

# Social Positions in Self-Employment

A Study of Employment Structures in Artistic Production and  
Management Consulting

Karin Darin



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To my mother May Gauffin



## PREFACE

This report is a result of a research project carried out at the Center for Entrepreneurship and Business Creation at the Economic Research Institute at the Stockholm School of Economics.

This volume is submitted as a doctor's thesis at the Stockholm School of Economics. As usual at the Economic Research Institute, the author has been entirely free to conduct and present her research in her own ways as an expression of her own ideas.

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Filip Wijkström  
Director of the Economic Research  
Institute  
Stockholm School of Economics

Carin Holmquist  
Director of the Center for  
Entrepreneurship and Business Creation  
Stockholm School of Economics



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### Address

EFI, Box 6501, SE-113 83 Stockholm, Sweden • Website: [www.hhs.se/efi/](http://www.hhs.se/efi/)  
Telephone: +46(0)8-736 90 00 • Fax: +46(0)8-31 62 70 • E-mail [efi@hhs.se](mailto:efi@hhs.se)

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Paris, November 2009  
Karin Darin

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## Chapter 1

# Introduction

*There is a hierarchy between different kinds of freelancers so to speak. You have the ones who maybe have two jobs a year and then are unemployed the rest [of the year] and who have a really hard time to make a living out of it but still have chosen to become musicians and see it as some kind of calling they cannot back out from, it is really sad, there are numerous of them. [...] Then you have the ones who are established freelancers, they are the ones who might have had a job in an orchestra, but who have chosen to become freelancers because they know they can pick and chose [between projects]. They are not tied to one employer but can decide their schedule exactly as it suits them. [...] You are really free if you are that established, but it is few granted, but these established ones, they are self-employed. (Linus, artist)*

The quotation above is from an artist who explains the types of artists that generally are self-employed, and he does so by referring to how established the artist is. The social position that an artist holds is related to the employment possibilities that she or he faces. Previous research on self-employment has mainly explained the trajectories into different forms of employment as rational and self-interested without paying much attention to the social context. This dissertation takes another approach to the issue and creates an understanding of self-employment as a social phenomenon. Which different social groups perceive the possibility of entering self-employment, and how does this differ between social fields, are questions that will be discussed. Two fields are studied: management consulting and artistic production.

In research on self-employment, focus is generally on the capital that characterizes the individual in order to explain the choice between self-employment and wage-employment (e.g. Dunn and Holtz-Eakin 2000, Parker and Belghitar 2006, Lofstrom 2002). This line of research mainly builds upon a neoclassical economic perspective where individuals' choices are studied as rational and self-interested. Thus, individuals choose between self-employment and wage-employment depending on what form of employment has the highest expected utility. Although sociological and psychological variables often are included, utility maximization remains the core of most models (Minniti and Lévesque 2008). As a result, focus is on the individual rather than on the social context.

Instead of focusing on the capital that characterizes the self-employed, this study looks at what capital characterizes the social structures of the management consulting and artistic fields, as well at what position the self-employed individual holds within these structures. 'Field' is a concept that refers to a space of social positions where agents holding different positions struggle for something that they hold in common (Broady 1998b p. 14). Among artists, the struggle revolves around the production of art, what art is, and what it takes to be an artist. In a similar vein, management consultants struggle to define management consulting. Fields are more or less autonomous social entities. This means that they include their own social realities, and have their own set of rules and principles, according to which agents are positioned relative to one another (Bourdieu 1994 p. 270; e.g. Bourdieu 2000 [1992], Bourdieu 2005). Hence, professional experience, educational background, or social origin may vary in importance for defining the artist and management consultant, and in turn their social positions within the fields.

Corresponding to each social position are certain employment possibilities, such as becoming a freelance artist in the artistic field, or a consultant with one of the foreign firms, such as McKinsey & Co., Accenture or the Boston Consulting Group, in the field of management consulting (cf. Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 381). Within this space of

possibilities we also find the possibility of entering self-employment.<sup>1</sup> Different kinds of employment can appear as more or less prestigious depending on the field, and how they are defined affects which social groups perceive them as possible to enter, as well as their objective chances of doing so.

Through the ongoing struggle of a field, groups of individuals create their social reality (Bourdieu 2000 [1992] pp. 324-330). What is right or wrong in management consulting and artistic production, what defines a management consultant and an artist, and what management consulting and artistic production is, are questions open for discussion. Different groups engage in this struggle by taking specific stands and acting on certain strategies. 'Strategy' is a concept that refers to the actions taken by groups to put forward their definition of reality, while trying to maintain or enhance their social position relative to other groups (ibid). Strategies are generally undertaken unconsciously and appear to the agents themselves as the more or less obvious actions to take (Wacquant 1992 p. 25). The various kinds of employment found within a field can be understood in this context, i.e. as employment strategies in a struggle to define the state of the social world, serving the purpose of separating between groups, and protecting territories.

A social position is defined by a group of individuals' combination of different forms (or species) of capital, and capital volume, in relation to other groups (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] p. 114-115). The type of employment a group of individuals occupy is part of their social position in the sense that their employment is capital that contributes to defining their social position. However, this dissertation treats the concepts of 'social position' and 'employment position' as distinct for analytical purposes. Separating the concepts makes it possible to discuss what employment possibilities a group of individuals face given their other capital.

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, self-employed individuals holding private firms will be separated from self-employed individuals holding incorporated firms in the analyses. I argue for this separation in chapter 5.

## Theoretical Framework

I will build the discussion on the theoretical framework and concepts developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Application of his concepts in research on self-employment has been rare, and limited to the use of only certain concepts such as cultural capital and social capital, combined with a perspective on human action as rational and self-interested (e.g. Davidsson and Honing 2003; Anderson and Miller 2003). However, the capital concept loses its original meaning when it is not related to other theoretical concepts such as habitus and field, and when combined with a perspective on human action as self-interested (cf. Broady 1990 p. 229; see Näslund and Darin 2006 for discussion). This dissertation adopts Bourdieu's concepts as well as his perspective on social reality.

There are several advantages to applying Bourdieu's concepts to the study of self-employment. First of all, he explained social reality as socially constructed and structured (Bourdieu 1992 pp. 126-127), which allows us to understand how the social structures of specific fields affect the trajectories into self-employment. Each field has its own logic, thus the relation between social positions and employment possibilities may look different depending on the field (Bourdieu 1994 p. 270). Considering the social construction and structure of reality allows us to gain a more dynamic understanding of self-employment, i.e. as a phenomenon which can differ between fields. Bourdieu also developed a theory of social space as multidimensional, i.e. a space in which groups of individuals are positioned relative to one another based on both their capital volume and species of capital (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] pp. 114-115). Examining social space as a multidimensional property allows us to gain a more detailed understanding of the trajectories into self-employment, compared to viewing it only as a one-dimensional space. It permits us to see how self-employed individuals are positioned relative to other employment groups in several of the field's dimensions. Furthermore, since social space is multidimensional, objective relations between groups holding different social positions rest upon different species of capital and are not reduced to economic relations (Bourdieu 1987 p. 4). Agents take positions, and are engaged in an ongoing struggle based on

the cultural, economic, social, as well as the symbolic species of capital (ibid).

## Management Consultants and Artists

This dissertation will compare the effects of the management consulting and artistic fields on the structure of employment possibilities. Since each field has its own set of rules and principles according to which groups of individuals are positioned relative to one another, these structures may look different depending on the field. Management consultants and artists are studied because the production in each field is built upon diverse logics. The management consulting field produces an expertise whose value is measured according to a more economic criterion, and in turn requires that agents within the field possess the dispositions (and capital) necessary to recognize 'good' management consulting, which is simultaneously at stake within the field and something that management consultants struggle over. Meanwhile, the artistic field produces cultural goods whose value is set according to a more aesthetic criterion (cf. Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 331-332). Hence, one could expect different species of capital to be of varying importance for structuring these two fields. Including two diverse fields in this study allows us to better understand the fields' effect on the space of employment possibilities, compared to studying rather similar fields.

I use the concepts 'artistic field', or 'field of artistic production' and 'management consulting field' throughout the discussion. While doing so, I refer only to those who are in fact management consultants and artists. Hence, I do not study entire production fields where other actors may be present, such as for example, art critics in the artistic field. Furthermore, in this study, the term 'artist' refers to both creating and performing artists and includes writers, sculptors, painters, composers, musicians, singers, dancers, choreographers, actors, and directors. The study encompass artists working within the classical fields of music and dance, those working within the popular genre are excluded. Also, included are only management consultants and artists who were

gainfully employed in 2002, had their main income from management consulting or artistic production that year, and were between the ages 25 and 45.<sup>2</sup>

## Research Questions and Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to create an understanding of self-employment as a social phenomenon. The main research question is: how are social positions related to employment possibilities in the management consulting and artistic fields? The research question is divided into the following sub-questions.

- What social structures exist within the fields?
- What employment structures exist within the fields?
- What capital characterizes the various employment groups?
- In what ways are the two fields similar and different regarding the questions posed above?

A contribution is made to the field of research on self-employment by studying how self-employment, just as any other employment, becomes a possibility in the intersection of the agents' social trajectories and the reality of a field. A contribution is also made by applying Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework to the study of self-employment.

## Statistical Analyses and Interviews

This study combines statistical analyses with interviews. The statistical analyses have been conducted using data from Statistics Sweden.<sup>3</sup> Interviews have been carried out with ten individuals working in the arts, composing mostly artists, but a couple of them occupy managing positions, and with seven management consultants. While the statistical analyses reveal the social structures of the fields, the interviews show

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<sup>2</sup> For an in-depth discussion on how the populations have been selected, see appendix 1.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter 4 for discussion.

how artists and management consultants reason about their reality. Together the two methods provide a deeper understanding of the reality of the fields.

As a main statistical technique this study uses Specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis (Specific MCA), which is a form of Geometric Data Analysis (GDA). The method is well suited for studying relations between a large number of variables simultaneously, and in this study it is applied to analyze relations between groups of individuals holding different capital compositions. The method also enables us to study the space of social positions separated from the space of employment possibilities because the variable showing different kinds of employment can be introduced in the analysis after the structure of the space has been created. Hence, we can understand what employment possibilities a group of individuals face given their social position.

## Delimitations

This dissertation concerns the artistic field and the management consulting field in general.<sup>4</sup> It does not differentiate between subfields within the overall field such as, musicians or dancers within the artistic field, or management consultants working within different areas of expertise in the field of management consulting. Hence, studying the employment structures within different subfields goes beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Furthermore, the populations include artists and management consultant who earn their primary income from either of the two industries, and who are between 25 and 45 years old. Hence, the study does not encompass all the different age or income groups present within the fields.

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<sup>4</sup> Although certain groups are excluded based on age and income. See appendix 1 for discussion.

Other delimitations will be mentioned as they arise throughout the discussion.

## Outline

**Chapter 1, Introduction:** This chapter has briefly discussed previous research on self-employment and how this study contributes to further understanding of the phenomenon. It outlined research questions, the purpose of this study, and some of the delimitations. A short presentation of the populations studied, and the research methods used, has also been given. **Chapter 2, Research on Self-Employment:** This chapter presents previous research on self-employment. It also presents variables commonly included in research on self-employment, and some of the relevant findings. Finally, it discusses previous research in relation to the theoretical framework used in this study. **Chapter 3, Theoretical Concepts:** This chapter presents the theoretical framework and concepts used in this study of management consultants and artists. It defines concepts such as habitus, capital, field, struggle, and discusses how these concepts can help in understanding self-employment as a social phenomenon. **Chapter 4, Research Methods and Data:** The fourth chapter presents the research methods and data used in this study. It discusses the main statistical technique used: Specific MCA as well as the interviews that have been conducted. **Chapter 5, Employment Possibilities:** This chapter discusses kinds of employment within management consulting and artistic production by building on previous research. The purpose of this chapter is to understand what employment possibilities exist within the fields so that they can be analyzed further in chapters 8 and 10. The chapter also provides an introduction to the management consulting and artistic fields. **Chapter 6, Artists and Management Consultants' Capital:** The sixth chapter provides a general overview of the different capital that artists and management consultants hold, and to some extent show how different species of capital are distributed between employment groups. **Chapter 7, Social Structures in the Artistic Field:** This chapter discusses the social structures of the artistic field. The discussion is based on results from the Specific MCA

and from interviews with artists. **Chapter 8, *The Employment Structure in the Arts***: The employment structure of the artistic field is presented in chapter 8. Similar to the previous chapter, the discussion is based on the results from the Specific MCA, as well as from interviews. **Chapter 9, *Social Structures in Management Consulting***: In this chapter the social structures of the management consulting field are discussed. The chapter is structured in a similar way to chapter 7. **Chapter 10, *The Employment Structure in Management Consulting***: The tenth chapter presents the employment structure in management consulting, and is structured similarly to chapter 8. **Chapter 11, *Concluding Discussion***: The final chapter provides a concluding discussion and compares the fields. I discuss similarities and differences between management consultants and artists regarding social structures and corresponding employment structure.



## Chapter 2

# Research on Self-Employment

This chapter presents prior research on self-employment and discusses how this study contributes to our understanding of the phenomenon. Variables commonly included in studies on self-employment, as well as some of the findings made in earlier studies are also presented in this chapter. As mentioned initially, research on self-employment has focused on the individual, rather than on the social context, in order to explain the trajectory into self-employment. It thereby presents a general picture of what characterizes the individuals who enter this form of employment. While considering the social structures of the management consulting and artistic fields, and the distribution of employment possibilities between different social groups, this study contributes with a more dynamic understanding of self-employment.

The concepts of 'self-employment' and 'entrepreneurship' often appear synonymously while referring to individuals who enter self-employment. Several of the studies on self-employment also build on theories of entrepreneurship. The following discussion will therefore include some references to theories of entrepreneurship. 'Entrepreneurship' is a concept that has been defined in many ways, either solely referring to self-employment or to innovation (Licht and Siegel 2005 p. 2). In this dissertation, I will only consider, and use the term, self-employment (except for this chapter where I discuss previous research).

## Individual Explanations to Self-Employment

Many studies on self-employment build on a neoclassical economic perspective, and thus explain the choice between wage-employment and self-employment as rational and self-interested (e.g. Parker and Belghitar 2006; Lofstrom 2002; Hamilton 2000; Evans and Jovanovic 1989; see Parker 2004 for discussion). According to the models used, individuals are expected to choose the form of employment that has the highest expected utility. It is argued that individuals with a higher level of human capital can receive higher earnings from self-employment, than from wage-employment, and are therefore more likely to choose it (Evans and Jovanovic 1989 p. 824). However, individuals with a lower level of human capital have a lower opportunity cost of self-employment and are therefore also likely to choose it (Evans and Leighton 1989 p. 521; Budig 2006 p. 2224). The models used often include psychological and sociological variables since it is argued that the choice between self-employment and wage-employment is not only determined by the individuals' human capital, but by their values and access to social capital (e.g. Lévesque and Minniti 2006; Evans and Leighton 1989; Kim et al 2006; Dunn and Holtz-Eakin 2000; Parker 1996).

## Social Capital

The concept of 'social capital' has been introduced in research on self-employment in an attempt to account for social structures. In short, social capital refers to resources and opportunities embedded in social networks (e.g. Burt 1992; Burt 2000; Lin 2001; Portes 1995; Granovetter 1995; Coleman 1988). The theory builds upon the idea that human action is 'socially embedded', which means that individuals essentially act rationally, but that their possibilities to reach certain ends depend upon their social context (Granovetter 1985 p. 487; Smelser and Swedberg 1994 p. 4; Aldrich and Zimmer 1985 p. 7). A certain position in a social network can be more rewarding than another, which implies that resources and opportunities are unevenly distributed.

With social capital theory it becomes possible to explain how self-employment decreases or increases with access to resources and opportunities embedded in social networks (Aldrich and Zimmer 1985; Thornton 1999). Building on this argument, several studies have looked at the resources embedded in intergenerational ties (e.g. Carroll and Mosakowski 1987; Sorensen 2004; Aldrich et al 1998; Dunn and Holtz-Eakin 2000; Lentz and Laband 1990; Delmar and Davidsson 1997; Delmar and Gunnarsson 2000; Davidson and Honing 2003; Hout and Rosen 2000; Anderson and Miller 2003), others at resources embedded in networks of friends and family (e.g. Davidsson and Honing 2003; Johansson 2000; Holtz-Eakin et al 1994), in firms (e.g. Burton et al 2002), and in immigrant communities (e.g. Waldinger et al 2000; Granovetter 2000).

Research on the intergenerational transmission of self-employment is generally based on two lines of argumentation (see Aldrich and Kim 2007 for discussion). On the one hand, it is considered a kind of social capital, i.e. through parents, the child can access knowledge about how to run a business, financial capital, valuable contacts, and useful information (e.g. Davidsson and Honing 2003; Dunn and Holtz-Eakin 2000; Lentz and Laband 1990; Hout and Rosen 2000; Delmar and Gunnarsson 2000; Anderson and Miller 2003; Aldrich et al 1998). On the other hand, parents are said to be role models for their children and therefore pass on their self-employment status (e.g. Delmar and Gunnarsson 2000; Carroll and Mosakowski 1987; Sorensen 2004). If self-employment is valued within the family, children of self-employed parents are more likely to place value in it themselves, making it a foreseeable option in their career development.

## Culture and Values

In research on self-employment, certain values have also been argued to promote self-employment, or business creation. Two basic perspectives are taken in this line of research, either focus is on values and beliefs at an individual level of analysis (e.g. Evans and Leighton 1989; Kihlstrom

and Laffont 1979; Davidsson 1995), or on culture at a societal level (e.g. Davidsson and Wiklund 1997; see Hayton et al 2002 for a review). The two levels of analyses have also been combined in some studies (e.g. Giannetti and Simonov 2004). In research at the individual level of analysis, it is argued that individuals can more or less have the mindset of an entrepreneur. Some have looked at regional variations, meaning that different regions can include more or less individuals with an entrepreneurial mentality (possibly as a consequence of societal culture) (e.g. Mueller and Thomas 2000). Studies at a societal level of analysis argue that prevailing cultures of regions, or nations, may encourage business creation to different degrees. This argument sometime builds on Amitai Etzioni's theory about legitimation (Davidsson and Wiklund 1997 p. 182). Etzioni (1987 p. 183) argues that the more legitimate entrepreneurship is, the more resources are given to this function of society, and the more business creation is encouraged.<sup>5</sup> The legitimacy of entrepreneurship depends in turn on prevailing values of a society.

Research concerned with the relation between values and self-employment incorporates psychological and sociological variables into their models, often together with indicators of human capital. Commonly studied psychological traits include: locus of control, risk inclination, tolerance for ambiguity, tendencies for over-confidence, need for autonomy, and need for achievement (Delmar and Davidsson 1997 p. 6; Licht and Siegel 2006 pp. 4-10; Mueller and Thomas 2000 p. 55). It is argued that individuals who have an internal locus of control, who are risk inclined, have a high tolerance for ambiguity, are over confident, have a high need for achievement, and a greater need for autonomy have a more entrepreneurial mindset (e.g. McClelland 1971; Mueller and Thomas 2000; Kihlstrom and Laffont 1979; Davidsson 1995). Some have studied hidden religious values, arguing that such values can promote self-employment (e.g. Carroll and Mosakowski 1987; Guiso et al 2003;

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<sup>5</sup> Etzioni argued that there are different levels of legitimation; entrepreneurship can either be given primary importance in the larger society (or in other words, the overall system), it can be accepted but considered to be of second importance, it can be regarded as an activity for minorities (or in other words, certain subsystems), or it can be an unrecognized activity that is not at all legitimate (Etzioni 1987 p. 183).

Giannetti and Simonov 2004). These studies generally build on one of Max Weber's theoretical contributions. Weber (2007 [1920]) explained the rise of capitalism in the western society by acknowledging the contribution of ethics in the protestant religion.<sup>6</sup>

## The Characteristics of Self-Employed

The rather large body of research focusing on the individuals who enter self-employment has provided us with a general picture of what characterizes the self-employed. Indicators of general human capital, such as level of education and work experience, and specific human capital, which is especially valuable in running a business, such as previous self-employment experience, have been introduced as variables in these studies. The individual's access to financial resources and social capital are additional aspects that have been studied. Furthermore, psychological and sociological variables, such as the need for achievement and religious affiliations, have been included in the analyses. The findings are not always consistent with one another, although in many cases they are. In the following I shortly discuss some of these findings.

### Educational Level

Several have found that with a higher level of education, the higher the probability of entering self-employment (e.g. Giannetti and Simonov

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<sup>6</sup> In the protestant religion the notions of predestination and following a calling could drive individuals to work hard and accumulate material wealth. This was, according to Weber, the beginning of capitalism. The religion preaches that everyone has a calling in this world, and that those who are predestined to salvation are in this world to fulfill God's will (Weber 2007 [1920] p. 64). Attainment in a calling, for instance in the form of wealth, was a sign of being blessed, since it was considered to be a sign that one had fulfilled one's duties in a calling (ibid p. 116). The idea of predestination lured individuals to question whether they were chosen or not, but they also believed that their doubts were a sign of not being blessed (ibid pp. 66-67). So, instead of questioning their own fates, people worked hard in their calling to convince themselves that they were predestined for salvation (ibid p. 69). Weber argued that capitalism eventually lost its religious roots, but people continued acting in accordance with its ideas (ibid p. 123).

2004; Delmar and Davidsson 2000; Davidsson and Honing 2003; Evans and Leighton 1989; Montgomery et al 2005; Kim et al 2006), while others have found that individuals with a lower level of education are more likely to enter self-employment (e.g. Johansson 2000). In one study it was shown that individuals with a higher level of education are more likely to enter self-employment within the skilled services, while in the construction industry, the lower educated individuals are more likely to do so (Bates 1995).

## Work Experience

Several studies have shown that previous self-employment experience increases the probability of re-entering self-employment (e.g. Evans and Leighton 1989; Carroll and Mosakowski 1987; Lin et al 2000; Delmar and Davidsson 2000). In one study, individuals with prior start-up experience were found to be twice as likely to enter self-employment as those lacking this kind of experience (Lin et al 2000). Previous start-up experience has also been argued to be a stronger predictor for self-employment than educational level, or prior work experience (Davidsson and Honning 2003).

General work experience has been shown to increase the probability of self-employment (e.g. Davidsson and Honing 2003; Evans and Leighton 1989; Parker and Belghitar 2006). Furthermore, unemployment has been found to increase the probability of self-employment (e.g. Evans and Leighton 1989; Delmar and Davidsson 2000), but also to decrease it (Giannetti and Simonov 2004).

## Age

In studies on the relation between age and self-employment, it has been shown that individuals who enter self-employment can generally be either young or old. For example, Giannetti and Simonov (2004) found that individuals are more likely to enter self-employment as they became

older, but less so after the age of 39. Others have made similar findings (e.g. Johansson 2000; Lohmann and Lubert 2004).

## Financial Capital

Some studies have found that wealth increases the probability of self-employment (e.g. Johansson 2000; Blanchflower and Oswald 1998; Evans and Jovanovic 1989; Lindh and Ohlsson 1996), while others have found that it is not a strong predictor for self-employment (Kim et al 2006; Dunn and Holtz-Eakin 2000). Dunn and Holtz-Eakin (2000) concluded that parents' human capital, rather than their financial capital, increases the probability of their sons entering self-employment. Similar findings have been made in other studies (e.g. Aldrich et al 1998; Sorensen 2004). Furthermore, in one study it was found that the probability of self-employment increases with wealth, but that very wealthy individuals are less likely to enter self-employment (Giannetti and Simonov 2004).

## Social Capital

Several studies have shown that children of self-employed parents are more likely to enter self-employment themselves (e.g. Davidsson and Honing 2003; Dunn and Holtz-Eakin 2000; Lentz and Laband 1990; Hout and Rosen 2000; Delmar and Gunnarsson 2000; Anderson and Miller 2003; Carroll and Mosakowski 1987; Sorensen 2004). Some have found that the intergenerational transmission of self-employment depends upon how successful the parents have been as business owners. For instance, one study showed that sons of successful business owners are more likely to enter self-employment (Dunn and Holtz-Eakin 2000).

## Values

In research on values and self-employment, less risk adverse individuals seem to be more likely to become self-employed because of the risk

inherent to starting up a business (e.g. Kihlstrom and Laffont 1979; Giannetti and Simonov 2004; Blachflower and Oswald 1998). Some studies have shown that being married increases willingness to take risks because of the social and financial support embedded in this kind of tie (e.g. Johansson 2000; Holtz-Eakin et al 1994; Rees and Shah 1986). It has also been shown that individuals with an internal locus of control (Evans and Leighton 1989) and with a higher need for autonomy (Davidsson 1995) are more likely to enter self-employment.

Research on the relation between religious values and self-employment has found that Protestants, rather than other religious groups, are more likely to choose self-employment (Carroll and Mosakowski 1987). Another study showed that religious individuals are in general more pro-market oriented, and in particular Catholics compared to other religious groups (Guiso et al 2003).

Studies on culture and business creation are rather scarce. However, in one study, there was little support for the argument that culture could be related to business creation (Davidsson and Wiklund 1997). Another study used church affiliation as an indicator of level of religiosity in a municipality and defined cultural context along these lines. This study concluded that individual characteristics were stronger predictors for self-employment, rather than the cultural context (Giannetti and Simonov 2004).

## Social Structures in Self-Employment

In order to provide a more dynamic understanding of self-employment, the concept of capital takes on a different meaning in this study than in human capital theory. Rather than considering it as an individual resource that determines one's productivity, it is regarded as a resource, which is both individual and collective, and more or less determines individuals' social positions and their employment possibilities in relation to specific social fields. When defining capital along these lines, it becomes important to study the capital that structures specific fields in

order to understand how social positions and employment possibilities are distributed between agents.

Since I argue that agents within a field socially construct their reality, fields may differ in how employment possibilities are defined and distributed among social groups. Accordingly, there might be a range of different professional alternatives that agents within the field struggle over. Previous research defines the choices between self-employment and wage-employed as dichotomous. However, we cannot be sure individuals within a field distinguish between these two forms of employment, or that these are the only two distinctions that are made. While considering the various professional possibilities a field may offer, this study will show that not all self-employed individuals are different from all wage-employed. Instead, it depends on how different kinds of employment are socially defined and judged within a field.

The notion of social capital has been introduced in studies on self-employment in order to account for social structures. While in this line of research, the opportunity for an individual to reach certain ends is determined by her or his immediate social context, this dissertation argues that individuals' possibilities are structured by objective relations between social groups. The social capital an individual possesses is an affect of her or his social position (cf. Lebaron 2008 p. 127-128). Although social capital will not be studied in depth, the distinction is important. If human action is considered as guided by the immediate social context, another understanding of self-employment is provided, than if human action is defined as socially structured. With the latter perspective in mind, it is more important to focus on social structures than on network structures.

In some studies sociological and psychological variables are included in the analyses based on the argument that individuals' value systems affect their trajectories into different forms of employment. This line of research is more concerned with personal values than with the values that are present in particular social settings. However, if considering that individuals' social trajectories provide them with certain habitus, in

simple words a certain perspective on reality, which is first completed in relation to a field (Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 381), it becomes impossible to talk about a certain individual 'mindset' without first taking into consideration the order of the field in which the individual is studied (see next chapter for discussion). By taking a relative approach, we gain an understanding of how social trajectories in relation to a field affect employment possibilities.

Some have argued that the culture of specific regions, or nations, may encourage business creation, in the sense that it is defined as a more legitimate kind of activity. However, these studies generally do not analyze the trajectories into self-employment. In other words, self-employment may be more or less legitimate, but which groups of individuals actually enter self-employment remains unknown. While studying the social structures of fields, we can gain an understanding of how the social context affects the employment possibilities a field has to offer, as well as the social trajectories into different kinds of employment.

## Summary

In this chapter I have discussed research on self-employment. Although previous research has considered the social context, focus has mainly been on the individual. For instance, social capital theory builds on the idea that individuals essentially act rationally, but that their attainment depends upon their immediate social context. In research on the relation between values and self-employment, the individuals' personal values are studied and not the values that exist within their social setting. Some studies have been conducted on the relation between culture and self-employment, but these studies generally do not provide an understanding of the trajectories into self-employment.

Accordingly, a general picture of who enters self-employment has been provided based on economic, psychological and sociological variables. The self-employed, or the entrepreneurs, are presented as having an internal locus of control, being risk inclined, having a high tolerance for

ambiguity, being over confident, having a high standard for achievement, and a greater need for autonomy. Furthermore, it has been argued that social capital embedded in different ties, such as between generations and within families, promotes self-employment, as do certain human capital, such as self-employment experience.

It is argued here that self-employment has to be regarded as an employment possibility that emerges in the intersection of a social trajectory and the reality of a field. Hence, it is important to consider the social structures of the fields in which the employment strategies are taken. While doing this, we can also provide a more dynamic understanding of self-employment. In the following chapter, I will present the theoretical framework and concepts employed in this study.



## Chapter 3

# Theoretical Concepts

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical concepts developed by Pierre Bourdieu. As discussed initially, Bourdieu described social reality as multidimensional, socially constructed and structured. By applying his concepts to the study of self-employment, we gain an understanding of the dynamics of self-employment, in other words, how the trajectories into self-employment can differ between fields depending on the reality of the field. We also gain detailed information about the way in which social positions are related to employment possibilities in management consulting and artistic production, since groups of individuals are studied in several dimensions. This chapter begins with a discussion on Bourdieu's different concepts in relation to this study, and ends with a discussion on employment possibilities and the notion of 'push' and 'pull' in self-employment.

## Capital

Bourdieu's capital concept is quite different from the one used in human capital theory as mentioned previously. In this study capital is regarded as a resource, which is both individual and collective and which more or less determines the individuals' social positions, as well as their subjective and objective space of employment possibilities (Bourdieu 1987 pp. 3-4). Capital is either inherited over generations or acquired during a life course, and will be represented as such in the following chapters. In this study, I use indicators of the economic, cultural and symbolic species of capital in the analyses of artists and management consultants. I will also mention another species of capital: social capital.

Social capital refers to actual or potential resources within social networks (Bourdieu 2001 [1992] pp. 102-103). Studying social capital in great detail would require information about the individuals' social networks, and goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, we will see that investments in certain markets, such as in a specific type of education, can generate social capital.

Economic capital refers to various kinds of financial assets and material resources, such as wealth and property rights. It also entails knowledge of the rules of the economy, such as how to maximize economic returns, which is required to acquire economic assets (Lebaron 2002 p. 233; Bourdieu 2005 p. 212). In this study, parents' wealth is used as an indicator of inherited economic capital.

Cultural capital, in embodied form, refers to level of cultivation, i.e. knowledge about, and taste for, legitimate music and literature, possession of cultivated speech, and so forth. The accumulation of cultural capital depends primarily on its presence in the childhood home (Bourdieu 2001 [1992] p. 99). If the parents hold a higher volume of cultural capital, the child embodies this species of capital from an early age, and is generally guided towards future acquisition of cultural capital (*ibid* p. 100). Cultural capital is also acquired through the educational system (Broady 1998a p. 8), and academic degrees tend to serve as a form of certification for cultural capital in embodied form in markets, such as the labor market (*cf.* Bourdieu 2001 [1992] p. 102). In this study, the individual's level and field of education will be used as an indicator of acquired cultural capital. Parents' level of education will act as an indicator of inherited cultural capital. I will refer to education as educational capital. Furthermore, the parents' sector of employment will also be used as an indicator of cultural capital. It has been found that social groups with a higher volume of cultural capital tend to be employed by the public sector, and are more sympathetic towards this sector, rather than the private sector (Broady 2001 p. 52).

Symbolic capital is a broad form of capital including all other species of capital, insofar as they are recognized within specific fields (Bourdieu

2001 [1992] p. 110). In other words, it is capital that requires a specific market in which agents are disposed to understand the value of certain titles and achievements (Broady 1998a p. 6). Each field has its own symbolic capital. For example, what management consultants recognize as prestigious is not the same as among artists. I will refer to symbolic capital in terms of 'artistic capital' for artists and in terms of 'management consulting capital' for management consultants. Artistic and management consulting capital may have been acquired outside the fields, such as through an art or business degree, but it is foremost acquired within the fields' borders in the form of awards, titles, and other gains specific for the fields, or simply in terms of time spent being an artist or a management consultant. In this study, different variables showing work experience in the fields are used as indicators of symbolic capital acquired within these fields. This capital will also be referred to as professional capital.

## Social Positions

Groups of individuals hold positions relative to one another in social space according to their capital compositions and capital volumes, and reflect changes in capital compositions over time (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] p. 114). A social trajectory proceeds from the individual's social origin. In other words, agents inherit resources from their parents, which to a certain extent condition their future trajectory (ibid p. 110). For example, Broady et al (2002 pp. 35-36) found that children deriving from the higher social classes in Sweden invest more in education than children coming from the lower classes. Although the social position of the child relative to the parents' may change over time, her or his position is generally enabled by the social origin (Bourdieu 1994 pp. 266-267).

During the course of a lifetime, agents acquire and convert capital by investing their current capital in various markets, such as in education or the labor market. These investments constitute strategies to maintain or

enhance the agent's social position.<sup>7</sup> In this sense, an individual's capital composition and volume may change over time (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] pp. 109-112). Because capital is set in motion an agent's social position can change, as well as her or his space of possibilities (Bourdieu 1994 pp. 266-267). New professional alternatives may appear, while others fade away, over a lifetime.

There are certain conditions inherited in a social position which are specific to that position. In other words, with a certain position come specific interests, standpoints, possibilities, and constraints, which are different from the ones inherited in other positions. Agents incorporate these conditions as systems of dispositions, or in simple words, systems of preferences, interests and points of views (Bourdieu 1990 [1980] p. 54). Groups of individuals act in a rather routinized way according to the conditions of their position.<sup>8</sup> For this reason, agents do not make calculative choices, but rather the conditions inherited in their position guide their actions (ibid). Since agents act in relation to the conditions inherited in their position, social structures also tend to be reproduced (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] pp. 170-172).

## Social Fields

'Field' is a concept that refers to a space of social positions where groups of individuals holding different positions struggle for something that they hold in common (Broady 1998b p. 14). Fields are relatively autonomous entities. This means that they have their own logics which separate them from the logic existing in society at large, or within other

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<sup>7</sup> Bourdieu argued that social groups use two main kinds of strategies to maintain or enhance their social position. Reproduction strategies refer to vertical movements in social space and require an increase in volume of the species of capital that dominates the agents' capital composition. Reconversion strategies refer to horizontal movements in social space and imply a change in the agent's capital composition. This kind of movement requires conversion of one species of capital into another (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] pp. 125-132).

<sup>8</sup> Bourdieu developed the concept habitus (i.e. systems of dispositions) to capture how agency and social structures are interlinked. He explains habitus as follows: "The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures [...]" (1990 [1980] p. 53).

fields (Bourdieu 1994 p. 270). Since each field includes its own reality, different capital can vary in importance for defining the artist and management consultant, and in turn their social position and employment possibilities within these fields (ibid). Hence, a certain social trajectory can generate rather different social positions and employment possibilities depending on the field (cf. Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 381).

The struggles within a field are what make the social reality of a field dynamic (Bourdieu 1992 pp. 43-44). Individuals within a field struggle to define the field's borders (who should be defined as artist or management consultant, who does not qualify, and so on). Either they try to preserve the current order or to change it, depending on what serves their interests best (in terms of protecting their own social position) (Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 324. See below for further discussion). Thus, what it takes, in terms of capital, to be recognized as a management consultant or an artist can change over time, even though social structures tend to be rather stable.

'Strategy' is a concept that refers to the actions taken by social groups to put forward their definition of reality, while trying to maintain or enhance their social position relative to other groups. In general, dominant groups within a field tend to be more conservative in their strategies since the social position they hold is a result of the field's current order (Bourdieu 2005 p. 195; Bourdieu 1992 p. 44). In other words, they are reluctant to change the current state of the social world. Dominated groups, on the other hand, may try to redefine reality since the current social order does not work to their behalf, and thus a new definition would be to their advantage (Bourdieu 1992 p. 44).

Groups placed in a dominant position depend on the dominated in order to maintain their social position, since their position can only exist in a relative context (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] p. 246). Hence, if lower positioned groups gain access to capital commonly acquired by dominant groups, that capital may lose its value and no longer function as a demarcation for their higher status (ibid p. 161). Dominant groups therefore tend to

accumulate capital, or act on strategies, which is not easily accessed (ibid). While keeping a distance from those positioned below, groups of individuals take different strategies in order to enhance their own position in relation to those placed above (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] p. 246). Either they try to copy the capital of those above (ibid), or they stress what makes them different from these groups in attempts to overthrow the current order of the field (Bourdieu 1992 p. 44). However, stressing the capital that makes them unique generally leads to a reinforcement of their lower social position, since by doing so they draw attention to the reason they are currently dominated (Wacquant 1992 p. 24).

## Heteronomous and Autonomous Fields

Although each field has its own set of rules and gains, they can be defined as heteronomous or autonomous. The more autonomous a field is, the more it relies on its own principal of hierarchisation and less on external ones (Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 316). A heteronomous field is a field where the external principle of hierarchisation is closer to the internal one, than in more autonomous fields (ibid). Thus, the logic existing in society at large, or in social space, is similar to the logic within the field. The external principal of hierarchisation is an effect of the struggles going on in the field of power. The field of power is “[...] a room of relative powers between agents and institutions that has in common that they owe the capital needed in order to take dominant positions within the different fields [...]” (own translation from Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 314). Within the field of power, agents and institutions put forward their definition of reality to defend their own specific species of capital (economic, political, cultural, and so on) against other species (ibid). Agents and institutions taking a dominant position within the field of power have more symbolic power to impose their definition of reality on social space.

## Comparing Management Consultants and Artists

The field concept, a theoretical tool to study systems of relations between positions, can be used even in cases where a field empirically does not demonstrate a higher degree of autonomy (Broady 1998b p. 20). This is also how the concept is used in this study. The management consulting and artistic field will be compared both theoretically and statistically (the latter in chapter 6, and the former in chapter 11). However, the fields are not compared statistically in the Specific MCA. To conduct this kind of statistical comparison, the variables would have to be identical. This is not possible because in this study the two fields include individuals with different capital. For instance, educational capital in the field of management consulting is not defined in the same way as in the artistic field. Management consultants generally have an advanced degree in business or in engineering, while artists generally have an arts degree. The professional capital is also distinct for each field since management consultants and artists have different work histories. Introducing variables under certain headings, such as 'educational capital' and 'professional capital', allows us to theoretically compare the importance of different species of capital.

## Employment Possibilities

Agents face different employment possibilities depending on their social trajectories and the reality of a field (cf. Bourdieu 1984 [1979] p. 101). Employment possibilities are defined in this intersection, because agents' perception of the kinds of employment offered within a field, and their objective chances of accessing them, depend both on their social trajectories and the reality of the field (Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 381). Their social trajectory has provided them with a certain perspective on reality which is first completed in relation to a field. Hence, agents with similar capital composition can face rather different employment possibilities, and thus take different employment strategies, depending on the field (ibid).

Different kinds of employment can be considered more or less prestigious within a field. Thus, they can be valued within a field as a whole, or within specific fractions of a field. If a certain employment is distinct for a dominant group of a field, it has more value within the field in general, which also tends to make the dominant use it to distinguish themselves from others, and thus protect their dominant position (cf. Bourdieu 1984 [1979] p. 246). On the contrary, if a certain employment is distinct for a dominated fraction, it will be less recognized within the field. However, the dominated may use it to stress their uniqueness in attempts to overthrow the current order of the field (cf. Bourdieu 1992 p. 44), or as a strategy to imitate those in dominant positions (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] p. 246).

Within a field, kinds of employment considered less prestigious are generally easier to access than more prestigious ones, since the dominant will always try to protect their social position by acting on strategies which are not that accessible to others (ibid p. 161). At the same time, employment that is easily accessed is generally less prestigious, since it cannot be used to protect a higher position from a lower one. Self-employment is, in a sense, quite an accessible form of employment since the individual creates the employment for her or himself instead of depending on an employer (Rosenfeld 1992 p. 44). This would suggest that self-employment is a less prestigious form of employment in general. However, depending on the field, it could also be judged as a more difficult kind of employment to enter for various reasons. Furthermore, different kinds of legal entities can be more or less difficult to establish, which will be discussed further in chapter 5.

## Pushed or Pulled into Self-Employment

Previous research on self-employment has found that not only individuals in possession of greater capital resources enter self-employment, but individuals with less do so as well (see chapter 2). One explanation is that individuals enter self-employment either because they are pushed or because they are pulled into this form of employment

(Budig 2006 p. 2224). It is argued that self-employment is chosen when few other employment possibilities exist in the labor market, and it can also be a choice when an opportunity is identified in the market (Lippmann et al 2005 p. 10). Some have referred to contextual factors, such as unemployment rates in societies, to explain the situation where individuals are pushed into self-employment (e.g. Lin et al 1999; Brockhaus 1980; Kunda et al 2002; Sundin and Holmquist 1989 p. 149; cf. Gilad and Levin 1986 p. 46). Others have argued that when individuals find themselves in a situation where their employment is socially and economically under-rewarding relative to their level of human capital, they are in a situation of status inconsistency, which in turn makes them enter self-employment. In this perspective, self-employment is perceived as a way for individuals to increase their social and economic status (Min 1984 p. 336; Coate and Tennyson 1992 p. 272).

Self-employment could be a strategy for both dominant and dominated groups within a field, and these groups generally face a more or less restricted space of possibilities (Bourdieu 2005 p. 195). The concepts of 'push' and 'pull' help us to understand how this form of employment can be an option for various social groups. However, it is important to remember that the space of employment possibilities is limited for both lower and higher social positions, and that agents in either position can act on an opportunity in a market. Also, agents generally have the possibility of actively undertaking different strategies, to accept the current order of a field, or to try to change it. They are not particles that are pushed and pulled in social space (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 pp. 108-109).

## Summary

In this chapter I have presented the theoretical concepts developed by Bourdieu, as well as discussed how self-employment can be understood using his concepts. The capital concept used in this study has implications other than the capital concept used in human capital theory. Agents act in relation to their social position as defined in relation to

others within a field. Each field includes its own reality, and thus the social groups that enter self-employment can have quite different capital compositions depending on the social reality of their field.

Agents struggle to define the social reality of their field, and at the same time, seek to maintain or enhance their social positions. In this struggle, they put forward their definition of reality by acting on different strategies, which either aim to preserve the current social order or to change it. The various kinds of employment that exist within a field can be understood in this context, as employment strategies that aim to protect positions and separate between social groups.

Furthermore, different kinds of employment can have greater or lesser status depending on the social groups that enter them. An employment that is distinct for a dominant fraction of a field has more value in the field as a whole, while an employment that is distinct for a dominated fraction will have less value. Dominant fractions will generally try to act on strategies that are not easily accessed, and thus also on employment strategies that are not easily imitated.

The concepts 'push' and 'pull', commonly used in research to explain the types of individuals that enter self-employment, were also discussed in this chapter. These concepts help in understanding how self-employment can become an alternative for groups holding different social positions. However, both higher and lower positioned groups face limited spaces of employment possibilities and both kinds of positions can allow agents to act on opportunities in a market. Also, individuals generally have the possibility of actively take different strategies, and are not pushed around in social space by external forces.

In the following chapter, I will present the research methods and data used in this study before moving on to a discussion on employment possibilities in the artistic and management consulting fields.

## Chapter 4

# Research Methods and Data

In this chapter, I will present the research methods and data used in this study. Both statistical analyses and interviews have been carried out. The advantage of using both statistical methods and interviews is that we gain an understanding of the objective structures of the fields, as well as how artists and management consultants reason about their reality. The combination of these methods provides deeper insight into the social structures and employment possibilities within the fields.

### Data

The statistical part of this study is based on data from Statistics Sweden and includes artists and management consultants who were gainfully employed in 2002.<sup>9</sup> The populations have been selected based on Statistics Sweden's Standard Industrial Codes and Standard Classification of Occupation.<sup>10</sup> Information regarding industry and occupation has been combined when framing populations, in an attempt to filter out individuals who are working in supporting functions within the industries. Furthermore, only individuals whose principal income is earned in the given industries are included in the populations. As

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<sup>9</sup> As gainfully employed counts individuals with a declared income higher than SEK 100 from an employer or from an active business. A business is defined as active if the owner has worked in it for at least 600 hours in year 2002, or if the work has mainly been carried out by the owner. Employment status is in this dissertation defined based on Statistics Sweden's definition where individuals with a declared income above SEK 100 from an active firm are defined as self-employed. Other gainfully employed are defined as wage-employed. In the cases where the individual has more than one income source, the employment status of the main income source is used to define employment status.

<sup>10</sup> For an in-depth discussion on how the populations have been selected, see appendix 1.

discussed earlier, both creating and performing artists are part of the study of artists. Among them we find writers, sculptors, painters, composers, musicians, singers, dancers, choreographers, actors, and directors. Artists working within the classical fields of music and dance are included in the population, while artists within the popular genre and entertainment industries are excluded. Among management consultants, we find consultants working within such areas of expertise as accounting, human resources, marketing, and organization. The study encompass individuals between the ages of 25 and 45, those younger or older than this are excluded. In total, the population of management consultants includes 9 806 individuals, and the population of artists includes 7 665 individuals.<sup>11</sup>

Information about management consultants and artists is taken from Statistics Sweden's data registers.<sup>12</sup> The data covers information about their work histories (from 1993 to 2002), information about their levels and fields of education, and information about their social origin (i.e. parents' educational level, sector of employment, occupation, socio-economic group, income, and wealth). One advantage of this type of data is that we obtain information about entire populations, and can therefore map the social structures of the fields. On the other hand, we do not obtain detailed information about the symbolic species of capital, such as titles, awards, and other achievements, which are acquired within the fields. As mentioned previously, professional capital will be used as an indicator of symbolic capital in this study.

## Specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis

This study uses Specific MCA as the main statistical method, which is a form of Geometric Data Analysis (GDA). This method captures relations

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<sup>11</sup> I discuss some of the implications of excluding certain age groups and selecting the populations based on income in appendix 1.

