# Self-Employment among Social Groups in the Industry of Artistic Production in Sweden

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## Abstract

This paper includes a study on self-employment among social groups in the industry of artistic production in Sweden. Different employment forms, and individuals that enter them, are studied in order to create further understanding of how self-employment emerges as an employment possibility. Employment forms are placed in relation to occupation and it is argued that neither self-employment, nor wage-employment, is one and the same possibility regardless of occupation. The social backgrounds and accumulated resources possessed by the individuals gainfully employed in the industry of artistic production are studied in year 2002 and related to their employments in the same year. Data is collected by Statistics Sweden and captures a total of nine years of information. The method employed is Multiple Correspondence Analysis. The results show that it is foremost those with most capital resources who are distinguished from others by their employment in this market and that self-employment might be a strategy to accumulate resources needed for a wage-employment.

## Introduction

The labor market is made up of different employment forms in different occupations, yet research on self-employment and entrepreneurship has foremost studied how individuals in self-employment are distinct in their characteristics and resources from wage-employed regardless of occupation (cf. Aldrich & Davis 2004, Delmar & Davidsson 2000, Carroll & Mosakowski 1987, Sorensen 2004). It is argued that self-employed and wage-employed respectively are homogeneous groups, and that self-employed are different from wage-employed. The purpose of this paper is to give a more pragmatic understanding of the different employment forms, and the individuals who enter them. In other words, to create further understanding of how certain employments become subjectively and objectively possible for social groups to act on. It is here argued that self-employment is not necessarily a means to an end, but a way to employ oneself in a certain occupation. For some it is the only way to gain access to a certain occupation, for others wage-employment and self-employment in a certain occupation are equally possible ways to go. Hence, self-employed and wage-employed in given occupations are not always socially distinguished, but in some cases they are. Furthermore, individuals in self-employed and wage-employed respectively are not necessarily homogeneous groups, rather, self-employed and wage-employed in the same line of occupation may possess similar resources, which in turn distinguish them from other occupational groups regardless of employment form.

In order to create further understanding of the individuals who enter different employment forms, this paper employs theoretical concepts developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002).

Employment forms in different occupations are defined as different employment possibilities that become possibilities for individuals to act on given their capital resources and social backgrounds and the market that they enter. It is in this meeting between individuals' resources and the social structure of a market that employment possibilities emerge (cf. Bourdieu 1984). Resources do not per se define the employment possibilities an individual is faced with, but the value of those resources in the market he or she enters.

This paper includes a study of the market of artistic production (see page four for definition). By and large, the arts are characterized by what Faulkner (1971, Faulkner & Anderson 1987) terms collective production, where products are created on project basis and production teams temporarily put together to create solutions. In this industry, self-employment is a common employment form. In some occupations there are as many who enter self-employment as wage-employment, while in other occupations the number of individuals that enter wage-employment is scarce. The scarcity of a certain employment impacts on its prestige. What is hard to access becomes a tool for distinction in the competition for positions in the field.

In order to understand the employment possibilities different groups are faced with in the market of artistic production, their resources are studied and placed in relation to their employments. In this way, the rooms of possibilities that different social groups are faced with in the market of artistic production are studied. It is argued that individuals' perception of what employments are possible for them to access, and to which they are granted access, is best defined by the employments they actually enter. By looking at the employments that they enter, the subjective perception of individuals becomes an objective structure.

## Theoretical framework

It is here argued that individuals are disposed to certain employment possibilities based on the capital resources they possess (cf. Bourdieu 1984, 1990). Their room of possibilities is shaped by their habitus which in turn is defined by their inherited capital, i.e. their social background, and accumulated (or acquired) resources of different types and volume (e.g. Bourdieu 1996). For example, a child growing up in an academic family perceives other things as possible in comparison to a child growing up in a working class household, and those who have accumulated field specific capital through higher education in the arts have different employments alternatives than those who lack this capital form. This paper includes a study of the economic, cultural and symbolic capital that the population inherits and accumulates. The economic capital is studied in terms of financial resources, the cultural capital in terms of education and the symbolic capital in terms of field specific work experience but also field specific educations. The general social background is defined by their parents' socioeconomic position. Their parents' social position provides them with a starting point from which they proceed in social space (Bourdieu 1984). The employments that they perceive as possibilities are not static, but may change when new resources are accumulated and/or old ones lose their value.

