, assessments depend on the group of assessors (who are guided by own values ...).