<sup>12</sup> Most information is taken from the data register LOUISE, but information about wealth is taken from the Income and Wealth Register (IoF), and information about the link between children and parents is taken from the Multi-Generation Register.

between a large number of variables simultaneously, and thus allows us to consider the social structures of the fields. The method also presents these relations in different dimensions. Hence, allows us to capture the multidimensionality of social space. Another advantage is that the method presents the space of social positions separate from the space of employment possibilities, and therefore enables us to study the employment possibilities that groups of individuals face given their social positions.

MCA was developed in France by Jean-Paul Benzécri during the mid 1960s (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004 p. 23). Specific MCA, an elaborate version of MCA, introduced by Brigitte Le Roux, allows the researcher to study different subclouds of individuals in greater detail (see following discussion). Specific MCA has been used in several studies, similar to this, on social spaces. For instance, it has been used to study transnational educational strategies (Börjesson 2005), the creation, distribution and transmission of the educational capital (Lidegran 2009), the social structure of the Norwegian field of power (Hjellbrekke et al 2007), the social space of central bankers (Lebaron 2008), and the social structure of the Norwegian journalistic field (Hovden 2008). In this study, the method is used to analyze the social structures of the management consulting and artistic fields, and their respective space of employment possibilities. In the following I will discuss the method in relation to the purpose of my study.

The results in Specific MCA are based on frequencies and chi square distances (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004 p. 34). The method starts with a table containing individuals as rows and variable values as columns, and presents the results of this table geometrically in a Euclidean space (see *ibid* pp. 75-128 for a mathematical discussion). The space includes different axes, or in other words, dimensions, which accounts for a certain percentage of the differences that we can find in the material. In the interpretation of the results, focus is on the relations between

individuals holding different profiles.<sup>13</sup> Individuals who have similar profiles are placed closer together in the results, while individuals who have more distinct profiles are placed further apart along the different axes. The results from the Specific MCA will be presented visually in graphs in the following chapters.

## Two Euclidean Spaces

Specific MCA produces two Euclidean spaces: the space of modalities (which is the name for variable values) and the space of individuals. Modalities used to construct the space are called active modalities. In this study, when presenting the space of active modalities, I will first present one axis at a time, and then the combination of two axes in a plane. Interpreting each axis at a time allows us to understand how different groups of individuals are opposed to each other based on the active modalities that contribute to a certain dimension. The study of the combination of two axes (in a plane) allows us to understand how groups of individuals are opposed to each other based on the combination of the active modalities that contribute to the axes. This gives us a more detailed understanding of the social groups that exist among the populations.

The space of individuals is presented with a number of points in the geometrical space produced by the Specific MCA; these points represent all the individuals in the population (ibid pp. 133-134). Individuals who are included in the construction of the space are called active individuals.<sup>14</sup> As mentioned, the individuals are placed along a specific axis depending on their profiles. If two individuals have the exact same profiles in one dimension, they have the same coordinates along this axis, and thus their points will be placed in the exact same position in the space. Individuals represented in a space are also referred to as a 'cloud

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<sup>13</sup> A profile is defined based on the individuals' variable values (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004 pp. 182-185).

<sup>14</sup> Individuals can also be introduced in the analyses as supplementary, as opposed to active. Supplementary individuals are included in the analyses so as to not affect the construction of the space (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004 p. 146).

of individuals' (ibid). The cloud of individuals is studied in order to understand its level of density and disparity in the space of individuals. For example, if it is more common for the individuals to have a certain profile in a specific dimension, they will be more concentrated towards one pole of the space.

## Contributions to the Variance

By calculating the axes' contributions to the total variance, we can decide how many axes to include in the interpretation of the results.<sup>15</sup> All axes are not meaningful to interpret, since some of them do not contribute much to the total variance. The first axis always explains most of the variance in the material, while the last explains the least. When the axes explain over 80 percent of the total variance together, it is considered a good result (ibid p. 49). In chapter 7, I will present the number of axes that are included in the interpretation of the results for artists, as well as their contribution to the total variance, and in chapter 9, I will present the same kind of information for management consultants.

In a similar way, by calculating the contribution of variables and modalities, we can decide which variables and modalities should be included in the interpretation of the results. Variables and modalities that have an equal, or above average, contribution to an axis are generally selected for the interpretation of the results<sup>16</sup> (ibid p. 49). A modality that does not have an above average contribution, but that can have so together with another modality, may be merged with that modality in the interpretation of the results. However, they may be

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<sup>15</sup> The raw inertia rates are calculated into modified rates in order to correctly represent each axis' contribution to the total variance (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004 pp. 200-201). Raw inertia rates are calculated into modified rates because the number of active questions in the Specific MCA limits each axis' relative contribution.

<sup>16</sup> An axis with a major contribution from a certain group of modalities is defined as specific of that group (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004 p. 50). For example, if modalities showing inherited capital have a strong contribution to an axis, this axis is said to be specific for the inherited capital.

merged only if their coordinates are located close to one another and if it is theoretically justified to associate them.<sup>17</sup>

## Supplementary Elements

Supplementary variables and modalities are introduced in the analyses so as to not affect the structure created by the active modalities (ibid p. 49). In other words, the supplementary modalities do not contribute to the different axes, but instead show properties among the individuals given the structure created by the active modalities.<sup>18</sup> In this study, different kinds of employment are introduced in the analyses as supplementary modalities in order to understand which employment possibilities are open to various groups given their social positions.

By looking at the oppositions between supplementary modalities and their relation to the active modalities, we gain an understanding of the employment structures within the two fields. The distances between the modalities are presented in standard deviations (ibid p. 34). Standard deviations at  $\geq 0.5$  are considered to be important and standard deviations lower than that are deemed less important, but still worthy of consideration (ibid p. 234). By looking at the standard deviation of a supplementary modality from the center of the axes, and the standard deviation between different supplementary modalities, we gain an understanding of how distinct a certain modality is for a group of individuals. The closer a supplementary modality is to the center of an axis, the more general that modality is for the individuals along that axis.

Individuals who share a certain property (i.e. modality) can be referred to as a 'subcloud of individuals'. In this study, I will analyze subclouds

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<sup>17</sup> For instance, a modality of three years of higher education and a modality of four years of higher education may be combined to show higher education.

<sup>18</sup> In the Specific MCA, it is also possible to place certain modalities in active variables as passive, which implies that the variables are used in creating the structure of the space, while the modalities placed as passive are not (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004 p. 216). In this study, when variables include missing values, these missing values are placed as passive in the analyses.

of individuals based on the kinds of employment the individuals hold. By studying a subcloud of individuals, we gain information about its density and disparity, as well as information about the oppositions that exist within the subcloud (ibid pp. 210-211). I will discuss this further in chapter 7 where I introduce the analyses of subclouds.

## Interviews

I have conducted interviews with seventeen individuals, ten of whom are artists, a couple of whom occupy managing positions in the arts, and seven management consultants.<sup>19</sup> The respondents are anonymous in the results and are given fictitious names. They are also simply referred to as artists or management consultants, depending on the industry in which they work. In chapters 7 to 10, quotations from the interviews are presented within the context of the statistical results. The interviews were carried out to obtain information about how artists and management consultants express their reality. Their ideas and opinions provide a voice to the structures we can see in the statistical results.

The interviews were conducted in 2008 and 2009, while the statistical analyses include artists and management consultants active in the year 2002. Since social structures tend to be rather stable (see chapter 3 for discussion), I do not consider the time difference to be a problem in this study. There is less than a decade, during which there is little probability that the information provided by respondents would not correspond at all to the results from the statistical analyses.

Individuals in different social positions within a field are likely to give different answers to a question depending on where they are located in social space. However, since everyone within a field is part of the same game, they will talk about the common stakes and gains within the field,

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<sup>19</sup> The only reason why more interviews have been conducted with artists than management consultants is that several of the consultants, with whom I booked an interview canceled. After the seven first interviews had been carried out, I decided that there was no need to book additional interviews because the first interviews had provided sufficient information.

although they will do so from different perspectives (cf. Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 259). For this study, the interviews do not cover all the positions within the fields. Instead, the respondents were selected based on their presence in the given fields, regardless of their position. Hence, only general field information was gathered, and thus we cannot ascertain the arguments made by agents according to their positions; this goes beyond the scope of this dissertation (see chapter 11 for discussion).

I established contact with artists for interviews through art institutions. In each case, my contact person would send out a request to artists asking them if they would like to be interviewed for my study. I contacted the respondents in the artistic field who occupy managing positions directly. Management consultants were also contacted directly since, in contrast to artists, their contact information is often available on their employer's website. I got in contact with some management consultants and artists through my own network, i.e. they know someone that I know. In addition, some consultants were contacted through the website of the Swedish Association of Management Consultants (SAMC).

The interviews took 45 minutes on average. They were all carried out in person, except for one interview that was carried out over the telephone.<sup>20</sup> In the beginning of each interview I gave a short presentation of myself and the purpose of my study. The respondents were also informed about their anonymity in the final presentation of the results. All interviews were recorded and, within a couple of weeks, transcribed. The interviews were semi-structured, which means that I used an interview guide with a set of themes, but did not ask questions in strict order (Andersson 1985 p. 77).<sup>21</sup> After transcribing the interviews,

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<sup>20</sup> My respondent could not meet in person, which is the reason behind the phone interview.

<sup>21</sup> The themes were: field specific capital (here I asked about the respondent's background and her or his view on what is generally important in order to establish oneself as an artist/management consultant), different employment possibilities and career paths within the fields (here I asked about the different kinds of employment that exist within the field and about different career paths), the respondent's view on self-employment versus wage-employment (here I asked the respondents if they could imagine themselves as self-employed/wage-employed and about their understanding of who generally takes on different forms of employment).

I reread them and marked the general patterns that emerged in the answers provided. The quotations presented in this study are based on these general patterns, and all the quotations have been translated from Swedish into English.



## Chapter 5

# Employment Possibilities

Since each field includes its own social reality, it is not obvious how to categorize kinds of employment with the purpose of studying employment structures. In this chapter, I will therefore discuss the different types of employment that appear to exist in the artistic and management consulting fields, while building on what has been found in previous research.<sup>22</sup> In addition, I will present data on the population of artists and management consultants included in this study in relation to previous findings. Previous research indicates that within the management consulting industry, there are differences between foreign owned companies and local firms, between larger and smaller companies, as well as between the traditional management side of management consulting and the emerging IT-division of these companies. Among artists, it appears to be a difference between the public and private sectors, between independent art production and art institutions, as well as between limited and large scale production. In this chapter, I will also discuss the difference between holding an incorporated and a private firm, since a distinction between the two legal entities is made in the following chapters where I analyze the employment structures of the fields. In chapter 8 and 10, we will see how the types of employment discussed in this chapter are related to the social positions of artists and management consultants.

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<sup>22</sup> Tables corresponding to the figures are placed in appendix 2.

## Foreign Firms

Sweden's management consulting industry emerged in the 1960's (Furusten and Bäcklund 2000 p. 5). It is a field which, to a large extent, is dominated by foreign owned companies. In the industry's early years, Swedish consulting firms dominated the market. However, from the 1990's onwards, foreign companies, and in particular American ones, took over the market. These American companies had the largest shares of revenue from the management consulting market, and the largest shares of employees (Furusten and Bäcklund 2000 p. 6). For example, in 1997 the aggregated revenue from the top 20 firms in Sweden was SEK 2 800 billion and of these, 19 percent consisted of revenue from Swedish firms, while 81 percent was revenue from American ones (Furusten et al 2000 p. 10). The first American consulting firm to enter the Swedish market was McKinsey & Co. in 1980 (Furusten and Bäcklund 2000 p. 6). Today, this company is one of the largest consulting firms in Sweden.<sup>23</sup>

American companies do not only have a dominant position in the Swedish market, but also in Europe (Kipping 1999 p. 215). Kipping (1999 p. 215) argues that these companies have come to be trendsetters, due to the dominance in the European market. Hence, local firms try to imitate their image and ways of working. However, studies on management consultants in Sweden have shown that local firms develop other kinds of working methods and target a different type of clientele than these foreign companies (e.g. Werr 2002; Bäcklund 2003; Furusten 2001; Furusten and Bäcklund 2000). Furusten (2001 p. 14) writes that, "Swedish consultancies in particular, irrespective of size, appear to be anxious to define themselves as non-US firms, meaning that they are not method or expert consultants".

Foreign owned and local firms also tend to recruit different kinds of employees. Large international management consulting firms have traditionally recruited graduates directly from elite business schools (Werr 1999 p. 4; Kipping 2002 p. 41; McKenna 2006 p. 158). Due to the

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<sup>23</sup> [www.affarsvarlden.se/konsultguiden](http://www.affarsvarlden.se/konsultguiden)

increased importance of information technology in management consulting, this has changed to some degree (see following discussion). Today, management consulting firms generally recruit more graduates from engineering schools (Kipping 2002 p. 42). In addition, many of the US-owned consultancies use an 'up-or-out' system, which implies that the consultants either progress within the company to become partners, or leave the company altogether (McKenna 2006 p. 206). In these companies the junior consultants are in majority, while the senior consultants are fewer. In contrast, local firms prefer working with more senior consultants, arguing that they do not work with standardized methods and therefore need consultants with more experience (Furusten 2001 p. 14). Senior consultants are argued to have the kind of accumulated knowledge necessary to deliver non-method based consulting services, while foreign firms are said to be able to recruit younger consultants because of the standardized methods they use.

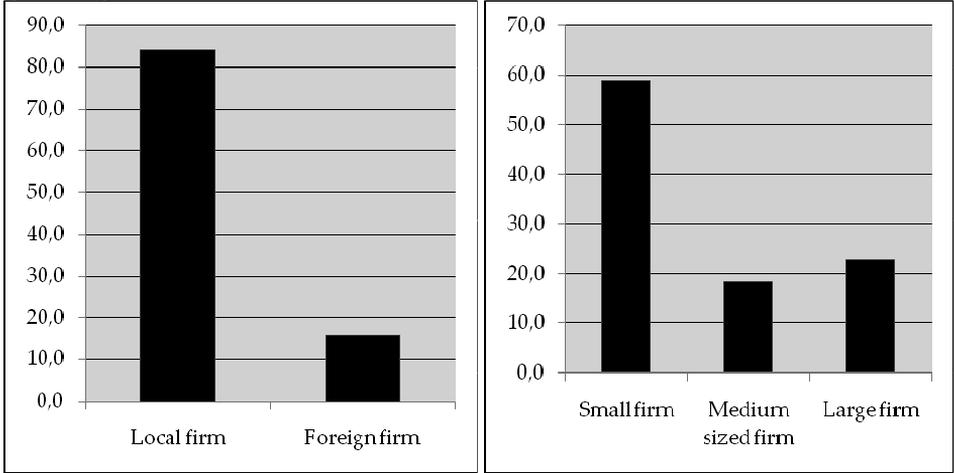
It has also been found that both large and small management consulting firms differ in the way they work, and in the type of people they employ (e.g. Furusten 2001 p. 14; Bäcklund 2003 pp. 82-83). The differences that exist between them are said to be similar to those that exist between local and US-owned firms. Smaller firms commonly work with process consulting, and thus do not use standardized methods, while larger consulting firms generally work with standardized methods (Furusten 2001 p. 14). Similar to local firms, smaller firms tend to recruit senior consultants with more experience, while larger firms generally employ younger consultants (Furusten 2001 p. 14).

As many as 58.9 percent of the management consultants included in this study are employed by smaller firms, while 22.8 percent work in larger firms. Furthermore, 15.9 percent of them are employed by foreign owned companies. Figure 1 shows the share of consultants working in foreign and local owned companies, as well as in small, medium sized and large firms.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Small firms = 1-15 employees, medium sized firms = 16-40 employees, large firms > 40 employees. The division is made according to Furusten (2001 p. 3).

**Figure 1:** Management consultants in foreign and local firms, and in different sizes of firms (percentage).



n=9 710/9 753

In chapter 10, company size will be analyzed separately from ownership in order to see if there are any social differences between employees working in the different sizes of firms. However, ownership seems to be closely related to firm size. A majority, 62.8 percent, of the foreign firms are large firms. Only 14.2 percent of them are in fact small. Local firms, on the other hand, are commonly smaller. In fact, 67.7 percent of these firms have less than 15 employees, while only 14.8 percent have more than 40 employees.

### IT in the Field of Management Consulting

With an emerging importance of information technology in management practice, information technology has also come to be more important to management consulting. Kipping writes that “There is no doubt that information technology has become increasingly central for management and, therefore, for management consulting today” (Kipping 2002 p. 37). Because of this development, several management consulting firms are today providing IT-services (Kipping 2002 pp. 34-36). Also, in the late 1990’s, and early 2000’s, many companies within different fields of

consulting merged as a result of the IT developments of the preceding years (Shilling 2008 p. 2).

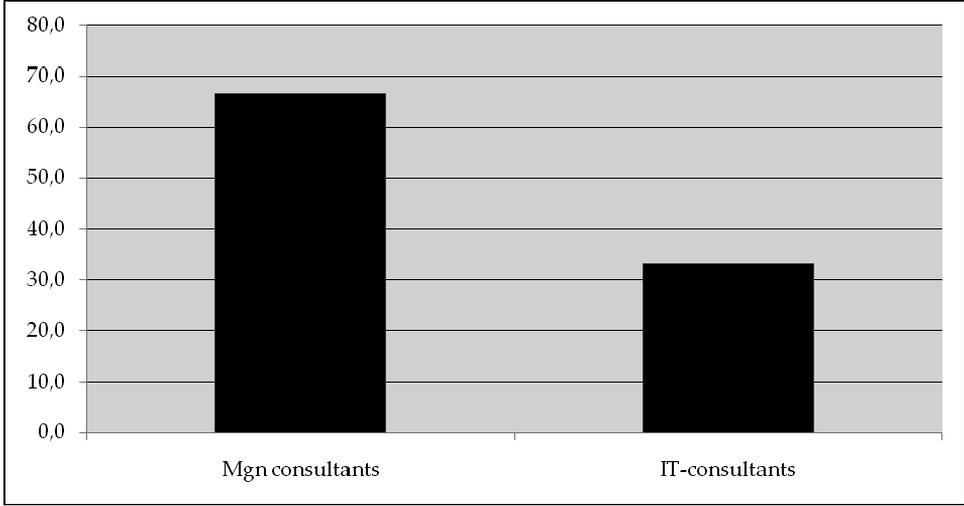
In one study of a merger between an IT consulting firm and a management consulting firm in Sweden, it was found that these two types of firms generally recruit different kinds of employees. The traditional management consulting firm recruited graduates directly from elite business and engineering schools. In other words, they recruited a younger generation of consultants (Schilling 2008 p. 147). In the cases where they did recruit consultants with working life experience, they employed consultants with experience in other fields of consultancy (ibid). The IT consulting firm, on the other hand, recruited individuals with more general work experience. These consultants were often somewhat older, since they had already been working some years, and they were frequently either lacking higher education, or had a degree in engineering (Schilling 2008 pp. 158-159).

Among the wage-employed management consultants included in this study, 33.3 percent have an IT specialist professional occupational status.<sup>25</sup> These results indicate that these consultants work within the IT-side of management consulting, and that the remaining 66.7 percent work within the traditional management consulting side. Hence, IT specialists compose a rather large share of the wage-employed management consulting population.

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<sup>25</sup> This calculation is made according to information about occupation in SSYK. Wage-employed specialists in IT/Technology (SSYK 21) are separated from other wage-employed specialists. See appendix 1 for discussion on SSYK.

**Figure 2:** Wage-employed management consultants within the IT-side and management side of consultancy firms (percentage).



n=7 185

While the management consulting field seems to be characterized by foreign and local firms, larger and smaller firms, as well as by traditional management consulting and IT-oriented management consulting, the artistic field includes other kinds of employment. According to previous research on artists, there appears to be a difference between large scale and limited production, the public and private sectors, as well as between art institutions and independent art production.

### The Public Sector in the Arts

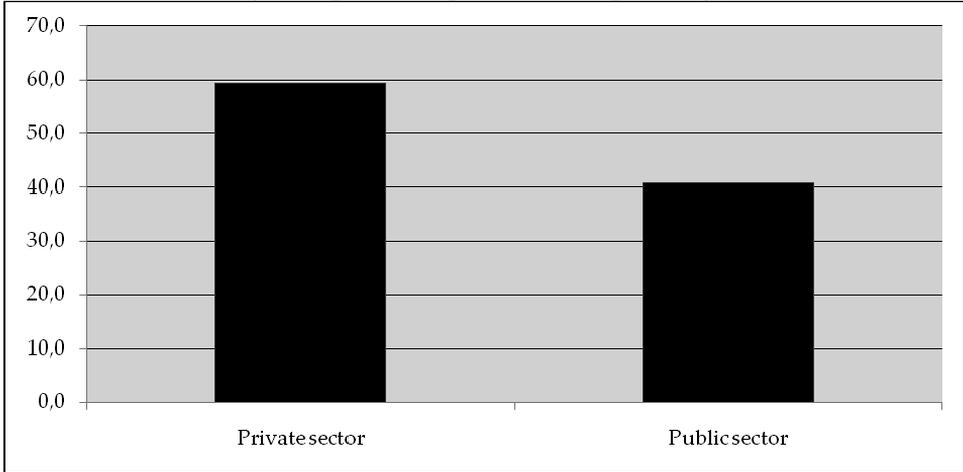
It has been argued that the art industry includes three common ways of organizing work. These are private for-profit companies, private non-profit firms, and public firms operating on a non-profit basis (Throsby 1994 p. 11). However, among the artists included in this study, very few are employed by non-profit companies, with only 4.4 percent of them working in these kinds of firms. A reason for this could be that artists who work in these kinds of firms have grants, which are exempted from taxation, and thus they are not part of the population, since only those

with an income are included.<sup>26</sup> In this case, the non-profit art sector in Sweden could in fact be larger than what we can see in our results.

The artistic field is rather closely related to the political field, in the sense that it receives, and is rather dependent on significant public financial support. Also compared to other countries, the cultural industry in Sweden receives a larger share of its funding from public sources, rather than from private ones (dir 2007 p. 6; Throsby 1994 p. 21). Some art institutions and independent art groups are publicly owned, while others have a public assignment.

Among the artists included in this study, 40.7 percent work in the public sector, and the remaining artists work in the private sector. For comparison, only 3.3 percent of management consultants work in the public sector. Hence, the public sector is rather large in artistic production, compared to management consulting.

**Figure 3:** Artists working in the public and private sectors (percentage).



n=7 453

It is possible that artists working within the public and private sectors have different kinds of capital composition, since it has been found that the public sector tends to attract other kinds of social groups than the

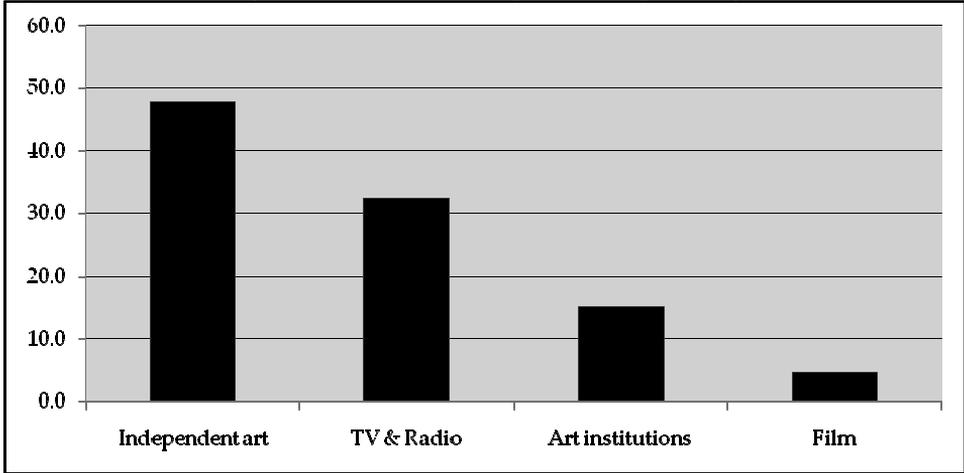
<sup>26</sup> See appendix 1 for discussion.

private sector. Broady writes that “In Scandinavian countries, another very visible feature of the cultural capital pole is its ties to the public sector. Social groups close to the cultural pole tend to be employed by the state or the municipality and/or to be more sympathetic towards the public as opposed to the private sector” (Broady 2001 p. 52). Therefore, the two kinds of employment will be studied further in chapter 8.

## Large Scale and Limited Production

Different lines of art production can be classified as more or less commercial. Bourdieu argued that there is an opposition between large scale and limited production in cultural fields. This opposition appears when the cultural capital is dominated by the economic capital within the field of power, since the domination of the economic capital imposes on cultural fields, and thus creates an opposition between a heteronomous and an autonomous pole (Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 315). We do not know if the artistic field studied in this dissertation can be defined as a cultural field, in the sense that it has a relatively higher degree of autonomy. Nor can we determine what kind of domination the cultural capital is exposed to within the field of power in Sweden. However, in chapter 8, I will study whether or not this kind of opposition exists. The only distinction between different lines of production that the data allows us to make is between TV and radio production, film production, independent art production, and production within art institutions, but also between public and private production as discussed above. Art produced by art institutions, independent art groups, and the public sector generally targets a limited audience, compared to the TV and film industries, or the private sector, which target a relatively larger audience. These different sub-groups will therefore be used as indicators of large scale and limited production in the following analyses.

**Figure 4:** Artists working in different fields of art production (percentage).



n=7 665

Most artists, 47.8 percent, work in the independent art sector, meaning that they are freelancing as self-employed, or that they are wage-employed working on independent art projects.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, 32.4 percent of artists work in TV and radio production, while 15.1 percent work in the art institutions, such as in the Royal Dramatic Theatre, the Royal Swedish Opera, or the House of Dance. Lastly, 4.7 percent work in the film industry.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Wage-employed freelancers who do not have an income from the art industry in 2002 are excluded from the population since it is impossible to identify them. They are either unemployed that year or have an employment in another industry. Wage-employed freelancers who have an income from the industry in 2002 are included, but we cannot see if they are freelancers since they appear as either employed in the film industry, TV and radio industry, in art institutions, or in independent art projects.

<sup>28</sup> Self-employed artists who are freelancing can work with movie productions, TV and radio productions, or in art institutions, but we cannot see if they do in our data. Freelancing artists who are self-employed are always classified as working in the independent sector even when they are working on projects outside this sector. Self-employed are therefore compared with wage-employed working in different lines of art production in this study.

## Institutions and Independent art

Independent art groups emerged as an alternative to the traditional establishments in the beginning of the 1970s after a public debate in which these establishments were accused of being too rigid and conservative in what they produced and in the way they worked (Svenson 2008 pp. 54-55). In the beginning of the 1970s, the government decided to include independent theatre groups as a specific category in their budget (Svenson 2008 p. 55), and around the beginning of the same decade the first independent groups were established (Svenson 2008 p. 42). Since independent art groups emerged as an alternative to the traditional art institutions, it has been argued that these groups have come to represent another kind of art production (Svenson 2008 p. 42). Because of the latter, it is possible that art institutions and the independent art sector attract artists with different kinds of capital compositions. We will analyze this further.

## The Scarcity of Jobs

Because of the small commercial market for art, many artists have a hard time to make a living in this industry. It has been argued that many artists work for low incomes, have second jobs on the side, and frequently face periods of unemployment. Some artists depend on grants and benefits to make a living, but this group is quite small. In one study it was demonstrated that about 22 percent of all individuals working in the arts have some sort of grant or benefit (Jansson and Powel 2008 p. 18). More commonly, artists seek secondary employment to subsidize their artistic work. This second employment often becomes their main source of income (SOU 2003 p. 18 and 21; Johansson et al 1997 p. 24). In one study it was found that, among artists who have dual incomes, about 20 percent have their main income from the arts, and 80 percent have their main income from another industry (Johansson et al 1997 p. 24). It has also been argued that artists are among those who most frequently have a secondary employment, compared to other professional groups (Menger 1999 p. 562).

Because of the lack of employment in artistic production, it is common for artists to experience periods of unemployment between projects. For example, in 1995, 46 percent of artists in Sweden were unemployed, or without an income (Johansson et al 1997 p. 25). During the last decade, a couple of publicly funded organizations have emerged that hire artists during periods where they are not working on projects.<sup>29</sup> However, these organizations do not employ more than a couple of hundred artists. Hence, when not working on a project, a majority of freelance artists are unemployed or work elsewhere. Among the artists studied here, 71.2 percent were unemployed sometime between the years 1993 and 2002. Of these, 33.6 percent experienced 180 days or more of unemployment within one year (see next chapter for further discussion).

In addition to frequently face unemployment, previous research has found that artists generally have lower incomes than the average workforce (Menger 1999 p. 553; Throsby 1994 p. 18). The income variability also tends to be higher than in other industries, with a few successful artists earning a substantially higher income than others (cf. Menger 1999 p. 545; Adler 2006; Rosen 1981). Among the artists in this study, the average monthly income is SEK 18 130, compared to consultants whose mean income is SEK 30 594.<sup>30</sup> Hence, the management consulting field clearly generates higher economic returns than the artistic field.

## Incorporated and Private Firms

Art production is typically organized in time-limited projects. Artists who enter the field can either work with one of the art establishments on permanent contracts, or as self-employed or wage-employed freelancers taking assignments on different productions. Permanent contracts are scarce, and thus fewer artists are employed in this manner, compared to

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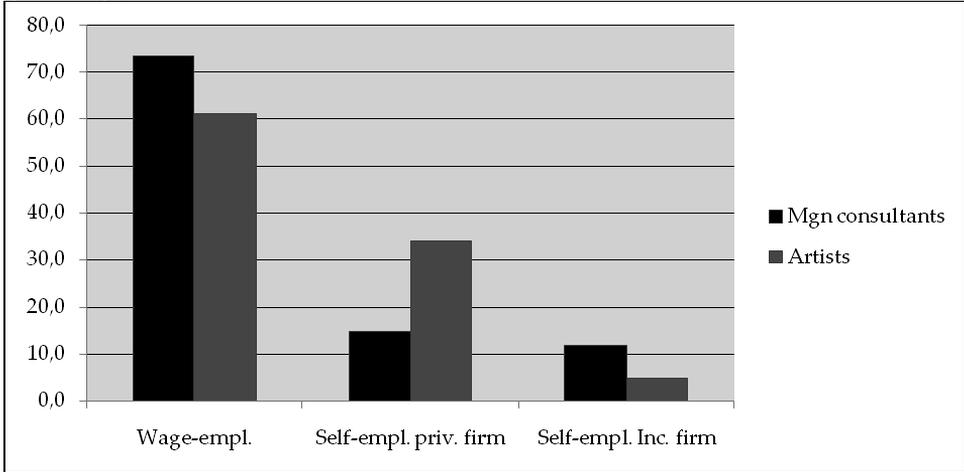
<sup>29</sup> These are: Dansalliansen and Teateralliansen

<sup>30</sup> The income includes total income, thus also income from any secondary employment that the individual may have.

for example, the management consulting field (cf. Svenson 2008 p. 13). Instead, artists generally work on short-term contracts and on a freelance basis (SOU 2003 p. 18 and 21; Menger 1999 p. 546; Statens kulturråd 2008 p. 26). It has been argued that the artistic industry in Sweden includes about 50 percent of wage-employed freelancers, 40 percent self-employed freelancers, and 10 percent permanent employees (SOU 2003 p. 22). This would mean that 90 percent of artists in Sweden are freelancing.<sup>31</sup>

Many artists are self-employed, and setting up a firm is one of few ways to establish a career in the field (Filer 1986 p. 61; Towse 2006 p. 876; Menger 1999 p. 552). Among artists included in this study, 39.0 percent are self-employed, and of these 87.5 percent hold private firms. Meanwhile, 26.8 percent of management consultants are self-employed, and of these 55.6 percent have private firms. Hence, it is more common to have an incorporated firm in the management consulting field, compared to the artistic field.

**Figure 5:** Self-employed and wage-employed artists and management consultants (percentage).



artists n=7 665, consultants n=9 806

<sup>31</sup> The data at hand does not allow us to see exactly how many artists are freelancing in 2002, since we do not see the share of wage-employed that do so.

Incorporated and private firms are two different legal entities with different liabilities and preconditions. For example, an incorporated firm is required to have SEK 100 000 in capital stock when registering the firm with the Swedish patent and registration office, as well as employ a certified accountant. These requirements are not placed on private firm holders. Another difference is that incorporated firm owners have limited financial liability for their firm, and in this respect a lower personal financial risk compared to private firm holders. Delmar et al (2005 pp. 65-73), who have studied the different legal entities, found that incorporated firms have a higher survival rate, higher employment growth, as well as a higher salary level than private firms. They argued that individuals who start up either type of legal entity do so with different initial commitments and investments (Delmar et al 2005 p. 64). In chapter 8 and 10, we will study the different legal entities and see if they are related to different social positions among management consultants and artists.

## Summary

Building on previous research, this chapter has discussed the types of employment that can be found in artistic production and management consulting. In the management consulting field, a distinction seems to be made between kinds of employment based on firm size, local and foreign ownership, as well as type of management consulting, i.e. IT or traditional management consulting. In the arts, a difference seems to exist between the public and private sectors, between large scale and limited production, and between the independent art sector and art institutions.

Furthermore, in this chapter, I presented the shares of artists and management consultants that are self-employed, holding private or incorporate firms. Previous research has found that incorporated firms have a higher survival rate, employment growth, and salary level than private firms. The artistic field includes a larger share of self-employed,

compared to the management consulting field, and also a larger share of private firm holders.

In chapter 8 and 10, I will study how the kinds of employment discussed in this chapter are structured within the fields of management consulting and artistic production. In the next chapter, I will first present the capital held by management consultants and artists in general. While doing so, I will also discuss how various species of capital are distributed between the different employment groups that are further studied in the following chapters.

## Chapter 6

# Artists' and Management Consultants' Capital

In this chapter, I will discuss the capital held by artists and management consultants. I will also discuss the distribution of capital between employment groups by mentioning some of the figures that we can find in the material.<sup>32</sup> The ways in which different species of capital are divided between employment groups will be discussed more in depth in the following chapters. The following review shows that artists and management consultants come from similar social origins. For example, the majority has parents that are highly educated, and many have parents who belong to higher socio-economic groups. However, the parents of artists have slightly higher volumes of cultural capital, compared to economic capital, as indicated by parents' income levels and education, while the parents of management consultants appear to possess higher volumes of both species of capital.

Furthermore, artists and management consultants have acquired diverse capital. For example, artists hold different kinds of professional experience and education than management consultants. Management

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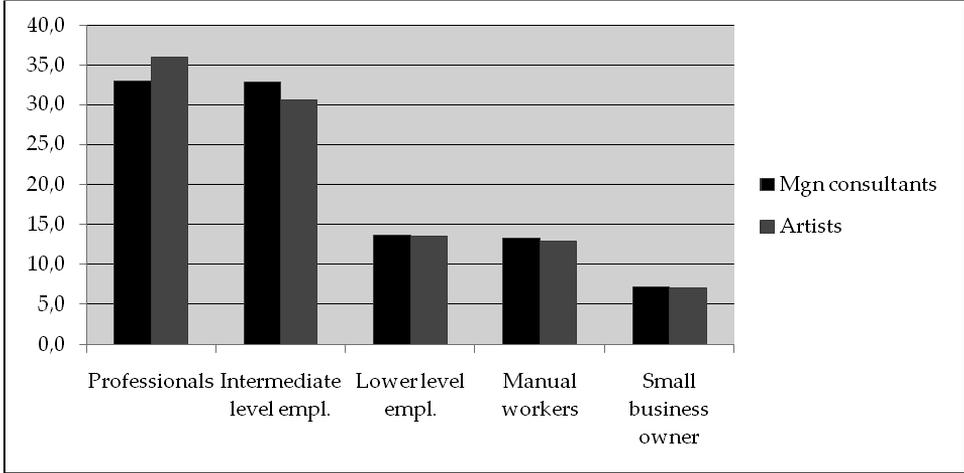
<sup>32</sup> Tables with figures are placed in appendix 3. In this chapter I refer to the different employment groups that will be further studied in this dissertation. Within the management consulting field, these are: wage-employment within the management side of foreign firms, wage-employment within the IT-side of foreign firms, wage-employment within the management side of local firms, wage-employment within the IT-side of local firms, private firm ownership, and incorporated firm ownership. Within the artistic field, the employment categories are: wage-employment within public art institutions, wage-employment within private art institutions, wage-employment within public independent art production, wage-employment within private independent art production, wage-employment within the film industry, wage-employment within public TV and radio, wage-employment within private TV and radio, private firm ownership, and incorporated firm ownership. The employment categories are presented in table 3 for artists and in table 6 for management consultants.

consultants typically hold longer higher educational degrees within the fields of business administration and engineering. Meanwhile, artists hold longer higher educational degrees in the fields of art and the humanities. Furthermore, artists have less experience working outside their current field than management consultants.

## Social Origin

Most artists and management consultants have parents who are professionals, while only a few have parents in lower skilled occupations.<sup>33</sup> For example, among artists, 35.8 percent have parents who are professionals, compared to 33.1 percent of management consultants. Furthermore, 12.9 percent of artists have parents who work in manual labor, while 13.2 percent of management consultants have parents who work in this field of employment. The following figure shows the socio-economic status of the populations’ parents.

**Figure 6:** Parents’ socio-economic group (percentage).



artists n=5 958, consultants n=7 908

<sup>33</sup> Socio-economic status is calculated based on Statistics Sweden’s standard for socio-economic classification (SEI). For more information, see: MIS 1982:4 Socioekonomisk indelning (SEI) (Statistics Sweden 1982:4).

In the management consulting field, consultants who work in foreign corporations generally have parents with higher socio-economic status, compared to the rest of the population. The argument which has been put forward in previous research, suggesting that many of the foreign firms recruit consultants from elite business and engineering schools, could possibly explain this employment group's higher social origin (see chapter 5). Among the consultants who work within the traditional management consulting side of foreign firms (as opposed to the IT-side), 45.9 percent have parents who are professionals. In contrast, self-employed consultants who hold private firms are least frequent to have parents with this socio-economic status. Only 26.3 percent of them have parents who are professionals. Instead, these consultants most frequently have parents who work in manual labor, with 18.3 percent having parents with this socio-economic status. This can be compared to 6.2 percent of consultants who work within the management side of foreign firms. Furthermore, management consultants who work within the IT-side of local firms tend to have parents in lower skilled occupations. Among them, 27.1 percent have parents who are professionals, and 15.6 percent have parents who work in manual labor. In summary, management consultants who work in foreign corporations most frequently have parents with higher socio-economic status. Private firm holders, as well as IT-oriented consultants in local management consulting firms have the lowest percentages of parents with higher socio-economic status.

Among artists, the difference between employment groups concerning parents' socio-economic status is not that large if only taking into consideration the shares of artists having parents that are professionals. The largest difference exists between artists who work in private art institutions, and those who work in private TV and radio. Among artists who work in private art institutions, 40.3 percent have parents who are professionals. Among artists who work in private TV and radio production, 29.7 percent have parents belonging to this socio-economic group. The differences between employment groups become clearer when studying the share of artists having parents in manual labor. For

instance, 17.9 percent of artists who work in private TV and radio production have parents who work in manual labor, while 10.5 percent of artists who work in private art institutions have parents in this socio-economic group. The employment group that has the lowest share of parents in manual labor is artists who work with public independent art. Among this group, only 7.2 percent have parents who work in this field of employment. Meanwhile, self-employed artists who run incorporated firms typically have parents who work in manual labor, with 16.4 percent of them having parents who belong to this socio-economic group. In summary, private TV and radio production, as well as private firm ownership seem to be the kinds of employment that attract the most artists whose parents hold lower socio-economic status.

## Parents' Economic Capital

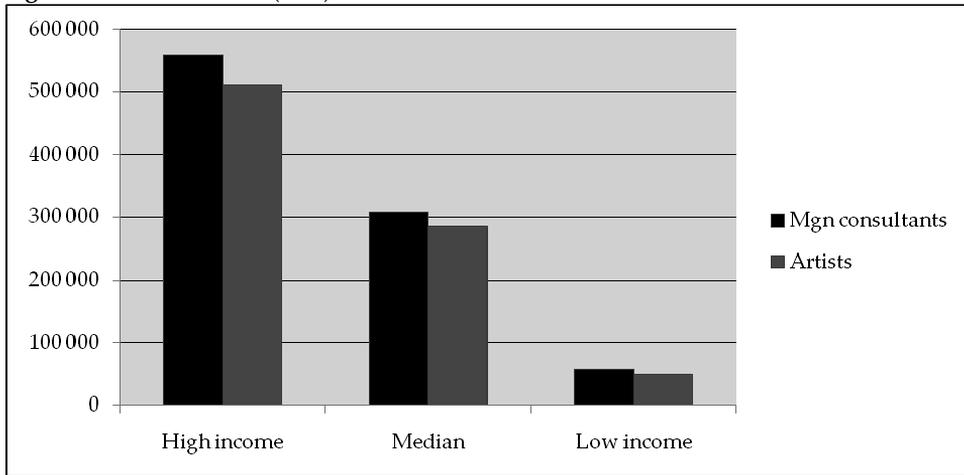
In this chapter, the income level of parents is used as an indicator of their economic capital. Figure 7 shows income levels for high-income earners, median income earners and low-income earners.<sup>34</sup> We can see that the parents of management consultants earn slightly more in each income category. For example, parents of management consultants belonging to the high-income group earn on average SEK 558 200 a year, while parents of artists belonging to this group earn SEK 511 000.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Low income includes the ten percent of the population with lowest income and high income includes the ten percent of the population with highest income. In other words the figure presents the first deciles, median, and the tenth deciles.

<sup>35</sup> Income figures are based on parents' joint incomes.

**Figure 7: Parents' income (SEK)**



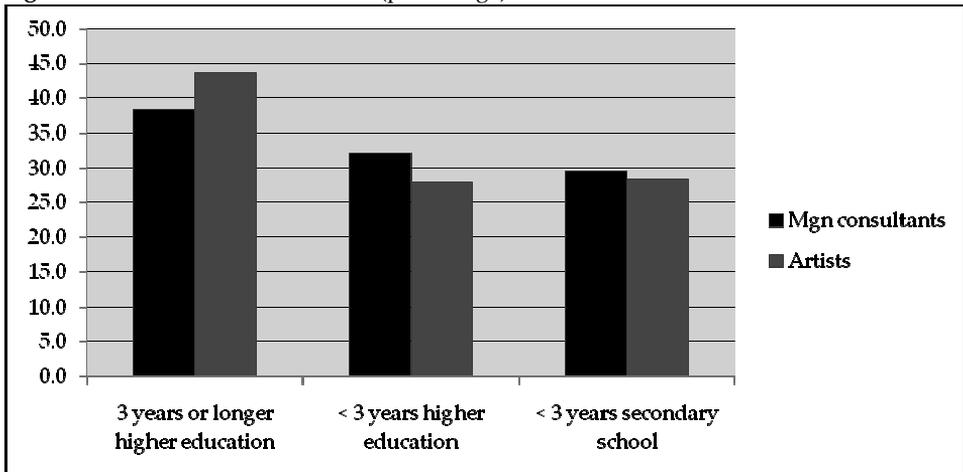
artists n=6 569, consultants n=8 642

Among artists, there is little difference in parents' economic capital between the different employment groups. All of them have parents with an average yearly income of about SEK 300 000. However, in the management consulting field, consultants who work in foreign firms have parents' with higher volumes of economic capital, compared to many other consultants. Management consultants who work within the management consulting side of foreign firms have parents who earn on average SEK 395 105 a year, while management consultants who run private firms have parents with a yearly mean income of SEK 258 122. Hence, management consultants who work within the management side of foreign firms have both parents in higher skilled occupations, as well as parents with higher incomes, in other words parents who hold higher volumes of economic and cultural capital. The opposite can be said for consultants who run their own consultancy businesses in the form of private firms. Other employment groups within the management consulting field have parents' with about the same volume of economic capital, as their parents earn an average of about 300 000 a year.

## Parents' Educational Capital

The parents' of management consultants and artists have similar volumes of educational capital. The following figure shows that 38.3 percent of management consultants have parents who have three years of higher education or more, while 43.5 percent of artists have parents with this level of higher education. Also, 29.5 percent of management consultants, and 28.4 percent of artists have parents who have less than three years of secondary education. Hence, a large share of artists and management consultants have parents with higher degrees of education.

**Figure 8:** Parents' level of education (percentage).

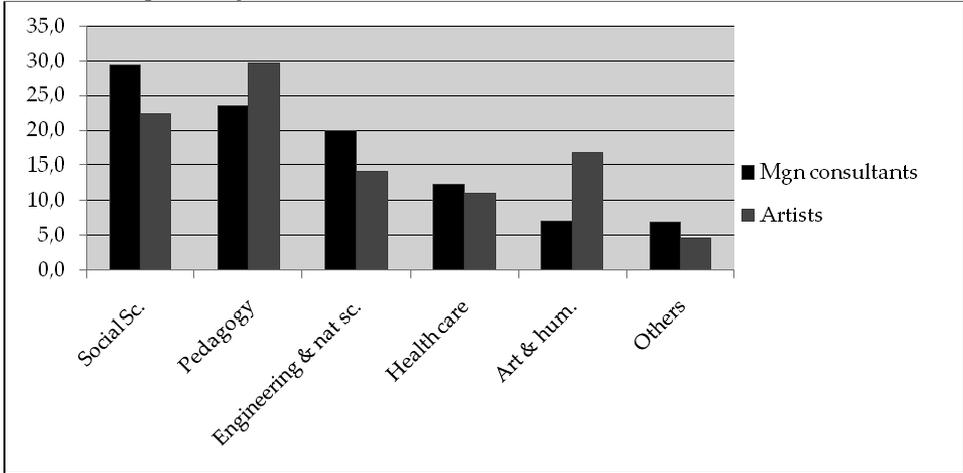


artists n=6 710, consultants n=8 852

Although artists and management consultants are similar in the sense that their parents tend to have a higher education, their parents have different kinds of degrees. When including only those artists and management consultants whose parents have at least three years of higher education into the analysis, the results tell us that it is fairly common for management consultants to have parents with a degree in the social sciences, in engineering, or in natural science, compared to artists (see the following figure). Among them, 29.4 percent have parents with a degree in social science, and 19.8 percent have parents with a degree in natural science, or in engineering. Meanwhile, artists tend to

have parents with a degree in pedagogy, in art, or in the humanities. In total, 29.9 percent of artists have parents with a degree in pedagogy, and 16.7 percent have parents with a degree in the arts, or in the humanities. However, within the group of management consultants it is also quite common to have parents with a degree in pedagogy. As well, it is quite common for the parents of artists to have a degree in the social sciences. Among management consultants, 23.5 percent have parents with a degree in pedagogy, and among artist, 22.3 percent have parents with a degree in social science. The data does not allow us to distinguish between different fields of education within the social sciences. Having said this, it is possible that the parents of artists and management consultants have somewhat different kinds of social science degrees.