The resources that different groups of individuals possess do not per se define their room of possibilities. First when placed in relation to a market resources gain their value and it is in this meeting possibilities emerge. Every market has its own logic, i.e. its own symbolic resources, exchange rates and positions worth struggling for (e.g. Bourdieu 2000). The logic impacts on the possibly to invest and convert capital in a market. In one market higher education in the arts may be highly valued while in another it does not possess higher value than any other educational capital; instead it may be another kind of education that is defined as symbolic. Given this, the market of artistic production has its own forms of field specific capital and the individuals who enter this market will position themselves according to how their resources fit into this social structure. Their positions define what employments they may act on. However, this does not necessarily mean that they will distinguish themselves from each other according to their employments. Theoretically, all employments may be equally possible for all groups to enter. It is first when employments are defined as different from each other that they may be used in the struggle for social positions.

Central to the understanding of employment strategies are relations. Relations are what defines a social group in relation to another (cf. Bourdieu 1987, Broady 1990), and what defines an employment in relation to another. Social positions do not exist regardless of each other and therefore it is impossible to understand how a certain social position opens up for certain employment possibilities without taking into account individuals in other positions and their rooms of possibilities. Given this, this paper concerns relations, both in the empirical analysis and in the final discussion.

When entering the market of artistic production the population has already chosen between available employments in the labor market as a whole. This paper does not discuss these employment possibilities. Instead, it discusses the specific employment possibilities at hand in the arts, and the groups that act on them.

## Research design

*Population*

Empirically, this study is based on information delivered by Statistics Sweden comprising the entire industry of artistic production[1]. This industry includes artistic and literary productions such as production of theatre, concerts, opera- and dance performances, literature and paintings[2]. The population includes 5538 individuals between the ages 25 and 45 gainfully employed in year 2002. Only those who make a living out of artistic production are included in the study, i.e. only those who have an income from this industry that is higher than any other income they may have from working in other industries. Those older than 45 years are excluded because they lack information about their social background since their parents are no longer among the workforce in 1990, which is the year when information about parents has been gathered.

Data includes information about the population from year 1993 to 2002, i.e. nine years. Their accumulated resources are studied in year 2002, which gives a snapshot of their positions and employments in time.

*Multiple Correspondence Analysis*

The statistical method employed is multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), which is a geometric data analysis (GDA). Multiple correspondence analysis produces Euclidian (geometrical) rooms where distances between modalities are based on chi 2-distances (Le Roux & Rouanet 2004). So called active modalities are used to structure the room, while supplementary modalities are produced onto the final structure. Modalities that have similar profiles are placed close together (i.e. are given similar coordinates) and those who are dissimilar are placed far away from each other. The standard deviation has to be minimum 0.5 in order to define the distance between coordinates as important (when I refer to differences as large and small in the result it is the standard deviation that is referred to). The coordinates are projected upon different axes and each axis represents a dimension that explains a certain percentage of the differences that exist in the material. Each variable and modality is given an eigenvalue which shows its contribution to the different axes, or in other words how much of the total inertia that is explained by that variable or modality.

In multiple correspondence analysis relations are the unit of analysis which is in line with the ontological relativism discussed earlier. Differences between groups of individuals do not exist independently but in their relation to each other. Multiple correspondence analysis is therefore a method well suited for this line of research. The results from the correspondence analysis are multidimensional. The combination of different dimensions makes it possible to see if, and what, resources distinguish individuals in one dimension and brings them together in another.

[1] The exact name of this industry is: Artistic and literary creation and interpretation (standard industrial code: 92.310)
[2] www.scb.se

*Active and supplementary variables and modalities*

The following table shows the variables and modalities that are active in the correspondence analysis[3].