**Figure 9:** Parents’ field of education. Only parents with at least 3 years of higher education are included (percentage).



artists n=2 921, consultants n=3 393

Among management consultants, private firm holders most commonly have parents with a degree in pedagogy, compared to other employment groups within the field. Within this employment group, 29.5 percent have parents with a degree in pedagogy. Management consultants who work in foreign firms frequently have parents with a degree in social science, as do many other employment groups. 30.4 percent of the consultants working within the management side of foreign companies

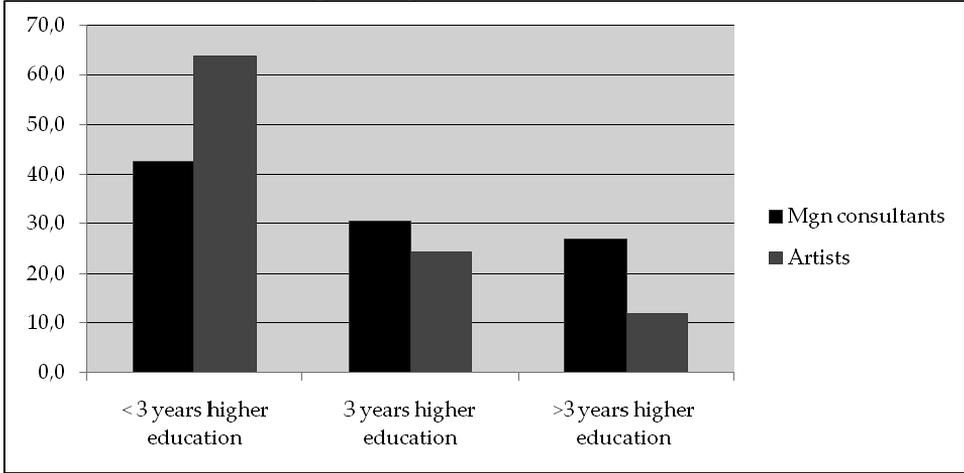
have parents with this kind of degree, and 29.8 percent of consultants working within the IT-side of these companies.

Artists who work with independent art, generally have parents with a degree in pedagogy, and more frequently so than the rest of the field. Among artists working with public independent art, 44.9 percent have parents with this kind of degree, as do 40.4 percent of artists working within the private sector of independent art. Artists working in public art institutions, as well as in the public and private independent art sector, also commonly have parents with a degree in art, or in the humanities. Among artists working in public art institutions, 20.7 percent have parents with such a degree, as do 25.6 percent of artists working within the public independent art sector. Lastely, 19.2 percent of artists working within the private independent art sector have parents with a degree in either art, or in the humanities, as do 13.7 percent of artists working in private art institutions.

## Acquired Educational Capital

It is more common for management consultants to have a longer higher education than it is for artists. Among consultants, 57.3 percent have three years of higher education or more, while 35.8 percent of artists have the same level of education. Accordingly, 64.2 percent of artists possess at most two years of higher education. Hence, the artistic field includes a larger share of artists who lack longer higher education. A possible explanation is that the educational capital is not that important when establishing oneself in the field, or that the field includes a larger share of artists who do not have the capital that is necessary to gain recognition within the field, but still try to make a living as artists. These aspects will be discussed further in chapter 7.

**Figure 10:** Level of education (percentage).



artists n=7 408, consultants n=9 693

The lowest share of artists with higher education is found among those employed in the private sector, and those employed in public TV and radio. For example, 21.3 percent of artists who work in the film industry have three years of higher education or more, and 17.9 percent of artists who run their own incorporated firms have this level of education. Furthermore, 22.6 percent of artists working in private TV and radio have three years of higher education or more, as do 35.9 percent of artists working in public TV and radio. Artists employed by independent public art groups are the highest educated within the field, with 67.0 percent of them having three years of higher education or more, and of these, 29.7 percent have at least four years of higher education. Also, artists working in public art institutions are more frequently highly educated, with 60.1 percent having at least three years of higher education. However, we also find artists with at least three years of higher education in the private art institutions (49.0%), and in the private sector of independent art (45.3%).

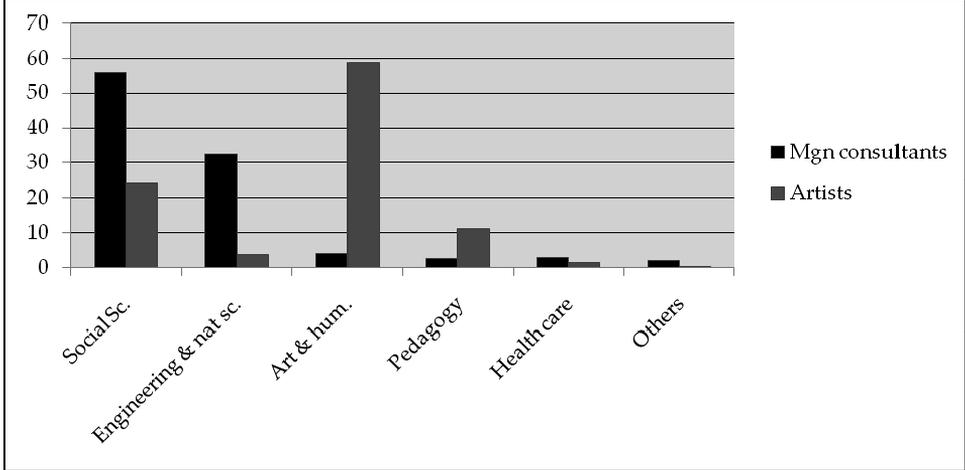
In the management consulting field, we find the lowest share of consultants with longer higher education among the private firm holders, with only 43.3 percent having at least three years of higher education. Furthermore, incorporated firm holders, and consultants who

work within the IT-side of local firms are less educated, compared to the rest of the field. Among incorporated firm holders, 47.7 percent have at least three years of higher education, and 50.8 percent of IT-oriented consultants in local firms have this level of higher education. These percentages appear to be rather high if compared to the artistic field. However, in comparison with consultants who work within the management side of foreign consulting firms, it is not. Among the latter consultants, 78.1 percent have at least three years of higher education, and of these, 50.1 percent have at least four years of higher education. Consultants who work within the IT-side of these companies have less educational capital, with 67.1 percent having at least three years of higher education, and of these, 37.0 percent having at least four years of higher education.

## Field of Education

Artists and management consultants have different fields of education. When including only those with at least three years of higher education in our analyses, we get the following results (see figure 11). Management consultants most commonly have a degree within the fields of social science (foremost in business administration), in engineering, or in natural science. Artists, on the other hand, commonly have a degree in the fields of art, humanities, as well as social sciences (foremost journalism). Put into figures, in the field of management consulting, 56.0 percent hold a degree in social science, and of these consultants, 71.1 percent have a degree in business administration. Furthermore, 32.5 percent of consultants have a degree in engineering, or in natural science. In the artistic field, 58.9 percent hold an arts or a humanities degree, and of these artists, 81.9 percent have a degree in the arts. Also, 24.5 percent hold a degree in social science, and of these artists, 60.8 percent hold a degree in journalism. Among artists we can also see that several have a higher degree in the field of pedagogy, with 11.1 percent having this kind of education. It might be that some artists combine a career in the artistic field with teaching in art schools (cf. Svenson 2008 p. 46), having one or the other as their main career.

**Figure 11:** Field of education. Only those with at least 3 years of higher education are included (percentage).



artists n=2 628, consultants n=5 528

Artists working with independent art, as well as artists working in art institutions most commonly have a degree in art, or in the humanities. For example, 87.7 percent of artists who work in public art institutions have such a degree, as do 86.7 percent of artists who work in private art institutions. Furthermore, 79.7 percent of artists who work with public independent art have an arts degree, as do 84.5 percent of artists who work in private independent art. A majority of those who work in TV and radio production have a degree in the social sciences (commonly in journalism). 63.6 percent of those who work with private TV and radio have this kind of degree, as do 52.8 percent of artists who work with public TV and radio. However, we also find several artists with an arts degree within TV and radio production. For instance, 33.4 percent of artists who work with public TV and radio productions have an arts degree. Lastly, among artists who run private firms, 50.1 percent have an arts degree, as do 58.2 percent of incorporated firm holders.

In the field of management consulting, 62.3 percent of consultants who work within the management side of foreign consulting firms have a degree in social science (commonly in business administration), while

31.9 percent have a degree in engineering, or in natural science. Among management consultants who work within the management side of local firms, 69.4 percent have a degree in social science, while 16.5 percent have a degree in engineering, or in natural science. Consultants working within the IT-division of management consulting in local firms more commonly have education in the fields of natural science and engineering than in social science. Of these, 75.5 percent have a degree in engineering, or in natural science, while 20.3 percent have a social science degree. The case is somewhat different for management consultants who work within the IT-side of foreign firms. Among these consultants, 55.2 percent have an engineering degree, while 42.9 percent have a social science degree. Hence, it is more common for consultants who work within the IT-side of management consulting to have a social science degree if employed by the foreign consultancy firms, than if employed by the local consulting firms.

Broady et al (2002 pp. 27 and 35-36) have shown that children who belong to the higher social classes in Sweden pursue longer degrees in higher education, as well as education in the fields of humanities and arts, social sciences, natural sciences, engineering and agriculture. In contrast, children who belong to the working classes generally do not enter higher education to the same extent as the higher classes, and in cases where they do, they generally invest in shorter education and in fields of education such as pedagogy, nursing (except the medical program), and services. Furthermore, children belonging to the economic class fractions enter other fields of education than children belonging to the cultural class fractions. Those who come from homes with higher volumes of economic capital tend to enter education in the fields of social sciences and engineering, while children belonging to the cultural class fractions tend to study within the fields of humanities, arts, and natural sciences. We find similar results here, with artists having parents who have slightly higher volumes of cultural capital, compared to economic capital, entering education within the fields of arts and humanities, and with management consultants having parents with both economic and cultural capital resources, entering higher education within the fields of social sciences and engineering.

## Professional Capital

Professional capital refers to work experience that holds value in relation to a field. Professional capital is a result of certain investments made in present and past production fields. In this study, I will foremost talk about professional capital in terms of field experience, since the variables included in the statistical analyses indicate to what extent management consultants and artists have experience of working in their current field. In the following section, I will present the shares of artists and management consultants that have faced unemployment. I will also present the shares that have work experience from other industries.

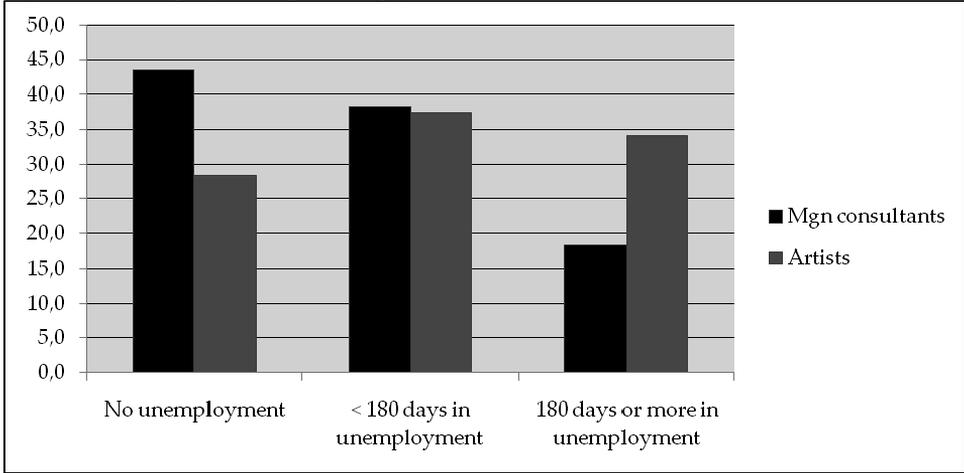
## Unemployment

The results show that artists more commonly experience periods of unemployment than management consultants. In 2002, 71.2 percent of artists had faced unemployment sometime during the past nine years. Among management consultants, 56.4 percent had been unemployed during the same period of time. Furthermore, artists typically face longer periods of unemployment, or are more frequently unemployed.<sup>36</sup> During those years, 33.6 percent of artists had faced unemployment for 180 days or more within one year. In comparison, 18.1 percent of management consultants have as many days of unemployment within one year. These results clearly demonstrate that unemployment is more prevalent in the artistic field than in the field of management consulting.

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<sup>36</sup> The data include information about days in unemployment, not whether those days were in a sequence or not. Hence, more days in unemployment could either be a result of long-term unemployment, or a result of frequent unemployment.

**Figure 12:** Unemployment (percentage).



artists n=7 470, consultants n=9 739

In the artistic field, freelance artists who hold private firms face unemployment very frequently. In total, 77.6 percent of these artists have been unemployed sometime during the past years, and of these, 40.8 were unemployed for 180 days or more within one year. However, other employment groups frequently fall into unemployment as well. It is most common for artists who work in private art institutions to be unemployed, with as many as 94.8 percent having been unemployed in the past few years. Artists who work in public art institutions, with public independent art groups, or freelance artists with incorporated firms have least experience of unemployment. Among artists employed by public institutions, 54.9 percent have been unemployed, as have 52.1 percent of artists in the public independent art sector, and 50.9 percent of incorporated firm holders. Hence, freelance artists with private firms and artists working in private art institutions seem to face harsher employment conditions, compared to artists working with the public institutions and independent groups, and freelance artists holding incorporated firms.

In the field of management consulting, it is most common for management consultants who work in local firms, as well as for consultants who run a private firm, to have experienced unemployment.

Among private firm holders, 66.7 percent have been unemployed during the past few years, and among these, 28.5 percent have been unemployed for 180 days or more within one year. Private firm holders have more days of unemployment within one year than any other employment group. Furthermore, 61.2 percent of consultants working within the IT-side of local management consulting firms have been unemployed during the past years, as have 58.1 percent of consultants working within the management side of these firms. Management consultants running incorporated firms have least experience of unemployment, with 43.0 percent having unemployment days. Also, management consultants who work within the management side of foreign firms have less commonly been unemployed. Among them, 45.8 percent have faced unemployment, and of these only 10.7 percent have been unemployed for 180 days or more within one year.

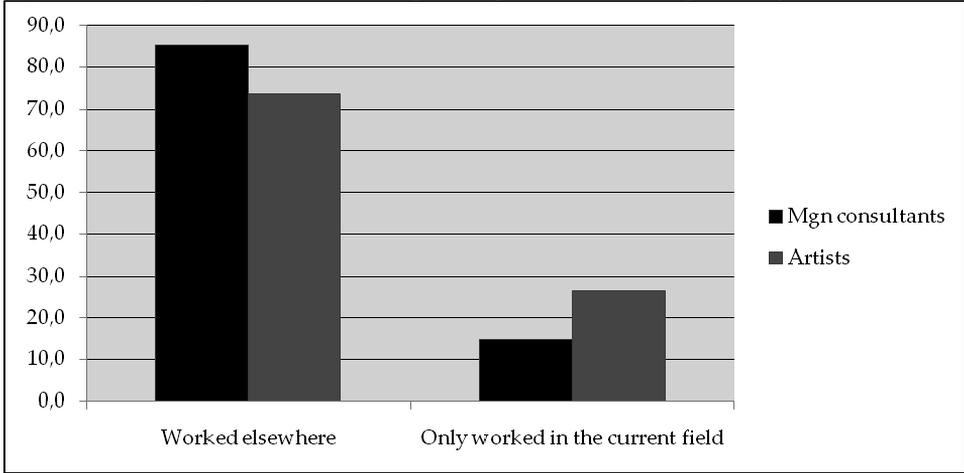
## Work Experience outside the Field

It is more common for management consultants to have worked in other industries, compared to artists.<sup>37</sup> Among artists, 73.3 percent have experience of working elsewhere, while this is true for 85.1 percent of management consultants. The share of artists having experience in other fields of production is probably a result of artists seeking second employments between projects.

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<sup>37</sup> Experience of working in other industries here refers to experiences outside the consulting industry in general (SIC 72 and SIC 74). Experience outside the field of art refers to experience outside the current field (SIC 92). See appendix 1 for discussion on SIC.

**Figure 13:** Work experience outside the present production fields (percentage).



artists n=7 470, consultants n=9 739

In general, artists who work within the private sector of art production have more experience of working in other industries, compared to artists working in the public sector. For example, 68.5 percent of artists working with private independent art have experience of working elsewhere, as do 68.8 percent of artists working in the film industry, and 84.6 percent of artists who work with private TV and radio productions. Freelance artists holding private firms most frequently work elsewhere, with 88.5 percent having done so in the past few years. Among freelance artists holding incorporated firms, 64.0 percent have worked in other industries. Artists working in public art institutions have least experience of working in other industries. However, 48.6 percent of them have this kind of experience. It is also less common for artists working in the public independent art sector to work elsewhere, with 56.4 percent of them having done so sometime during the last years.

On average, about 80 to 90 percent of management consultants in each kind of employment have experience working in other industries. A possible explanation to this rather high percentage could be that many management consultants build their consulting career upon expertise they have accumulated elsewhere, before entering the field of management consulting. It could also be that some consultants work

parallel in other industries, such as in academia and consult on the side. Furthermore, this experience of working outside the field could have been acquired meanwhile studying. For example, it could be that students in engineering or business work in part-time capacity during their studies.

## Summary

This chapter has shown that artists and management consultants have similar social origin. Both groups have parents who work in professional fields of employment, rather than in manual labor. However, the parents of artists have slightly higher volumes of cultural capital, compared to economic capital, while management consultants appear to come from homes with both economic and cultural capital resources. The populations' social past diverge in the sense that artists tend to come from homes where parents have higher education within the field of arts, humanities, as well as pedagogy, while consultants have parents with higher education in engineering, in natural science, or in social science.

In this chapter we have also seen that management consultants hold a higher volume of acquired educational capital than artists. Furthermore, the two populations generally have different kinds of higher education. The educational trajectory of parents seem to reflect upon the educational trajectory of consultants and artists, with management consultants more commonly having a degree within the same fields of education as their parents, and artists more frequently having degrees within the same fields as theirs.

Also, artists and management consultants have different levels of experience working in industries outside their field. Management consultants more commonly have this kind of experience. Furthermore, this chapter has shown that artists more frequently face periods in unemployment than management consultants. It is likely that many artist fall into unemployment between projects in the arts.

Furthermore, in this chapter I have mentioned some of the differences in capital composition that exist between the employment groups within the two fields. It appears as management consultants working within the management side of foreign firms comes from homes with higher volumes of economic and cultural capital, compared to other management consultants. They also have acquired more educational capital than the rest of the population. It is the opposite way around for management consultants running their own private firms. Artists working within art institutions and with independent art generally come from homes which are characterized by a lower volume of economic capital, while a higher volume of cultural capital. Also, these artists have acquired more educational capital than artists in general.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the social structures of the artistic field. In chapter 8, I will present the employment structure of the art industry. Chapters 9 and 10 include a discussion on management consultants.

## Chapter 7

# Social Structures in the Artistic Field

In this chapter, I will discuss the social structures of the artistic field. This discussion is based on results from the Specific MCA, which are presented in tables and graphs.<sup>38</sup> Also included in this chapter are quotations from interviews with artists.

## Active Variables and Modalities

Indicators of different species of capital (economic, cultural, and symbolic), and of inherited<sup>39</sup> and acquired capital have been included in the analysis of artists, as well as in the analysis of management consultants (see chapter 9). These variables have been included to capture the multidimensionality of the fields. More precisely, the variables included in the following analysis contain information about professional capital (work experience in other subfields of art

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<sup>38</sup> Tables showing the contribution of active modalities are placed in appendix 4.

<sup>39</sup> Information about artists' and management consultants' social origin is based on information about their biological, or adoptive, parents. Following Börjesson and Palme (2001) social origin is calculated based on information about the childhood household, meaning that information about the parents' joint capital, or about the parent with the highest volume of capital, has been included in the analyses. Using both parents to calculate social origin is a way of reducing missing cases, since if one parent is missing information, information about the other one is included in the analyses (Börjesson and Palme 2001 p. 17). Accordingly, information about parents' wealth encompasses parent's joint wealth, and information about education has been included for the parent having the highest level of education. In the case where both parents have the same level of education, information about the father has been included in the analyses. Information about parents' sector of employment has been included in the analyses for the parent who has an employment and in the case where both parents have an employment, information about the parent with the highest socio-economic position have been included (according to SCB's Socio-Economic Classification). If both parents hold the same socio-economic position, information about the father has been included.

production,<sup>40</sup> time in the arts, age, and work experience in industries outside the artistic field<sup>41</sup>), acquired educational capital (field and level of education<sup>42</sup>), inherited cultural capital (parents' level of education and sector of employment), and inherited economic capital (parents' wealth).<sup>43</sup>

The active variables and modalities, as well as the number and shares of artists included in each modality, are presented in table 1.<sup>44</sup> The variables are summarized into two different groups of capital, or headings: inherited capital (i.e. social origin) and acquired capital.<sup>45</sup> The variable

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<sup>40</sup> Work experience in other fields of artistic production refers to experience working in: Motion Picture and Video Production (SIC 92110), Radio and Television Activities (SIC 92200), Artistic and Literary Creation and Interpretation (SIC 92310), and Operation of Art Facilities (92320).

<sup>41</sup> Experience in other industries than the arts refers to experience outside SIC 92.

<sup>42</sup> Among artists, it is most common to have an education within the arts as well as in journalism and these fields of education have been coded jointly under the name 'art'. Not many individuals have less than three years of higher education, and thus everyone with this level of education has been coded as one category. Individuals who have at least three years of higher education, in another field of education than art, have been coded as 'other higher education  $\geq 3$  years'.

<sup>43</sup> The variables included in the analyses are also a result of the data at hand. Furthermore, the variables kept in the final analyses are a result of introducing and removing variables in the analyses. Those variables that turned out not to contribute above average contribution were removed, and variables that contributed way over average were also removed, since these latter variables outdid other differences in the material.

<sup>44</sup> In this study, individuals who are missing information in the majority of variables under one or several of the following groups of capital: inherited capital, educational capital, and professional capital have been placed as supplementary in the analyses. Inherited capital refers to all the variables showing parents' capital, educational capital refers to the individuals acquired educational capital, and professional capital refers to all the other variables showing acquired work experience. If individuals who are missing information in several variables are included as active in the analyses, they oppose other groups of individuals in the results, and it is therefore necessary to place them as supplementary. In total, 6 818 individuals were placed as active in the analysis of the artists, and 847 individuals (11.1 percent) were placed as supplementary. Also, the active modalities have to be well represented when coding the variables. This means that the modalities should include a minimum of five percent of the active individuals (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004 p. 49). Hence, in this study, no active modality includes less than five percent of the active individuals. The supplementary modalities can, however, include less than five percent of the individuals, and some do in this study (see next chapter).

<sup>45</sup> In order to understand how much importance is given to the different headings in the Specific MCA, their relative contribution to the total variance is calculated (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004 p. 223). While the relative contribution of questions tells us how much importance is placed in them, it does not inform us about the actual contribution of the questions. In the process of carrying out the analyses, some variables and modalities have turned out to have a very strong contribution to the variance. Strongly contributing variables and modalities tend to outdo other differences in the results. In order to capture also other differences, the relative importance of excessively contributing questions

'age' is included as an indicator of professional capital because it shows accumulated work experience in general. However, in combination with other variables, age also shows social age. In other words, it shows the value placed in being older or younger in combination with other capital. Bourdieu explains social age as the following, "[...] at identical biological ages, social age is a function of proximity to the pole of power and duration in that position – between those who have the social properties associated with accomplished adulthood and those who have the social properties associated with the incompleteness of youth" (Bourdieu 1984 [1979] p. 233).

**Table 1:** Active variables and modalities in the Specific MCA (missing values are passive).

Inherited capital	n	%	Acquired capital	n	%
<b>Wealth</b>			<b>Unemployment</b>		
Very wealthy	680	10.0	No unemployment	1 854	27.2
Higher wealth	1 369	20.1	<180 days in unemployment	2 648	38.8
Average wealth	2 364	34.7	>180 days in unemployment	2 316	34.0
Smaller wealth	1 086	15.9			
Low or no wealth	1 319	19.3	<b>Age</b>		
			25-28 years	1 032	15.1
<b>Education</b>			29-41 years	4 767	69.9
Compulsory education	724	10.6	42-45 years	1 019	14.9
Secondary education	2 056	30.2			
Higher education <2 years	1 059	15.5	<b>Worked in other fields of art production</b>		
Higher education >3 years	2 581	37.9	Worked in other art production	2 646	38.8
Graduate studies	373	5.5	Only worked in present art prod.	4 172	61.2
Missing information	25	0.4			
<b>Sector of employment</b>			<b>Time in the arts</b>		
Public sector	3 015	44.2	1-4 years in the arts	2 290	33.6
Private sector	3 262	47.8	5-10 years in the arts	4 528	66.4
Missing information	541	7.9			
			<b>Worked outside the arts</b>		
			Only worked in the arts	1 670	24.5
			Worked outside the arts	5 148	75.5
			<b>Education</b>		
			Compulsory/secondary	2 623	38.5
			Higher education <2 years	1 780	26.1
			Art /journalism 3 years	1 206	17.7
			Other higher education >3 years	578	8.5
			Art/ journalism >4 years	631	9.3

has been reduced. Given this, the two headings under which different variables have been summarized are not given exactly the same importance. For artists, inherited capital accounts for 45.0 percent, and acquired capital for 55.0 percent of the contribution. The actual contributions of variables and modalities included in the interpretation of the results are placed in appendix 4.

Three important axes are generated from including the above variables in the Specific MCA. The contribution of these axes is presented next.

### Three Dimensions

Taken together, the first three axes explain 83.9 percent of the total variance. Table 2 shows eigenvalues, modified rates, and cumulated modified rates for these axes. The first axis explains a majority of the variance, 53.3 percent. The second axis explains 20.0 percent of the variance, and the third axis 10.6 percent. Variables contributing over average contribution (11.1 percent), and modalities contributing over average (3.5 percent), as well as modalities contributing close to average ( $\geq 2.4$  percent), have been included in the interpretation of the axes which follows.

**Table 2:** Eigenvalues, modified rates and cumulated modified rates

	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Eigenvalues	0.216	0.168	0.148
Modified rates	53.3	20.0	10.6
Cumulated modified rates	53.3	73.3	83.9

Field experience is specific for the first axis. This axis places a group of artists with more field experience opposite to a group with less. The second axis shows differences in inherited capital and acquired educational capital. Artists with a higher social origin and more acquired educational resources are opposite artists with less. Finally, the professional capital is specific for the third axis, which separates between two groups of artists who have different forms of professional capital. In the following, I will discuss each axis.

### Field Experience

The first axis places artists with more field experience opposite artists with less. I will refer to the former as senior artists and the latter as

newcomers. Time working in the arts, and experience working in industries outside the artistic field, are the two variables with the strongest contributions to the first axis. The senior artists (upper part in graph 1) are older than the artists placed opposite, and they have been working in the artistic field for a longer time. Furthermore, during the past years, these artists have only worked as artists and they have no experience of unemployment. The fact that this group lacks unemployment spells, and has no experience working in other industries outside the arts, indicates that they do not go without jobs between art projects. On the contrary, they have worked in different lines of art production, which indicates that they frequently acquire different project assignments and have no greater problem surviving in the field.

Among the newcomers (lower part in graph 1) we find artists who are younger and who have shorter experience of artistic production. In contrast to the more senior artists, this group has experience working in other industries and they have also faced shorter periods of unemployment. It is likely that this group includes artists who have less field experience because of different reasons. They might just have started working as artists, or they have frequently been absent from the field while working in other industries, or while being unemployed. The group of newcomers has only worked in their present line of art production. In other words, they work in one specific subfield of art production, rather than in different ones. Probably these artists are not assigned projects as often as the opposite placed artists, and therefore turn to jobs outside the field or fall into unemployment when short on assignments.

Field experience is a form of artistic capital because the more time the artist spend in the field, the more credibility is gained. In addition, being present in the field is a condition for accumulating titles, prizes, and other gains that circulate within the field. The following quotations show the importance artists place in field experience. The first quotation expresses the employment possibilities that come with having more experience, compared to having less. The second quotation illustrates the marginal position taken by artists who fail to accumulate field

experience because they are not hired for enough projects. The latter artists tend to be questioned within the field.

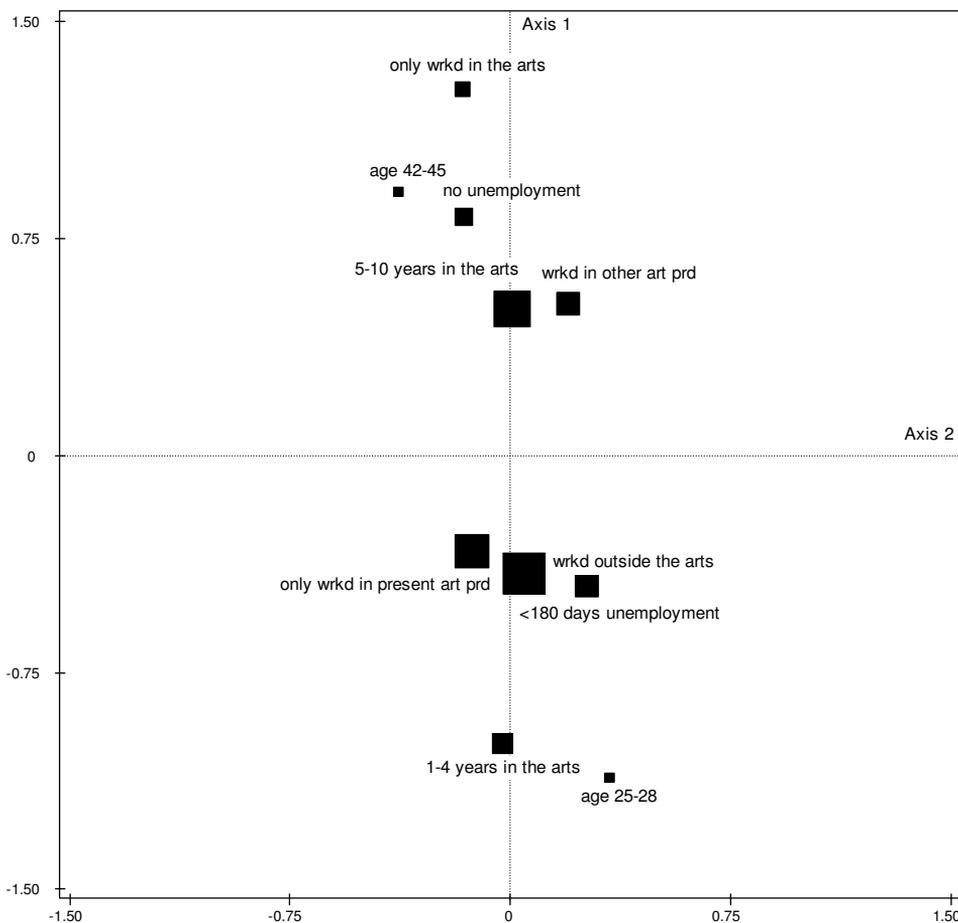
*Yes, of course we want someone with experience. [...] You can come to a smaller orchestra without much experience and gain experience, and this is often the way it is that you begin a bit out in the country, [with] the County Music or the smaller symphony orchestras, and then from there you come to us, that is to say to the slightly larger orchestras. (Linus, artist)*

*But either you are a professionally practicing [dancer] or you are not so to speak, and the ones that are professionally practicing but have never worked, [for them] it is all about defining themselves 'Am I a dancer?' [...]. (Victor, artist)*

Graph 1 shows the first dimension of the field. In the upper part of the space we find the artists who have more field experience and in the lower part, artists with less experience.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> The sizes of the markers for the modalities are proportional to the frequency of individuals included in them in all graphs presented in this and the following chapters.



**Graph 1:** Axis 1. 10 modalities contribute over average to axis 1 and belong to the heading: ■ acquired professional cap.

The newcomers' position within the field is a position from which the trajectories can depart in somewhat different directions. Agents just entering the field can accumulate field experience with time. In some years, they will then be the ones with more field experience. However, if they are absent from the field, due to work in other industries and unemployment, they tend to remain in their current position. In the latter case, although growing old biologically-speaking, the artist does not have the field experience that is associated with an older age.

*There is an uncountable number of students entering the University College of Music [...], but it is few granted to get a permanent job afterwards, the others end up somewhere in a grey zone after their education, they look for jobs, go abroad and study, look for jobs abroad, and then all of a sudden they show up here again for some audition and are still freelancing and have all of a sudden turned forty-two years old, and well...it is a pity. (Linus, artist)*

This kind of trajectory, where the biological age does not correspond to field experience, is framed with additional unemployment spells. Since the less successful artists are more frequently absent from the field, they do not accumulate the artistic capital present within it to the same extent as those being present. This in turn, prevents them from being entirely recognized as artists.

## Inherited Capital and Acquired Educational Capital

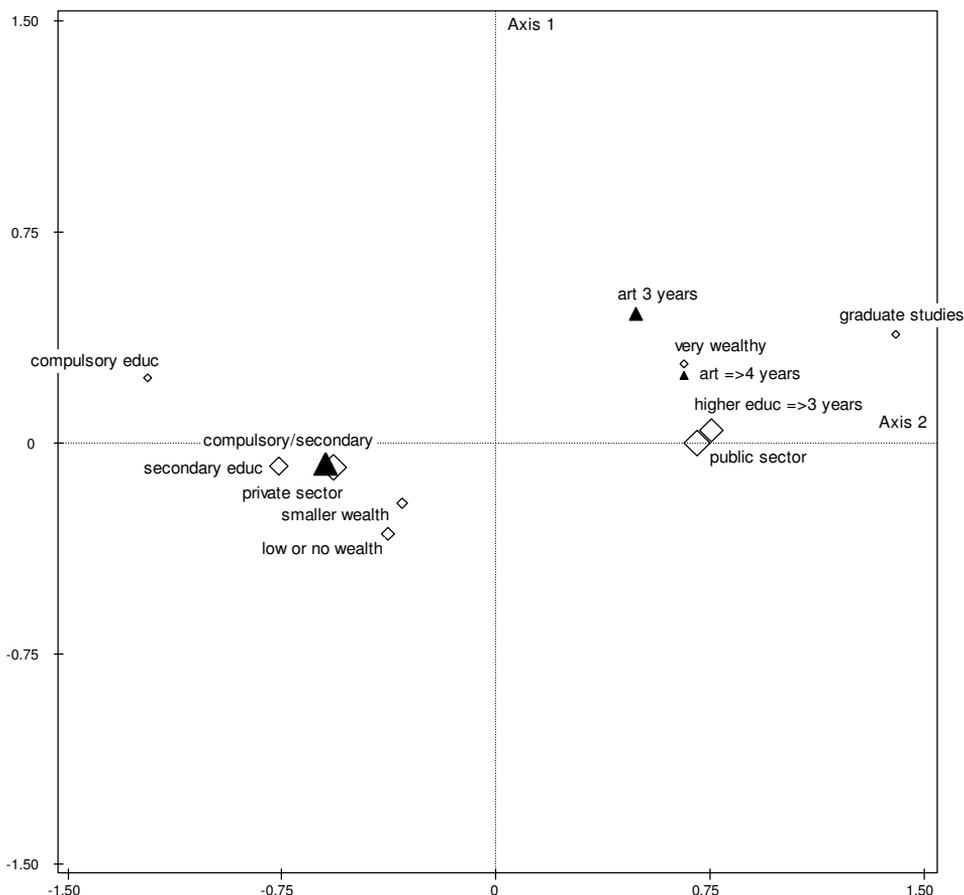
The second axis shows differences in volume of inherited capital and acquired educational capital (for simplicity, I will refer to this capital composition as inherited and educational capital in the following discussion). Artists with a higher volume of inherited and educational capital (right in graph 2) are placed opposite artists with a lower volume (left in graph 2). In contrast to the first axis, this axis shows both inherited and acquired resources. The artists with a higher volume of educational capital have at least three years of higher art education. We can see that this group of artists comes from higher social origins. Their parents have three years of higher education or more, including graduate studies. Furthermore, their parents tend to work in the public sector and are also very wealthy. The opposite placed artists do not have more than a compulsory education and they also come from lower social origins. Their parents lack higher education, have less or no wealth, and generally work in the private sector. The following quotations illustrate the importance of the educational capital in the arts. More than just providing the agent with a diploma, it seems the art educations in

Sweden can generate social capital in form of valuable contacts in the industry.

*You can arrive here and turn out to be a very good musician, without ever having gone to a single school, but very seldom that happens. I think I have employed about twenty-five people in the orchestra, sitting in the orchestra now, since I started, and all of them have solid backgrounds with up to four to five years of education [...]. (Linus, artist)*

*Well, many start [their careers] by attending the art academies, to be accepted to the art academies means that you get contacts, you get the possibility to do practical work and get into, and start working, with the theaters and then you start being seen by others, it [the education] is an ticket into our world so to speak. The other kind of ticket is to involve oneself, non-profit so to speak, in amateur theatre, that is in independent groups, and some of them who proceed from there are really good, I think Persbrandt is one of them, Stellan Skarsgård does not have an arts degree, in other words, there are some professional, talented, actors who have not attended the art academies, but the majority has [...]. (Petra, artist)*

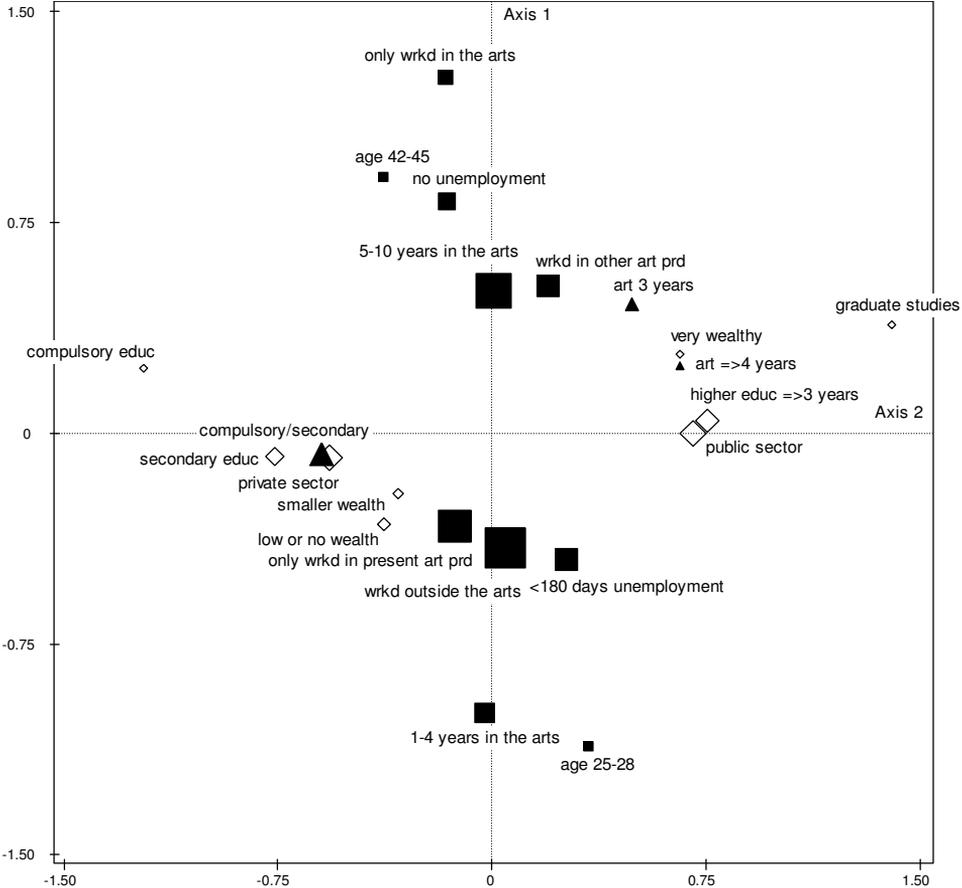
The following graph shows the oppositions along the second axis. Placed to the left are artists with a lower volume of inherited and educational capital, and to the right artists with a higher volume. In summary, the inherited capital contributes most to the second dimension, with parents' level of education and sector of employment as the strongest contributing variables.



**Graph 2:** Axis 2. 12 modalities contribute over average to axis 2 and belong to the headings: ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

Bringing together the first and second axes in a plane allows us to see how the combination of inherited and educational capital and field experience affects the position of the artists. In the following graph we see that two main groups are created in this plane. One group is situated closer to the upper right corner of the space, while the other is closer to the lower left corner. Hence, one group have both a higher volume of inherited and educational capital, as well as field experience, while the other group of artists have a lower volume of all these species of capital. In the upper right corner of the space, the modalities create a diagonal line from the upper left corner to the lower right corner. In the lower part

of the space, the modalities create a diagonal line in the same direction. These results tell us that within the group of artists placed in the upper right corner we find artists who have either longer field experience and less inherited and educational capital, or more inherited and educational capital but less field experience. In a similar vein, within the more capital weak group of artists we find those who either have less inherited and educational capital and more field experience, or more inherited and educational capital and less field experience.

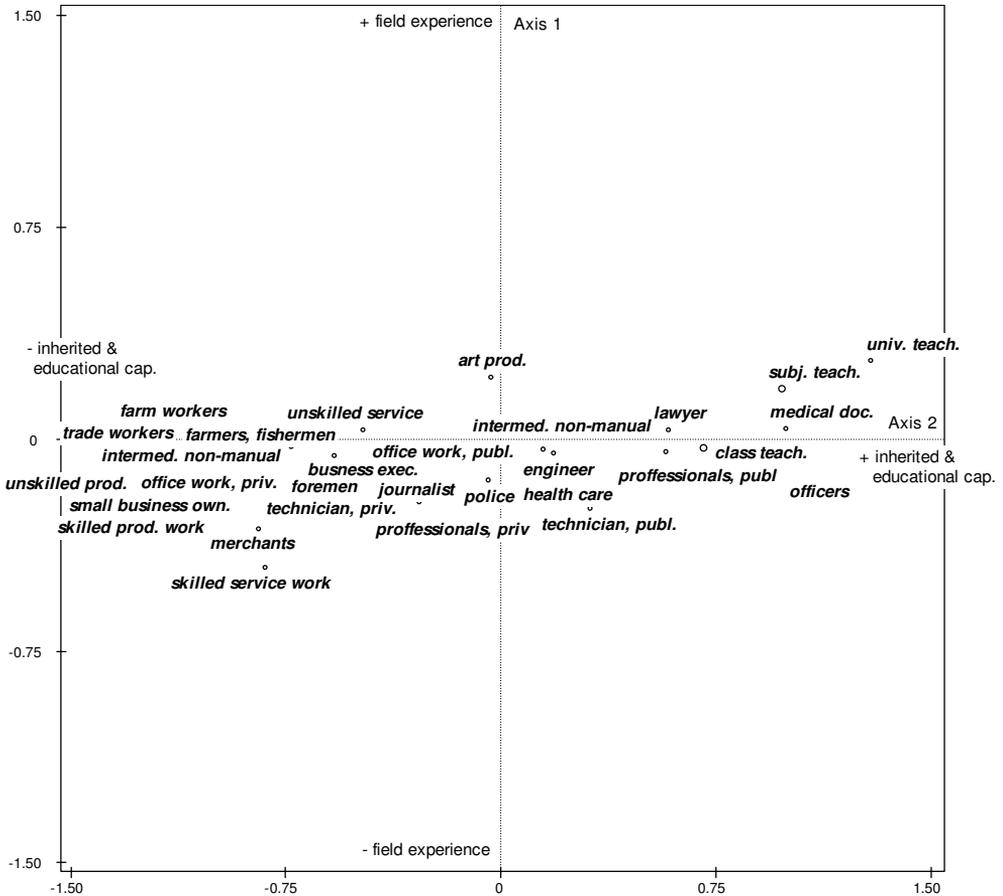


**Graph 3:** Axes 1 and 2. 22 modalities contribute over average to the plane and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

The following graph presents the parents' occupation.<sup>47</sup> We can see that there is a concentration of teachers and professionals in the public sector to the right of the space, with university teachers placed closest to the capital pole of those with arts degrees. To the left, we find a concentration of parents holding less skilled employment, such as trade worker, small business owner, or lower skilled production and service work. Parents who work in the arts are placed in the center of the space along the second axis, which implies that artists with lower, as well as artists with higher volume of inherited and educational capital have parents who work in art production.

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<sup>47</sup> The variable is introduced as a supplementary element in the Specific MCA. The variable has been coded according to the classification provided by Börjesson and Palme (2001).



**Graph 4:** Plane 1 and 2. Parents' occupation as supplementary variable.

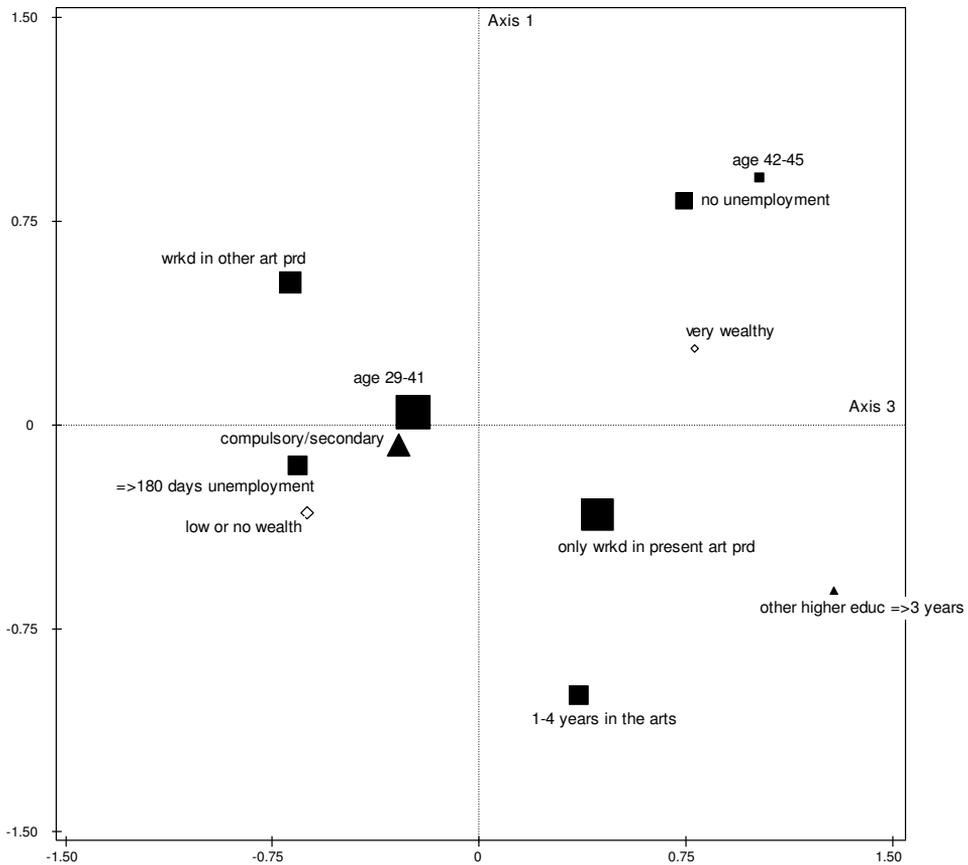
The modality showing parents working in art production is placed slightly closer to the pole of those with more field experience along the first axis (s.d. 0.2), as well as the modality showing parents who are university teachers (s.d. 0.3). Hence, this kind of background characterized by parents working in the arts, or as university teachers, is invested in the field with a higher return. Artists who come from homes where this form of cultural capital is concentrated are more successful in the field. On the contrary, artists who, for example, have parents that are professionals in the private sector are less successful, given that these artists have not accumulated as much time and presence in the field. The

standard deviation between artists whose parents are professionals in the private sector, and artists whose parents are artists, is 0.4, while between the former artists and those whose parents are university teachers, the standard deviation is 0.5.

## Different Forms of Professional Capital

Professional capital is specific for the third axis. Unemployment and experience of working in different lines of art production are the variables that contribute the most to this axis. The third dimension separates between a group of artists who generally work in different kinds of art production (left in graph 5), from a group that tends to work in one and the same kind of production (right in graph 5). The artists who work in different kinds of production have experienced 180 days or more in unemployment within one year sometime over the past few years, which indicates that they frequently are unemployed between projects. Furthermore, they are younger, have a lower volume of inherited economic capital, and less acquired educational capital, compared to the artists placed opposite.

The artists who work in the same line of production have not experienced unemployment during the past years. Furthermore, they are older but are characterized by having less work experience in the field. These artists also have a higher volume of inherited economic capital (their parents are very wealthy) and they have a higher volume of acquired educational capital, compared to the artists placed to the left. The following graph shows the two groups along the third axis.

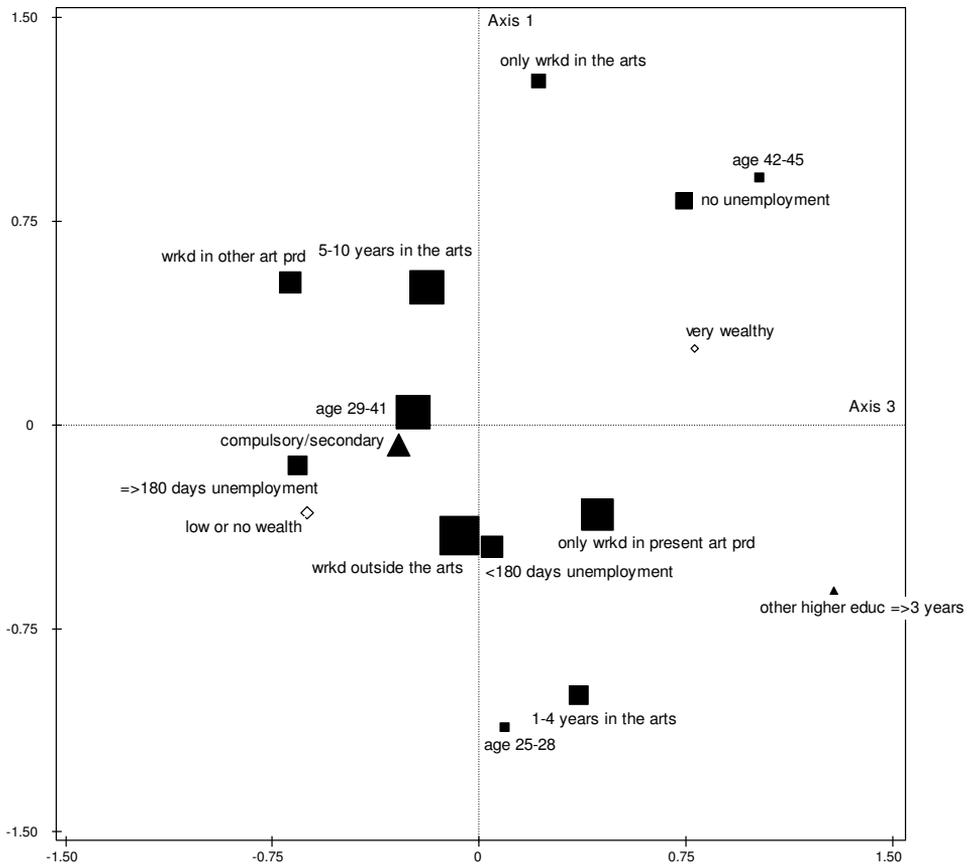


**Graph 5:** Axis 3. 16 modalities contribute over average to axis 3 and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

In conclusion, the third axis separates between artists who have different forms of professional capital, in the sense that they have diverse work histories within the field. For simplicity, I will refer to the artists placed to the left as typical freelancers since they do different kinds of projects and frequently face unemployment. Consequently, the artists placed to the right will be referred to as having more stable work conditions.

The third axis in combination with the first allows us to see how field experience in combination with different forms of professional capital structures the field. The professional capital is specific for both the first and the third axes, and in the plane of axes 1 and 3, four groups of artists

are created. The plane splits up the group of artists having more stable work conditions into two groups. One of these groups is characterized by having no unemployment, and the other one by only having worked in their present line of art production. The plane also divides typical freelancers into two groups, one characterized by having many days in unemployment, and the other one by having worked in different lines of art production. Hence, in the upper right corner of the space we find artists with longer work experience in the field, who are older, and who have not been unemployed during the past few years. In the lower left corner, we find artists with less work experience in the field. These latter artists have worked elsewhere and frequently faced unemployment. In the lower right corner of the space we find artists with less work experience in the field, they are younger and have only worked in their present line of art production. Finally, artists with longer work experience who generally work in different lines of art production are placed in the upper left corner.

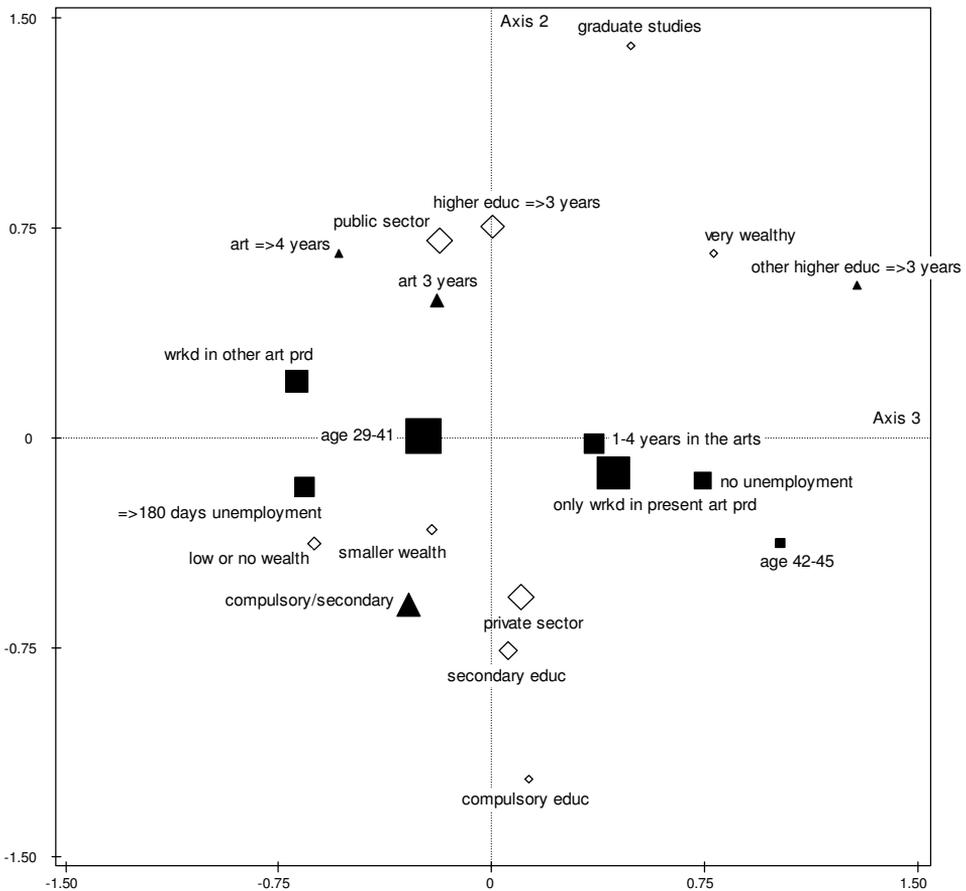


**Graph 6:** Axes 1 and 3. 16 modalities contribute over average to the plane and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

Diagonally from the lower left corner to the upper right corner, the third axis, in combination with the first, separates a group of artists who frequently face unemployment (lower left corner) from artists that do not (upper right corner). From the lower right corner to the upper left corner, a group of artists who have only worked in their present line of art production (lower right corner) are separated from artists who generally work in different kinds of production. The artists who have only worked in their present line of production tend to be younger and have less experience working in the field. Hence, these artists may not have had the time to work on different projects yet. Since work experience in different kinds of production is combined with a longer field experience

in this dimension of the space, working on different kinds of production indicates an accumulation of artistic capital. In other words, it indicates that the artists placed in the upper left corner of the space are frequently requested for different art projects.

The following graph shows the third axis in combination with the second, and consequently how inherited and educational capital in combination with different forms of professional capital structures the field. This plane creates five groups of artists.

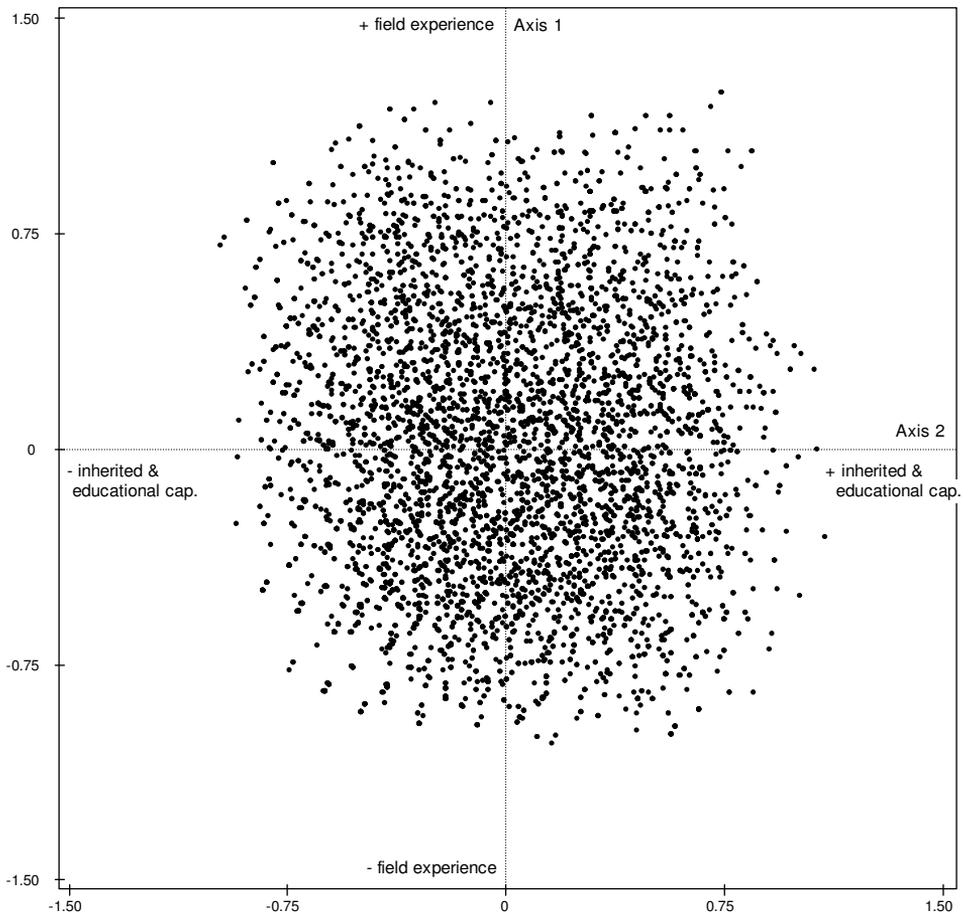


**Graph 7:** Axes 2 and 3. 20 modalities contribute over average to the plane and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

In the upper part of the space, we find a group of artists whose capital composition is characterized by a higher volume of economic capital (upper right corner). Their parents are very wealthy, and rather than having a field specific education, this group has other kinds of higher education. This group of artists is diagonally opposite a group that has a lower volume of economic capital (lower left corner), i.e. their parents have less or no wealth and the artists themselves lack higher education. This latter group also more commonly faces periods of unemployment. Closer to the center of the third axis in the upper part of the space, there is a group of artists whose capital composition is characterized by a higher volume of cultural and artistic capital. They have a higher arts degree, their parents are more educated and generally work in the public sector, and these artists more commonly work in different kinds of art production. Vertically opposite to this group, closer to the center of the third axis in the lower part of the space, are artists who have a lower volume of cultural capital, i.e. they lack inherited educational capital and their parents work in the private sector. Diagonally opposite the cultural and artistic capital strong group, closer to the center of the second axis and to the right of the space, are artists who have less artistic capital in the sense that they have not worked in the field for a longer period of time, are younger and have only worked in one line of production.

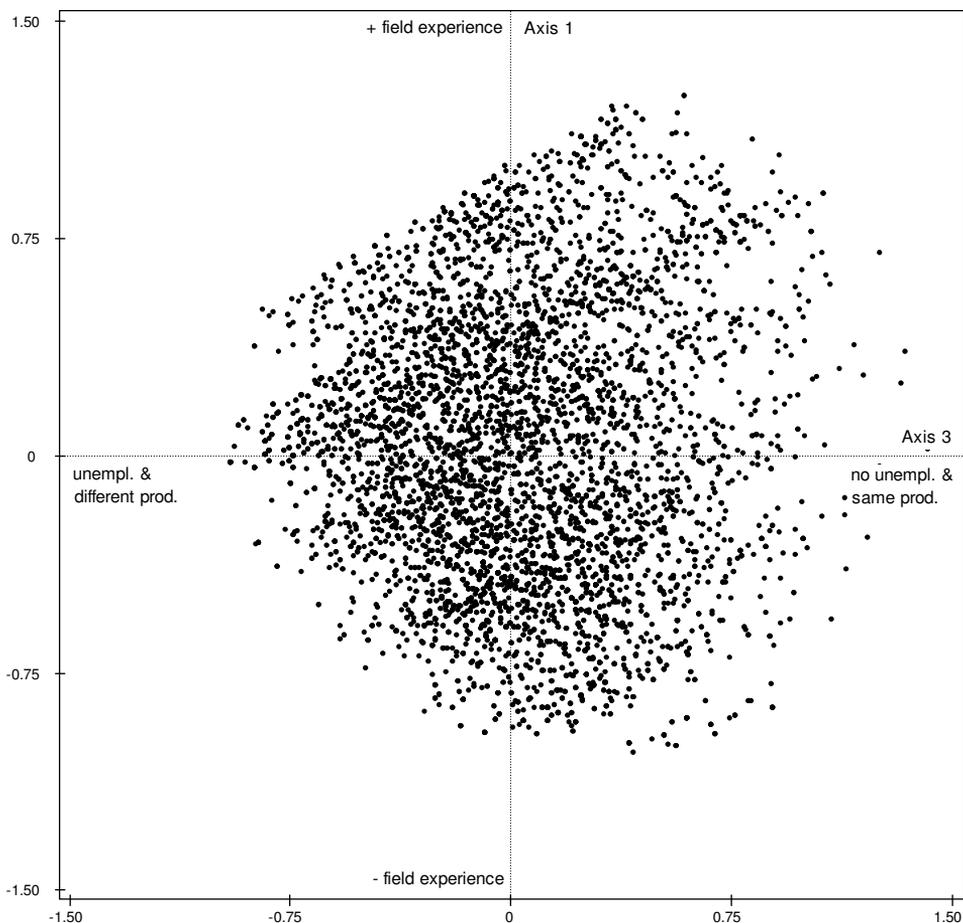
## The Cloud of Artists

The following graphs present the cloud of individuals in the artistic field, or in other words the cloud of artists. The cloud of artists allows us to understand whether artists tend to have a specific profile, thus are closer to one capital pole of the space, or whether all the profiles discussed so far are just as common within the field.



**Graph 8:** Cloud of individuals in plane 1 and 2.

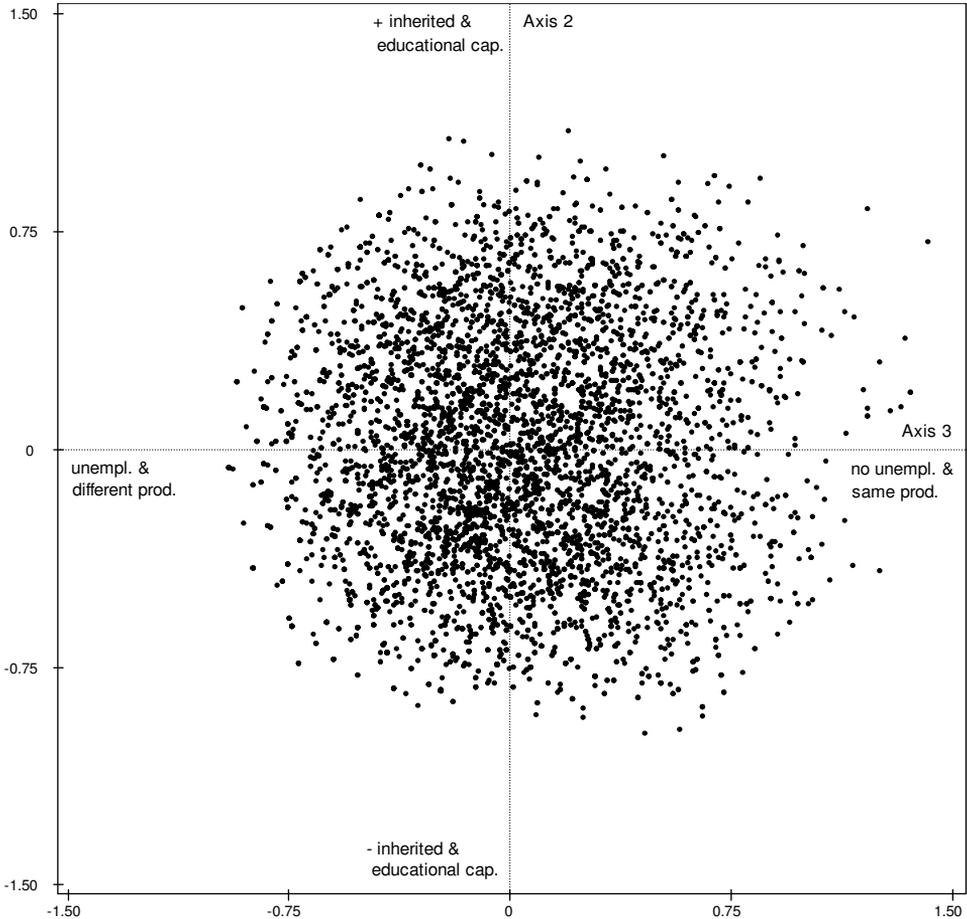
In plane 1 and 2, the artists are rather evenly distributed in the space, given that the points representing the individuals are not concentrated towards a specific capital pole. Hence, within the field, it is just as common to have more field experience as it is to have less, and just as common to have a higher volume of inherited and educational capital as it is to have a lower volume.



**Graph 9:** Cloud of individuals in plane 1 and 3.

In plane 1 and 3, the cloud of individuals is concentrated towards the center of the space and more scattered towards the right. Hence, it is as common to find artists who face unemployment and work in different lines of art production, as it is to find artists who do not face periods of unemployment and generally work in one and the same line of production. However, fewer artists have constantly stable work conditions, in the sense that they never face unemployment or work in different kinds of production, which is why the cloud is more scattered towards the right of the space. In plane 1 and 3, we can also see that the cloud takes a somewhat striped form on the diagonal. This means that the first and third dimensions are in some aspects similar, i.e. the active

modalities that contribute to the first and third axes are in some respect providing similar information. These results make sense, given that the professional capital is specific for both axes.



**Graph 10:** Cloud of individuals in plane 2 and 3.

In plane 2 and 3, we see once again that the cloud of artists is more scattered towards the right and more concentrated towards the center of the space. Hence, artists with a higher volume of economic capital, as well as artists with a lower volume of artistic and cultural capital, are less common within the field.

## Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the social structures of the artistic field. We have seen that three important dimensions were produced by the Specific MCA. The first axis, which explains most of the total variance, shows an opposition between artists who have more field experience and artists who have less. The group of artists with less field experience includes artists with experience working outside the field, and artists who have faced periods of unemployment. This group also includes artists who have less field experience simply because they are younger. Field experience indicates artistic capital, because being present in the field is a precondition to accumulate the capital which circulates within it.

The second axis shows an opposition between artists having a higher volume of inherited and educational capital and artists having a lower volume. When the second axis is combined with the first we find two main groups of artists. One group is capital strong, in the sense that those belonging to this group have longer field experience and a higher volume of inherited and educational capital, compared to their opposites. Within this group, we find artists who have more or less of field experience, and inherited and educational capital. The opposite group is capital weak, in the sense that they have less field experience, as well as less inherited and educational capital. Similar to the capital strong group, artists belonging to this group have more or less of the inherited and educational capital, as well as field experience.

The third axis distinguishes between two groups of artists that have different work histories. One of these groups generally faces unemployment and work in different kinds of art projects. The opposite group has more stable work conditions, in the sense that they have not faced unemployed during the past few years and they have worked in only one line of art production.

When combining the third and the first axes in a plane, four groups of artists emerge. One group frequently faces unemployment, while their opposites do not. Another group tends to work in different lines of art production, while the artists placed opposite work in one kind of production.

Five separate groups of artists are created when combining the third axis with the second. One group has a higher volume of cultural and artistic capital, another group has a lower volume of cultural capital, and yet another group has a lower volume of artistic capital. Furthermore, one group has a higher volume of economic capital, while the opposite placed group has a lower volume of this species of capital.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the kinds of employment possibilities that the different groups of artists face within their field.

## Chapter 8

# The Employment Structure in the Arts

In this chapter, I will discuss the employment possibilities for artists holding different social positions. The following graphs present their space of employment possibilities. We will see that all firm holders do not occupy the same social position. Instead, there is a difference between incorporated and private firm holders. We will also see that all wage-employed artists are not distinct from all self-employed artists, the difference depends upon the kind of social position the employment groups hold. For example, the artists employed by private television have a form of capital composition that distinguishes them from artists employed by art institutions, and which in turn makes them more similar to, for example, self-employed artists holding private firms.

The types of employment are shown in table 3.<sup>48</sup> The main employment categories are self-employed and wage-employed artists. Under each heading in table 3, the employment groups are further divided. Self-employed have been separated into private firm holders and incorporated firm holders. The different groups of wage-employed have been coded in line with the discussion made in chapter 5, i.e. based on if they work in the public or private sectors, as well as if they work in art institutions, the film industry, the independent sector, or with TV and radio productions.

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<sup>48</sup> Tables showing coordinates of supplementary modalities are placed in appendix 5.

**Table 3: Employment as supplementary element.**

Self-employed			Wage-employed		
	n	%		n	%
Self-employed with incorporated firm	333	4.9	Wage-employed in public art institution	783	11.5
Self-employed with private firm	2 435	35.7	Wage-employed in private art institution	139	2.0
			Wage-employed in public independent art group	159	2.3
			Wage-employed in private independent art group	467	6.8
			Wage-employed in public TV/Radio	1 692	24.8
			Wage-employed in private TV/Radio	438	6.4
			Wage-employed in the film industry	230	3.4
			Wage-employed missing information about industry/sector	142	2.1
Total	2 768	40.6	Total	4 050	59.4

In 2002, 22 artists (0.3 percent) started up incorporated firms, and 674 artists (9.9 percent) started up private firms.<sup>49</sup> In addition to studying the above kinds of employment in this chapter, I will study the social position of artists entering self-employment in 2002. This variable is coded separately. Hence, the modalities including private and incorporated firm holders will show where these employment groups are positioned within the field in general, despite the year they started their firm, while the variable including those who started a firm in 2002 indicates the position of those who just entered self-employment. Agents enter the kinds of employment that correspond to their social position. Thus, if incorporated and private firm holders occupy a specific position within the field in general, those entering these kinds of employment will occupy a similar social position. The position of the artists who just entered self-employment is presented to stress this argument.

The employment distribution along the first, second, and third axes is presented next. The capital that is specific for each opposition is written

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<sup>49</sup> The individuals who started a firm in 2002 might have been self-employed the previous year, we cannot know for sure if they actually entered self-employment during that year because the information about self-employment provided by Statistics Sweden is not totally correct for the year 2001. Hence, this variable is used as an indication of entry into self-employment, with the assumption that the majority of individuals who registered a firm in 2002 actually entered self-employment that year.

in the graphs as a reminder of what was discussed in the previous chapter.

## Two Kinds of Freelancers

The following discussion is based on the results shown in graph 11.

A considerable share of artists is freelancers, and many of them run private firms, which basically allow them to take jobs on different art projects. When being a newcomer in the field, this is one of few possibilities at hand. Those who started a private firm in 2002 are placed closer to the profile of newcomers along the first axis (s.d. 0.7). Artists who are running a private firm from a previous year are placed closer to the center of the space along the first axis (s.d. 0.4), which means these artists have accumulated more field experience. However, they are still placed far from the center of the axis, which means these artists have less field experience, compared to the ones placed opposite.

As discussed previously, the group of artists with less field experience includes both artists who just entered the field, and artists who are frequently absent due to unemployment spells and jobs elsewhere, i.e. outside the arts. As the artist acquires field experience, she or he can move into other kinds of employment, such as working for one of the art institutions. However, artists who do not get assigned enough projects continue freelancing while holding private firms. These artists generally work elsewhere in order to make a living, and also more commonly face unemployment between projects. Thus, setting up a private firm enables the artists who lack field experience to enter and continue working in the field. Since a large proportion of artists freelance with private firms, remaining in this kind of struggling position within the field is a reality for many. To move on into wage-employment in for example, an art institution is not a possibility for the masses, but rather for a privileged few.

Artists who freelance with incorporated firms are placed closer to the capital pole of those with more field experience (s.d. 0.4). Hence, artists who frequently are recruited to different projects, and who rarely go without jobs between these projects, are the types of artists that typically freelance with incorporated firms. Those who started an incorporated firm in 2002 have less field experience than incorporated firm holders in general. This could mean that artists who started this kind of legal form of firm in 2002 actually have less field experience than the average incorporated firm holder. However, very few, only 0.3 percent, actually started an incorporated firm during that year, so the results should be interpreted with caution.

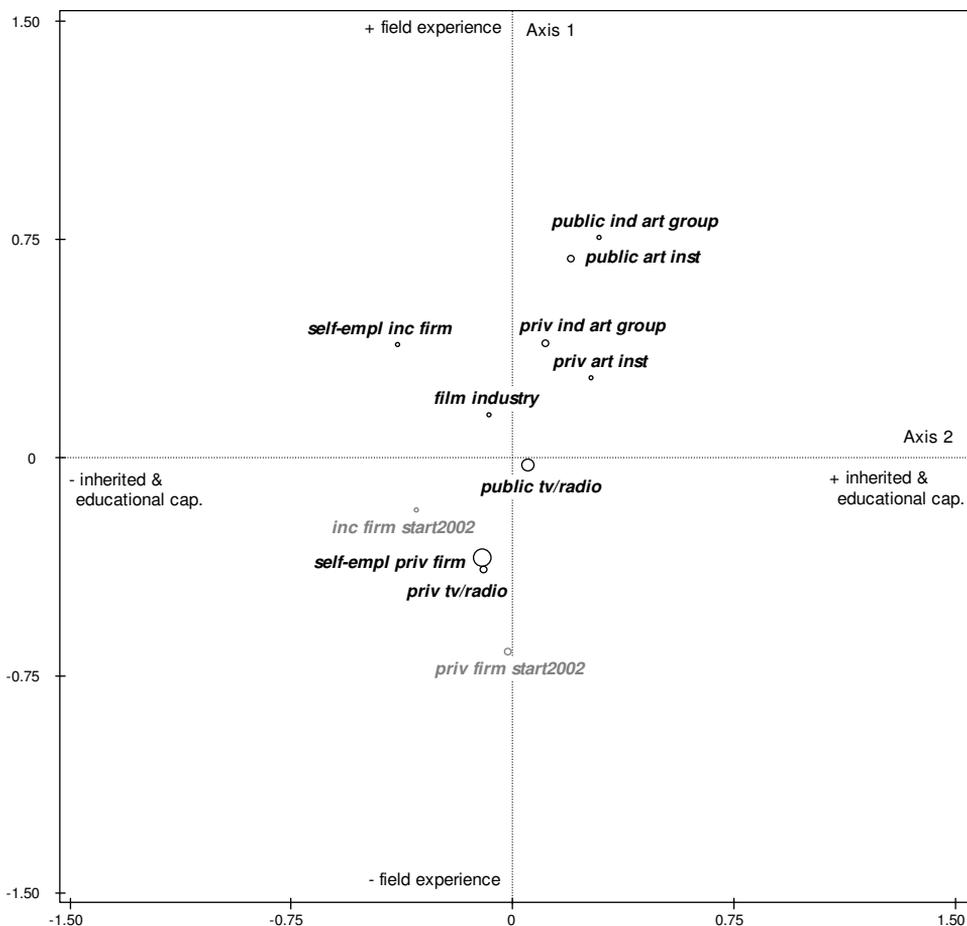
Hence, there appears to be two types of freelancers, one that is more established and another that has to struggle more to make a living in the arts. The following quotations express the difference that exists between the two groups of freelancers.

*Well, about eighty-five percent of all singers in Europe are freelancers, and it is a tough life. I mean, it works fine when you are twenty plus or thirty minus, like when I used to be a freelancer [...], earlier in life it is okay, but I promise you that you get rather tired of the traveling and living in a suitcase and the moving around and the insecurity which is inherited in the very system of freelancing. [...] But then you have this other kind of freelancers who...there are rather many Swedes who do great careers, they live well on their international careers so to speak, and they are freelancers, all of them. [...] I think they choose the freelancing life of another reason [than the first kind of freelancers], [they choose it] because they can earn a lot by doing it, they travel around the world and sing and they are [frequently] booked, they are established and good enough to do it. So there are these two...there are different kinds [of freelancers] so to speak, you have these superstars [and then you have the others]. (Pontus, artist)*

*There is a hierarchy between different kinds of freelancers so to speak. You have the ones who maybe have two jobs a year and then are unemployed the rest [of the year] and who have a really hard time to*

*make a living out of it but still have chosen to become musicians and see it as some kind of calling they cannot back out from, it is really sad, there are numerous of them. [...] Then you have the ones who are established freelancers, they are the ones who might have had a job [permanent employment] in an orchestra, but who have chosen to become freelancers because they know they can pick and chose [between projects]. They are not tied to one employer but can decide their schedule exactly as it suits them. [...] You are really free if you are that established, but it is few granted, but these established ones, they are self-employed. (Linus, artist)*

The following graph shows the different employment groups along the first and second axes. In the upper part of the space, we find the senior artists and the kinds of employment they occupy, and in the lower part of the space, we find the artists with less field experience and the kind of employment positions they hold.



**Graph 11:** Plane 1 and 2. Interpretation of employment as supplementary variable.

In plane 1 and 2, we can see that the capital that makes an artist reach a certain employment position is not so much her or his education, or social origin, as the active time she or he spends being an artist. The modalities are mainly spread out along the first axis. Field experience probably has such an importance in distinguishing between different employment groups because artists accumulate artistic capital by putting in time and presence in the field. The more autonomous a field, the more the field relies on its own principle of hierarchisation for defining the agents within it (Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 316). The division between different kinds of employment based on field experience is a division

that is not related to the division between professional groups in the labor market in general. Thus, the importance of the first dimension of the field to the employment structure could be interpreted as if the artistic field holds a relatively higher degree of autonomy than fields that place more importance in capital accumulated outside their field's borders.

## Large Scale and Limited Production

In addition to freelance with private firms, artists with less field experience are more commonly employed by private television and radio (s.d. 0.4). Public television and radio are more common for artists in general to work in, given that this modality is placed close to the center of the first axis. Artists with more field experience are generally employed by the public art institutions, such as the Royal Dramatic Theatre, (s.d. 0.7) and publicly owned independent art groups (s.d. 0.8), such as the Swedish National Touring Theatre. It is also more common for artists with more field experience to work in private art institutions and with private independent groups. However, since the modalities showing the private sector of art institutions and groups are closer to the center of the first axis, artists entering private institutions and groups generally have less experience working in the field than those entering the public ones.

The difference between groups of wage-employed artists along the first axis corresponds, to some extent, to a distinction between large scale and limited production. Wage-employed artists working in independent art groups and art institutions are placed opposite from artists working in private television and radio. Thus, artists with less field experience are generally involved in more commercial productions, while artists with more field experience generally work in limited productions. We cannot see what kinds of productions the private firm holders work on, however we can get an indication of it by looking at their position within the field. Since they have a similar profile to those working in more commercial productions, they are likely to work on these kinds of

productions as well. The newcomers, being less established as artist, might work on more commercial productions in order to survive in the field. The following quotations illustrate this point.

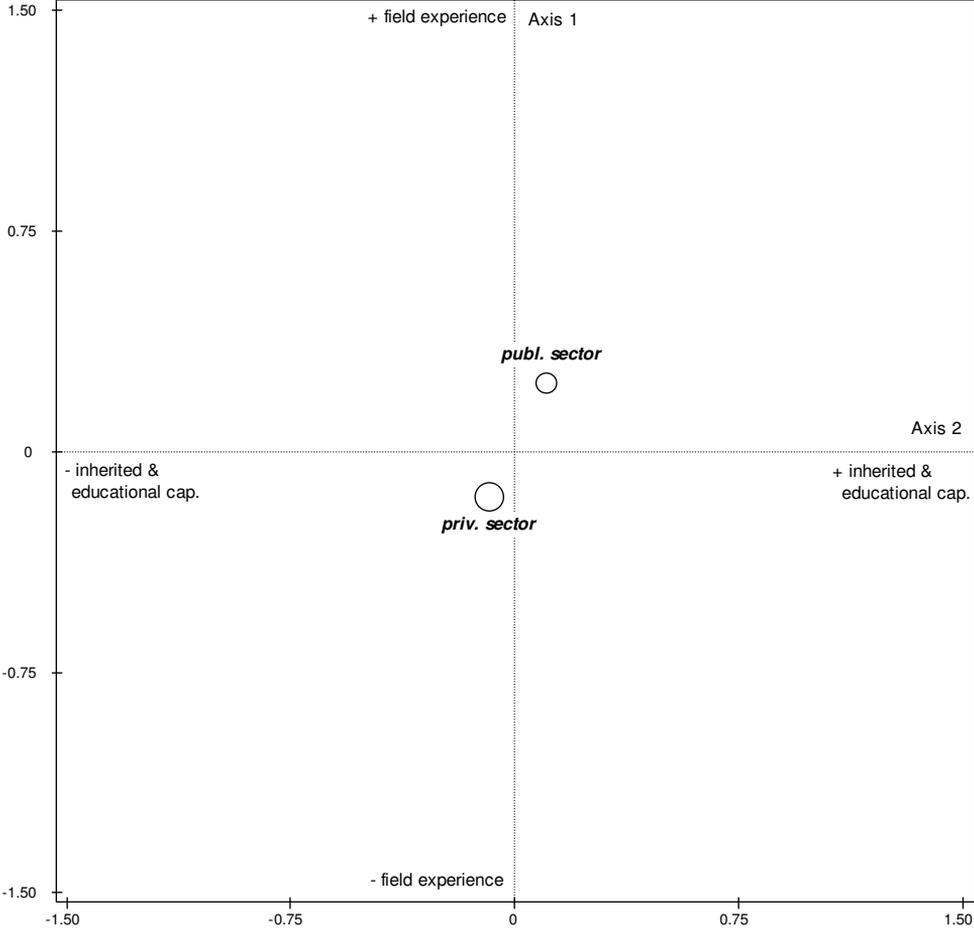
*But it implies other money [to work outside the theatre], you can work with radio theatre, you can work with commercials and do voice jobs of different kinds, you know there are different kinds of jobs so to speak, which are more or less...you could say more or less artistic maybe. But you have to...there is a harsh reality that you have to look for jobs which provide money, fast money so to speak, like voice jobs or dubbing film or.... (Petra, artist)*

*With commercial [work] I mean working, for example, for record companies, to perform together with artists and do tours or to work in purely commercial productions like...well, everything from the Swedish Song Contest to the Christmas gala or well...the football gala...you know. Compared then maybe with what is going on at the House of dance where it is a little bit more modern and maybe more difficult, more cultural dance so to speak. And these are very different worlds. (Sara, artist)*

*But it is people who work in a commercial part [of the industry who start a firm], commercial dance so to speak, such people who work on TV-shows and musicals, people who are not financed by public money so to speak [...], these people could possibly earn a living out of having a company. (Victor, artist)*

The first opposition also corresponds to an opposition between the public and private sectors. Senior artists more commonly work in the public sector, while artists with less field experience work in the private sector (see graph 12). The standard deviation between the public and private sectors is 0.4 along the first axis. Also, although artists with more field experience are more commonly employed by art institutions and independent art groups in general, we can see in the previous graph 11, that artists working in public art institutions and independent art groups have more experience working in the field, than artists employed by

private art institutions and independent groups. The standard deviation between artists working in the private and public art institutions, and between employees in private and public art groups, is about 0.4. Incorporated firm holders are placed closer to the profile of artists employed by the public sector along the first axis, and thus these firm holders have a similar profile to artists working in the public sector.



**Graph 12:** Plane 1 and 2. Interpretation of sector of employment as supplementary variable.

## Art Institutions and Independent Art

There are no differences between artists employed by art institutions and artists working with independent art groups along the first axis, or along the second and third axes that are discussed next. However, the interviews show that artists make a distinction between the two kinds of work.

*[...] there are people who are very pleased to just hang around there [at the Royal Dramatic Theatre] and there are those who really choose their projects [...]. I know some people, or I do not know them but I think of...there are one person called [...] and another called [...] that work and do their own performances and just experiment completely. They work on this small independent stage [...]. Nobody has a salary there, they do it only because they want to...they just experiment [...]. (Petra, artist)*

*It can be like that [that one wants to work at the institutions], but then you also have the free market where all the free choreographers are active, it can be that one is more interested in [working with] that. (Elin, artist)*

In summary, the first axis shows an opposition between two kinds of freelancers, with one being more established in the arts than the other. The axis also shows an opposition between large scale and limited production, where artists working in private TV and radio productions are opposite artists working in art institutions and with independent groups. Furthermore, the axis shows an opposition between the public and private sectors.

## Incorporated Firms and Independent Art Groups

Recall that volume of inherited and educational capital is specific for the second axis. In this section, I will discuss the employment structure

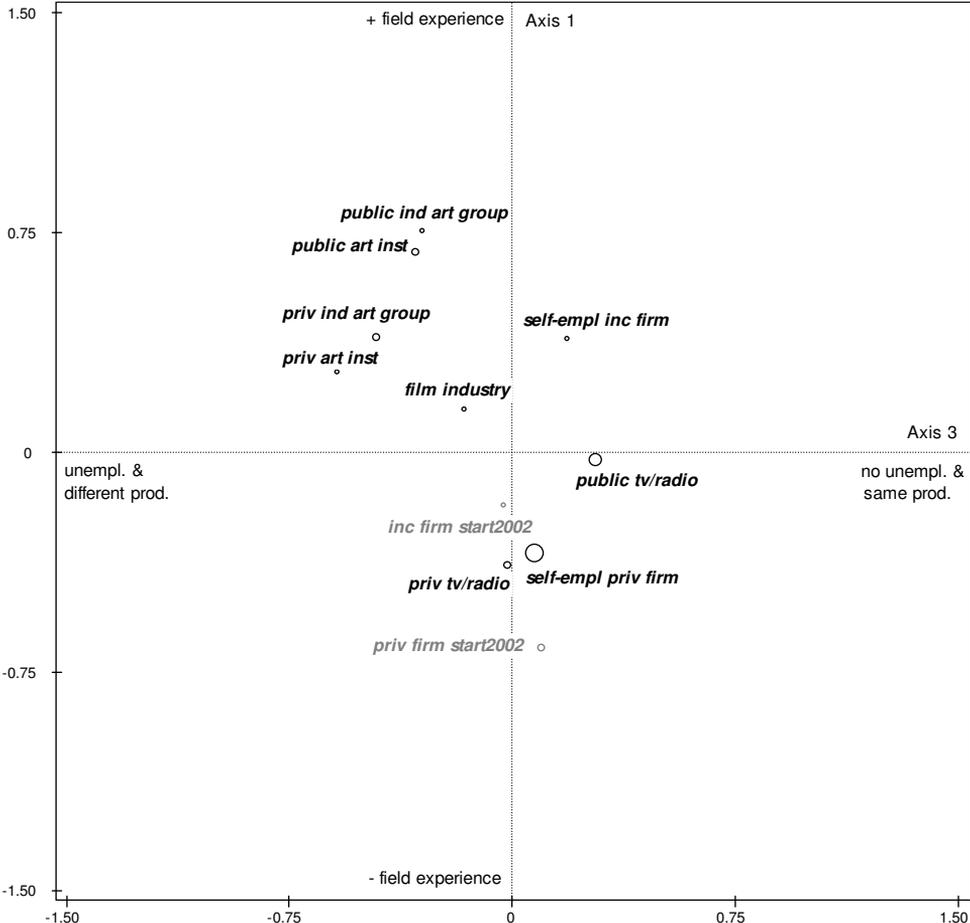
along this axis, using the results shown in graph 11. When it comes to employment, the second axis places self-employed artists who are running incorporated firms (s.d. 0.4) opposite to artists working in independent art groups and in art institutions. The most opposite placed employment group from the self-employed artists is artists working with public independent art groups (s.d. 0.3). The standard deviation between the two employment groups is 0.7, which means that artists working with public independent art groups tend to have a higher volume of inherited and educational capital than artists running incorporated firms. Consequently, artists with a lower volume of inherited and educational capital more commonly run incorporated firms. Other employment groups are placed rather close to the center of the second axis. Hence, the inherited and educational capital is not that important in distinguishing between these employment groups.

## Private Art Institutions and Public Television

As we saw in the previous chapter, the third axis separates groups of artists who have different kinds of work histories, or professional capital. A group of artists who work in different art productions and typically face periods of unemployment is opposite a group of artists who only work in one line of production and who have not been unemployed during the last few years. Artists belonging to this latter group are generally older and have a higher volume of economic capital, while the former are younger and have a lower volume of economic capital. The following graph 13 shows that the third axis mainly divides wage-employed artists into different groups. The self-employed are located rather close to the center of the third axis.