**Table 1: Active variables and modalities in the correspondence analysis**

| | Active variables | Active modalities | n | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Inherited capital resources | Parents' socioeconomic position | workers | 1085 | 23.9 |
| | | Assistant non-manual employees | 659 | 14.5 |
| | | Intermediate non-manual employees | 1327 | 29.5 |
| | | Professionals | 1466 | 32.3 |
| | Parents' education (Type & level) | Compulsory education | 708 | 13.9 |
| | | Secondary education | 1655 | 32.5 |
| | | Higher education in aesthetic | 397 | 7.8 |
| | | Higher education in pedagogy | 776 | 15.3 |
| | | Higher education in social sciences or the humanities | 662 | 13.0 |
| | | Higher education in technology/ natural sciences/communication/service/agriculture | 533 | 10.5 |
| | | Higher education in medicine | 357 | 7.0 |
| | Parents' wealth | No wealth | 1420 | 25.6 |
| | | Low wealth | 617 | 11.1 |
| | | Low/average wealth | 824 | 14.9 |
| | | Average wealth | 1236 | 22.3 |
| | | High/average wealth | 824 | 14.9 |
| | | High wealth | 617 | 11.1 |
| | Parents' Sector | Public sector | 2117 | 44.9 |
| | | Private sector | 2602 | 55.1 |
| Accumulated capital resources | Own education (type & level) | Compulsory education | 395 | 7.2 |
| | | Secondary education | 2261 | 41.1 |
| | | Higher education < 3 years – the humanities or social sciences | 557 | 10.1 |
| | | Higher education < 3 years – art, journalism, information or media | 279 | 5.1 |
| | | Higher education ≥ 3 years – the humanities or social sciences | 410 | 7.5 |
| | | Higher education ≥ 3 years – art, journalism, information or media | 836 | 15.2 |
| | | Higher education – other types | 765 | 13.9 |
| | Time in the industry of artistic production | Long time in artistic production | 2313 | 41.8 |
| | | Short time in artistic production | 3225 | 58.2 |
| | Experience from knowledge intensive industries | Experience from knowledge intensive industries | 3307 | 59.7 |
| | | No experience from knowledge intensive industries | 2231 | 40.3 |
| | Experience from work intensive industries | Experience from work intensive industries | 3390 | 61.2 |
| | | No experience work intensive industries | 2148 | 38.8 |
| | Worked in operation of art facilities | Experience from working in operation of art facilities | 1413 | 25.5 |
| | | No experience from working in operation of art facilities | 4125 | 74.5 |
| | Unemployment | No unemployment | 1442 | 26.0 |
| | | < 180 days in unemployment | 1898 | 34.3 |
| | | ≥ 180 days in unemployment | 2198 | 39.7 |

[3] The active variables and corresponding modalities draw upon two different themes of capital resources; the population's inherited capital (i.e. their social background) and their accumulated capital. Among the variables, knowledge intensive industries are defined as industries which includes more than average of all individuals with a three year or higher education in the labour market. Work intensive industries include industries with less than the average of these individuals. Experience from operation of art facilities (standard industrial code 92320) includes experience from operative work in concert halls, theatres and other facilities employed for cultural events. It also includes experience from working in ticket vendors and in supporting services such as management of stage, sound and light equipment.

As supplementary variable I use the variable occupation in combination with the variable employment form. Hence, I create a modality which shows employment form in each occupation. We are then able to see how individuals in different occupations/employment forms relate to each other. Occupations are mainly shown according to their skill-level; only professional art-producers are distinguished as a group of their own. These are people working as writers, directors, actors, composers, musicians, painters, chorographers and dancers. The reason why other occupations are not shown at a more detailed level is that they contain rather small groups of individuals.

Those who according to Statistics Sweden are defined as self-employed are also defined as such in this material. In order to be defined as self-employed one must have a declared income from an active private firm or from a limited company. Others who are gainfully employed are defined as wage-employed.