Closest to the capital pole of the typical freelancer (left in graph) we find artists working in private art establishments and with independent groups (s.d. 0.6 and 0.5 respectively). The public institutions and independent groups are also placed closer to this pole (s.d. 0.3). On the opposite side of the space we find artists who work in public television and radio (s.d. 0.3). Given that the modality showing public TV and

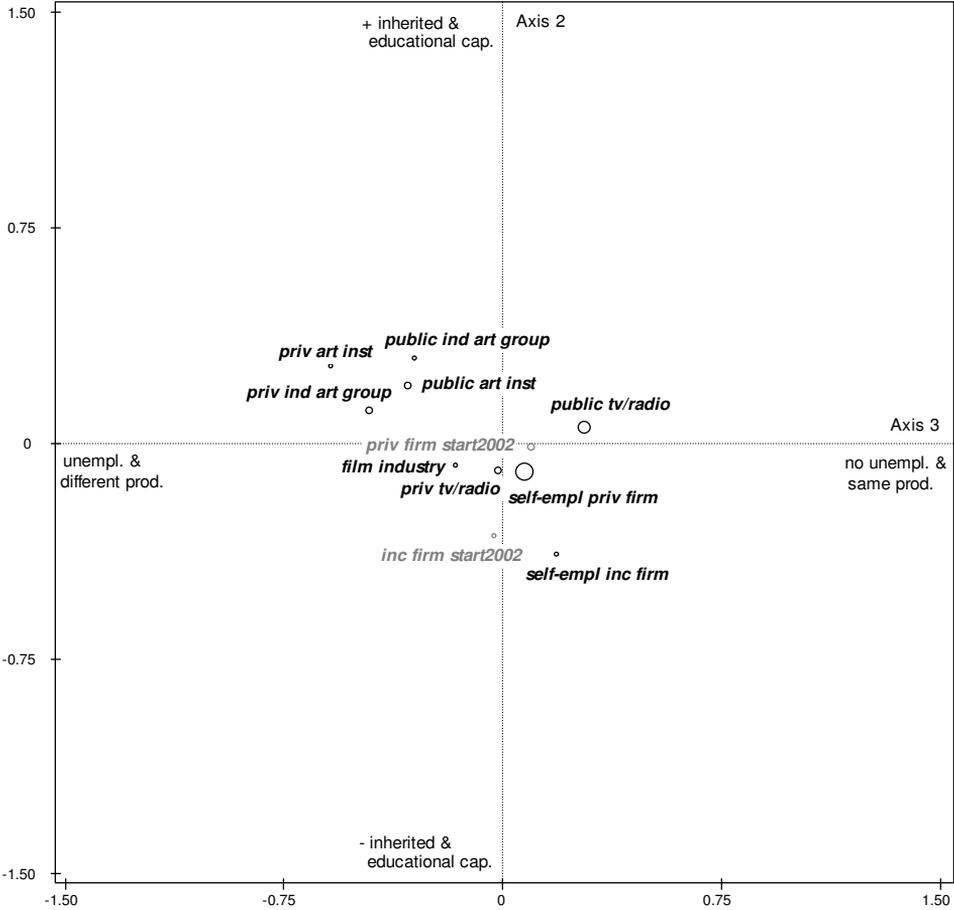
radio is placed rather close to the center of the second axis, artists who hold a typical freelancer profile could work in public TV and radio productions, but they less commonly do so. However, artists who work in art institutions and with independent groups do not generally work with public TV productions and vice versa. The distance between the two groups of artists holding one or the other kind of work is important. For example, the standard deviation between private art institutions and public TV is 0.9. Furthermore, incorporated firm holders are placed closer to the group of artists that have more stable employment conditions, even though the standard deviation is only 0.2.



**Graph 13:** Plane 1 and 3. Interpretation of employment as supplementary variable.

The third axis in combination with the first creates four different groups of artists as discussed in previous chapter. The graph above shows that in the plane of these axes, the artists with higher volumes of artistic capital work in art institutions and with independent art (upper left corner). The artists who generally do not face unemployment, freelance with incorporated firms (upper right corner). Artists who have less artistic capital (lower right corner), and artists who frequently face unemployment (lower left corner), generally work in private TV and radio productions, or freelance with a private firm. It might be that private TV and radio production is somewhat of a door opener for individuals looking to do a career in the arts. In public TV and radio we find both an older and a younger generation, but private TV and radio foremost employ a younger generation.

In the previous chapter, we saw that the third axis in combination with the second creates five groups of artists. This plane mainly distinguishes artists working in art institutions and with independent art (upper left corner) from the rest of the artists. In other words, artists with a higher volume of inherited and acquired cultural capital, as well as artistic capital, are typically the ones who work in art institutions and with independent art groups.



**Graph 14:** Plane 2 and 3. Interpretation of employment as supplementary variable.

Incorporated firm holders are placed closer to the lower part of the space. This means that freelancers with incorporated firms tend to have a lower volume of cultural capital.

### Concentration Ellipses

Artists sharing a certain employment can be referred to as a ‘subcloud’ of artists in the overall cloud, as discussed in chapter 4. In the following section, I will draw ellipses around the most opposite placed artists sharing a certain employment profile along the first, second, and third

axes. I will also draw ellipses around private and incorporated firm holders in order to study them, as well as their relation to each other. These types of employment are studied more in depth in this chapter. Ellipses include 86 percent of the subcloud and help us to understand what principal oppositions exist among artists holding a certain employment. These ellipses also help us to understand how dispersed or concentrated a subcloud is. In other words, if an employment includes artists with profiles other than what is most common for that employment or not. In addition, ellipses reveal to what extent different subclouds overlap. In the overlapping area we find individuals whose capital compositions allow them to pursue either one of the kinds of employment.

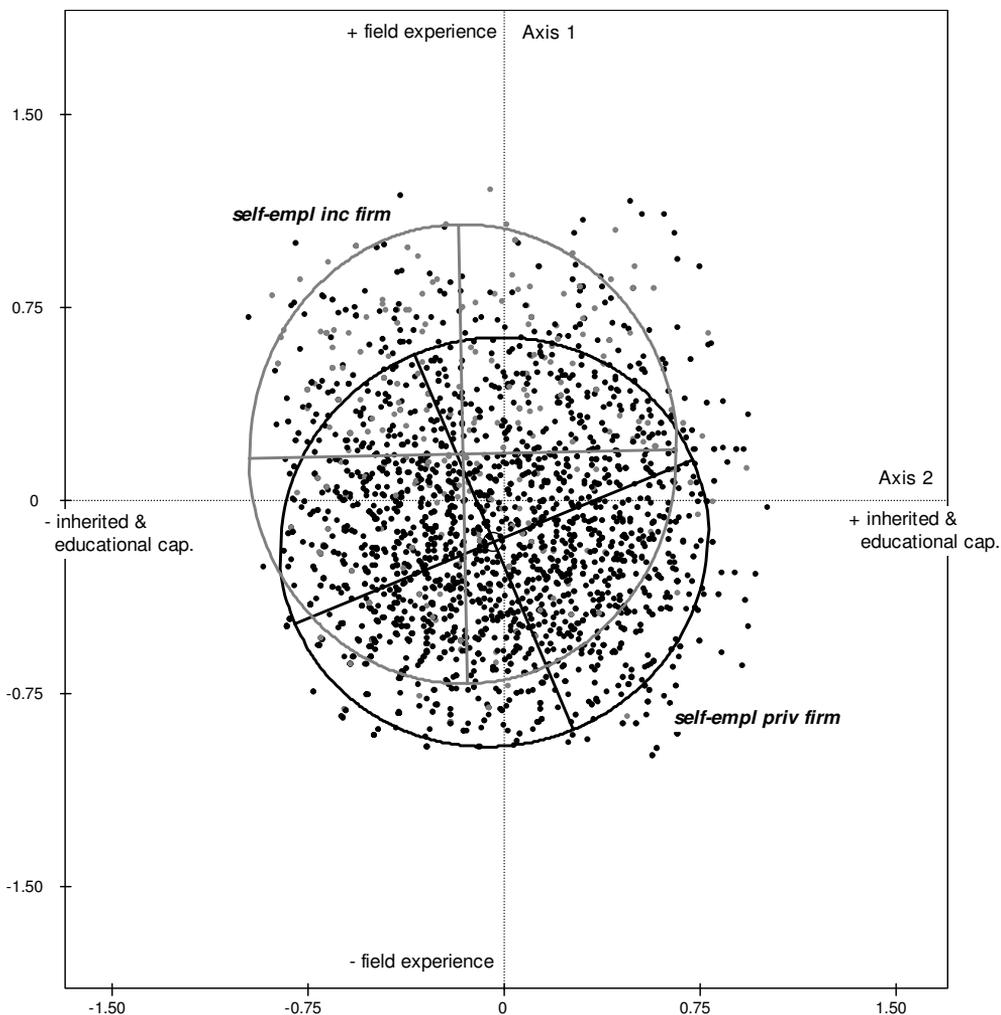
Within the ellipse, we see its principal axes. The direction of the principal axes tells us what principal oppositions exist within the subcloud. In the case where a cloud is more dispersed towards a certain direction, it means there is a major opposition between individuals (within the subcloud) in this direction, i.e. an opposition that is more important than the other opposition we can see in a given plane. In these cases, I will refer to the main opposition in terms of the ellipse's major principal axis, and sometimes to the major principal axis of the ellipse in terms of being 'close to' a certain axis of the space.

## Subclouds of Incorporated and Private Firm Holders

The following graph shows the concentration ellipses for private firm holders and incorporated firm holders. We can see that the ellipse for incorporated firm holders is placed in the upper part of the space, and the ellipse for private firm holders in the lower part of the space. This tells us what we already know, i.e. that incorporated firm holders tend to have more field experience than private firm holders. We can also see that the ellipse of incorporated firm holders is placed closer to the left of the space, which means that incorporated firm holders tend to have a lower volume of inherited and educational capital. The ellipse of private firm holders is closer to the center of the second axis. Thus, both artists

with higher volumes of inherited and educational capital, and artists with lower volumes start private firms.

The ellipses overlap to an extent. Hence, many of those starting up private firms have a profile that would allow them to start up an incorporated firm and vice versa. However, there is a range of artists placed in the non-overlapping areas. These artists do not have a profile that would allow them to perceive the possibility to start up the other kind of firm.



**Graph 15:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of private and incorporated firm holders.

None of the ellipses have a major principal axis, the ellipse of the self-employed with incorporated firm is just slightly more dispersed along the first axis. In other words, field experience appears to be just as important as inherited and educational capital to distinguish between artists holding these types of employment. The direction of the principal axes of private firm holders is diagonal in two directions. First, it is

diagonal from the upper left corner to the lower right corner, which means that artists starting up private firms have less inherited and educational capital, and more field experience, or more inherited and educational capital, and less field experience. Second, it is diagonal from the upper right corner to the lower left corner. Hence, artists starting up private firms have either less inherited and educational capital, as well as less field experience, or more inherited and educational capital, as well as more field experience. The principal axes of the ellipse showing self-employed artists with incorporated firms do not take diagonal directions.

### Profile of Private Firm Holders

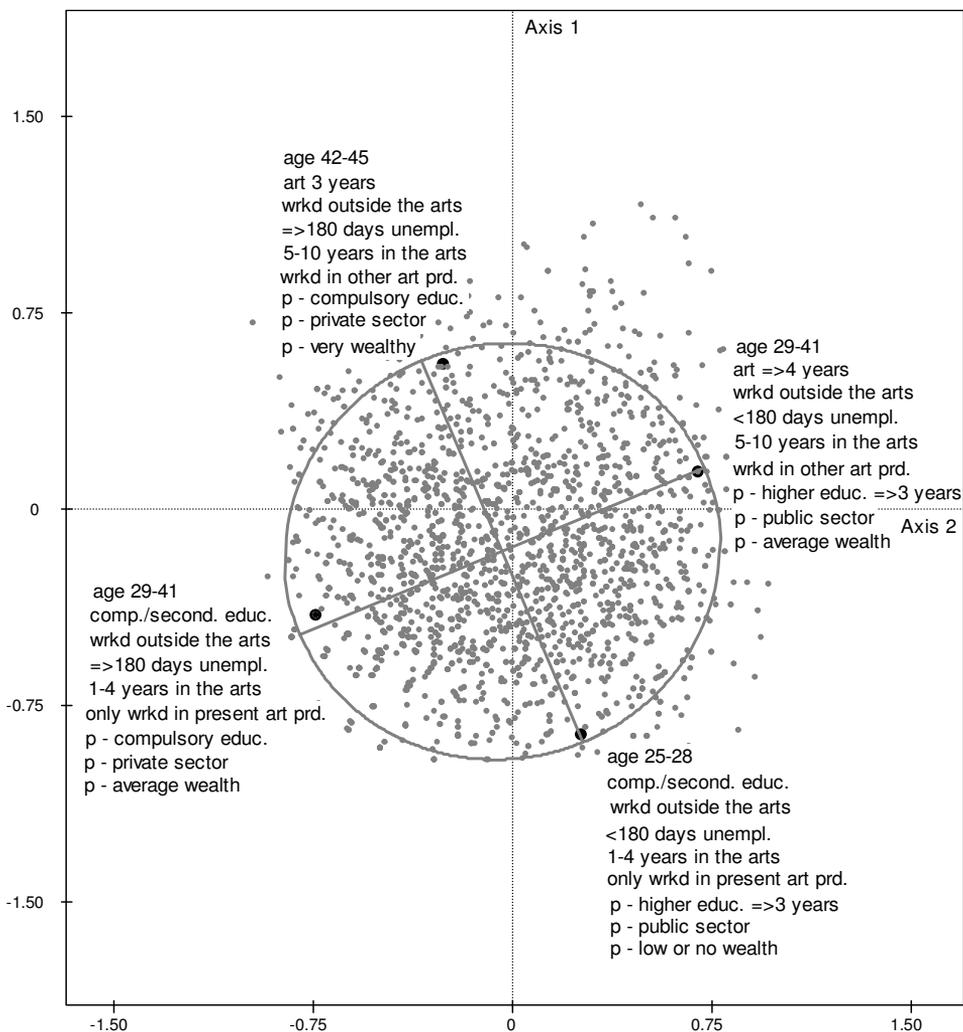
In the following, I will briefly discuss the profile of private firm holders, and in the next section, I will discuss the profile of incorporated firm holders, before analyzing the ellipses of the other employment groups. The discussion in this, and the following, section is meant to give a better understanding of the profile of artists starting private and incorporated firms. Freelancing artists with private firms generally have less field experience than the average artists. For instance, we have seen that freelance artists with private firms generally have worked in the artistic field for a shorter time, that they work in employments outside the artistic field, and that they frequently face unemployment. To mention some figures,<sup>50</sup> among the private firm holders, 88.5 percent have experience of working in other industries outside the arts, probably in a secondary employment that they hold between art projects. Among artists in general, 73.3 percent have this kind of experience. Furthermore, 40.8 percent of private firm holders have been unemployed 180 days or more within one year sometime during the past few years. In general, 33.6 percent of artists have experienced that many days in unemployment. Also, the group of private firm holders includes 53.2 percent of artists who have not worked in the arts for more than four

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<sup>50</sup> The following figures are based on the entire population of artists, i.e. including also those who are placed as supplementary in the Specific MCA.

years. In the field in general, 34.0 percent have not worked in the arts for more than this period of time.

However, even though private firm holders have a similar profile, among them, artists have somewhat different capital compositions. The following graph shows the ellipse for private firm holders. In each pole of the principal axis of the ellipse, one artist has been highlighted (represented as one point bigger than the others). These highlighted artists represent the most extreme profiles of them who run private firms, along the ellipse's principal axes. A description of each profile is written in the graph. This graph helps us to understand the borders of the subcloud of private firm holders. In other words, it helps us to understand the diversity of individuals that would consider the possibility of freelancing with a private firm.



**Graph 16:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of private firm holders. Inherited capital is marked with a 'p' as in parents.

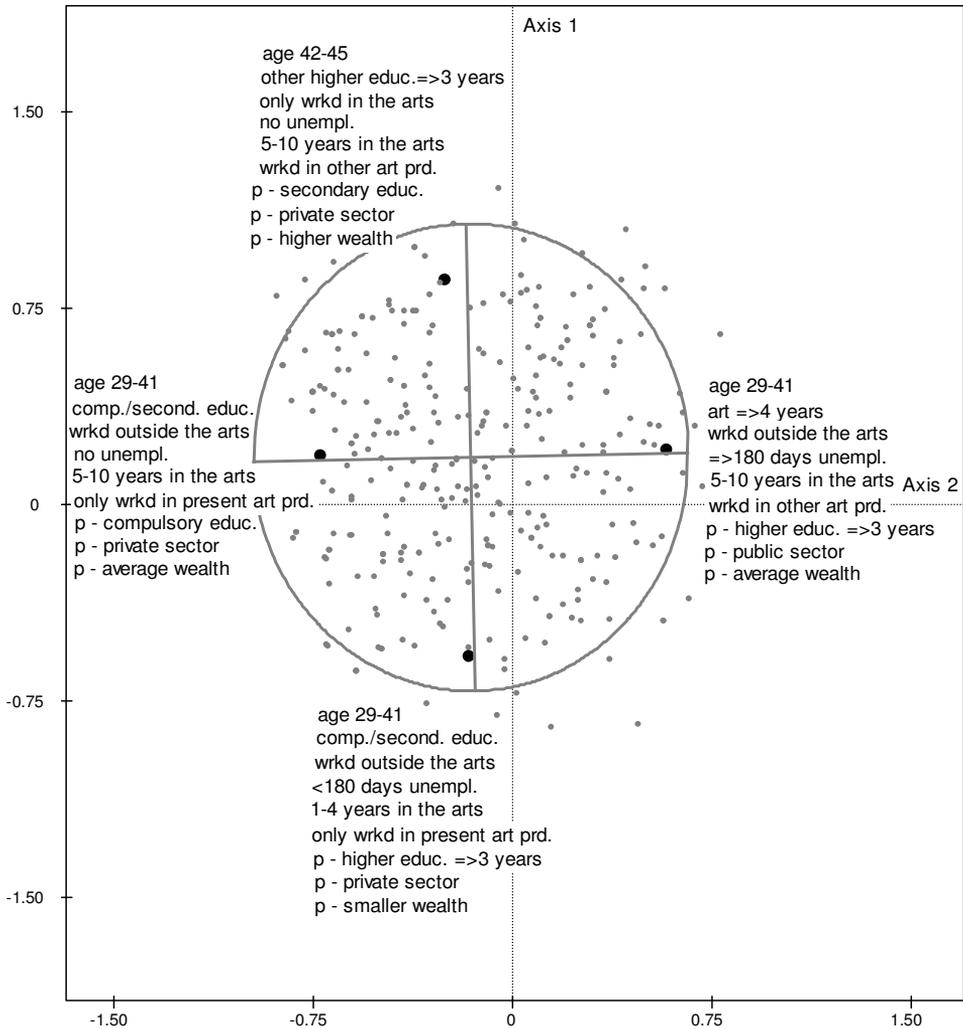
We can see that the ellipse includes artists with rather different profiles. In the upper left part of the ellipse we find private firm holders who have more field experience, but a lower volume of inherited and educational capital. In the upper right corner are private firm holders who have more field experience, as well as a higher volume of inherited and educational capital. In the lower left corner we find private firm

holders who have a lower volume of inherited and educational capital, as well as less field experience. Finally, in the lower right corner are private firm holders who have a higher volume of inherited and educational capital, but less field experience. The profile in the lower right part of the space, which composition is characterized by a combination of lower volume of inherited capital, acquired educational capital, and field experience can be defined as distinct for artists who freelance with private firms, compared to artists who freelance with incorporated firms, since this profile is clearly separated from the cloud of incorporated firm holders, as we saw in graph 15.

### Profile of Incorporated Firm Holders

Artists who freelance with incorporated firms have more field experience than the average population of artist, and to some extent also a lower volume of inherited and educational capital. In the previous chapter, we could for instance see that incorporated firm holders face unemployment less frequently, and that they generally are older. We could also see that they belong to the group of artists along the second axis that has less acquired educational capital. Among these artists 49.1 percent have never been unemployed, compared to 28.8 percent in the general population. Furthermore, only 5.6 percent of them are under the age of 29. Among artists in general, 15.2 percent are under the age of 25. Also, only 12.9 percent of the incorporated firm holders have a three year or longer higher arts degree. In the field in general, 26.4 percent of artists hold this kind of higher education.

Similar to private firm holders, the group of incorporated firm holders includes artists with somewhat diverse profiles. The cloud of incorporated firm holders is presented in the following graph. The most extreme profiles of incorporated firm holders, along the first and second principal axes of the ellipse, are highlighted.



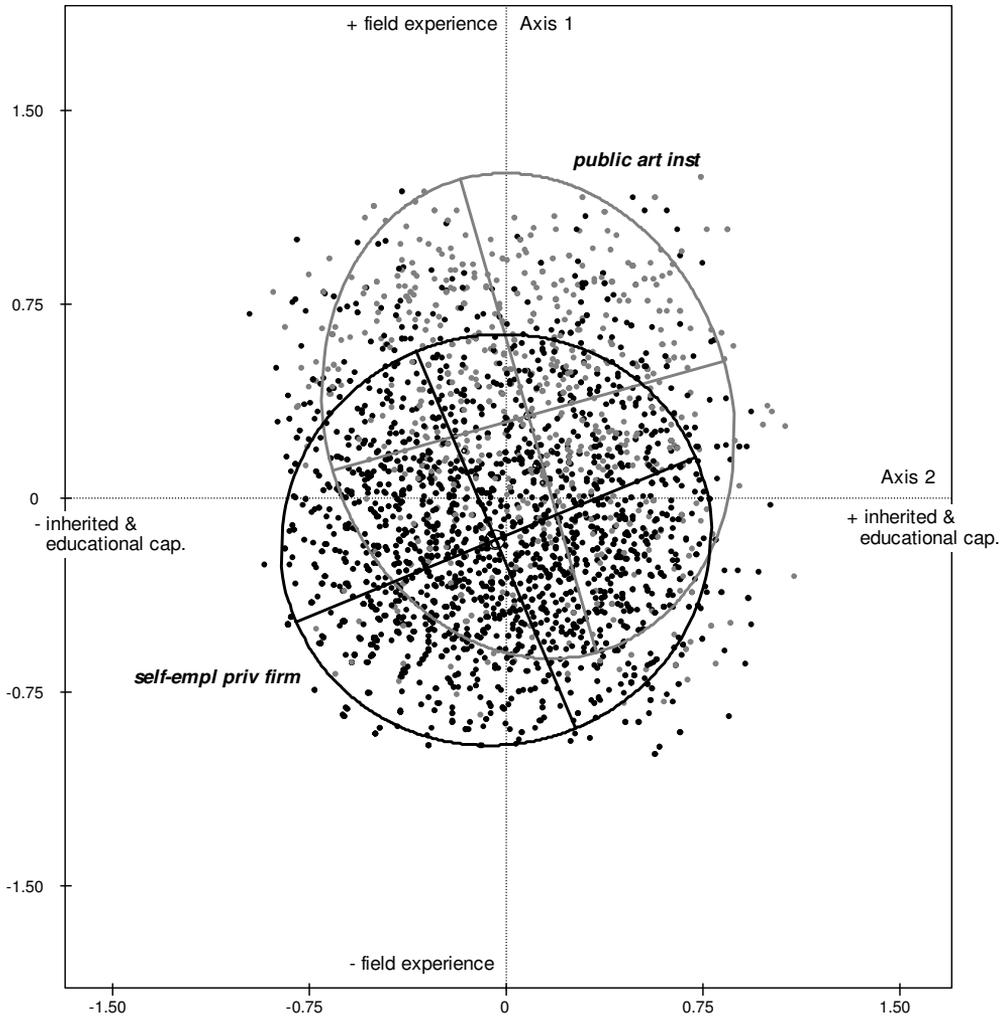
**Graph 17:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of incorporated firm holders. Inherited capital is marked with a 'p' as in parents.

In the upper part of the ellipse we find incorporated firm holders who have more field experience and in the lower part, those who have less field experience. To the left are incorporated firm holders who have a lower volume of inherited and educational capital and to the right those who have a higher volume. The profile in the upper part, and the one to the left of the ellipse, can be said to be more distinct for those who freelance with incorporated firms, compared to private firm holders,

given that these profiles are clearly separated from the cloud of private firm holders, as was shown in graph 15. Typical characteristics of these profiles are higher field experience (for those in the upper part of the space), and a lower volume of inherited and educational capital (for those to the left of the space). I will now move on to a discussion on the ellipses for the most opposite placed employment groups along the different axes.

### Private Firm Holders and Employees in Public Art Institutions

Since the most opposite placed employment groups along the first axis are freelance artists with private firms and artist employed by the public art institutions, we will look at the subclouds of artists holding these kinds of employment in the following. Since the private firm holders have already been discussed above, the discussion will focus on the employees in public art institutions and the relation between the two subclouds. The following graph shows the ellipses for the two employment groups.



**Graph 18:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of individuals with most distinct employment profiles along the first axis.

We can see that the ellipse of artists working in public art institutions is situated closer to the upper part of the space, which shows that these artists generally have more field experience. We also see that the major principal axis of the ellipse is closer to axis 1, and that the direction of this principal axis runs from the lower right corner to the upper left corner, creating a diagonal line in the space. The dispersion of the subcloud of artists working in public art institutions along the first axis

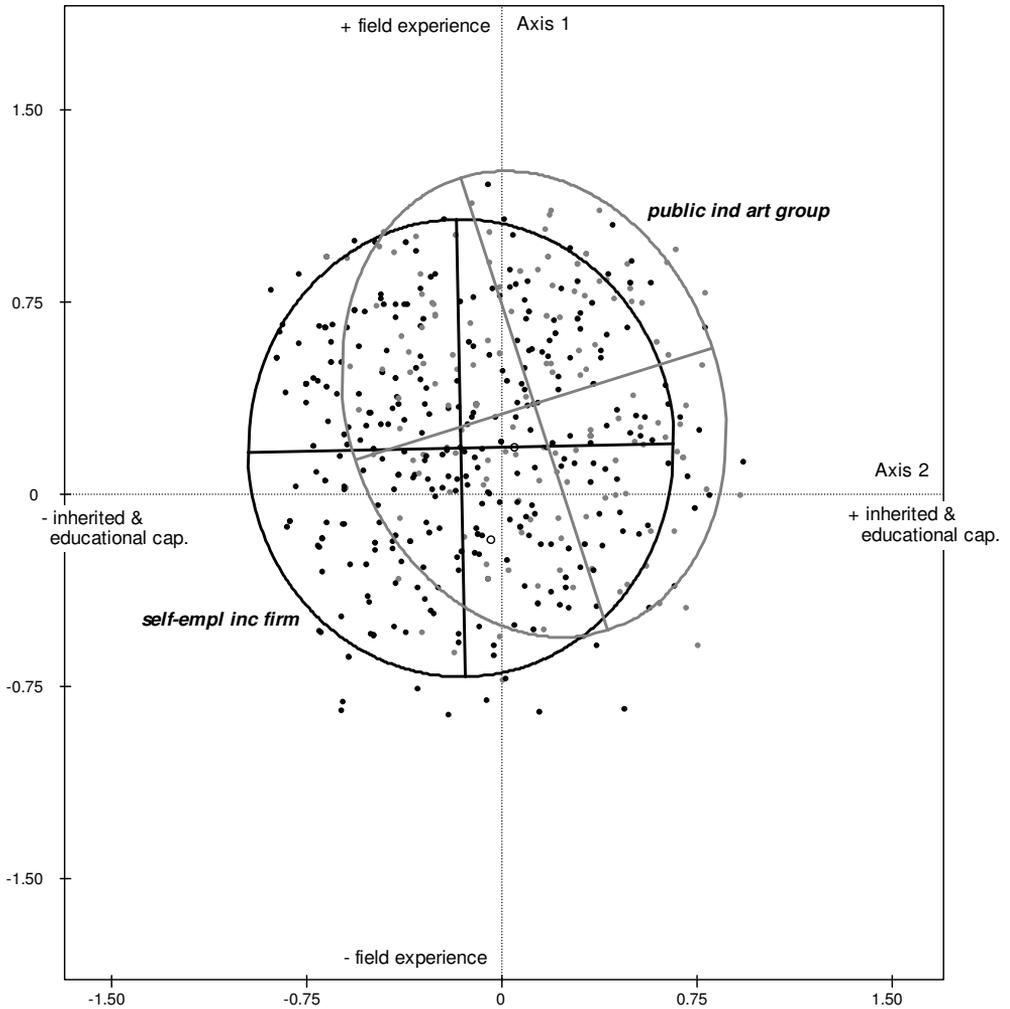
means that, although these institutions include a majority of artists that have longer field experience, there is a large range in volume of field experience for those who work in these institutions. The diagonal direction of the major principal axis of the ellipse means that the artists with less field experience who work in these institutions have somewhat higher volume of inherited and educational capital than the artists with more field experience.

The diagonal line created by the ellipse in plane 1 and 2, could be a reflection of social changes taking place within the field in past years. The same pattern reveals itself among private firm holders. It may be that certain capital, such as education in the arts, has become more important to the field. Thus, the younger generation entering the field more commonly has a higher education.

The ellipses overlap towards the center of the space where we find individuals with an average volume of field experience. In the overlapping field we find artists whose capital composition allows them to either freelance with a private firm, or work in the public art institutions.

### Incorporated Firms and Employees in Public Independent Art

The following graph shows concentration ellipses for artists working in public independent art groups and artists holding incorporated firms. These are the most opposite placed employment groups along the second axis. The ellipse of artists working with public independent art is closer to the upper right corner of the space. Hence, artists working with these groups tend to have a combination of longer field experience and higher volumes of inherited and educational capital, as has already been discussed.



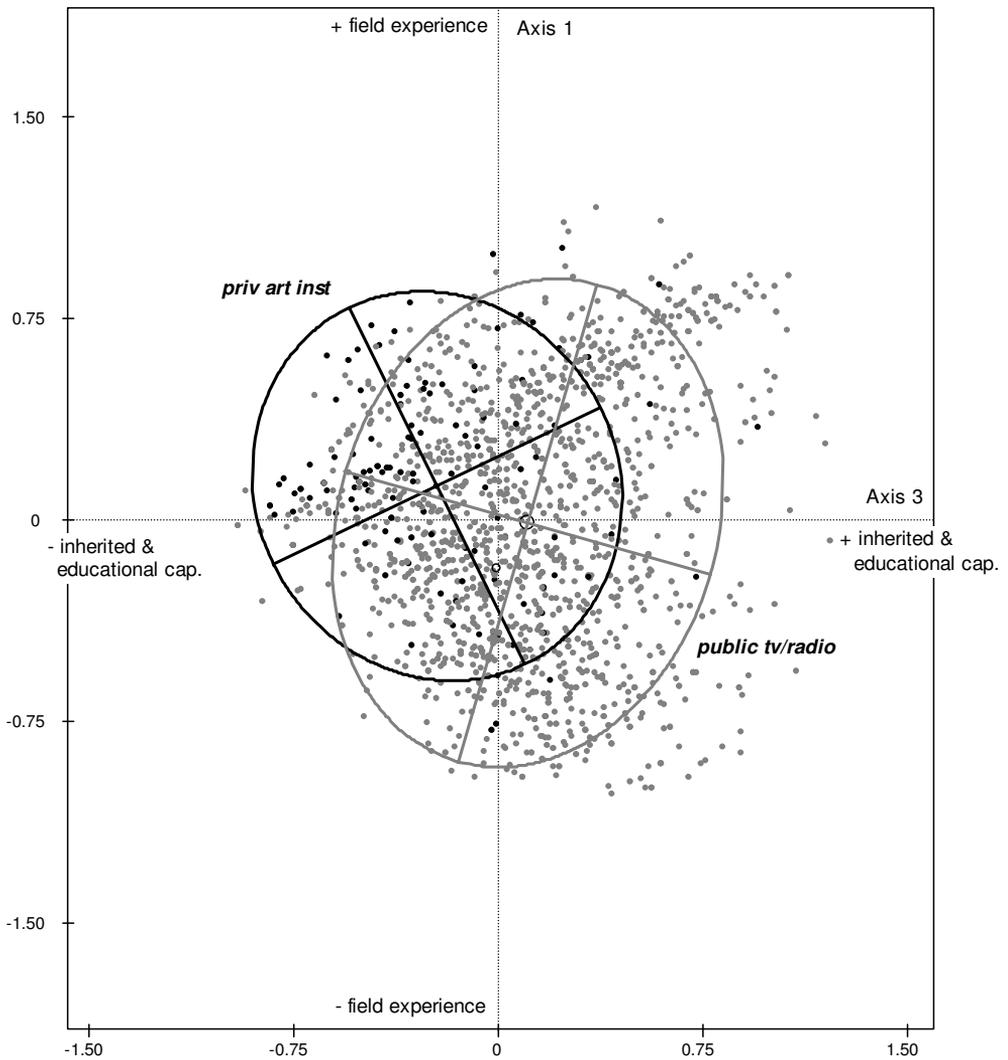
**Graph 19:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of individuals with most distinct employment profiles along the second axis.

The major principal axis of the ellipse showing employment in public independent art groups is closer to the first axis. This means that there is a main opposition between artists holding more field experience, and artists holding less within this employment group. This result is similar to the result for employees in public art institutions, i.e. the difference in field experience between artists is rather large in both types of employment. We can see that the ellipse takes a diagonal direction from

the lower right corner to the upper left corner. Thus, there is an opposition between artists who have less field experience, but more inherited and educational capital, and artists who have less inherited and educational capital, but more field experience. Similar to public art institutions, an increased importance of the educational capital in the field could possibly create this kind of effect.

## Employees in Private Art Institutions and Public TV

The following graph shows ellipses for the most distinct employment groups along the third axis. Artists working in public television and radio production are placed to the right, and artist working in private art institutions are placed to the left of the space. The ellipse of the artists working in private art institutions is located closer to the upper left corner. This means that artists working in private art institutions belong to the group of artists that work in different lines of art production, rather than to the group that frequently faces unemployment. The ellipses overlap towards the center of the third axis, where we find artists with a combination of the different capital that are specific for each capital pole. We can see that the ellipse of artists working in public TV and radio is more dispersed, including a larger span of artists along the first axis than the ellipse for employees in private art institutions.



**Graph 20:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 3. Subclouds of individuals with most distinct employment profiles along the third axis.

The major principal axis of the ellipse showing employees in public TV and radio takes a slightly diagonal direction, from the lower left corner to the upper right corner, which means that artists working on public TV and radio productions tend to have either a combination of less field experience and more unstable work conditions, or more field experience and more stable work conditions.

The principal axes of the ellipse for artists working in private art institutions also take diagonal directions, from the lower right corner in the space to the upper left corner, and from the lower left corner to the upper right corner. Hence, private art institutions tend to include artists who have either a combination of more stable work conditions and less field experience, or a combination of more field experience and less stable work conditions. They also tend to include artists who have either a combination of less field experience and less stable work conditions, or more field experience and more stable work conditions.

## Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the employment structure in the arts. We have seen that field experience, which is specific for the first axis, is most important in distinguishing between employment groups. Artists with more field experience commonly work in art institutions and with independent art groups, while artists with less field experience freelance with private firms. Some of the senior artists also freelance, but they start up incorporated firms rather than private ones. In addition, artists with more field experience more commonly work on limited productions. While artists who lack field experience generally work on large-scale productions, indicated by private television and radio productions. This distinction corresponds to an opposition between the public and private sectors.

Volume of inherited and educational capital is specific for the second axis, which places artists with a higher volume of inherited and educational capital opposite to artists with a lower volume. In the second dimension, we find an opposition between freelance artists holding incorporated firms, and artists working in art institutions and with independent art groups. Artists who have more inherited and educational capital work in the art institutions and with independent art, while artists who have less inherited and educational capital freelance with incorporated firms.

In plane 1 and 2, we saw that artists working in art institutions and with independent groups are separated from both freelancers with private firms and freelancers with incorporated firms. The incorporated firm holders have more field experience, and are in this sense established artists, but they belong to a fraction of the field that has a lower volume of inherited and educational capital. The private firm holders have less field experience. They are, like many artists, struggling to make living in the field, and freelancing allows them to work as artists. In contrast to artists who freelance with an incorporated firm, these artists are not established enough to pick and choose between projects. Among these freelancers, we find both artists who have a higher, as well as a lower, volume of inherited and educational capital.

Along the third axes, wage-employed artists holding different kinds of professional capital are distinguished from each other. Artists who more commonly face unemployment spells and work in different lines of art production are separated from artists who have more stable work conditions. The latter have not faced unemployment during the past few years, and generally work in one line of production. The typical freelancer tends to work in art institutions and with independent groups, while the artist with more stable work conditions works in public TV and radio productions, or runs an incorporated firm. In the plane of the first and second axes, we could see that artists working with independent art and in art institutions belong to the fraction of typical freelancers who work in different kinds of productions, rather than to the fraction that frequently faces unemployment. Thus they belong to the group that has a higher volume of artistic capital. Incorporated firm holders belong to a fraction of the field that has a higher volume of economic capital. In the plane of axes 2 and 3, the results showed that artists working with independent art and in art institutions have a higher volume of artistic and cultural capital. In contrast, the incorporated firm holders have a lower volume of cultural capital.

In the following chapters, I will discuss the field of management consulting in a similar manner as I have done with the artistic field. In

the first chapter, I present the most important social dimensions of the field, and in the second chapter, I discuss the employment structure. We will see that social origin is more important than field experience in distinguishing between employment groups in the field of management consulting. In addition, although the employment structure in the field of management consulting is different from that of the artistic field, private and incorporated firm owners hold a similar social position.



## Chapter 9

# Social Structures in Management Consulting

In this chapter, I will discuss the social structures in management consulting. The chapter is structured in a similar way to chapter 7, where I discussed the artistic field. Hence, results from the Specific MCA are presented combined with quotations from interviews.<sup>51</sup>

## Active Variables and Modalities

Active variables and modalities included in the analysis for management consultants are presented in table 4.<sup>52</sup> Variables showing professional capital (work experience in other fields of consulting than management consulting,<sup>53</sup> time in management consulting, age, and work experience in industries outside the field of consulting<sup>54</sup>), acquired educational capital (field and level of education<sup>55</sup>), inherited cultural capital (parents' level of education and sector of employment), and inherited economic

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<sup>51</sup> Tables showing the contribution of active modalities are placed in appendix 6.

<sup>52</sup> Among management consultants, 8 884 individuals are placed as active in the analysis, and 922 individuals (9.4 percent) are placed as supplementary.

<sup>53</sup> Work experience in other fields of consulting refers to experience of working in: Other Business Activities (SIC 74) and Computer and Related Activities (SIC 72). These standard industrial codes include such consulting activities as IT consulting, legal consulting, tax consulting, and technical consulting.

<sup>54</sup> Experience in other industries than consulting refers to experience outside SIC 72 and 74.

<sup>55</sup> Among management consultants, it is most common to have education within the field of business administration, which has been coded jointly with economics, although fewer have a degree in economics. It is also common to have a degree in engineering, which has been coded jointly with natural science, although fewer have a degree in natural science. Not many individuals have a two year or shorter higher education. Everyone with this level of education has therefore been coded into one category. Management consultants with three years of higher education or more in another field of education than business administration, economics, engineering, and natural science have been coded as 'other higher education  $\geq 3$  years'.

capital (parents' wealth) have been included in the following analysis. The active questions are summarized into two different headings.<sup>56</sup> The species of capital and headings are the same for management consultants as for artists, although the variables and modalities are not all the same, since management consultants have other education and work experience than artists.

**Table 4:** Active variables and modalities in the Specific MCA (missing values are passive).

Inherited capital	n	%	Acquired capital	n	%
<b>Wealth</b>			<b>Unemployment</b>		
Very wealthy	1 332	15.0	No unemployment	3 861	43.5
Higher wealth	1 778	20.0	<180 days in unemployment	3 487	39.3
Average wealth	2 665	30.0	≥180 days in unemployment	1 536	17.3
Smaller wealth	1 777	20.0			
Low or no wealth	1 332	15.0	<b>Age</b>		
			25-30 years	2 315	26.1
<b>Education</b>			31-39 years	4 222	47.5
Compulsory education	1 024	11.5	40-45 years	2 347	26.4
Secondary education	2 992	33.7			
Higher education ≤2 years	1 449	16.3	<b>Worked in other fields of consulting</b>		
Higher education ≥3 years	2 961	33.3	Worked in other consulting	4 532	51.0
Graduate studies	424	4.8	Only worked in management consulting	4 352	49.0
Missing information	34	0.4			
<b>Sector of employment</b>			<b>Time in consulting</b>		
Public sector	3 492	39.3	1-5 years in consulting	5 489	61.8
Private sector	4 687	52.8	6-10 years in consulting	3 395	38.2
Missing information	705	7.9			
			<b>Worked outside consulting</b>		
			Only worked in consulting	1 164	13.1
			Worked outside consulting	7 720	86.9
			<b>Education</b>		
			Compulsory/secondary	1 821	20.5
			Higher education ≤2 years	1 993	22.4
			Other higher educ. ≥3 years	1 058	11.9
			Business/Economics 3 years	1 504	16.9
			Business/Economics ≥4 years	842	9.5
			Nat sc/Technology 3 years	501	5.6
			Nat sc/Technology ≥4 years	1 165	13.1

Three important dimensions result from the Specific MCA. These axes' contribution to the total variance is presented next.

<sup>56</sup> The relative contribution of inherited capital is 40.9 percent, and of acquired capital, 59.1 percent.

## Three Dimensions

The contribution of the three first axes to the total variance is 83.4 percent. The first axis explains 46.8 percent of the total variance, the second 26.8 percent, and the third 9.8 percent. Table 5 shows eigenvalues, modified rates, and cumulated modified rates for these axes. Variables contributing over average contribution (11.1 percent), modalities contributing over average contribution (3.2 percent), and modalities contributing close to average contribution ( $\geq 2.1$  percent), are included in the following interpretation of the axes.

**Table 5:** Eigenvalues, modified rates and cumulated modified rates

	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Eigenvalues	0.209	0.181	0.147
Modified rates	46.8	26.8	9.8
Cumulated modified rates	46.8	73.6	83.4

The result is similar to that of artists in the sense that field experience is specific for the first axis, inherited capital and acquired educational capital is specific for the second, and professional capital is specific for the third. The first axis places consultants with more field experience opposite a group of consultants with less experience. Field experience is closely related to educational capital in this field, with a younger generation having higher volumes of acquired educational capital. The second axis places management consultants with a higher volume of inherited capital and acquired educational capital opposite consultants with a lower volume.<sup>57</sup> Lastly, the third axis distinguishes between management consultants who have different kinds of work histories.

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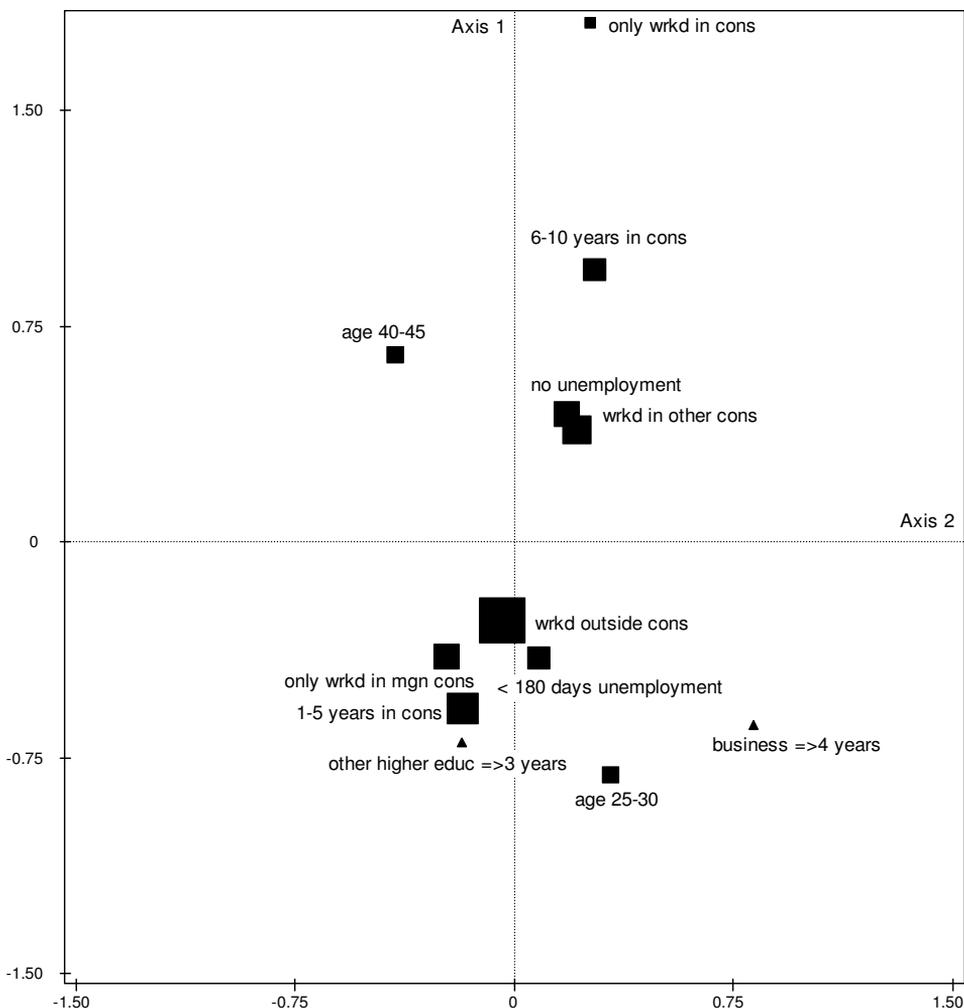
<sup>57</sup> These forms of capital are marked by 'economic and cultural capital' in the poles of the graphs showing supplementary modalities and the cloud of individuals, in this and the following chapter.

## Field Experience

Along the first axis, management consultants who have more field experience are opposite to consultants who have less. Consultants with more field experience are generally older, they have been working in the field of management consulting for a longer time, and they have not faced any periods of unemployment during the past few years. Furthermore, these consultants generally have experience working in other fields of consultancy, such as IT consulting, legal consulting, and tax consulting. However, they have no experience working outside the general field of consulting. In summary, these consultants have considerable experience in the field of consulting in general, and in the field of management consulting in particular.

The consultants with less field experience are younger, have less experience working in the field, and have only worked within the field of management consulting, and thus not in other fields of consulting. However, they have worked in industries outside the field of consulting. This group of consultants have also experienced periods of unemployment. The educational capital is related to field experience, with the younger generation holding four years of higher education or more in business administration, or in some other field of education.

Graph 21 shows the first dimension of the field. Work experience in management consulting and experience working in industries outside the field of consulting, are the variables contributing most to the first axis. Consultants with more field experience are placed in the upper part of the space, and consultants with less field experience are placed in the lower part.



**Graph 21:** Axis 1. 12 modalities contribute over average to axis 1 and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap.

Given that the first axis explains a larger share of the total variance, field experience is an important capital in the field of management consulting. Field experience can generate symbolic capital. For instance, having more or less experience of consultancy brings with it different titles within the field. Management consultants refer to each other in terms of being junior and senior consultants. The title ‘senior consultant’ is a form of management consulting capital acquired by investing in the field.

*[...] The whole management consulting industry has been a rather partner-driven industry which has...where it has been possible to enter as junior [consultant] and then you become senior consultant and eventually you become a partner [...]. (Peter, consultant)*

*Well, it is almost always like that [the senior consultant meet with the clients], you have to be able to talk their language, understand the problems, the issues, then again it is always good with young [consultants], we hired young consultants, but if they arrived directly from school they became junior consultants with us. [...]. (Anna, consultant)*

Similar to artists, the consultants who have less field experience probably have so for different reasons. Either they have just graduated from school, or they have been working in other industries, or been unemployed, and therefore have less experience working in management consulting.

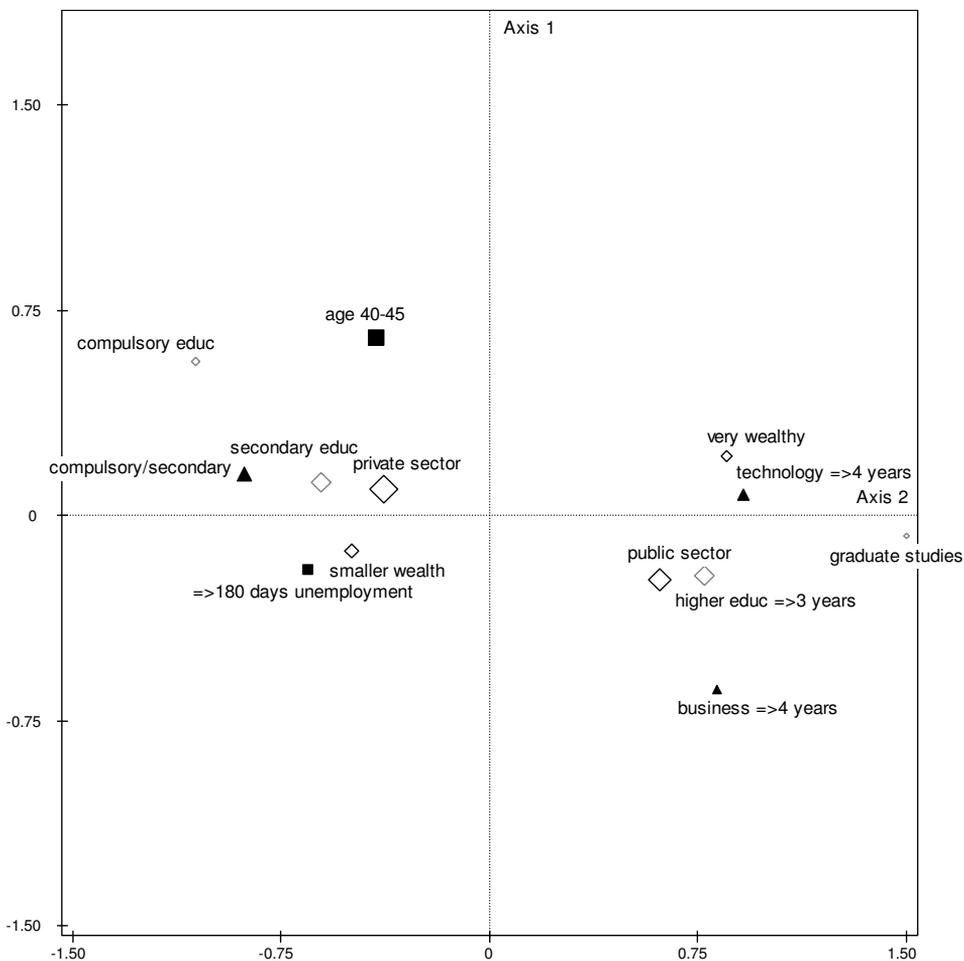
## Inherited Capital and Acquired Educational Capital

The second axis places a group of consultants with a higher volume of inherited capital and acquired educational capital in relation to a group of consultants with a lower volume. The management consultants who have more inherited resources and acquired educational capital have acquired a four year or longer higher degree in business administration, or engineering. Their parents are very wealthy and have at least three years of higher education, including graduate studies. Furthermore, their parents work in the public sector rather than in the private. Thus, this is a group with both economic and cultural capital resources.

The consultants placed opposite have not acquired any higher education, they have at most a secondary education. Like many others who lack longer degrees in higher education in Sweden, they come from lower social origins. Their parents have at most a secondary education, less wealth, and work in the private sector. In summary, this is a group that

has less economic and cultural capital resources, compared to the opposite placed management consultants. In addition, these consultants have experienced longer periods of unemployment and they are older.

The following graph shows the opposition that exists along the second axis. To the left of the space we find the consultants who have a lower volume of inherited and educational capital, and to the right we find consultants with a higher volume of this capital. The inherited educational capital and acquired educational capital contribute most to the second axis.



**Graph 22:** Axis 2. 13 modalities contribute over average to axis 2 and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

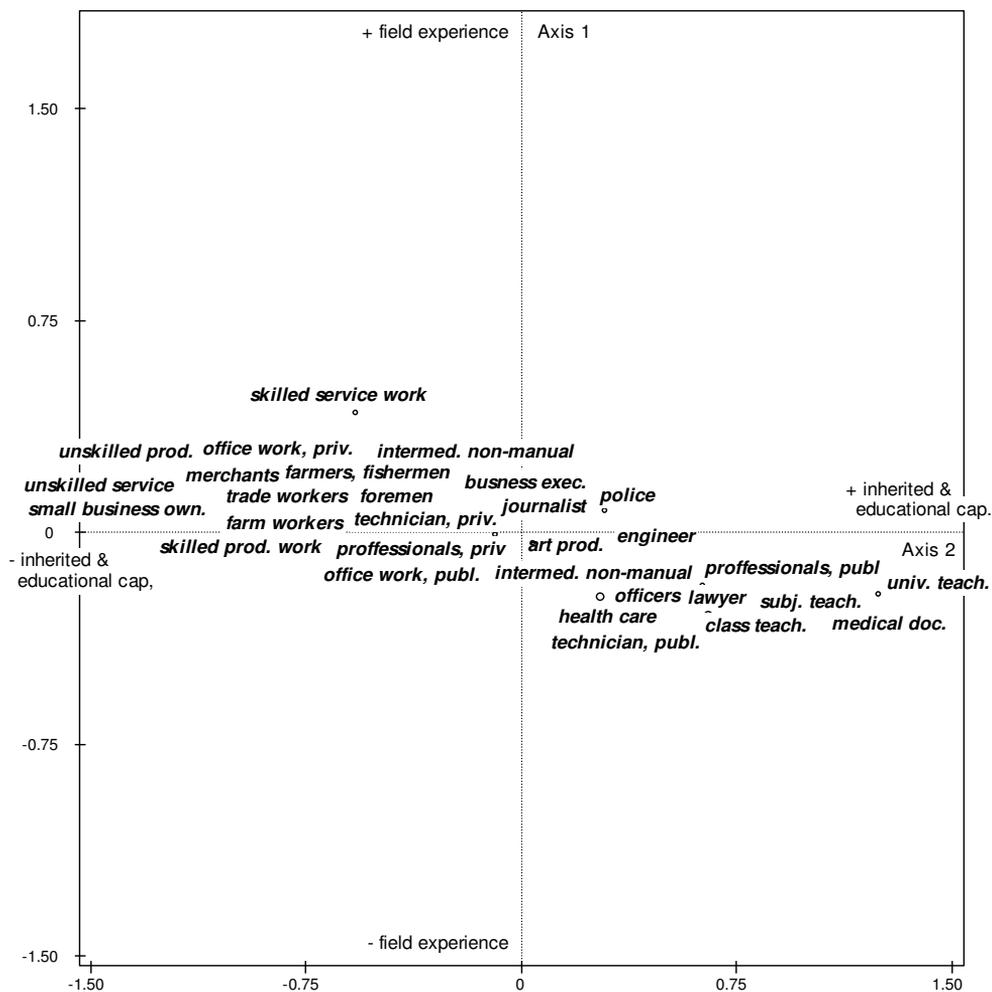
The contribution of the educational capital to the second axis shows that education is important in distinguishing between groups of consultants. The inherited educational capital and the acquired educational capital together contribute over 50 percent to the variance of this axis. A junior management consultant expresses the importance of higher education in pursuing a career as consultant in the following statement.

*Yes, I think it was kind of a precondition [that I had double university degrees], that is to say it is not outspoken, but it feels like there are certain stuff that they [the employer] really look at so to speak. It is clear, a double university degree is in their eyes a really big plus [...].*  
(Martin, mgn consultant)

The following graph shows the distribution of parents' occupation in the plane of axes 1 and 2.<sup>58</sup> Similar to the artistic field, professional groups such as lawyers, teachers, and doctors are concentrated to the right in the space, and to the left we find less skilled occupations, such as service and production work, merchandise, trade work, and so on.

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<sup>58</sup> The variable is introduced as a supplementary element in the Specific MCA.

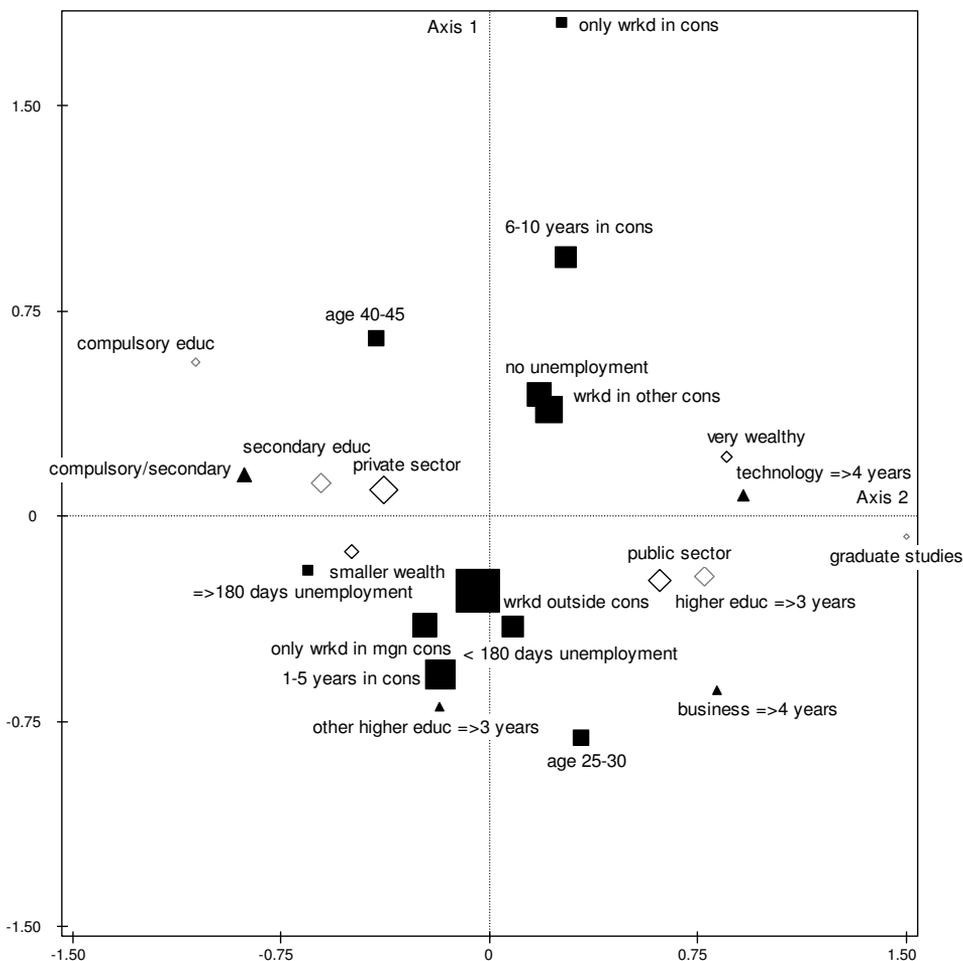


**Graph 23:** Plane 1 and 2. Parents' occupation as supplementary variable.

When combining the first and the second axis in a plane, the management consultants are split up into four groups according to how much inherited and educational capital, as well as field experience they have. Management consultants who have a higher volume of inherited cultural capital (i.e. parents with higher education and who work in the public sector), and have acquired at least four years of higher education in business administration, are located in the lower right corner of the space. These consultants are generally younger. Management consultants who have a lower volume of inherited cultural capital (i.e.

parents with lower education and who work in the private sector), and who only have acquired a compulsory or secondary education, are placed in the upper left corner. These consultants are generally older. Furthermore, in the upper right corner we find consultants who have longer experience working as consultants in general and who also have worked in other fields of consulting. These consultants tend to have a higher volume of inherited economic capital (i.e. parents are very wealthy) and at least four years of acquired higher education in natural science or technology. Diagonally opposite this group (in the lower left corner) are management consultants with less experience in the field of consulting in general, and they have only been working in management consulting. The consultants placed here have a lower volume of inherited economic capital (i.e. parents have a smaller wealth) and they hold degrees in other subjects than business administration and engineering.

The following graph shows the first axis in combination with the second.



**Graph 24:** Axes 1 and 2. 23 modalities contribute over average to the plane and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

In conclusion, the plane of axes 1 and 2 distinguishes between groups who have more or less of economic and cultural capital which is also related to their field experience. Those with higher volume of economic capital have worked in other fields of consultancy, while those with lower volume have shorter experience from consultancy in general and have only worked within management consulting. Those with a higher volume of cultural capital are generally younger, which indicates that they have less work experience in general. Consultants who have a lower

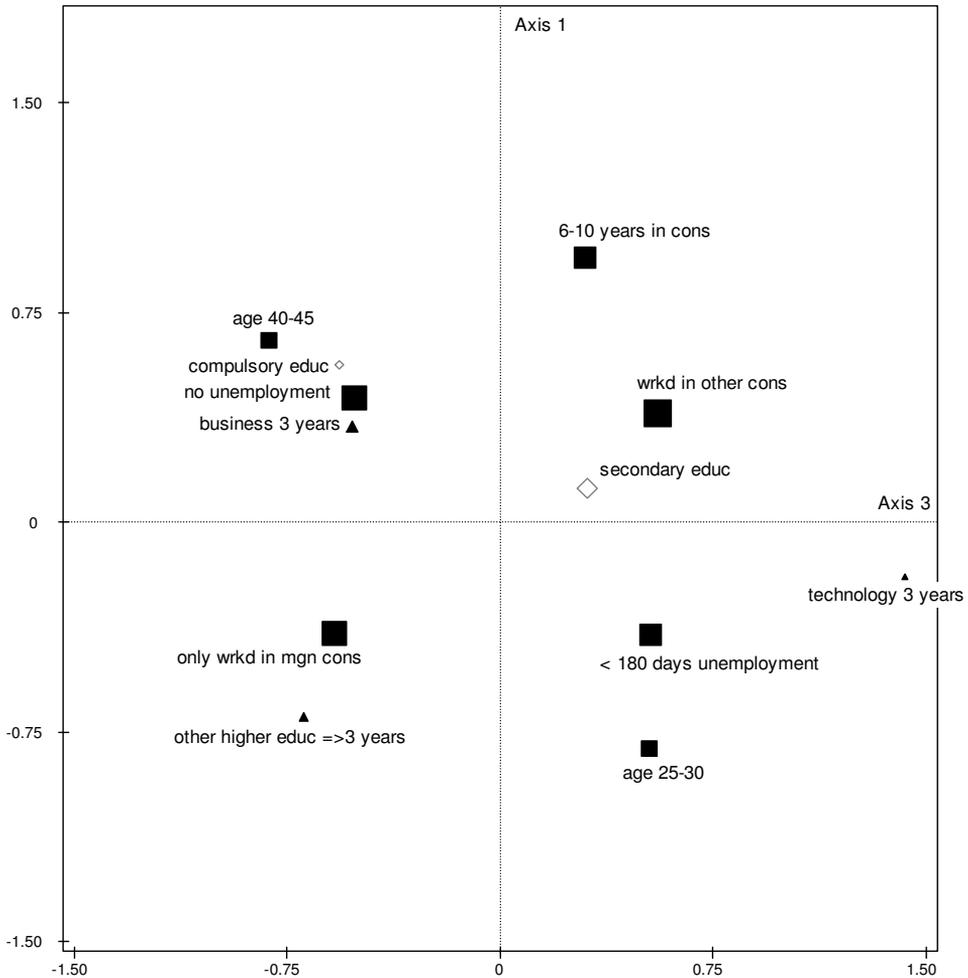
volume of cultural capital are generally older, which indicates that they have more work experience.

## Different Forms of Professional Capital

The acquired professional capital is specific for the third axis, which opposes a group of consultants whose careers have been within the field of management consulting to a group of consultants that have worked in other fields of consulting. The management consultants who have field specific professional capital (left in graph 25) are generally older, have only been working within management consulting, and have not been unemployed during the past few years. Furthermore, the consultants placed to the left have three years of higher education in business administration, or three years of higher education or more in another field of education. Also, their parents have a compulsory education.

The management consultants placed opposite (right in graph 25), are younger, have longer experience of consulting, and experience working in other fields of consulting. They have also faced unemployment during the past few years. Furthermore, these consultants have three years of higher education in natural sciences, or in engineering. Their parents have a secondary education. Their longer experience of consulting, and experience working in other fields of consulting, indicates that these consultants started their career in another field of consultancy and later entered management consulting. Their experience of unemployment might be one of the reasons they entered the management consulting field.

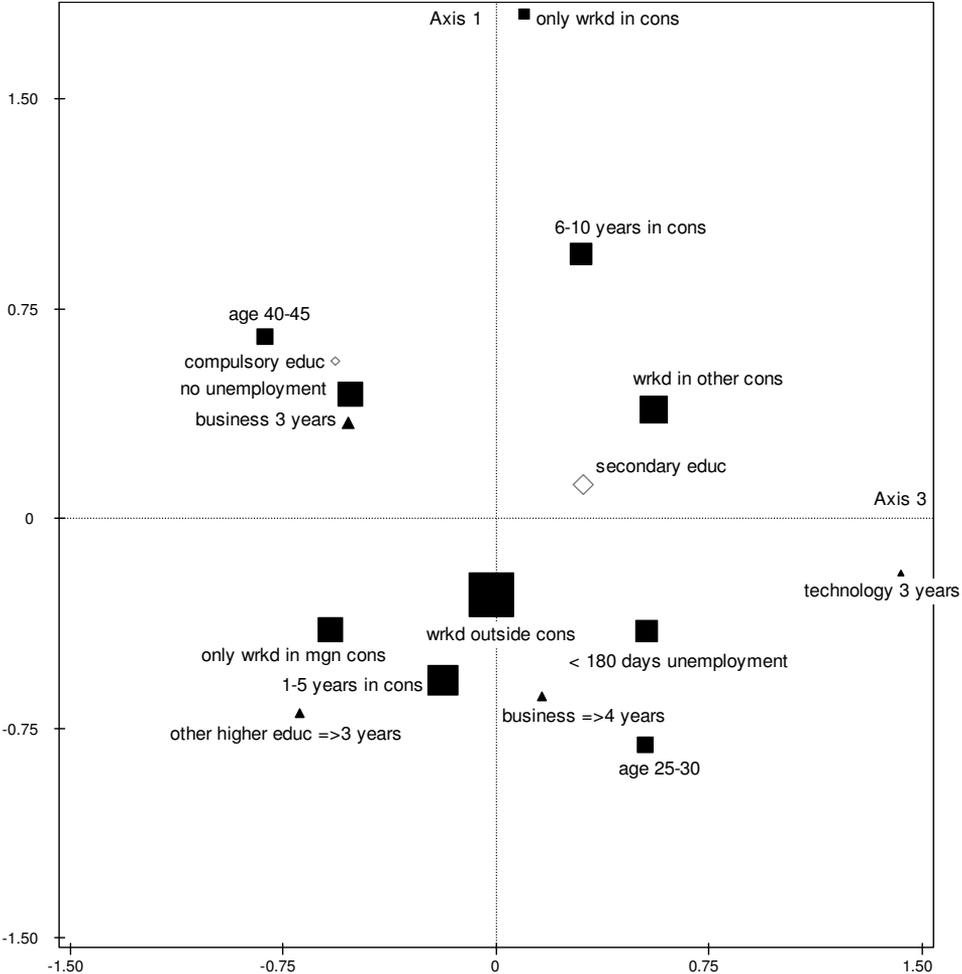
The following graph shows the oppositions along the third axis. The variable showing work experience in other fields of consultancy contributes most to the third dimension.



**Graph 25:** Axis 3. 12 modalities contribute over average to axis 3 and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

Combining the third axis with the first creates four groups of consultants in the space (see graph 26). Placed in the upper right corner are management consultants with longer experience of consulting, but not necessarily of management consulting, since they have worked in other fields of consulting. In the upper left corner is a group of consultants who are older, with no unemployment, and who have a three year long higher education in business administration. In the lower left corner of the space are consultants who have less experience of working as

consultants in general. Lastly, placed in the lower right corner are management consultants who are younger, have experienced some unemployment, and who have at least four years of higher education in business administration. Overall, these consultants have less experience working in management consulting.

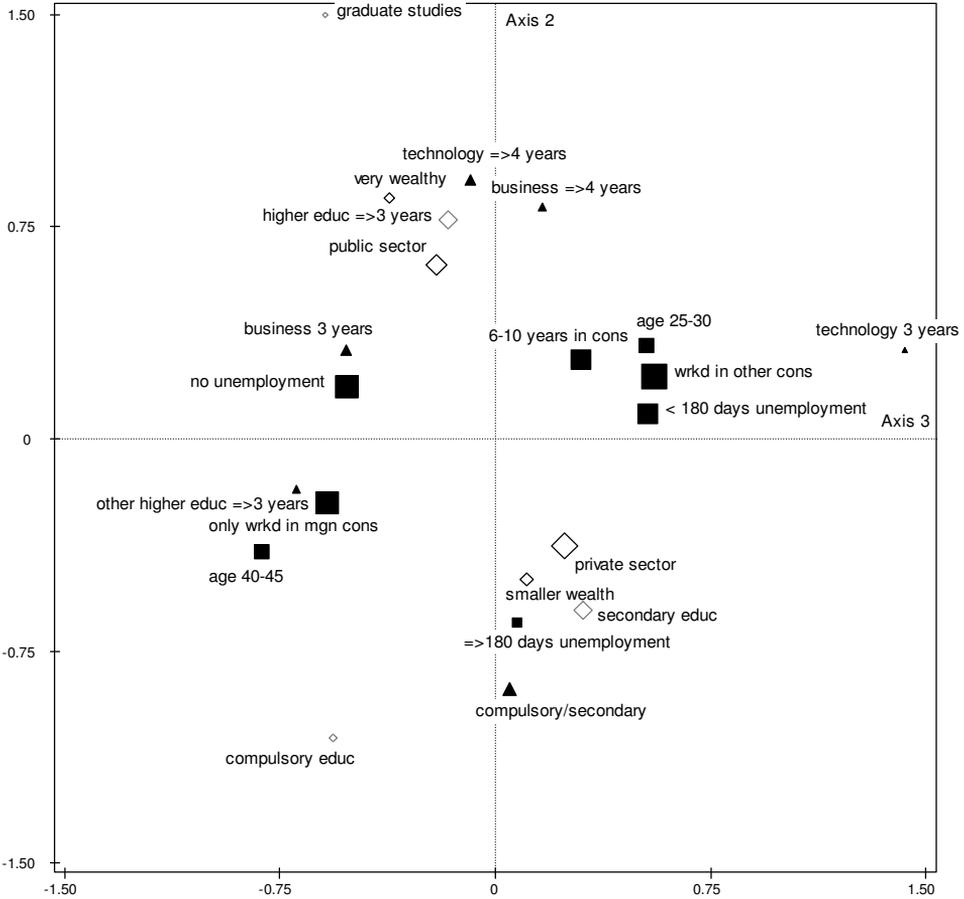


**Graph 26:** Axes 1 and 3. 17 modalities contribute over average to the plane and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

In conclusion, the third axis in combination with the first separates two groups of consultants who are opposite each other because they have

more or less experience working as consultants (upper right corner and lower left corner), and two groups of consultants who are opposite each other because they have more or less experience of working as management consultants (upper left corner and lower right corner). Hence, all groups are distinguished from one another based upon their different volumes of general consulting capital and management consulting capital.

The third axis in combination with the second (see graph 27) also creates four separate groups of consultants. In the upper part of the space, we find consultants with higher volumes of inherited capital, and who themselves have acquired at least four years of higher education in business administration, or in engineering. In the lower part of the space, we find consultants with less inherited capital, and who have at the most a secondary education. The latter have experienced longer periods of unemployment. Management consultants who are situated to the right of the space have more experience working in other fields of consulting, and they also have a degree in engineering. In contrast, the consultants placed to the left have more experience working in management consulting, and they have a degree in business administration.

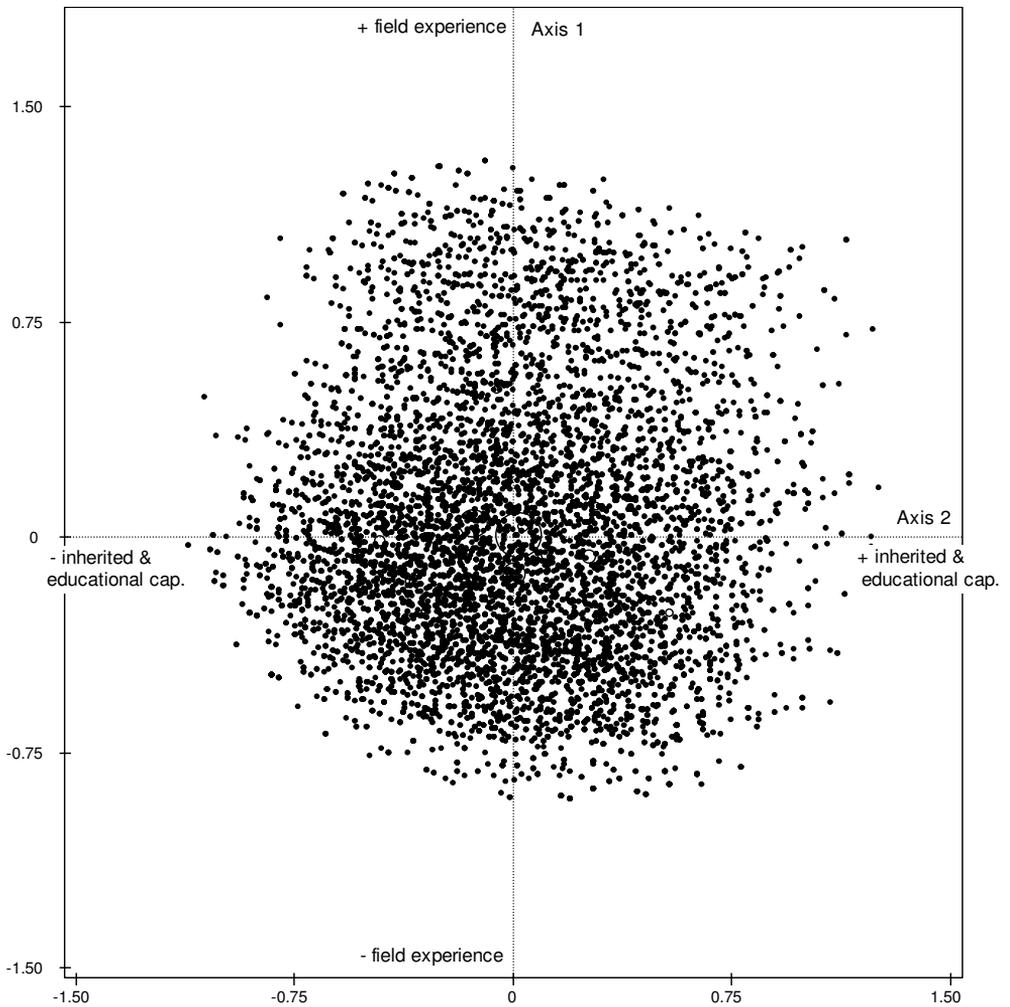


**Graph 27:** Axes 2 and 3. 22 modalities contribute over average to the plane and belong to the headings: ■ acquired professional cap, ▲ acquired educational cap, ◇ inherited cap.

In summary, the third axis in combination with the second reveals two groups who are opposite each other because of their different volumes of inherited and educational capital (vertically), and two groups who are separated because of their different professional capital (horizontally). The consultants placed to the left have accumulated management consulting capital, while the consultants placed to the right have accumulated general consulting capital, i.e. recognition as consultants but not necessarily as management consultants.

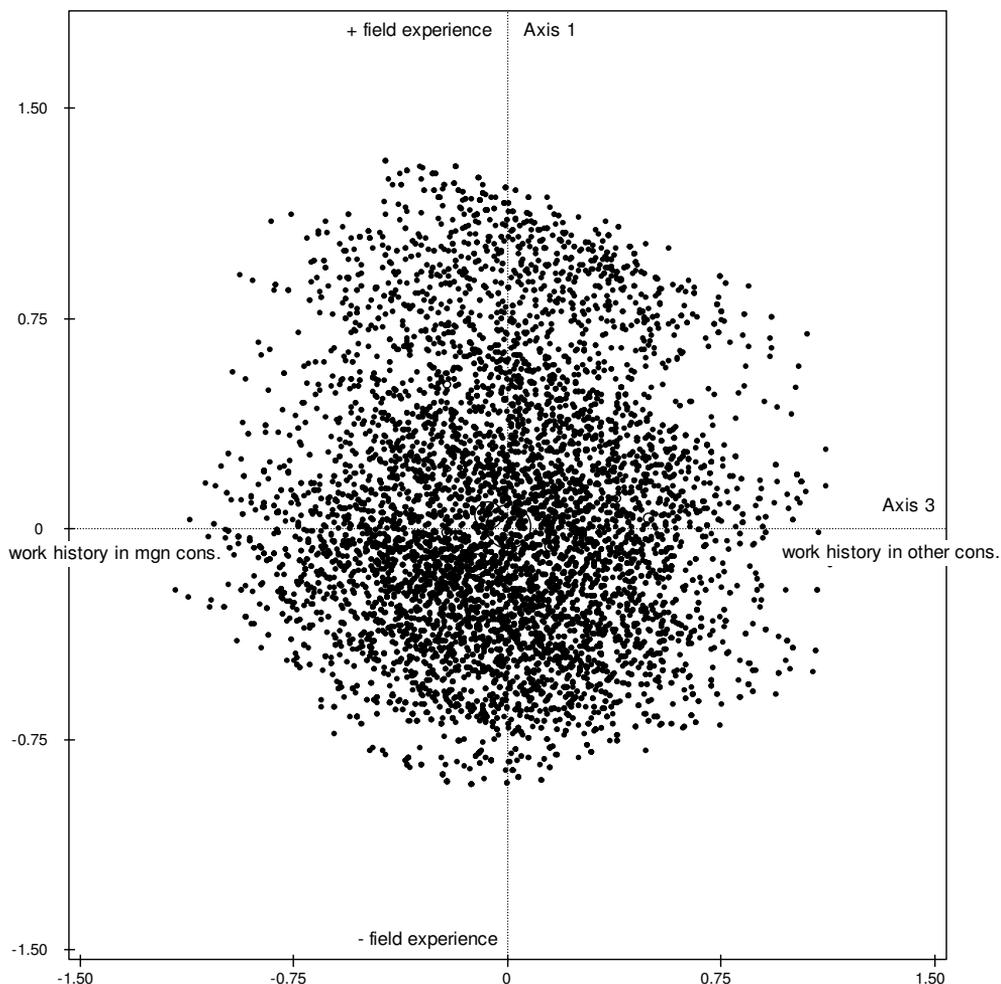
## The Cloud of Management Consultants

We can see that the cloud of individuals is more concentrated towards the center of axis 1 and more scattered towards the upper part of the space. Hence, there are fewer consultants having longer field experience, compared to consultants in general. Along the second axis, the cloud of individuals is rather evenly dispersed, which means that it is as common for consultants to have a higher volume of inherited and educational capital as it is for them to have a lower volume.



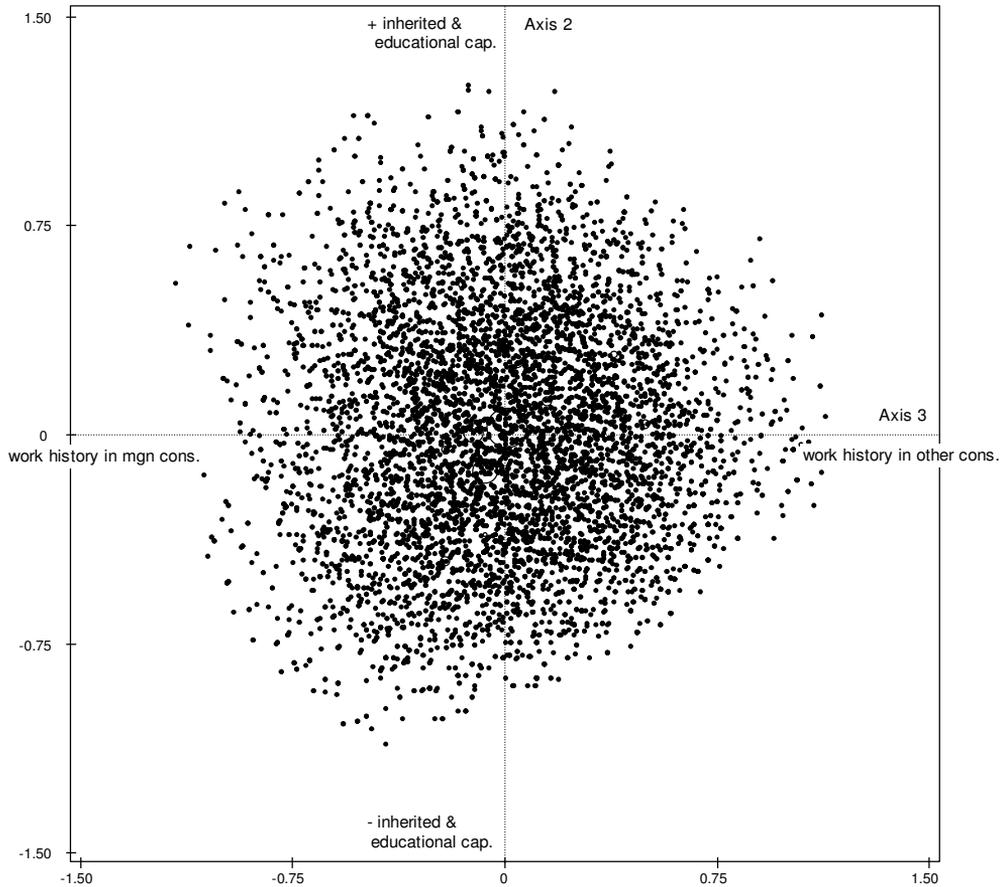
**Graph 28:** Cloud of individuals in plane 1 and 2.

The cloud of individuals is also rather evenly dispersed along the third axis. In other words, it is as common to find consultants who have had a previous career in another field of consultancy, as it is to find consultants who have only spent their career within the field of management consulting.



**Graph 29:** Cloud of individuals in plane 1 and 3.

Lastly, in plane 2 and 3, we can see that it is as common to find consultants who have a higher social origin as a lower social origin, the cloud of individuals is not concentrated towards any of the capital poles along axis 2. Furthermore, the management consulting field includes consultants with a prior career in another field of consulting, as often as consultants with a background only in management consulting. The cloud of individuals is evenly scattered along the third axis.



**Graph 30:** Cloud of individuals in plane 2 and 3.

## Summary

In this chapter we have discussed the social structures of the management consulting field. Three important dimensions were found. The first axis explains a larger share of the total variance and distinguishes between management consultants according to field experience. Through field experience, the consultant acquires symbolic capital, such as the title 'senior consultant'. Furthermore, we have seen that the educational capital is closely related to field experience, with

management consultants holding less field experience more commonly lacking higher education, and consultants with less field experience commonly having longer degrees in higher education.

The second axis shows an opposition between management consultants who have higher volumes of inherited capital and acquired educational capital, and consultants who have lower volumes. Consultants with lower volumes of inherited and educational capital also tend to be older. When the second axis was combined with the first, four groups of consultants appeared. These groups are distinguished based on their different species of capital (economic and cultural), and related kinds of professional capital.

The third axis distinguishes between management consultants who have different kinds of work histories. One group has experience mainly from the field of management consulting, while the other has worked in other fields of consultancy. When the third axis was combined with the first, four groups of management consultants were created, with more or less management or general consulting capital. Furthermore, when combining the third axis with the second, another four groups of management consultants were created. Two groups are defined according to different volumes of inherited and educational capital, while the other two groups have different kinds of professional capital. One of these groups has management consulting capital, while the other one has general consulting capital.

In the next chapter, I will present the kinds of employment corresponding to the social positions discussed so far.

## Chapter 10

# The Employment Structure in Management Consulting

In this chapter, I will discuss the employment structure in management consulting. We will see that the field of management consulting has a kind of employment structure that distinguishes it from the artistic field. Certain species of capital are more important than others in differentiating employment groups within the two fields. In the arts, field experience is more important than inherited capital and acquired educational capital. In management consulting, however, it is the opposite way around. The common traits and distinguishing features of the fields will be discussed further in the chapter 11. In the following presentation, the capital that is specific for each opposition has been written in the graphs as a reminder of what was discussed in the previous chapter.

Table 6 shows frequencies and percentages of management consultants holding different kinds of employment.<sup>59</sup> The main categories are self-employed and wage-employed consultants. Wage-employed consultants have been divided into several categories, depending on whether they work for a foreign or a local firm, and whether they work within the IT or traditional management side of management consulting.

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<sup>59</sup> Tables showing coordinates of supplementary modalities are placed in appendix 7.

**Table 6:** Employment as supplementary element.

Self-employed			Wage-employed		
	n	%		n	%
Self-employed with incorporated firm	1 064	12.0	Wage-employed in foreign firm/management side	739	8.3
Self-employed with private firm	1 328	14.9	Wage-employed in foreign firm/IT side	667	7.5
			Wage-employed in local firm/management side	3 560	40.1
			Wage-employed in local firm/IT side	1 493	16.8
			Wage-employed missing information about sector	33	0.4
Total	2 392	26.9	Total	6 492	73.1

Similar to artists, I will analyze the position of consultants starting up firms in 2002. 140 consultants (1.6 percent) founded incorporated firms during that year, and 543 consultants (6.1 percent) started private firms.

### Senior and Junior Consultants

The following discussion is based on the results shown in graph 31.

Consultants who have worked in the field for some time are more frequently self-employment with incorporated firms, compared to consultants who lack field experience. The modality showing incorporated firm holders is placed closer to the pole of those with more field experience (s.d. 0.5). These consultants are generally older, have worked in the field of management consulting for a considerable amount of time, and have not faced any periods of unemployment. The field experience acquired by these consultants gives them more credibility in their role as management consultants. In turn, their established position within the field allows them to start up firms and sell consulting services of their own.

*It is much more common to do it [start a company] later. You have several who work a couple of years and then they start their own company, this is not unusual. We have had several colleagues here who*

*have left and then they run their own businesses. [...]. (Peter, mgn consultant)*

*I think it is later [...]. I think that it is a logical consequence of living. First you finish school, you work for three, four years, and then comes the kids, and if you have not had a very clear agenda to get off [and start your own business] from the beginning, then I do not think that you will have had time to save up the money. [...] And then you might not think that you are senior enough in this business. But then arrives a day when you have all this; you are senior, the kids are fine on their own, you have enough money, [and you think] 'let's do it!' (Rickard, mgn consultant)*

While management consultants with more field experience commonly run their own consultancy firms, consultants with less field experience work within the traditional management consulting side of foreign consultancy firms. These companies generally recruit younger management consultants, and because of their up-or-out career system, there are fewer senior consultants within these firms. We can see that the modality showing employment within the management side of foreign consultancy firms is located closer to the capital pole where we find consultants with less field experience (s.d. 0.3). The modality is placed rather close to the center of the second axis, which means that also senior consultants are represented within these firms to some extent.

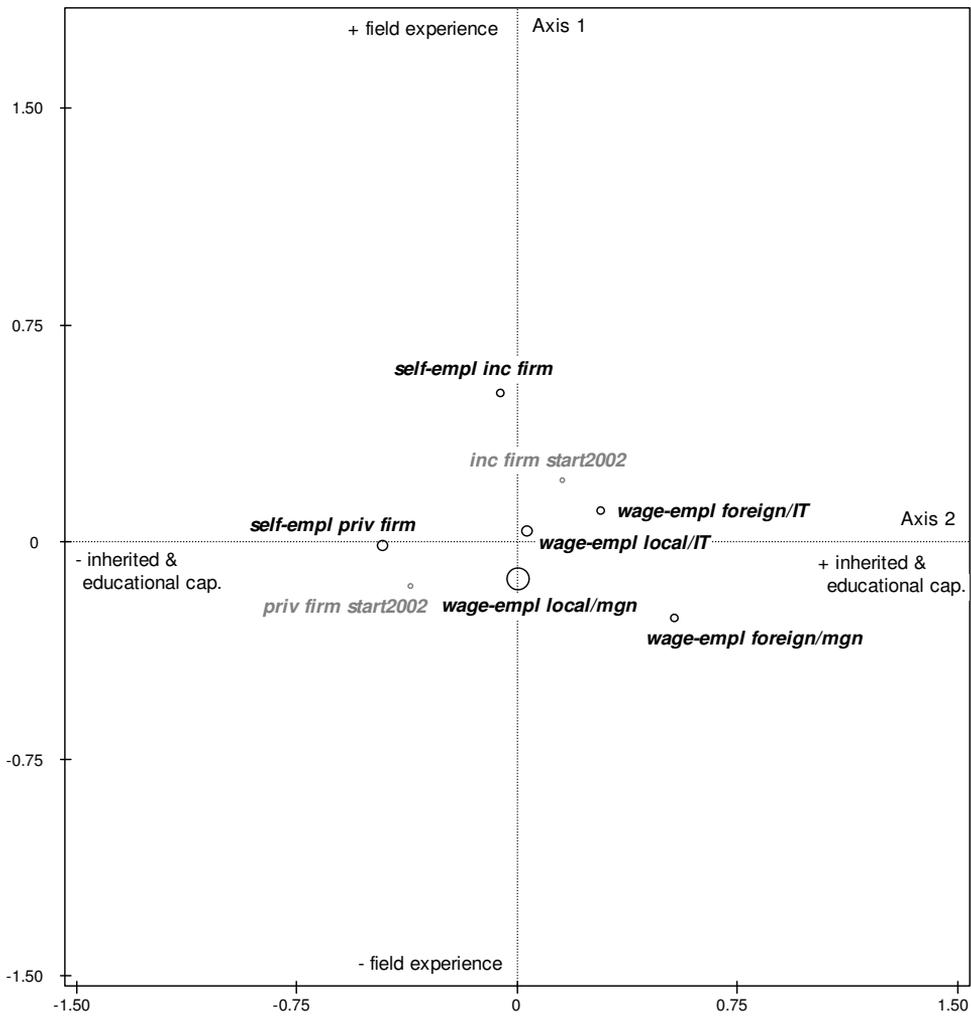
*Their [the foreign companies'] type of company is very hierarchical, you have lots of talented youngsters who work here [in the bottom of the pyramid] and then you have manuals and instructions and everything else saying how things should be done. Eventually you become responsible for some assignments and so on, but you still do not seriously sell anything, instead, up here [in the top of the pyramid], you find the partners and they are the ones who take in new assignments and organize everything. (Lars, mgn consultant)*

The distance between consultants who run incorporated firms and consultants who work within the management side of foreign companies

is important (s.d. 0.8). This means that it is much less common for consultants with the kind of profile like those working in the foreign firms to start up their own consultancy business. The consultants with less field experience could eventually foresee opening a consultancy firm, since they are acquiring field experience. However, it seems like the consultants working in foreign firms are less likely to embark on such a career.

*[...] I think that if you enter the large, well-known, consulting organizations...I think of McKinsey & Co., BCG, then you are probably more interested in doing a career as consultant in that organization rather than in becoming your own and start a company. (Peter, mgn consultant)*

We can see that all other modalities showing kinds of employment are placed rather close to the center of the first axis. This means that both management consultants with more experience, management consultants with less, as well as consultants whose capital composition is characterized by a combination of the capital concentrated in those two poles, have the possibility of entering these kinds of employment. For example, local management consulting firms are placed rather close to the center of the first axis. Hence, both consultants with more field experience, and consultants with less, work in these firms.



**Graph 31:** Plane 1 and 2. Interpretation of employment as supplementary variable

Private firm holders are placed far from incorporated firm holders along the first axis (s.d. 0.4). The modality showing private firm ownership is placed closer to the center of the first axis, and thus both consultants with more field experience, and consultants with less, could start up private firms. As such, starting up a private firm is also a possibility for consultants who are older biologically-speaking, but who have not been working in the field for a longer time. For example, consultants who have started their career in another industry and then entered the

management consulting field. The following quotation illustrates this point.

*[...] Especially during the 90s when there was a recession...what was one supposed to do...at that time you even got support by the Job Security Foundation and the Employment Security Council to start up a business [...]. And what did people start their own business in?! Well, many who, for example, had worked with human resources, of course they started a business dealing with team building or conflict management or project management or something like that. There were numerous who started...they started [as consultants] there so to speak, and in these cases it is often consulting firms that have one...only one person [employed] or they have, at best, a few employees. (Anna, mgn consultant)*

Self-employment is, in a sense, a quite accessible form of employment, as discussed in chapter 3, since the agent creates her or his own employment. This seems to be particularly true for private firms. It allows management consultants who have less field specific capital resources to enter the field and make a living from the industry. This becomes specifically clear when studying the position of private firm holders along the second axis, which shows an opposition between foreign companies and private firm holders.

## Foreign Corporations and Private Firm Holders

The second axis separates consultants who work within the traditional management side of foreign companies from self-employed consultants holding private firms (see graph 31). Along this axis, consultants who have a higher volume of inherited capital and acquired educational capital, compared to the field in general, enter the foreign firms. In conclusion, the management consultants who work in foreign companies are both younger and more educated than many other consultants. As has been argued in previous research on management consultants, these

firms are likely to recruit consultants directly from business and engineering schools.