**Table 2: Supplementary modalities**

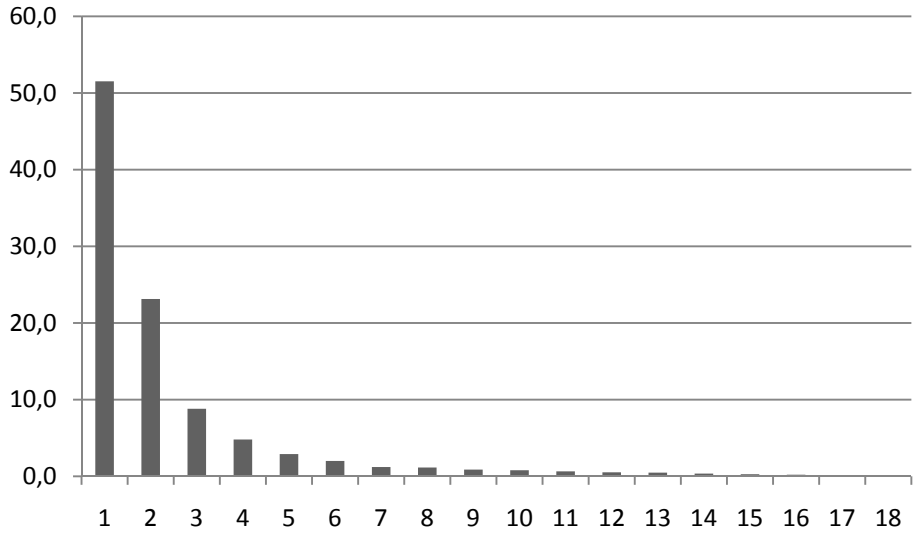
| Employment form | Supplementary modalities | n | percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wage-employed | Professional art-producers | 712 | 14.4 |
| | Other professionals & managers | 350 | 7.0 |
| | Semi-professionals | 686 | 13.6 |
| | Skilled and unskilled work | 437 | 8.7 |
| Self-employed | Professional art-producers | 1907 | 37.9 |
| | Other professionals & managers | 323 | 6.4 |
| | Semi-professionals | 339 | 6.7 |
| | Skilled and unskilled work | 281 | 5.6 |

Taken together, professional art-producers include more than half of the workforce in the industry of artistic production, 53.2 percent. Other professional and managing positions include 13.4 percent. 20.3 percent are employed as semi-professionals; these are occupations that require shorter university education or corresponding skills. Finally there are 14.3 percent that are employed in skilled and unskilled work, which requires a secondary education or no education at all.

# Results

*Axes, variables and modalities analysed in the correspondence analysis*
Below I present the modified rates for axes produced by the correspondence analysis and the number of axes that are included in the analysis. In table three I present the contribution of active variables and modalities.

**Figure 1: Modified rates for axes 1-18 in the correspondence analysis**




18 axes are produced by the correspondence analysis. The first axis explains 51.5 percent of the variance, the second axis 23.1 and the third 8.8. The first three axes explain 83.4 of the total inertia. The fourth and following axes are not included in the analysis since they explain a small part of the variance.

The following table shows contribution of variables and modalities. Variables shown in bold letters contribute over the average to the axes. Variables and modalities that contribute just under the average are presented in italic letters. Modalities with a negative coordinate are placed in the minus-column and modalities with a positive coordinate are placed in the plus-column. Given this, table 3 shows the oppositions that exist among the population along axis one to three.