The foreign companies are perceived as rather prestigious within the field of management consulting. Their higher status makes it possible for them to attract consultants with higher volumes of educational capital, since an employment within these firms can be used to maintain a dominant position.

*Yes, I would like to say that there are huge differences [in status between companies]. You have a group of corporations which play in a certain division and that is, very roughly I would like to say that it is McKinsey & Co. [...] and Boston Consulting Group and possibly some more [...], it is some of the large American dragons. (Peter, mgn consultant)*

*Yes, those big five, they are, so to speak, high quality stars which charge very high prices and...I really have respect for them, but I do not work in that way [as they do], but I really have respect, and of course, you only have to mention the names, McKinsey & Co., Boston Consulting Group and you name it, they are fantastic, they work across the whole world with governments as clients, you cannot have other than respect for them I think. (Anna, mgn consultant)*

Consultants with less inherited and educational capital tend to have their own private firms. We can see that the modality showing self-employment with private firm is placed far from the center of the second axis (s.d. 0.5). Hence, consultants in lower social positions perceive the possibility to run a private consultancy firm.

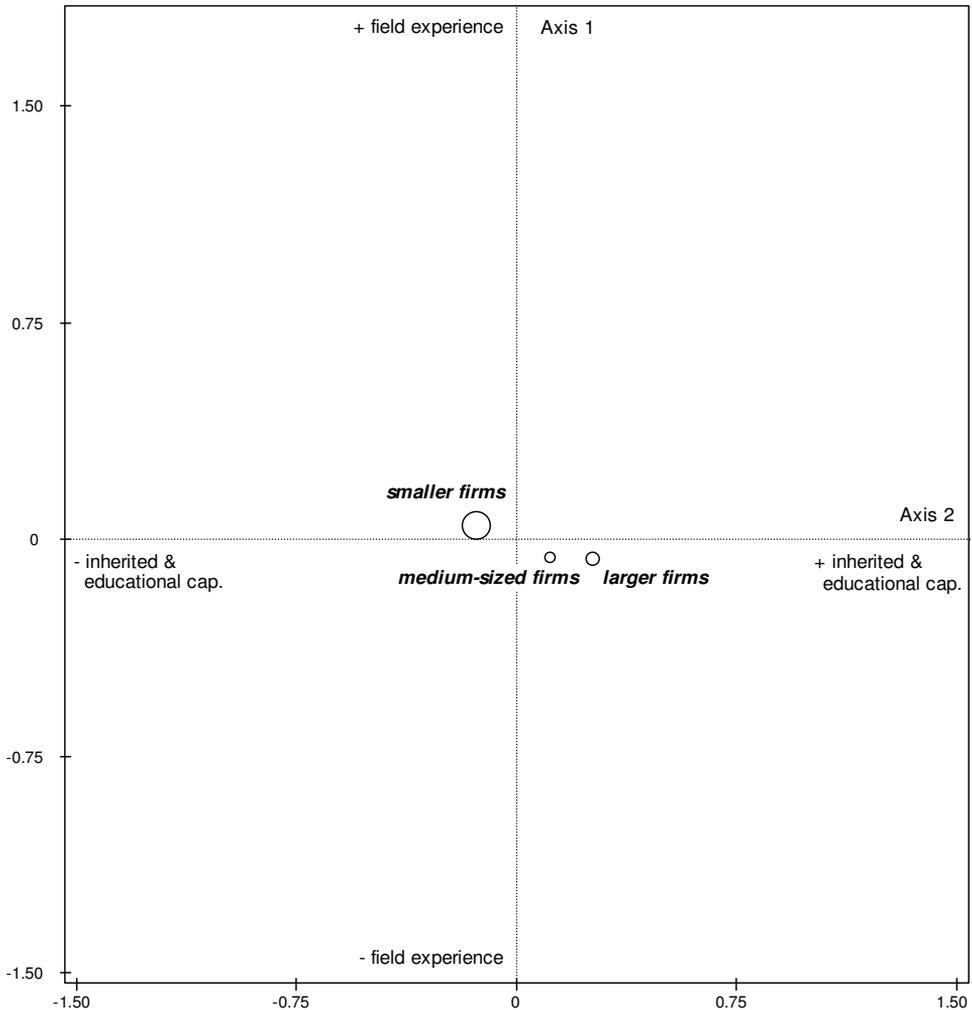
*I usually say like this, that we consultants, we start companies because no one wants to hire us but.... [...], but no, it's not like that of course...but well...why did I do it...well it gives a certain freedom and then you have this thing called driving force as well [...]. (Per, mgn consultants)*

Furthermore, the modality showing self-employment with private firm is placed at a considerable distance from the modalities showing employment in foreign firms, and especially from the modality showing employment within the traditional management division of these firms (s.d. 1.0). Thus, private firm holders do not possess the kind of capital profile that would allow them to pursue a career in these kinds of firms. At the same time, consultants who typically work in the foreign firms generally do not start up private firms.

The opposition between different kinds of employment along the second axis corresponds to an opposition between larger and smaller firms (see graph 32).<sup>60</sup> The standard deviation between larger and smaller firms is 0.4 along the second axis. The larger firms are located further away from the center of the axis, and to the right of the space (s.d. 0.3). This means that the consultants working in the larger firms commonly have a higher volume of inherited and educational capital, compared to their counterparts. Furthermore, since this modality is placed closer to the capital pole of foreign firms, consultants holding a profile typical for those working in the foreign firms also typically work in the larger firms. In chapter 5, we saw that the foreign firms tend to be larger, while local firms are frequently smaller.

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<sup>60</sup> The different firm sizes are based on Furusten (2001 p. 3). Small firms = 1-15 employees, medium sized firms = 16-40 employees, large firms > 40 employees.



**Graph 32:** Plane 1 and 2. Interpretation of firm-size as supplementary variable.

The modalities showing employment in smaller firms, and medium sized firms are located closer to the center of the space. Hence, working in these sizes of firms is more common for consultants in general in plane 1 and 2.

## Incorporated and Private Firm Holders

In graph 31, we saw that incorporated firm holders are placed far from the center of the first axis, while consultants running private firms are placed closer to the center of this axis. These results mean that both consultants who have less field experience, as well as consultants who have been in the field for a longer time start up private firms. However, only those who have more experience working as consultants start up incorporated firms. Hence, incorporated firms have a higher status within the field, which in turn contributes to maintaining the more senior consultants' social position. Seeing that private firms are established by consultants who are less recognized within the field, this type of firm does not have the same social connotation. Hence, while holding an incorporated firm communicates to others that you are quite successful as a consultant, running a private firm sends out the opposite message.

*If you are alone...I have never had a private firm, but I have heard others say that it is not always worth it to have an incorporated firm if you are alone, that is if you work alone so to speak. But as I see it I think it is obvious that you should have an incorporated firm, it appears much more reliable I think...towards the client and everything and in general I think it is more solid...controllable and everything like that... [...] It feels like it is not totally serious...maybe it is, but I feel like it is not really serious if you do not have an incorporated firm (Anna, mgn consultant).*

*It was in order to not have to be so personally responsible [that I started an incorporated firm], that was one of the factors. The other factor was to appear, at that time, bigger than I was (Staffan, mgn consultant).*

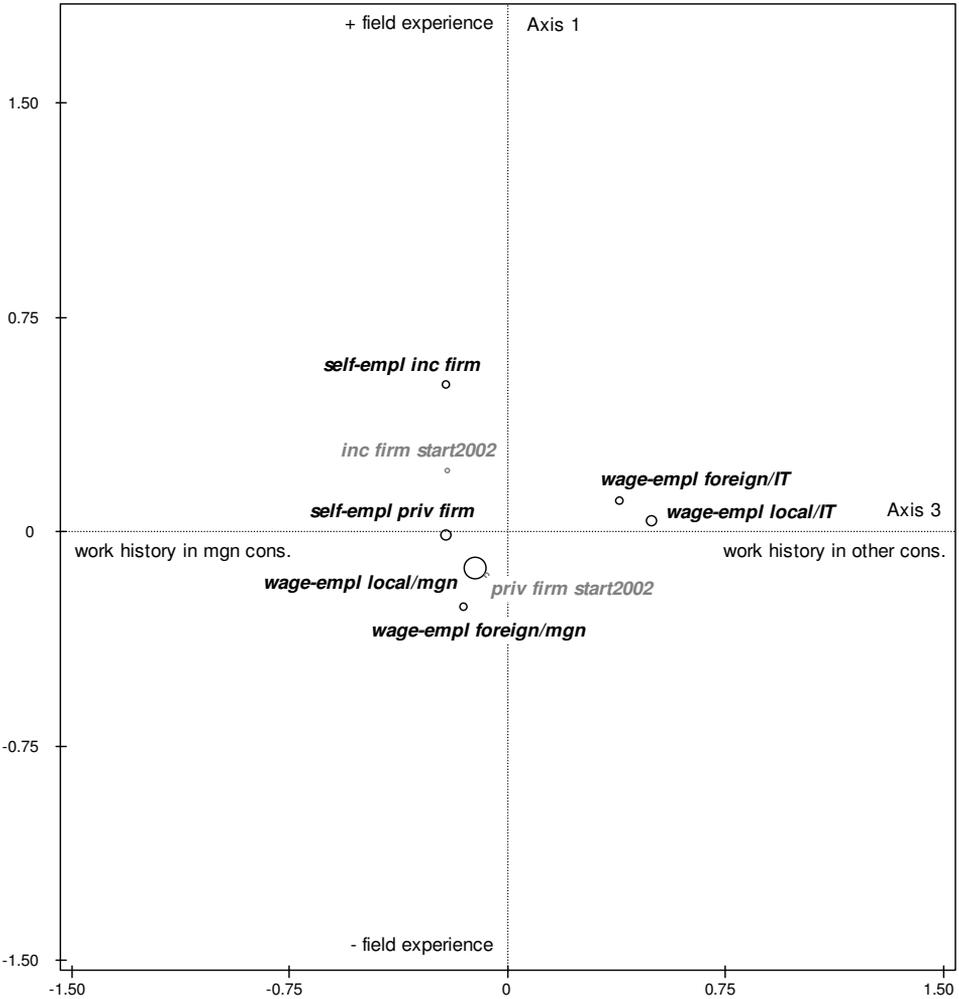
*It appears more serious [to have an incorporated firm], it does, it is more commitment, you have to pay hundred thousand [SEK to register the company] you know and...and so on (Per, mgn consultant).*

From the quotations we can understand that some consultants start up incorporated firms as a strategy to appear more established within the field, and thus try to enhance their social position.

## IT Specialists and Management Consultants

The third axis separates a group of consultants whose careers have been within the field of management consulting, and a group of consultants who started their careers in another field of consulting. While the former have higher degrees in business administration, the latter have higher degrees in engineering, or in natural science. The third dimension separates between traditional management consultants and consultants working within the IT-side of management consulting (see graph 33). The consultants working within the IT-side of management consulting have probably worked in IT-consulting prior to establishing themselves in the management consulting field. They have faced unemployment during the past few years, which could explain why they left IT-consulting for a career in management consulting.

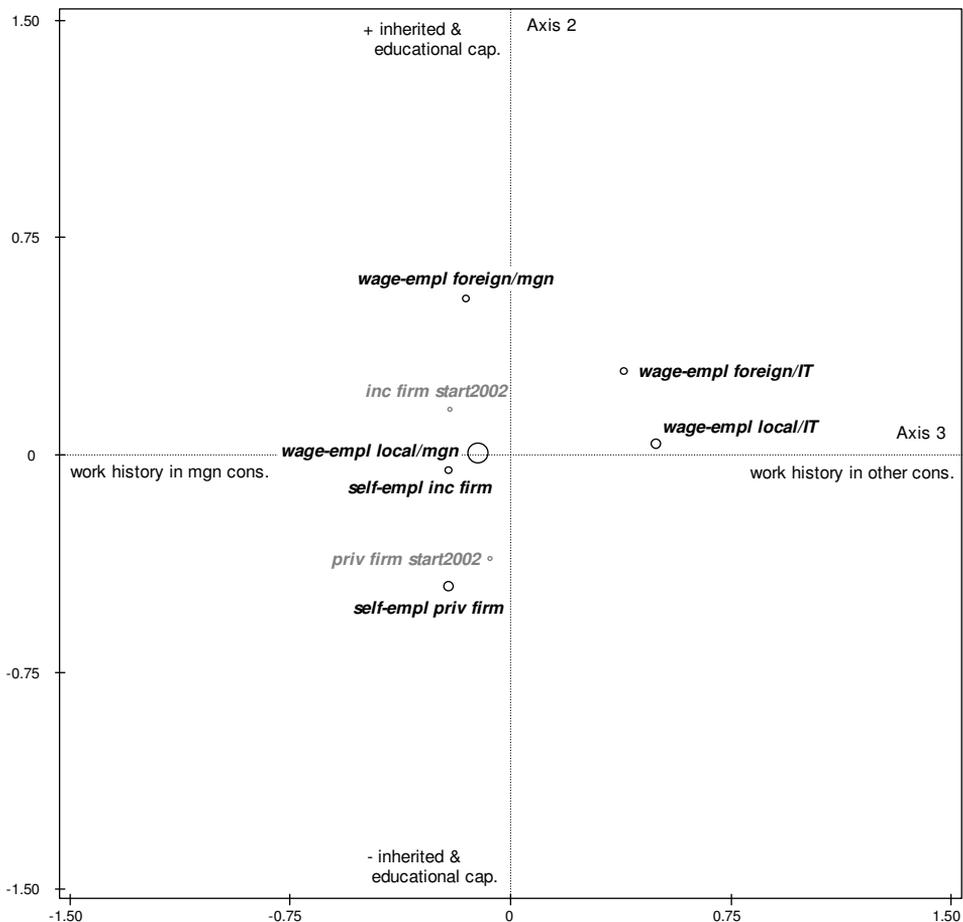
The modalities showing employment within the management side of management consulting is placed rather close to the center of the third axis. This means that consultants holding more or less of the capital we find in the third dimension, work within the traditional line of management consulting. The modalities showing employment within the IT-side of management consulting are placed further away from the center of the third axis. For consultants working within the IT-side of local firms, the standard deviation is 0.5, and for consultants working within the same area in foreign firms, the standard deviation is 0.4. Since the modalities showing employment within the IT-side of management consulting are placed far from the center of axis 3, the consultants who have a work history in other fields of consulting generally enter this type of employment.



**Graph 33:** Plane 1 and 3. Interpretation of employment as supplementary variable.

In plane 1 and 3, we can see that consultants working within the IT-side of management consulting belong to a group of consultants that have a combination of higher volumes of consulting capital (upper right corner) and lower volumes of management consulting capital (lower right corner), given that the modalities are placed in the center of the first axis. Hence, consultants working within the IT-side of management consulting have a longer experience of consultancy in general, but not from management consulting in particular.

In plane 2 and 3, four groups of management consultants were created (shown in graph 26). This plane showed differences in volume of inherited and educational capital (vertically), and placed the management consulting capital in opposition to the general consulting capital (horizontally). The following graph shows that consultants working within the IT-side of management consulting hold general consulting capital, rather than management consulting capital. All other types of employment are placed to the left of the second axis, meaning that the consultants who have these types of employment hold management consulting capital, rather than general consulting capital. In the graph, we can also see that consultants working within the IT-side of foreign management consulting firms are placed closer to the capital pole where there is a concentration of inherited and educational capital. These results imply that consultants working within the IT-side of foreign management consulting firms generally have a higher volume of inherited and educational capital, compared to consultants working within the IT-side of local management consulting firms.



**Graph 34:** Plane 2 and 3. Interpretation of employment as supplementary variable.

Today, IT has become an important aspect of management, changing the dynamics of management consulting as well. Along the third axis, we can see an effect of this development. IT is an integrated part of management consulting practice, and as a result traditional IT-consultants have established themselves in the field of management consulting. As a consequence, the definition of management consulting is also at stake within the field. The opposition between consultants working within the IT-side of management consulting, and consultants working within the traditional management consulting side, shows that there is a struggle going on over the capital that defines a management

consultant. It is not obvious for IT-consultants to get accepted as management consultants, which is demonstrated in the following quotations.

*No, I do not think that they [IT consultants] are that [management consultants], I do not think so, some people can be that, because you have to understand management issues, you have to understand roles, what can I say...human interactions, how people relate to each other, how to work with such issues, and it [management consulting] is not about structures and technology, it is about human relations, and there are those IT consultants who have bought that competence into their company or that of personal reasons are very good [dealing with those issues], but as a principle I do not think...IT consultants are not management consultants, they are IT consultants. (Anna, Mgn consultant)*

*And then you have the third category [of companies], they are a bit larger firms which are more IT firms and then...they are IT consultants, and then they have some management too, and I would like to say that they hold the lowest position [in the industry]...they are by many management consultants not considered real management consultants because they are not, they do not have that tradition and that background. (Peter, mgn consultant)*

*[...] if you ask Cap [Gemini] they think that a much larger part [of their company] than what is actually the case is management consultants, but great many of those are in fact specialist [IT] consultants, and there is nothing wrong in that, it is only that it is good to have the right name for the right product and they are far from having that because they think that it is finer to have the heading management consultant, and then they also intend to charge a higher price for it [their services] when they call themselves management consultants. (Staffan, mgn consultant)*

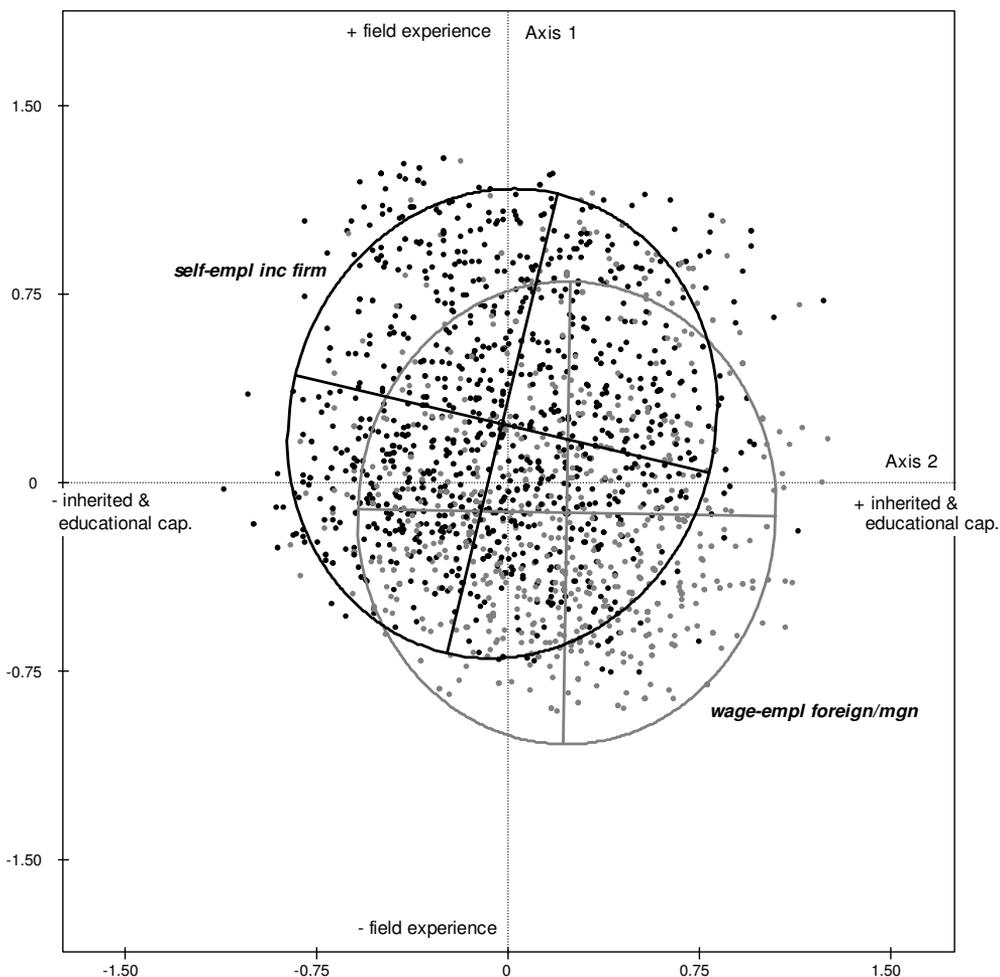
Under the next heading, I will present the concentration ellipses for different employment groups in management consulting.

## Concentration Ellipses

Incorporated firm holders and consultants working within the management side of foreign corporations are the most opposite employment groups along the first axis. Private firm holders and employees within the management side of foreign corporations are the most distinguished along the second. Lastly, employment within the traditional management consulting side, and employment within the IT-side of management consulting firms are the most opposite groups along the third axis. In the following, we will study the concentration ellipses for these employment groups. Private and incorporated firm holders are also discussed more in depth, similar to the method used for artists in chapter 8.

### Incorporated Firm Holders and Foreign Corporations

The clouds are somewhat dispersed along the first axis for both incorporated firm holders and employees in foreign firms. This means that there is an opposition based on field experience within these kinds of employment, probably between consultants taking junior and senior positions within the companies. We can see that the ellipse of the self-employed consultants with incorporated firms is located towards the center, in the upper part of the space, meaning that these consultants generally have more field experience. The ellipse of the wage-employed consultants in foreign firms is located closer to the lower right corner, which implies that consultants with less field experience, but with a higher volume of inherited cultural capital and acquired educational capital, generally work in these foreign firms.



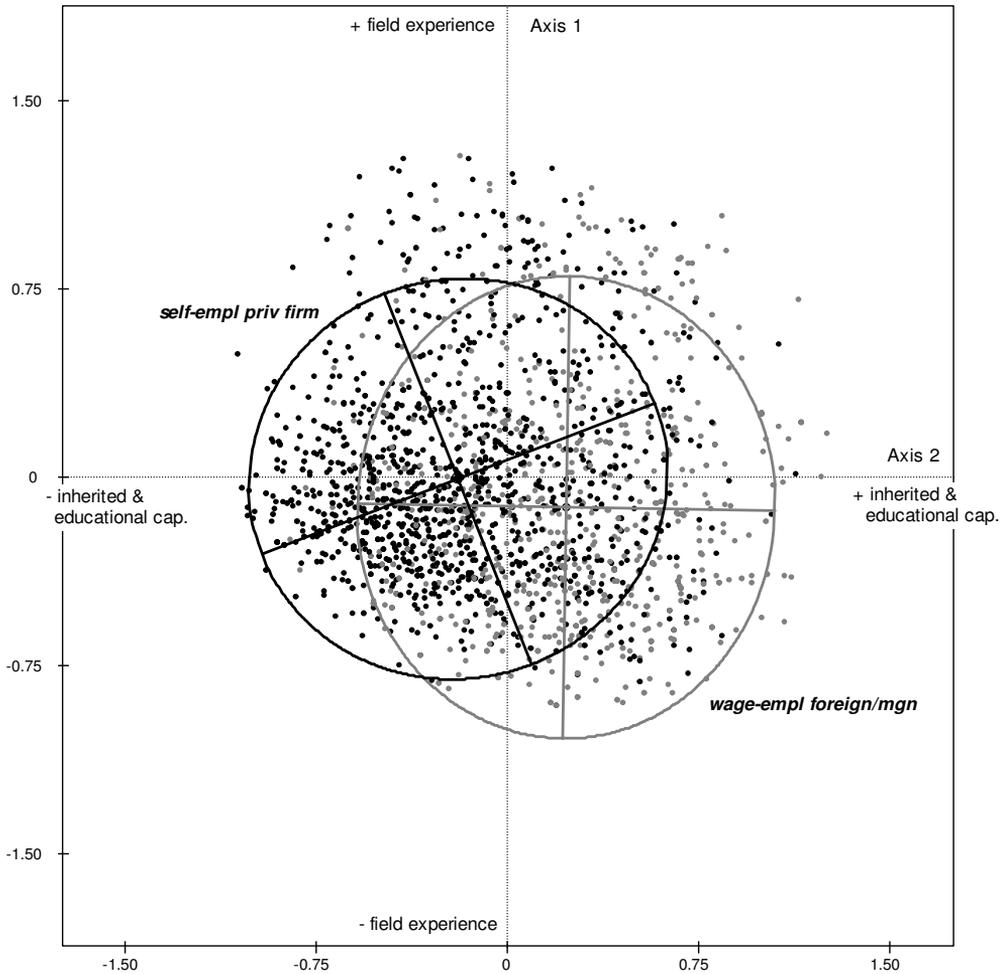
**Graph 35:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of individuals with most distinct employment profiles along the first axis.

The major principal axis of the ellipse for incorporated firm holders move diagonally from the lower left corner to the upper right corner. Hence, within the group of consultants starting up incorporated firms, there are those who have less field experience, and less inherited and educational capital. We also find consultants with a greater volume of inherited and educational capital, and more field experience. As previously mentioned, some consultants in lower social positions may start an incorporated firm in order to appear more established.

The major principal axis of the ellipse of management consultants in foreign corporations does not take a diagonal direction.

### Private Firm Holders and Employees in Foreign Corporations

The most distinct employment groups along the second axis are self-employed consultants running private firms and consultants working in the management side of foreign companies. Since the subcloud of employees in foreign firms has already been discussed, I will focus on private firm holders here, as well as on the relation between the two subclouds shown in graph 36. Private firm holders have a lower volume of inherited and educational capital, and thus their ellipse is placed to the left of the space. We can see that the subcloud of the consultants working in foreign firms is more dispersed along the first axis, compared to the subcloud of private firm holders. While foreign companies employ consultants with a greater range of field experience (although in general a younger generation), private firm holders tend to be concentrated towards the center of the first axis. The centered position of the cloud on the first axis could mean that consultants who run private firms are older, but have less field experience as a result of having worked in other industries.



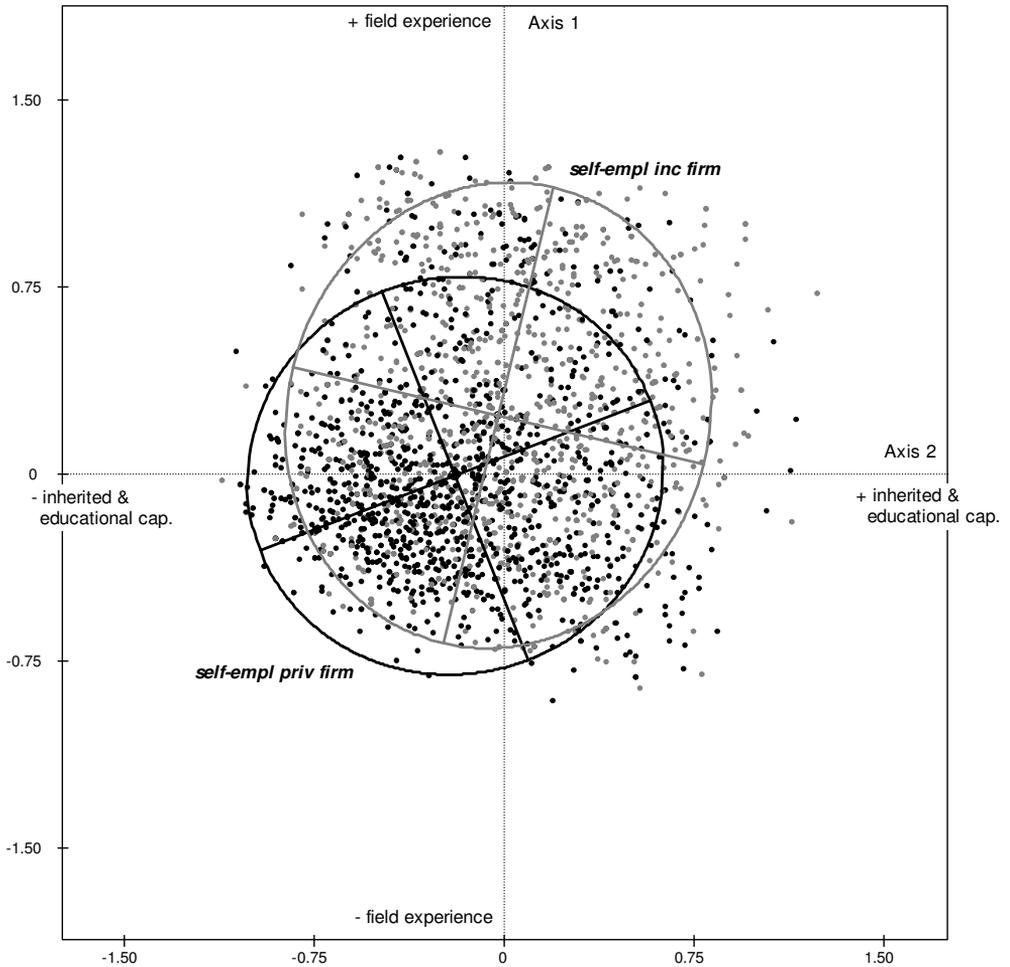
**Graph 36:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of individuals with most distinct employment profiles along the second axis.

The principal axes of the ellipse for consultants running private firms take diagonal directions from the lower left corner to the upper right corner, as well as from the center of the second axis to the upper left corner. Hence, consultants in private firms either have an average volume of inherited and educational capital, and less field experience, or a lower volume of inherited and educational capital, and more field experience. They also tend to have a combination of a lower volume of

inherited and educational capital, and less field experience, or more inherited and educational capital and more field experience.

### Subclouds of Incorporated and Private Firm Holders

The following graph shows concentration ellipses for incorporated and private firm holders. The ellipses for private firm holders and incorporated firm holders have already been discussed separately. Therefore, I will focus on the relation between these two subclouds. The ellipse of incorporated firm holders is placed in the center, towards the upper part of the space, and the concentration ellipse for private firm holders is placed to the center left. This result simply implies that the subcloud of consultants running incorporated firms includes those with higher level of field experience, while the subcloud of private firm holders includes a majority of consultants with a lower volume of inherited and educational capital. We can see that the ellipses overlap to some extent, which means that some of those starting up private firms have a profile that would allow them to pursue the possibility to start up an incorporated firm, and vice versa. The ellipse of the private firm holders is almost entirely situated within the ellipse of the incorporated firm holders, thus a greater share of private firm holders are disposed to start an incorporated firm.



**Graph 37:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of private and incorporated firm holders.

The principal axes of both ellipses move diagonally, although in somewhat different directions. For example, in the lower left corner, we find consultants who have a combination of less field experience and lower volume of inherited and educational capital, and in the upper right corner, we find consultants who have a combination of higher volume of inherited and educational capital, as well as more field experience. The two employment groups include consultants with more or less of the combination of these species of capital according to the direction of their principal axes.

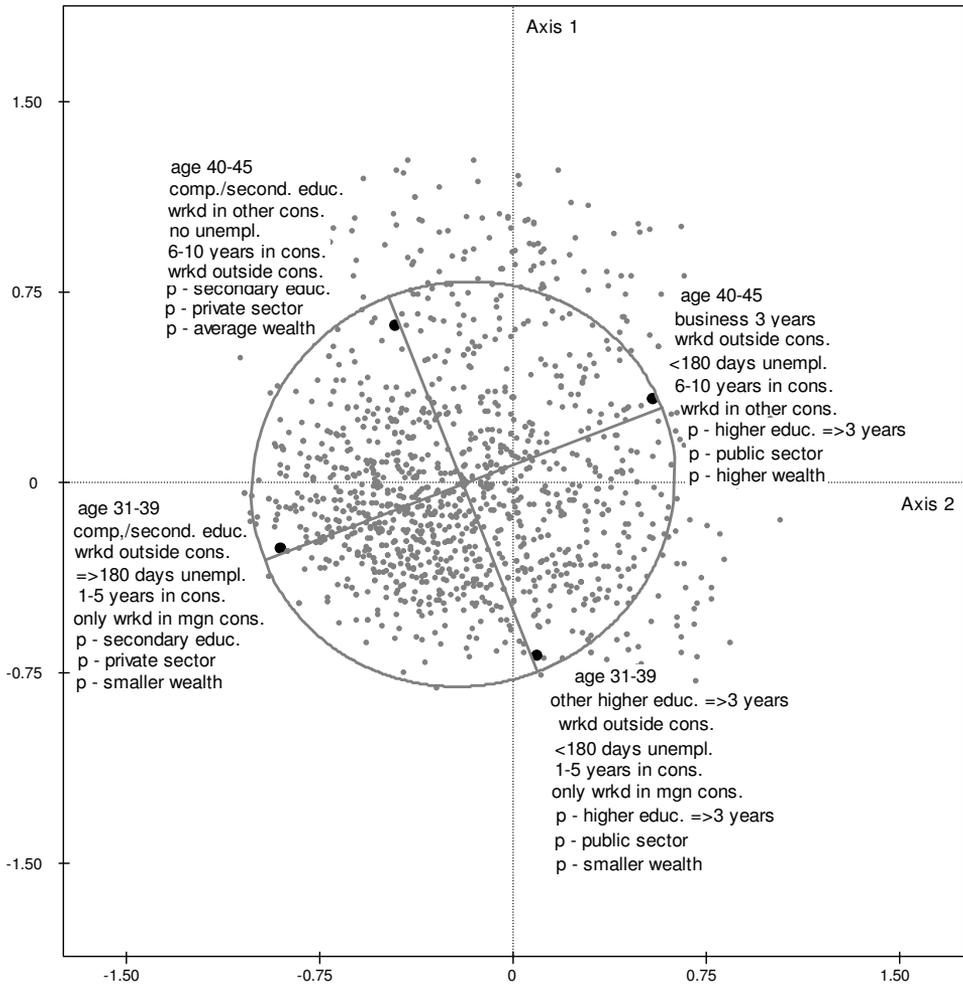
## Profile of Private Firm Holders

The lack of inherited capital, and acquired educational capital sets management consultants who run private firms apart from management consultants in general. For example, the results in the previous chapter showed that parents of private firm holders generally do not have higher education, and nor do they. In total, 28.8 percent of management consultants running private firms have parents with three years of higher education or more, compared to 38.3 percent of management consultants in general.<sup>61</sup> In addition, while 44.9 percent of the general population of management consultants have acquired at least three years of higher education in business administration or engineering, only 28.0 percent of the self-employed consultants have reached that level of education.

Although sharing a certain profile, the cloud of private firm holders includes consultants with somewhat different capital compositions. To gain an understanding of the borders of the cloud, consultants holding the most extreme profiles within the subcloud have been highlighted in the following graph.

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<sup>61</sup> The following figures are based on the entire population of artists, i.e. including those who are supplementary in the Specific MCA.



**Graph 38:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of private firm holders. Inherited capital is marked with a 'p' as in parents.

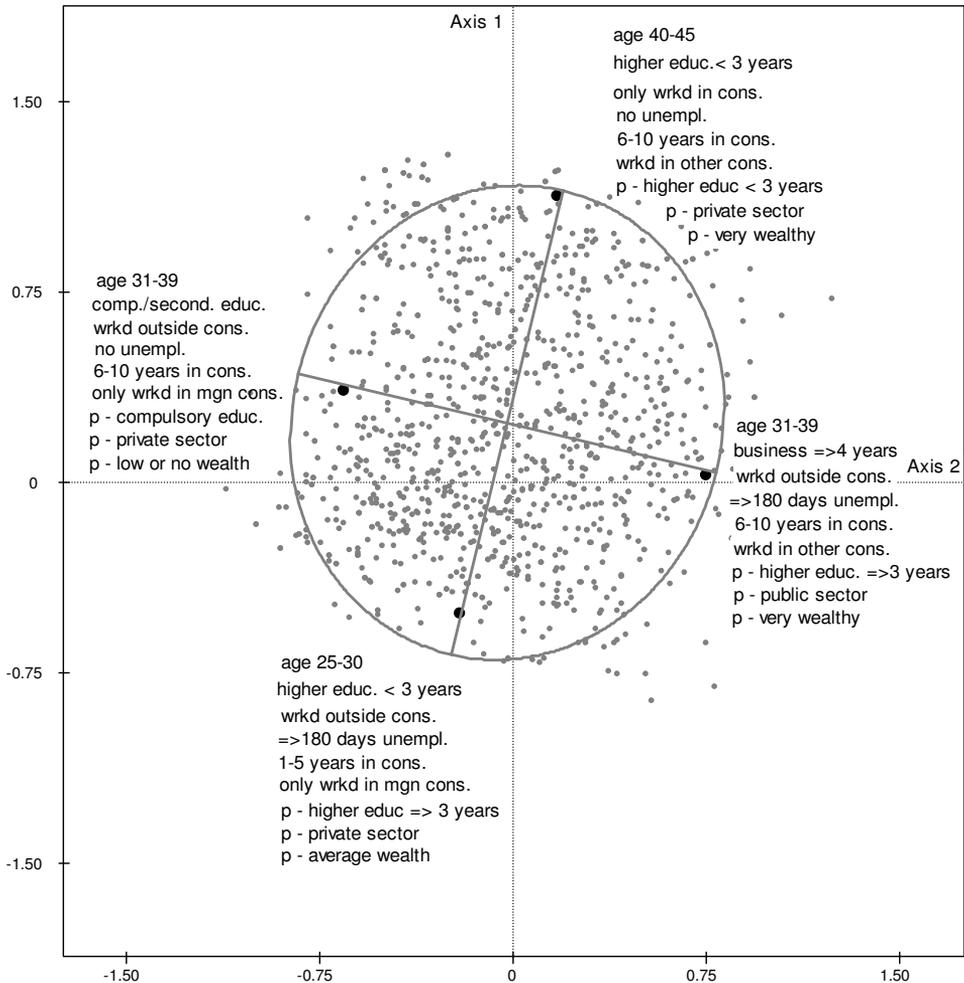
The most extreme profiles of consultants whose capital composition would allow them to start up a private firm are rather different. In the upper right corner, we find private firm holders who have a combination of higher volumes of inherited and educational capital, and more field experience. In the lower left corner, there are private firm holders who have less field experience and a lower volume of inherited and educational capital. This profile is the most distinct one for private firm holders, compared to incorporated firm holders, since this profile is

clearly separated from the ellipse of incorporated firm holders as shown in graph 37. Private firm holders placed in the upper left corner have more field experience and a lower volume of inherited and educational capital. Lastly, private firm holders placed closer to the center of axis 2, in the lower part of the space, have less field experience.

### Profile of Incorporated Firm Holders

Incorporated firm holders have more field experience than management consultants in general. For example, we have seen that they commonly have worked in the field of consultancy for a longer time, are older, and are less exposed to unemployment. Of these consultants, 57.0 percent have never been unemployed. Among the general population, 43.6 percent have never faced unemployment. Also, 55.9 percent of incorporated firm holders have worked in the field of consultancy for more than five years, compared to 37.4 percent of the average management consultants. Furthermore, 41.4 percent are 40 years or older, the age of only 26.7 percent of management consultants in general.

To gain an understanding of the borders of the subcloud for incorporated firm holders, the following graph shows their ellipse with the most extreme profiles highlighted.



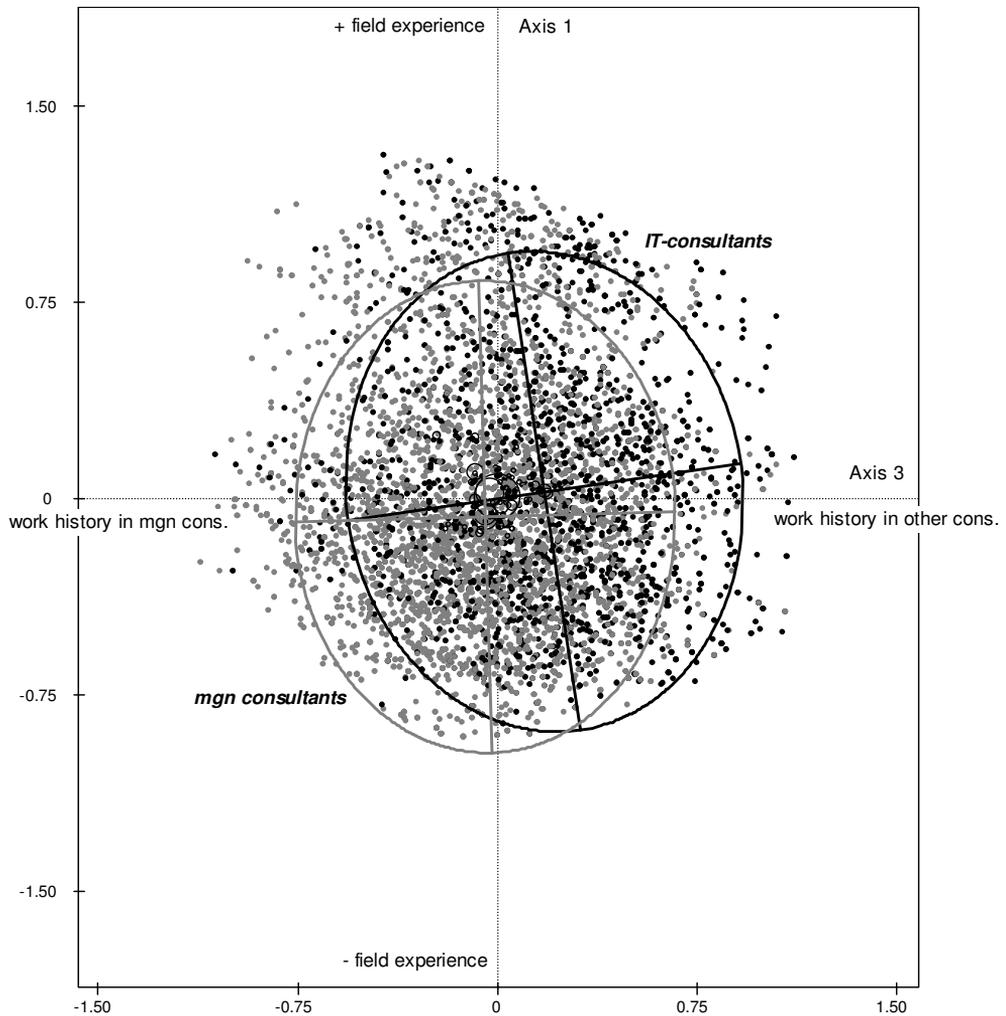
**Graph 39:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 2. Subclouds of incorporated firm holders. Inherited capital is marked with a 'p' as in parents.

In the upper right corner of the ellipse, we find the most distinct profile for incorporated firm holders, compared to private firm holders. This profile is clearly separated from the subcloud of private firm holders (shown in graph 37). The consultants placed here, have more field experience, as well as a higher volume of inherited and educational capital. The incorporated firm holders who are placed in the upper left corner have more field experience, but less inherited and educational capital, while the incorporated firm holders located in the lower right

part of the ellipse have a combination of higher volumes of inherited and educational capital and less field experience. Lastly, incorporated firm holders placed in the lower left corner have less field experience, as well as lower volumes of inherited and educational capital.

## Traditional Management Consultants and IT-Consultants

The following graph shows the subclouds of management consultants working within the traditional management side of management consulting, and management consultants working within the IT-side. Wage-employed consultants who are working within the IT-side of local and foreign firms have been merged in this analysis, and wage-employed consultants who work within the management side of these firms have also been merged.



**Graph 40:** Concentration ellipses, plane 1 and 3. Subclouds of individuals with most distinct employment profiles along the third axis.

The subclouds of both employment groups are dispersed along the first axis. In other words, the IT-side of management consulting, as well as the traditional management consulting side, include consultants with a considerable range of field experience. The major principal axis of IT-consultants goes from the lower right corner towards the center in the

upper part of the space. Hence, within this employment group, we find consultants who have more or less management consulting capital.

## Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the employment structure in management consulting. Field experience, as well as inherited capital and acquired educational capital, have shown to be important to this employment structure. Along the first axis, we found an opposition between senior and junior consultants. The senior consultants more commonly start up incorporated firms, while the junior consultants more commonly work within the management side of foreign companies.

The second axis placed a group of management consultants working in foreign corporations opposite to a group of consultants running private firms. The private firm owners have a lower volume of inherited and educational capital, compared to consultants working in foreign firms. The consultants in foreign firms generally have a degree in business administration, or in engineering, and come from higher social origins, while the private firm holders lack higher education and have lower social origins.

In plane 1 and 2, we could see that management consultants who work in foreign corporations were separated from self-employed consultants running incorporated firms, as well as from private firm holders. The management consultants working in foreign firms are opposite incorporated firm holders along the first axis because they have less field experience, and they are opposite private firm holders along the second axis because they have a higher volume of inherited and educational capital. The consultants who start incorporated firms are distinct because of their acquired field experience, which also shows that these consultants have reached a certain position within the field. The private firm holders are distinct in the sense that they have a lower volume of inherited and educational capital, which also reveals that these consultants hold a lower position within the field.

The third dimension places a group of consultants working within the traditional management side of consulting opposite a group of consultants working within the IT-side. The traditional management consultants have typically worked only within management consulting, while the latter consultants have been active in other fields of consultancy. The introduction of new technology as an important aspect of management practice has had an effect on the field of management consulting. IT redefines expertise in management consulting, and forces the field to redefine what management consulting is.

In the next chapter, I will consider the two fields (management consulting and artistic production), their similarities and differences in terms of social structures and employment possibilities, as well as provide a concluding discussion.



## Chapter 11

# Concluding Discussion

This chapter concludes this study by discussing the main findings and comparing the two fields. In the introductory chapter, I stated that the purpose of this study is to create an understanding of self-employment as a social phenomenon. In the previous chapters we have seen that the social structures of the management consulting and artistic field have an effect on the distribution of employment possibilities within them, and therefore also effect which social groups enter self-employment. We could see that the two fields to some extent include similar social structures, but different employment structures. In the artistic field, the distribution of employment possibilities is foremost related to the artists' investments in the artistic field itself, while in the management consultant field, employment possibilities are to a larger extent related to acquired education and social origin. These findings will be discussed further in the following. At the end of this chapter I give suggestions for further research.