## Table 3: Active variables and modalities, contribution to axes 1-3

| Axis 1 | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Variables | Ctr. | Cml. | Modalities (minus) | Ctr. | Modalities (plus) | Ctr. |
| **Parents' education** | 31.3 | | Higher education - pedagogy | 6.8 | Compulsory education | 8.6 |
| | | | | | Secondary education | 8.5 |
| | | | Higher education - medicine | 2.9 | | |
| **Parents' socioeconomic position** | 28.1 | 59.4 | Professionals | 10.6 | Workers | 13.0 |
| | | | | | Assistant non manual employees | 3.0 |
| **Parents' sector** | 15.1 | 74.5 | Public sector | 8.3 | Private sector | 6.8 |
| **Own education** | 13.4 | 87.9 | Higher educ. ≥ 3 years – art/journalism/info/media | 5.1 | Secondary education | 3.8 |
| | | | | | *Compulsory education* | 2.6 |
| Parents' wealth | 5.9 | 93.8 | | | | |
| Experience work intensive industries | 2.8 | 96.6 | | | | |
| Worked in operation of art facilities | 1.7 | 98.3 | | | | |
| Experience from knowledge intensive industries | 1.2 | 99.5 | | | | |
| Unemployment | 0.3 | 99.8 | | | | |
| Time in the industry of artistic production | 0.2 | | | | | |
| Tot. | | 100 | | 33.7 | | 46.3 |
| **Axis 2** | | | | | | |
| Variables | Ctr. | Cml. | Modalities (minus) | Ctr. | Modalities (plus) | Ctr. |
| **Experience work intensive industries** | 21.1 | | Experience | 7.7 | No experience | 13.4 |
| **Unemployment** | 20.6 | 41.7 | <180 days in unemployment | 3.4 | No unemployment | 15.4 |
| **Time in the industry of artistic production** | 19.1 | 60.8 | Short time | 7.9 | Long time | 11.2 |
| **Experience from knowledge intensive industries** | 15.6 | 76.4 | Experience | 6.1 | No experience | 9.6 |
| ***Own education*** | 9.8 | 86.2 | Higher educ.– the humanities/social sc. | 4.6 | Higher educ. ≥ 3 years - art/journalism/info/media | 4.0 |
| Parents' education | 4.2 | 90.4 | | | | |
| Worked in operation of art facilities | 3.8 | 94.2 | | | | |
| Parents' wealth | 3.2 | 97.4 | | | | |
| Parents' socioeconomic position | 1.9 | 99.3 | | | | |
| Parents' sector | 0.7 | | | | | |
| Tot. | | 100 | | 29.7 | | 53.6 |
| **Axis 3** | | | | | | |
| Variables | Ctr. | Cml. | Modalities (minus) | Ctr. | Modalities (plus) | Ctr. |
| **Worked in operation of art facilities** | 27.7 | | Experience | 20.7 | No experience | 7.0 |
| **Own education** | 17.8 | 45.5 | Higher educ. ≥ 3 years – art/journalism/info/media | 9.0 | Higher educ. ≥ 3 years – the humanities/social sc. | 5.3 |
| **Parents' education** | 16.2 | 61.7 | Higher education - pedagogy | 4.6 | Higher education – technology/natural sc. | 6.3 |
| | | | | | Higher education –the humanities/social sc. | 3.7 |
| **Parents' wealth** | 13.2 | 74.9 | *No wealth* | 2.5 | High wealth | 6.9 |
| **Unemployment** | 12.5 | 87.4 | ≥ 180 days in unemployment | 5.7 | No unemployment | 6.7 |
| Time in the industry of artistic production | 3.9 | 91.3 | | | | |
| Parents' sector | 3.1 | 94.4 | | | | |
| Parents' socioeconomic position | 2.3 | 96.7 | | | | |
| Experience work intensive industries | 2.0 | 98.7 | | | | |
| Experience from knowledge intensive industries | 1.3 | | | | | |
| Tot. | | 100 | | 42.5 | | 35.9 |

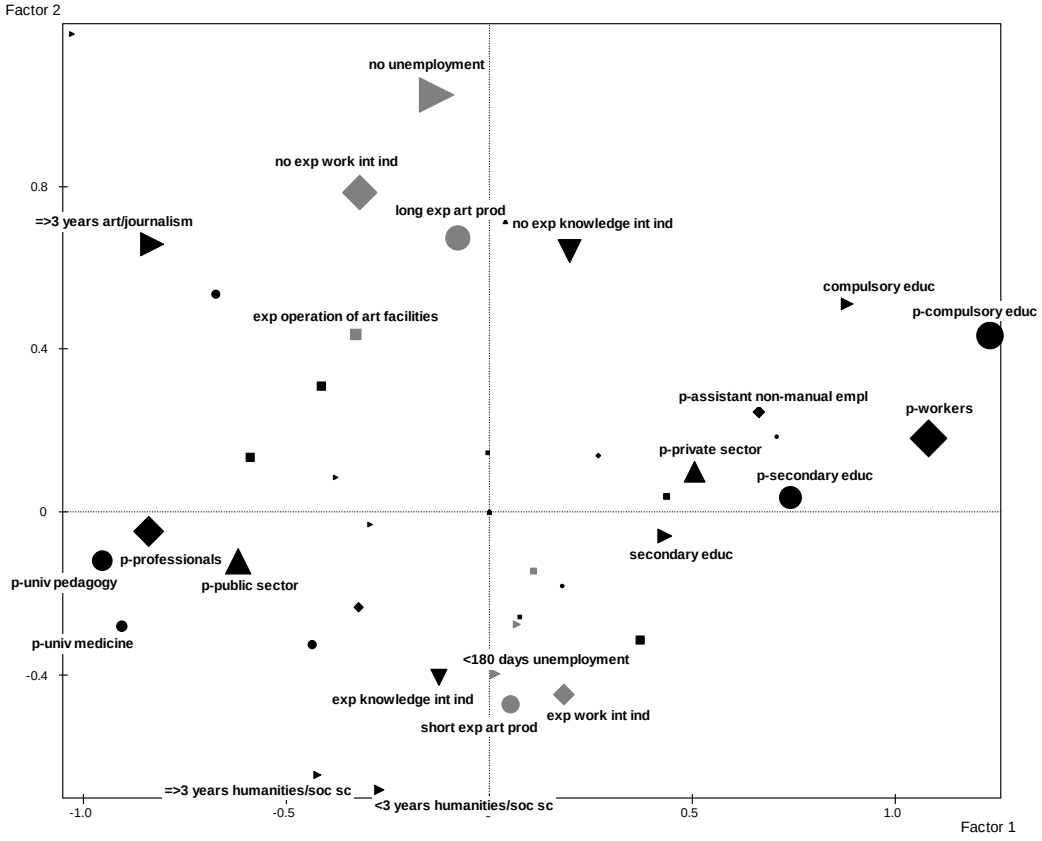
Average contribution of variables 10.0
Average contribution of modalities 2.7

*Social groups in the field of artistic production: explanation of axes*

Following are graphs produced by the correspondence analysis showing the contributing modalities along axes one to three. From the graphs we can visually understand what distinguishes groups of individuals in the population from each other and what resources that brings individuals together as a group. Further on, I present graphs that show the employments that the different groups of individuals are occupying. Taken together, the results show what specific resources are required to access a certain employment, or in other words what employments are subjectively and objectively possible for different groups of individuals to enter.

In the graphs, parents' resources are initiated with 'p-', for instance 'p-compulsory educ' shows that the parents have a compulsory education, while the population's accumulated resources lack initial letter.

**Graph 1: Contributing modalities axes 1 and 2**




Individuals who have much inherited capital as well as accumulated educational capital are placed in relation to those who have little of both resources along the first axis, which runs in a horizontal line in the graph above. Parents resources is what contribute most to the first axis followed by the populations own accumulated educational capital. Parents' educational capital contributes 31.1 percent and their socioeconomic position 28.1 percent to the first axis, which is over half of the total contribution. Taken together, the inherited capital resources contribute 74.5 percent to the first axis. Those on the left hand side of the graph have a three year or longer education in art, journalism, information or media. They have parents who have a higher education in medicine or pedagogy, who work as professionals and in the public sector. Individuals with little educational capital as well as inherited capital are placed to the right in the graph. They derive from working class family backgrounds.