### The Social Structures of the Fields

The capital that is important for defining the artist and management consultant, and that therefore distinguishes them, is socially defined. Agents create their reality through an ongoing struggle (Bourdieu 2000 [1992] pp. 324-330). In each field studied in this dissertation, groups of agents holding different social positions struggle to define the state of the social world, and by doing so maintain or enhance their social position. They act on different strategies, which aim to either preserve the current order, or to change it depending on what serves their

interests best. This struggle makes the fields somewhat dynamic, and thus the capital that structures the fields may change over time. In the management consulting field we could grasp this dynamic process through the opposition existing between traditional management consultants and consultants working within the IT-side of management consulting. The introduction of IT-services in management consulting has forced the field to redefine what management consulting is. In this struggle between traditional management consultants and IT-consultants, the agents take different stands. Traditional management consultants struggle to preserve the current order, as we could understand from the interviews with management consultants, in order to protect their current status within the field. Doing otherwise would mean to question their own existence, since their position is built upon the field's current order.

Although each field's reality is socially constructed through this kind of ongoing struggle, the capital it takes to be an artist or a management consultant is not easily redefined. Agents holding dominant positions within a field also have more symbolic power to impose their definition of reality on the rest of the field, and these dominant groups will generally act on strategies that aim to preserve the current order (Bourdieu 2005 p. 195). Agents holding dominated positions will either try to imitate those above in attempts to enhance their social position, or else they will act on strategies that aim to overthrow the current order (Bourdieu 1992 p.44). However, imitating those above tends to reproduce the existing social order, while revolting against them often reinforces already dominated positions. Along these lines, artists and management consultants are also forced into specific positions within their respective field. For example, we could see that artists with less field experience are questioned more and have a harder time surviving as artists, while those with more field experience are well-recognized and easily acquire different project assignments.

This study has shown that both the management consulting and artistic field includes a first dimension that places agents with more field experience in relation to agents with less, and a second dimension that

places agents with a higher volume of inherited economic and cultural capital, as well as acquired educational capital in relation to agents with a lower volume. This means that professional capital, as well as social origin and educational capital are important for defining the artist and the management consultant. Those artists and management consultants holding lower volumes of these capital resources are questioned more within the fields, and face different professional possibilities, compared to those with higher volumes. For example, we have seen that management consultants holding higher volumes of both inherited capital and acquired educational capital have the possibility to work in the larger corporations and foreign firms, while those with lower volumes of these species of capital work in the smaller companies and in their own private consultancy firm.

Professional capital is specific for the third axis and shows an opposition between different forms of professional capital, which are most specific for each field. In the arts, the third axis separates artists with more stable work conditions from those best described as typical freelancers. In the field of management consulting, this axis places consultants with work histories in other fields of consulting in opposition to those with a career mainly within the management consulting field. In other words, the third axis places the general consulting capital in relation to specific management consulting capital.

## Employment Structures

Artists and management consultants act on different strategies, which serve the purpose of maintaining or enhancing their positions within the fields, and in this study these strategies have been analyzed in terms of employment strategies. We have seen that artists and management consultants holding diverse social positions within their fields face different employment possibilities, and based on these, act on different employment strategies. In the field of artistic production, capital acquired within the field itself is more important in determining the distribution of employment possibilities. We could see that field

experience was the species of capital which had most effect on the employment structure, and placed freelance artists running private firms opposite to artists working in art institutions and in the independent art sector. In the field of management consulting, inherited economic and cultural capital, and acquired educational capital were more important in distinguishing between employment groups, and especially in distinguishing consultants working in foreign and larger consultancy firms from those running private consulting firms. Since in Sweden, it is foremost the capital strong fractions of society that pursue longer degrees in higher business and engineering education, (Broady et al 2002 pp. 27 and 35-36), consultants who have these kinds of degrees tend to come from higher social origins. In this sense, management consultants' social origin preconditions their employment position to a larger extent, while artists acquire their professional status principally through the investments they make within the field.

As discussed in a previous chapter, the importance of field experience in distinguishing between employment groups in the artistic field likely reflects the artistic capital artists can accumulate by investing in the field. With a higher relative degree of autonomy, more importance is given to the internal principle of hierarchisation for defining those within the field's borders (Bourdieu 2000 [1992] p. 316). The artistic field includes an employment structure that appears to depend to a larger extent on field experience, which indicates its relatively higher degree of autonomy. In turn, this autonomy could explain why such an importance is placed on investments made within the field's borders. However, since the data at hand does not allow any in-depth study of the symbolic capital, these results are merely indicative and need to be studied further.

In the results we could see that field experience is also important in separating between employment groups within the field of management consulting. However, based on the results from analyzing the subclouds of employees in foreign and local firms, and the interviews with management consultants, field experience seems to be a capital important for distributing professional possibilities within the

companies, rather than within the field in general. In other words, the amount of experience consultants possess working in the field may determine their possibilities of becoming a senior or junior consultant within a firm. However, we could also see an employment structure based on field experience, with a younger generation of consultants working in the foreign firms and an older generation starting incorporated consultancy firms.

Along the third axis we could see that consultants working within the IT-side of management consulting were separated from other management consultants in the management consulting field. This distinction corresponds to an opposition between general consulting capital and management consulting capital, as mentioned above. Hence, the struggle between traditional management consultants and IT-consultants is a struggle over different forms of consulting capital. In the field of artistic production, the third axis mainly separates artists working with public TV and radio production from other types of artists.

## Social Positions and Self-Employment

In both fields, being self-employed with a private firm corresponds to a lower social position. In the artistic field, field experience separates the freelance artists with private firms from artists in general and in particular from artists holding higher positions within the field, such as those working in the art institutions and in the independent art sector. The freelance artists with this kind of legal entity have less field experience, compared to many other employment groups. This kind of employment position seems to be a reality for many artists, and is irrespective of whether the artists have acquired a higher degree in the arts, or have inherited economic and cultural resources. These results tell us that the capital the artists accumulated previous to entering the field has less importance for defining her or his chances of entering self-employment, compared to the capital that she or he acquires within the field.

On the contrary, in the field of management consulting the inherited capital resources and acquired educational capital separates those running private consultancy firms from consultants in general. Private firm holders commonly lack higher engineering or business degrees and have a lower social origin than management consultants in general. These consultants can have either more or less field experience, as well as a combination of the capital which are specific for each capital pole in the first dimension of the space. The subcloud of these private firm holders was quite concentrated towards the center of the first axis, indicating that consultants with a combination of the capital along the first axis tend to hold this employment position. A possible explanation could be that the management consulting field offers the possibility to start a consultancy business based on knowledge acquired in other production fields. Hence, agents who have started their careers in other fields enter the field of management consulting later on in their careers. These consultants are then biologically older, but have less field experience than average for management consultants their age. In this sense, the opposition along the second axis could also be interpreted as an opposition between consultants who build their consultancy practice from knowledge acquired within the educational system, and those who build it from knowledge acquired through professional experience.

Incorporated firm holders have more field experience than others within both the management consulting and artistic fields. Hence, in contrast to private firms, running an incorporated firm is a strategy for management consultants and artists that have reached a higher social position. In the artistic field, the accumulated field experience allows artists to freelance with this type of legal entity. As discussed in previous chapters, the artistic field includes two kinds of freelancers, and while one kind faces harsher employment conditions, the other one is frequently hired for art projects. The incorporated firm holders appear to belong to the more established kind of freelancers. This is discussed further later on in this chapter.

In the field of management consulting, incorporated firm holders are placed in opposition to consultants working in foreign firms along the

first axis. The foreign companies include a larger share of junior consultants and fewer senior ones because of their 'up-or-out' career system. Meanwhile, the incorporated firms are mainly held by consultants who have gained more experience within the field. We could also see that incorporated firm holders were separated from consultants working in foreign firms along the second axis, and hence have less inherited and educational resources than the consultants working in foreign firms. From the interviews we could understand that the consultants entering the foreign companies generally aim to make a career within these firms, rather than to start up their own consultancy business. Hence, it seems that the highly educated consultants within the field less commonly start up consultancy businesses.

The social position of artists and management consultants holding private or incorporated firms is similar in the two fields in the sense that private firm owners hold lower social positions, while incorporated firm owners hold higher ones. However, since the fields include different social realities, different species of capital distinguish the self-employed artists and management consultants from others within the fields.

## Wage-Employment

Artists working in art institutions and in the independent art sector generally have a higher volume of inherited economic and cultural capital, as well as acquired educational capital and field experience. These artists take a dominant position within the field due to their higher volume of capital resources. In the management consulting field, it appears to be two distinct employment groups holding higher positions. One group consists of the management consultants who work in the foreign and larger firms, foremost within the traditional management side of these firms. The other group includes consultants running their own consultancy business while holding incorporated firms. The consultants employed by the foreign firms hold their social position due to a higher volume of inherited capital, and acquired educational resources. Meanwhile, consultants running their own consultancy

business hold their social position because of a higher volume of field experience. The two groups are opposite each other based on field experience, but to some extent also based on the inherited and educational capital, with incorporated firm holders taking a centered position along the second axis, and consultants working in foreign firms clearly placed to the right along this axis. Hence, the acquired educational and inherited capital stands in opposition to field experience to some extent. This shows that there is struggle over these forms of capital, with consultants in foreign firms likely to argue that educational capital is crucial in management consulting, and incorporated firm holders believing that field experience is most important. Previous research on management consultants have come to similar conclusions (see chapter 5).

## Employment Strategies

Artists and management consultants enter self-employment as a strategy to maintain or enhance their social position within their respective fields. The two groups of self-employed identified in this study start up different legal entities, and these legal entities in turn have different liabilities. For example, setting up an incorporated firm requires that the individual has the money needed to register the firm, as well as to employ a certified accountant. In this sense, it is more difficult to access the employment position implied by holding an incorporated firm, compared to that of holding a private firm. As discussed previously, types of employment that are easier to access are generally less prestigious, while it is the reverse with kinds of employment that are difficult to enter. Private firms are in this sense easier to access than incorporated firms, which could explain why these different legal entities are established by artists and management consultants holding diverse social positions.

Since holding an incorporated firm is more prestigious within the fields than holding a private firm, some agents in lower positions may start up incorporated firms to imitate those in higher positions, while attempting

to enhance their social position. The interviews with management consultants suggested that some consultants act on this kind of strategy. Some of the respondents indicated that they had set up an incorporated firm in order to appear more successful than they actually were when they started their company.

Compared to wage-employment, self-employment is an easier form of employment to access, since the agent creates her or his employment, rather than depend on an employer (Rosenfeld 1992 p. 44). In the fields of management consulting and artistic production, this argument seems to apply foremost to private firm ownership. Because it is a more accessible kind of employment position, it also has less status within the two fields, compared to some of the wage-employment, such as employment in foreign firms in the field of management consulting and employment in art institutions and with independent art groups in the artistic field. These kinds of employment are instead harder to access, with for example few employment positions being offered in art institutions in the artistic field, as well as higher volumes of educational capital required to enter the foreign firms in the management consulting field. Because these kinds of employment are more difficult to access, they also hold more prestige. In turn, because they are more prestigious agents holding higher social positions use them to protect their position within the fields.

## Pushed or Pulled into Self-Employment

In previous research on self-employment it has been argued that individuals are either pushed or pulled into self-employment. In other words, they are either more or less forced to become self-employed (Lippmann et al 2005 p. 10). In a similar vein, this study has shown that there are two groups of individuals, holding different social positions that enter self-employment.

Although artists and management consultants who start private firms could be referred to as pushed into self-employment because of their

lower social position, and those starting incorporated firms as being pulled into self-employment because of their higher position, the concepts 'pushed' and 'pulled' are somewhat misleading, since agents generally have the possibility to actively act on different strategies (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 pp. 108-109). Furthermore, each group faces a more or less limited space of professional chances, as well as can act on opportunities in the market. It does not have to be an either or situation for the self-employed agent. For instance, for freelance artists who run private firms, self-employment provides an opportunity to produce art. At the same time, their employment position is a result of having a limited number of employment possibilities.

Even though there is a higher share of self-employed agents in the artistic field than in management consulting, only a minority of artists set up incorporated firms. This result suggests that artists mainly enter self-employment as a way to establish themselves within their field, rather than to protect a dominant position. Due to the small commercial market for art, artists face harsh employment conditions, often falling into unemployment between jobs or working on the side in a secondary employment. Freelancing is a reality for many artists and starting a private firm is mean by which artists may find employment. Being employed by art institutions and independent art groups, or being so hired for productions as an established freelancer who runs an incorporated firm, is a reality for only a few within the field.

## A Dynamic Understanding of Self-Employment

In previous research on self-employment, variables such as work experience and education have been considered in order to understand the characteristics of those who choose to enter self-employment. However, this study shows that the kinds of work experiences and fields of education the agents have accumulated are important to determine her or his position within the field, and in turn the kinds of employment possibilities that she or he will face. For example, work experience that is not field specific can provide the beholder with a completely different

social position than those with field specific work experience. We have seen that although the management consulting and the artistic fields have similar social structures, the capital that structures them is to a large extent field specific. For instance, professional capital does not include the same kind of work experience in the two fields. Furthermore, the difference between agents with more or less inherited and educational capital includes field specific educational capital. Those with higher social origins have accumulated a higher degree in business administration or engineering in the management consulting field, and a higher arts degree in the artistic field.

More importantly, previous research on self-employment has been concerned with the characteristics of individuals in order to understand who chooses self-employed over wage-employment. However, this study shows that it is not the capital that characterizes the self-employed that is important. Agents that are self-employed in the artistic field and in management consulting have different capital compositions, but they hold a similar social position (depending on the legal form of their firm). Since each field includes its own logic, agents with similar capital compositions can occupy different positions depending on the field. Consequently, these agents face diverse employment possibilities. For example, if the management consultants who lack inherited and educational capital worked in another field, they might not enter self-employment. Thus, it is more important to study what capital characterizes the structures of a field, and what social positions those entering self-employment hold within these structures, in order to understand which groups of individuals become self-employed.

Furthermore, although this study shows that private firm holders and incorporated firm holders occupy similar social positions within the two fields, it may not be the case in all fields. Different kinds of employment can hold different status depending on the field. In one field holding a private firm can be considered prestigious and desirable, while in another field it can be considered less desirable. In order to understand the value placed in certain types of employment, it is necessary to study how they are distributed between social groups.

Finally, previous research defines the choices between self-employment and wage-employed as dichotomous. However, in this study we have seen that artists and management consultants are not limited to these two employment possibilities. For instance, artists with more field experience have the possibility to be either wage-employed, working in one of the art institutions or independent art groups, or to be self-employed and freelance with an incorporated firm. Thus, the wage-employed in art institutions are similar to artists who freelance with incorporated firms, in the sense that they hold a similar social position. It is therefore important to understand the different employment possibilities that exist within a field as they are socially created. The agents themselves may, as we have seen, not distinguish between self-employment and wage-employment in general.

## Further Research

In this dissertation I have studied the management consulting and artistic fields. A suggestion for further research is to study the relation between social positions and employment possibilities in other fields. For instance, it would be interesting to see if individuals in other fields who enter self-employment belong to two distinct social groups as well, or if they all occupy one and the same position. Self-employment can be a possibility for the masses in the sense that it is not very prestigious and a rather easy form of employment to enter. On the other hand, it can be an option for a privileged few if starting a business is considered prestigious and not that easy to do. Finally, self-employment can be a possibility for everyone within a field, thus not used by lower or higher positioned groups to maintain or enhance their position, but maybe to distinguish an entire field from another.

In this dissertation we have seen that in both the management consulting and artistic field, self-employed individuals holding private firms occupy a lower social position and incorporated firm holders occupy a higher. It would be interesting to study whether the different social

positions of private firm holders and incorporated firm holders are the same in other fields. The lower status of private firms, and the higher status of incorporated firms, might be more or less general across fields since the latter legal entity is more difficult to establish than the former.

Since this study has shown that private firm holders occupy a different social position from incorporated firm holders, it would be interesting to further study the space of institutions, i.e. the space of the various kinds of firms in management consulting and artistic production. This kind of study would allow us to gain an understanding of the capital that separates the organizations within the fields, though criteria such as number of employees, turnover, survival rates, and so on. Previous research has for instance, suggested that incorporated firms have higher survival rates, employment growth, and salary levels than private firms (Delmar et al 2005 pp. 65-73).

In this study, I have been concerned primarily with the social structures of the management consulting and artistic fields, and less with how agents within the fields construct their social reality. Groups of individuals holding different social positions have different interests and views on matters concerning the field. The social reality of a field is determined by these differences in opinions. In order to understand how agents perceive their reality, it is necessary to study the perspective of individuals holding different positions within the fields. For example, we have seen that field experience separates artists, but we do not know much about how artists reason about investments in the field, the arguments given for its importance by successful artists, or how artists who lack field experience justify their presence within the field in relation to those who are more senior. By taking into consideration the perspectives of agents holding different positions, we could for instance, understand more about the interests behind starting an incorporated or a private firm. Since these legal entities are established by agents holding distinct social positions, the arguments for establishing one or the other legal entity are likely to be different. From the interviews carried out for this study, we could understand that an argument for having an incorporated firm is that it is perceived as a more serious undertaking

than having a private firm. The agent who owns an incorporated firm seems to communicate a certain amount of success. However, we do not really know the arguments for starting up a private firm. Furthermore, we do not know the arguments for entering self-employment altogether. Some expressed that starting a business is done out of economic interests, i.e. to make financial profit out of one's position within the field. However, this is just one of the arguments for starting a business. We do not know about other arguments, or if different reasons for entering self-employment are provided by private and incorporated firm holders.

# Appendix 1

## Selection of Artists and Management Consultants

In the following I present the criteria for selecting artists and management consultants.

### Industrial Codes and Classification of Occupation

The two different populations have been selected according to the industries in which they were gainfully employed and their occupational status in the year 2002. Industry affiliation is defined according to Statistics Sweden's (SCB) Standard Industrial Code 2002 (SIC: 2002).<sup>62</sup> Individuals working in Cultural Activities (Motion Picture and Video Production: SIC 92110, Radio and Television Activities: 92 200, Artistic and Literary Creation and Interpretation: 92310, Operation of Art Facilities: 92 320) as well as in Business and Management Consulting Activities (SIC 74 140) are included. Professional status is defined according to Statistics Sweden's Standard Classification of Occupation 1996 (SSYK:96).<sup>63</sup> Individuals with an occupational status as Professionals (SSYK 2) have been selected in the industry of Business and Management Consulting, and Writers and Creative or Performing Artists (SSYK 245) have been selected in the industry of Cultural Activities. The populations have been selected based on both SIC and SSYK because selecting individuals solely based on SIC would also include those working in other kinds of occupation, such as administrative and supporting functions, within the arts and management consulting.

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<sup>62</sup> SIC is a five digit code showing industry affiliation. For more information on SIC, see: En longitudinell database kring utbildning, inkomst och sysselsättning (LOUISE) 1990-2002, 2005:01, pp. 206-208 (Statistics Sweden 2005:01) and MIS 2003:2 SNI 2002 Swedish Industrial Classification 2002 (Statistics Sweden 2003:2).

<sup>63</sup> SSYK is a four digit code showing occupation. For more information on SSYK, see: MIS 1998:3 SSYK 96 – yrkesbenämningar (Statistics Sweden 1998:3).

Individuals who are self-employed with one or no employees are, to a large extent, lacking information about professional status in SSYK. In order to capture this group of individuals, they have been included in the population only according to their SIC. Self-employed artists have been selected based on SIC 92 310 (Artistic and Literary Creation and Interpretation), which is the standard industrial code for independent artists. Self-employed management consultants, with one or no employees, have been selected based on SIC 74 140.

To obtain a well-defined populations for the purpose of this study has proved to be a difficult task to accomplish, especially when it came to the population of artists, because SIC and SSYK include rather rough definitions of industry and occupation, and because SSYK does not cover most of the self-employed population. With this in mind, certain occupational categories that preferably should have been excluded have been included, and artists working in different artistic subfields have been merged and are studied in their overall artistic field. By combining SSYK and SIC, and by using only SIC for self-employed with one or no employees, we obtain the following population of creating and performing artists: writers, sculptors, painters, composers, musicians and singers within classical music, dancers and choreographers, actors, and directors. It is only artists within the classical fields of music and dance that have been included in the population. Artists within the popular genre and entertainment industry, such as artists working in musicals and artists composing and performing popular music, are excluded. In SSYK, musicians, singers, dancers, and choreographers in the popular genre of music and dance are given another code (SSYK 347). This code also includes individuals working as property managers and in assisting positions in theatre, film and TV productions. Given this, including those with SSYK 347 would imply including individuals who are not artists. On the other hand, since everyone with SIC 92 310 is included for self-employed artists with one or no employees, some categories of artists which are not included in the SSYK code 245 can have been included among the self-employed artists, for example, self-employed musicians and dancers in the popular genre of art production.

Some journalists, designers and illustrators are included in SSYK 245. They are part of the population as far as they work in the cultural industry covered by the standard industrial codes included in this study. However, many journalists, designers and illustrators work elsewhere, in industries such as Newspaper Publishing (SIC 2 212), Advertising (SIC 7 440), or News Agency Activities (SIC 9 240). I have chosen to exclude these other industries since they are distinct production fields. Self-employed journalists with one or no employees are excluded from the group of artists because they have another standard industrial code than 92 310. This means that if there are journalists who are wage-employed in the field of art, they are included in this study (since they have SSYK 245), but no self-employed journalists are included (since they have another SIC).

Management consultants are selected based on SSYK 2 and SIC 74 140. For management consultants, there is no SSYK that only includes just them. Hence, the category 'Professionals' has been used to filter out individuals working in other functions than management consulting in this industry. Individuals included in the population of consultants are, for example, working in accounting, human resources, marketing, organization, and other areas of management consulting.

### Implications with the Selection

There is a risk with including a somewhat diverse population, as is the case with the population of artists where the artists belong to different subfields. The same risk also occurs when including a wage-employed population based on SIC and SSYK, while a self-employed population mainly based on SIC, as is the case with both populations. First of all, since the artists belong to different subfields, it might be more common for some categories of artists to be self-employed than it is for others. For example, musicians might more commonly be self-employed than actors. To reduce this risk, I have been careful in coding the variables for this study. Educational capital has been coded so that all artistic and

journalistic educations have the same variable value. In this way, individuals with an education in music do not risk being opposite individuals with an education in acting based on their educational capital.

Second, it might be more common for some groups of artists to have, for example, a higher education than others. If these artists also tend to have a certain employment status, the position of that employment in the geometrical space produced by the Specific MCA will be effected. For instance, dancers tend to have a shorter educational level than many other artists. If dancers are also typically self-employed, we risk an opposition between dancers and other artists showing that artists with shorter levels of education are more commonly self-employed. However, since the variables contribute jointly to the structure produced by the Specific MCA, this reduces the risk of getting clear-cut oppositions based on single variables.

The risk with including a self-employed population mainly based on SIC, while a wage-employed population is based on both SIC and SSYK, is the same risk as with merging different artistic subfields into one population. For example, let us say that wage-employed journalists tend to have a capital profile that differs them from self-employed artists in general, while not a profile that differs them from self-employed journalists (the latter journalists not being included in the population). In this case, including the wage-employed journalists in the analyses will affect the distance created between the modalities 'self-employed' and 'wage-employed', and this distance could become larger than if self-employed journalists were also included. However, since artists other than journalists are also included in the study, they contribute to the oppositions that are created as well, which in turn reduces the risk of distances between modalities completely being determined by a scenario such as the above.

## Section According to Income

The two populations only include individuals gainfully employed in the given industries in 2002.<sup>64</sup> In addition, only artists and management consultants who have their main source of income from the given industries are included. Those with a declared income from another industry that exceeds their income from the industries under study are excluded from the populations. The reason is that an individual's Standard Industrial Code, occupational status, as well as employment status, is connected to her or his main source of income, information which in turn is based on income declarations to the tax authorities. It is therefore impossible to see if there are individuals who work as artists, or as management consultants on the side of employment which they have as their main income. Since artists especially tend to have a job on the side of their artistic work (SOU 2003:21 p. 21), several artists are likely to have been excluded from this study. This is a well known problem in research using census data to classify artists (e.g. Throsby 1994; Filer 1986). In addition, since only gainfully employed individuals are included, artists who have grants that are exempt from taxation as their only source of income are excluded. The space of artists and management consultants is therefore limited to those individuals who can make a living (in terms of income) out of artistic production, or management consulting.

The implications of including individuals in the populations based on income foremost concerns artists, since they often have jobs on the side, as well as receive grants to work as artists. It is therefore possible that a larger share of artists is excluded from this study. One implication is that we might not see all the oppositions in our data, which actually exist among artists in Sweden, but only those created by including artists with

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<sup>64</sup> Individuals with a declared income above SEK 100 from an employer or from an active business are defined as gainfully employed. A business is defined as active if the owner has worked in it for at least 600 hours that year or if the work foremost has been carried out by the owner. The data is collected from the annual income declaration to the tax authorities for self-employed individuals and statement of income from employers for employees (Statistics Sweden 2005:01 pp. 102-103). For more information on employment status, see: En longitudinell databas kring utbildning, inkomst och sysselsättning (LOUISE) 1990-2002, 2005:01, pp. 65-69 (Statistics Sweden 2005:01).

a main income from the industry. For example, the results in this study do not show any clear-cut distinction between artists working in art institutions and artists working with independent art, but the interviews indicate that this kind of opposition exists within the field. We might not see this distinction in our material as a result of excluding artists who have their main source of income from other industries, as well as artists living on grants.

### Selection According to Age

Individuals older than 45 and younger than 25 years of age are excluded from the two populations. Over 50 percent of individuals older than 45 years lack information about their parents in both fields, and including them would most likely generate a structure where individuals missing information are opposed to individuals that do not. Those younger than 25 years are excluded because I analyze the effects of work experience in this study and those younger than 25 cannot possibly have longer work experience. Hence, the variable showing number of years in the labor market becomes too redundant, i.e. only reflects different age categories. Excluding an older and a younger population from this study implies that we cannot study the positions these individuals take within the management consulting and artistic fields. However, since it is the oppositions that are in focus in this study, we gain an understanding of the meaning of being older, as opposed to being younger, in the two fields only by looking at the individuals who are included in the study. Furthermore, it might be that the distances between individuals generated by age (jointly with other variables) would have been larger if the older and younger individuals, that now are excluded, had been included.

## Appendix 2

### Tables to chapter 5

**Table 7:** Management consultants in different kinds of employment.

	percent	n
<b>Firm size</b>		
Smaller firm	58.9	5 746
Medium-sized firm	18.3	1 788
Larger firm	22.8	2 219
Total	100	9753
<b>Ownership</b>		
Foreign firm	15.9	1 545
Local firm	84.1	8 165
Total	100	9 710
<b>Division</b>		
IT-consulting division	33.3	2 395
Management consulting division	66.7	4 790
Total	100	7 185
<b>Form of employment</b>		
Self-employed with private firm	14.9	1 458
Self-employed with incorporated firm	11.9	1 163
Wage-employed	73.3	7 185
Total	100	9 806

**Table 8:** Artists in different kinds of employment.

	percent	n
<b>Sector</b>		
Public	40.7	3 031
Private	59.3	4 422
Total	100	7 453
<b>Field of production</b>		
Film industry	4.7	364
Independent art	47.8	3 664
Television & Radio	32.4	2 482
Art institutions	15.1	1 155
Total	100	9 806
<b>Form of employment</b>		
Self-employed with private firm	34.1	2 616
Self-employed with incorporated firm	4.9	375
Wage-employed	61.0	4 674
Total	100	7 665

# Appendix 3

## Tables to chapter 6

**Table 9:** Parents' socio-economic group.

	Small business	Manual work	Lower level	Intermediate level	professionals	Total n	Total percent
<b>Artists</b>							
Public art institution	6.6	12.7	13.0	30.3	37.4	684	100
Private art institution	2.4	10.5	18.5	28.2	40.3	124	100
Public independent art	5.8	7.2	20.1	31.7	35.3	139	100
Private independent art	9.2	12.9	11.2	21.1	35.5	411	100
Film industry	5.4	11.8	8.8	35.8	38.2	204	100
Public TV & Radio	6.1	12.7	11.7	32.2	37.2	1 524	100
Private TV & Radio	4.9	17.9	14.7	32.7	29.7	407	100
Self-employed, Priv.	8.2	12.2	14.5	29.5	35.5	2 173	100
Self-employed, Inc.	8.6	16.4	14.7	29.1	31.2	292	100
<b>Total n</b>	<b>422</b>	<b>768</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>1 838</b>	<b>2 130</b>	<b>5 958</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total percent</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>12.9</b>	<b>13.4</b>	<b>30.8</b>	<b>35.8</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Management consultants</b>							
Foreign firm/IT	6.5	13.6	10.7	35.7	33.6	619	100
Local firm/IT	6.0	15.6	15.2	36.0	27.1	1 389	100
Foreign firm/Management	5.5	6.2	11.3	31.2	45.9	693	100
Local firm/Management	7.3	12.0	13.4	32.1	35.2	3 159	100
Self-employed, Priv.	9.1	18.3	15.6	30.7	26.3	1 138	100
Self-employed, Inc.	7.1	12.9	14.0	32.9	33.2	910	100
<b>Total n</b>	<b>563</b>	<b>1 047</b>	<b>1 082</b>	<b>2 600</b>	<b>2 616</b>	<b>7 908</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total percent</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<b>32.9</b>	<b>33.1</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 10:** Parents' mean income.

	Mean	n
<b>Artists</b>		
Public art institution	287 852	769
Private art institution	295 597	137
Public independent art	286 203	158
Private independent art	276 334	454
Film industry	320 687	227
Public TV & Radio	303 927	1 680
Private TV & Radio	304 627	431
Self-employed, Priv.	284 299	2 381
Self-employed, Inc.	259 318	332
<b>Total</b>	<b>290 794</b>	<b>6 569</b>
<b>Management consultants</b>		
Foreign firm/IT	337 367	658
Local firm/IT	305 022	1 472
Foreign firm/Management	395 105	736
Local firm/Management	322 882	3 474
Self-employed, Priv.	258 122	1 276
Self-employed, Inc.	305 132	1 026
<b>Total</b>	<b>315 425</b>	<b>8 642</b>

**Table 11:** Parents' income (first deciles, median, and tenth deciles).

	Management consultants	Artists
	SEK	SEK
Low income	56 751	48 941
Median income	307 300	285 100
High income	558 200	511 000

**Table 12: Parents' education.**

	Parents' field of education (for parents with $\geq 3$ years of higher education)							Parents' level of education				
	Social Sc.	Pedagogy	Engineering & natural Sc.	Health care	Art & humanities	Others	Total n	< 3 years secondary education	< 3 years higher education	$\geq 3$ years higher education	Total n	Total percent
<b>Artists</b>												
Public art institution	13.1	36.1	14.9	9.7	20.7	5.5	382	26.3	25.2	48.5	787	100
Private art institution	20.5	26.0	20.5	8.2	13.7	10.9	73	25.9	21.6	52.5	139	100
Public independent art	11.5	44.9	10.3	7.7	25.6	0.0	78	26.7	24.8	48.4	161	100
Private independent art	20.7	40.4	11.1	6.3	19.2	2.4	208	31.8	23.7	44.4	468	100
Film industry	31.7	20.8	9.9	14.9	17.8	5.0	101	22.7	33.2	44.1	229	100
Public TV & Radio	23.3	27.6	13.6	13.6	15.9	6.0	738	27.0	29.7	43.3	1 705	100
Private TV & Radio	26.1	31.1	14.4	11.1	9.4	7.8	180	28.2	30.8	41.0	439	100
Self-employed, Priv.	24.6	27.3	16.0	10.3	16.1	5.8	1 034	29.4	28.3	42.3	2 446	100
Self-employed, Inc.	23.6	26.8	11.0	11.0	17.3	10.3	127	34.8	27.4	37.8	336	100
<b>Total n</b>	<b>652</b>	<b>874</b>	<b>418</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>489</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>2 921</b>	<b>1 907</b>	<b>1 882</b>	<b>2 921</b>	<b>6 710</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total percent</b>	<b>22.3</b>	<b>29.9</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28.4</b>	<b>28.0</b>	<b>43.5</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Management</b>												
Foreign firm/IT	29.8	22.2	24.2	12.3	6.0	5.6	252	28.3	33.9	37.8	667	100
Local firm/IT	27.2	23.8	22.2	10.5	7.7	8.7	496	31.8	34.9	33.2	1 492	100
Foreign/Management	30.4	17.8	22.2	14.9	7.7	15.6	415	14.8	29.2	55.9	742	100
Local firm/Management	30.7	23.5	18.4	12.9	6.3	8.0	1 431	27.3	32.5	40.2	3 561	100
Self-employed, Priv.	24.3	29.5	17.2	11.5	9.1	8.3	383	38.9	32.3	28.8	1 328	100
Self-employed, Inc.	31.0	24.3	19.0	11.3	7.5	7.0	416	32.6	28.2	39.2	1 062	100
<b>Total n</b>	<b>998</b>	<b>799</b>	<b>672</b>	<b>421</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>3 393</b>	<b>2 608</b>	<b>2 851</b>	<b>3 393</b>	<b>8 852</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total percent</b>	<b>29.4</b>	<b>23.5</b>	<b>19.8</b>	<b>12.4</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>32.2</b>	<b>38.3</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 13: Artists' and Management consultants' education.**

	Field of education (for those with > 3 years of higher education)							Level of education					
	Social Sc.	Pedagogy	Engineering & natural Sc.	Health care	Art & humanities	Others	Total n	Total percent	< 3 years of higher education	3 years of higher education	> 3 years of higher education	Total n	Total percent
<b>Artists</b>													
Public art institution	1.6	10.0	0.2	0.5	87.7	0.0	570	100	40.0	37.4	22.7	958	100
Private art institution	0.0	12.0	0.0	1.3	86.7	0.0	75	100	51.0	32.0	17.0	153	100
Public independent art	0.8	19.5	0.0	0.0	79.7	0.0	123	100	33.0	37.3	29.7	185	100
Private independent art	1.2	13.9	0.0	0.0	84.5	0.4	245	100	54.6	28.0	17.3	542	100
Film industry	27.6	8.6	5.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	58	100	78.7	14.7	6.6	272	100
Public TV & Radio	52.8	6.7	5.4	1.5	33.4	0.2	653	100	64.1	28.9	7.0	1848	100
Private TV & Radio	63.6	8.4	4.7	1.9	19.6	1.9	107	100	77.4	19.6	3.0	474	100
Self-employed, Priv.	26.3	13.3	6.8	3.0	50.1	0.4	730	100	71.6	17.0	11.4	2602	100
Self-employed, Inc.	14.9	19.4	7.5	0.0	58.2	0.0	67	100	82.1	11.5	6.4	374	100
<b>Total n</b>	<b>644</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>1 548</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2 628</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4754</b>	<b>1780</b>	<b>874</b>	<b>7408</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total percent</b>	<b>24.5</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>58.9</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>64.2</b>	<b>24.0</b>	<b>11.8</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Mgn. consultants</b>													
Foreign firm/IT	42.9	0.4	55.2	0.4	0.2	0.8	478	100	32.9	30.1	37.0	714	100
Local firm/IT	20.3	0.7	75.5	0.6	2.3	0.6	834	100	49.2	24.3	26.5	1646	100
Foreign firm/Management	62.3	0.6	31.9	1.4	2.7	1.1	631	100	21.9	28.0	50.1	810	100
Local firm/Management	69.4	3.6	16.5	3.1	4.6	2.8	2 416	100	38.0	35.7	26.3	3912	100
Self-employed, Priv.	56.3	5.5	21.3	7.9	6.1	2.9	623	100	56.8	26.7	16.6	1455	100
Self-employed, Inc.	55.1	3.3	31.3	3.7	4.9	1.6	546	100	52.3	27.6	20.1	1156	100
<b>Total n</b>	<b>3 095</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>1 797</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>5 528</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4140</b>	<b>2947</b>	<b>2606</b>	<b>9693</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total percent</b>	<b>56.0</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>32.5</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42.7</b>	<b>30.4</b>	<b>26.9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 14:** Artists' and Management unemployment and experience of working in other industries.

	Unemployment				Work experience outside current industry			
	No unemployment	< 180 days in unemployment	≥ 180 days in unemployment	Total unemployment	Only worked in the same field	Worked elsewhere	Total n	Total percent
<b>Artists</b>								
Public art institution	45.1	27.6	27.4	54.9	51.4	48.6	990	100
Private art institution	5.2	43.1	51.6	94.8	25.5	74.5	153	100
Public independent art	47.9	26.1	26.1	52.1	43.6	56.4	188	100
Private independent art	29.0	28.4	42.6	71.0	31.5	68.5	549	100
Film industry	25.0	35.3	39.7	75.0	31.3	68.8	272	100
Public TV & Radio	28.5	46.8	24.7	71.5	32.3	67.7	1 853	100
Private TV & Radio	16.7	48.1	35.2	83.3	15.4	84.6	474	100
Self-employed, Priv.	22.4	36.7	40.8	77.6	11.5	88.5	2 616	100
Self-employed, Inc.	49.1	30.4	20.5	50.9	36.0	64.0	375	100
<b>Total n</b>	<b>2 149</b>	<b>2 810</b>	<b>2 511</b>	<b>5 321</b>	<b>1 995</b>	<b>5 475</b>	<b>7 470</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total percent</b>	<b>28.8</b>	<b>37.6</b>	<b>33.6</b>	<b>71.2</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>73.3</b>		<b>100</b>
<b>Mgn. consultants</b>								
Foreign firm/IT	51.7	35.8	12.5	48.3	16.3	83.7	718	100
Local firm/IT	38.8	43.1	18.1	61.2	14.1	85.9	1 651	100
Foreign firm/Management	54.2	35.1	10.7	45.8	17.6	82.4	826	100
Local firm/Management	41.9	39.7	18.4	58.1	12.1	87.9	3 923	100
Self-employed, Priv.	33.3	38.3	28.5	66.7	13.0	87.0	1 458	100
Self-employed, Inc.	57.0	29.9	13.1	43.0	24.8	75.2	1 163	100
<b>Total n</b>	<b>4 249</b>	<b>3 723</b>	<b>1 767</b>	<b>5 490</b>	<b>1 449</b>	<b>8 290</b>	<b>9 739</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total percent</b>	<b>43.6</b>	<b>38.2</b>	<b>18.1</b>	<b>56.4</b>	<b>14.9</b>	<b>85.1</b>		<b>100</b>

# Appendix 4

## Tables to chapter 7

### The First Axis

10 active modalities contribute over average contribution to axis 1. The following table shows modalities placed in the top of the graph (5 modalities that contribute with 50.4 percent of the total variance), and in the lower part of the graph (5 modalities that contribute with 41.0 percent to the total variance).

**Table 15:** Interpretation of axis 1.

Variables	Ctr.	Modalities top in graph	Ctr.	Modalities bottom in graph	Ctr.
Worked outside the arts	26.8	Only worked in the arts	20.2	Worked outside the arts	6.6
Time in the arts	25.9	5-10 years	8.7	1-4 years	17.2
Age	16.1	42-45	6.4	25-28	9.7
Unemployment	14.0	No unemployment	9.6	<180 days unemployment	4.0
Worked in other art production	8.9	Worked in other art production	5.5	Only worked in present art production	3.5
Own education	4.0				
Parents' wealth	2.7				
Parents' education	1.4				
Parents' sector	0.2				
Total	100		50.4		41.0

## The Second Axis

12 active modalities contribute over average contribution to the second axis. To the left in the graph are 6 modalities that contribute with 44.3 percent to the total variance, while to the right in the graph are 6 modalities that explain 44.3 percent of the variance.

**Table 16:** Interpretation of axis 2.

Variables	Ctr.	Modalities left in graph	Ctr.	Modalities right in graph	Ctr.
Parents' education	43.4	Compulsory	10.5	Higher education $\geq 3$ years	14.3
		Secondary	11.5	Graduate studies	7.1
Parents' sector	24.8	Private sector	10.3	Public sector	14.5
Own education	16.6	Compulsory/secondary	9.1	Art 3 years	2.8
				Art $\geq 4$ years	2.7
Parents' wealth	7.6	Low or no wealth/smaller wealth	1.8/ 1.1	Very wealthy	2.9
Unemployment	2.9				
Age	2.6				
Worked in other art production	1.7				
Worked outside the arts	0.5				
Time in the arts	0.0				
Total	100		44.3		44.3

## The Third Axis

11 active modalities contribute over average contribution to the third axis. Placed to the left in the graph are 5 modalities that contribute with 35.6 percent to the variance, while to the right, 6 modalities that explain 50.3 percent.

**Table 17:** Interpretation of axis 3.

Variables	Ctr.	Modalities left in graph	Ctr.	Modalities right in graph	Ctr.
Unemployment	22.5	$\geq 180$ days unemployment	11.0	No unemployment	11.4
Worked in other art production	22.3	Worked in other art production	13.6	Only worked in present art production	8.6
Own education	17.7	Compulsory/secondary	2.4	Other higher education $\geq 3$ years	10.6
Age	14.8	29-41	3.0	42-45	11.7
Parents' wealth	12.1	Low or no wealth	5.6	Very wealthy	4.6
Time in the arts	5.1			1-4 years	3.4
Parents' education	3.0				
Parents' sector	1.5				
Worked outside the arts	1.1				
Total	100		35.6		50.3

# Appendix 5

## Tables to chapter 8

**Table 18:** Employment as supplementary variable. Coordinates for axes 1-3

Modalities	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Public art institution	0.68	0.20	- 0.32
Private art institution	0.27	0.27	- 0.58
Public independent art group	0.76	0.29	- 0.30
Private independent art group	0.39	0.11	- 0.45
Public TV & radio	- 0.03	0.05	0.28
Private TV & radio	- 0.39	- 0.10	- 0.01
Film industry	0.14	- 0.08	- 0.16
Self-employed, Inc.	0.39	- 0.39	0.19
Self-employed, Priv.	- 0.35	- 0.10	0.08

**Table 19:** Firm start as supplementary variable. Coordinates for axes 1-3

Modalities	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Private firm start in 2002	- 0.67	- 0.01	0.10
Incorporated firm start in 2002	- 0.18	- 0.32	- 0.03

**Table 20:** Sector as supplementary variable. Coordinates for axes 1-3

Modalities	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Public sector	0.23	0.11	0.07
Private sector	- 0.16	- 0.08	- 0.02

# Appendix 6

## Tables to chapter 9

### The First Axis

12 active modalities contribute over average contribution to axis 1. In the top of the graph we find 5 modalities that explain 55.0 percent of the variance, while in the lower part of the graph, 7 modalities that explain 36.3 percent of the variance.

**Table 21:** Interpretation of axis 1.

Variables	Ctr.	Modalities top in graph	Ctr.	Modalities bottom in graph	Ctr.
Time in consulting	29.1	6-10 years	18.0	1-5 years	11.1
Worked outside consulting	26.1	Only worked in consulting	22.6	Worked outside consulting	3.4
Age	15.2	40-45	5.9	25-30	9.1
Unemployment	8.3	No unemployment	4.5	<180 days unemployment	3.4
Worked in other consultancies	8.3	Worked in other consultancies	4.0	Only worked in management consulting	4.2
Own education	7.3			Business/economics	2.0
				≥4 years/ other higher education ≥3 years	3.1
Parents' sector	1.4				
Parents' education	3.4				
Parents' wealth	1.0				
Total	100		55.0		36.3

## The Second Axis

13 active modalities contribute over average contribution to the second dimension. To the left in the graph are 7 modalities that explain 39.9 percent of the variance, while to the right in the graph, 6 modalities that explain 45.2 percent of the variance.

**Table 22:** Interpretation of axis 2.

Variables	Ctr.	Modalities left in graph	Ctr.	Modalities right in graph	Ctr.
Parents' education	34.3	Compulsory	7.9	Higher education $\geq 3$ years	12.2
		Secondary	7.5	Graduate studies	6.6
Own education	23.2	Compulsory/secondary	9.8	Natural Sc/technology $\geq 4$ years	6.7
				Business/economics $\geq 4$ years	3.9
Parents' sector	13.7	Private sector	4.6	Public sector	9.1
Parents' wealth	12.2	Smaller wealth	3.0	Very wealthy	6.7
Unemployment	5.5	$\geq 180$ days unemployment	4.5		
Age		40-45	2.6		
Worked in other consultancies	3.1				
Time in consulting	3.0				
Worked outside consulting	0.6				
Total	100		39.9		45.2

## The Third Axis

There are 12 active modalities contributing over average contribution to the third axis. Placed to the left in the graph are 6 modalities that explain 44.7 percent of the variance and to the right, 6 modalities that contribute with 39.6 percent to the variance.

**Table 23:** Interpretation of axis 3.

Variables	Ctr.	Modalities left in graph	Ctr.	Modalities right in graph	Ctr.
Worked in other consultancies	24.5	Only worked in management consulting	12.5	Worked in other consultancies	12.0
Age	19.5	40-45	13.1	25-30	5.5
Own education	18.6	Other higher education $\geq 3$ years	4.3	Natural Sc/technology 3 years	8.7
		Business/economics 3 years	3.4		
Unemployment	17.1	No unemployment	8.6	< 180 days unemployment	8.4
Parents' education	8.1	Compulsory education	2.8	Secondary education 6-10 years	2.4
Time in consulting	4.3				2.6
Parents' wealth	4.2				
Parents' sector	3.4				
Worked outside consulting	0.1				
Total	100		44.7		39.6

# Appendix 7

## Tables to chapter 10

**Table 24:** Employment as supplementary variable. Coordinates for axes 1-3

Modalities	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Foreign firm/management	- 0.26	0.54	- 0.15
Foreign firm/IT	0.11	0.29	0.39
Local firm/management	- 0.13	0.01	- 0.11
Local firm/IT	0.04	0.04	0.50
Self-employed, Inc.	0.51	- 0.05	- 0.21
Self-employed, Priv.	- 0.01	- 0.45	- 0.21

**Table 25:** Firm start as supplementary variable. Coordinates for axes 1-3

Modalities	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Private firm start in 2002	- 0.15	- 0.36	- 0.07
Incorporated firm start in 2002	0.21	0.16	- 0.21

**Table 26:** Firm size as supplementary variable. Coordinates for axes 1-3

Modalities	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Smaller firm	0.05	- 0.13	- 0.07
Medium-sized firm	- 0.07	0.12	0.15
Larger firm	- 0.07	0.26	0.05



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