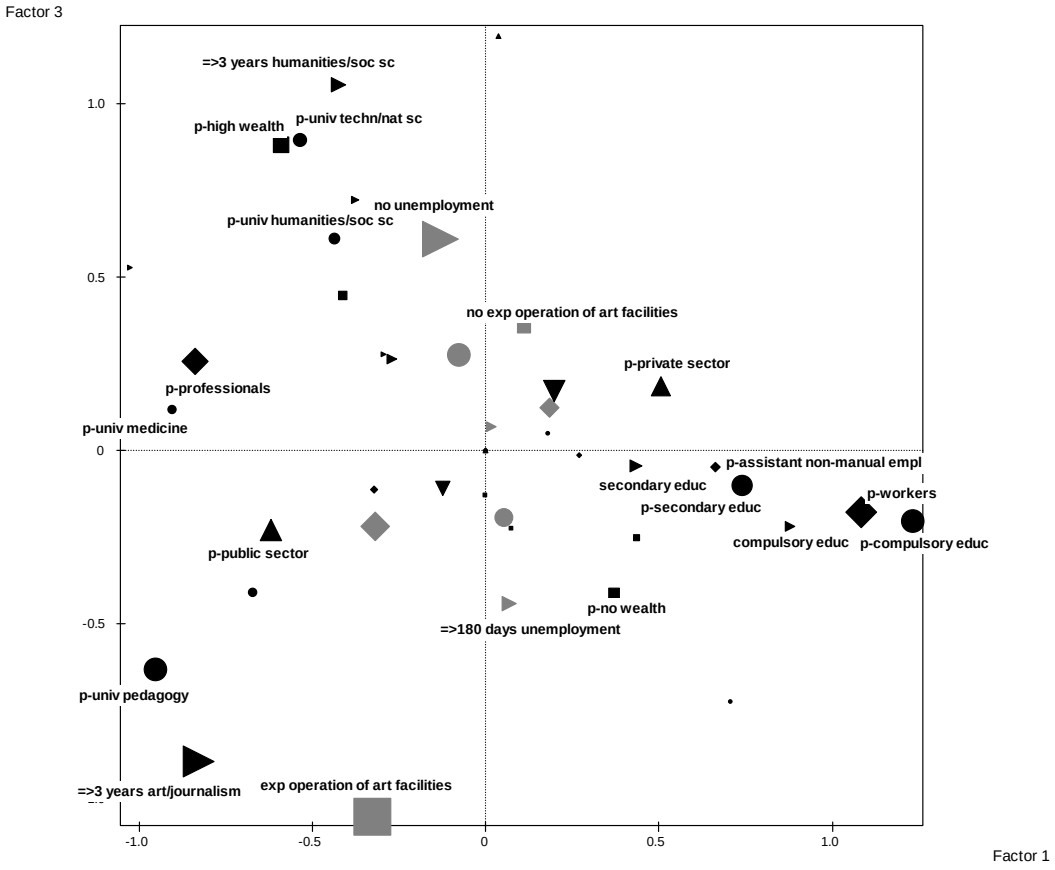
Their parents have a compulsory or secondary education, are employed in skilled and unskilled labour (i.e. workers) or as assistant non manual employees and they work in the private sector.

The first axis tells us that the most important differences that exist in the material are of educational and socioeconomic type. There are groups of individuals that possess these opposite resources and they are, arguably, acting on different strategies in the market of artistic production.

The second axis (vertical) shows distances between different types of capital resources. The axis is almost exclusively established based on the population's different working life experiences. We may say that this is an axis showing field specific work experience. Experience from work intensive industries contributes most to the second axis, followed by time in unemployment, time in the current industry of artistic production, and experience from the knowledge intensive sector. The different working life experiences explain 76.4 percent of the variance shown along the second axis. The population's accumulated educational capital contributes with 9.8 percent to this axis, which is close to the average contribution of variables; 10.0 percent. In the upper side of the graph we find individuals with no experience from either knowledge or work intensive industries, who have not been unemployed during the last nine years and who have spent a long time in the industry of artistic production. These individuals also have a three years or longer university education in the arts, journalism, information and media. Taken together, it is a group that possess a relatively large volume of field specific work experience.

In opposition to these individuals we find those who have experience from work and knowledge intensive industries, who have been unemployed for shorter periods during the last nine years, and who have shorter experience from working in their current industry. This group lack the field specific education in art and media; instead they possess a higher education in either the humanities or social sciences. Although the variable educational capital barely reaches the average contribution to axis two, the modalities does. Education in the humanities and social sciences contributes with 4.6 percent and three year or longer higher education in the arts and media contributes with 4.9 percent. Interesting to note is that humanities' students are placed among those with little field specific work experience while art and media students are placed among those with larger volumes of field specific work experience. This indicates that an education in the humanities and social sciences equals up to a poor volume of field specific work experience thus is not a very lucrative resource to invest in the market of artistic production.

**Graph 2: Contributing modalities axis 1 and 3**

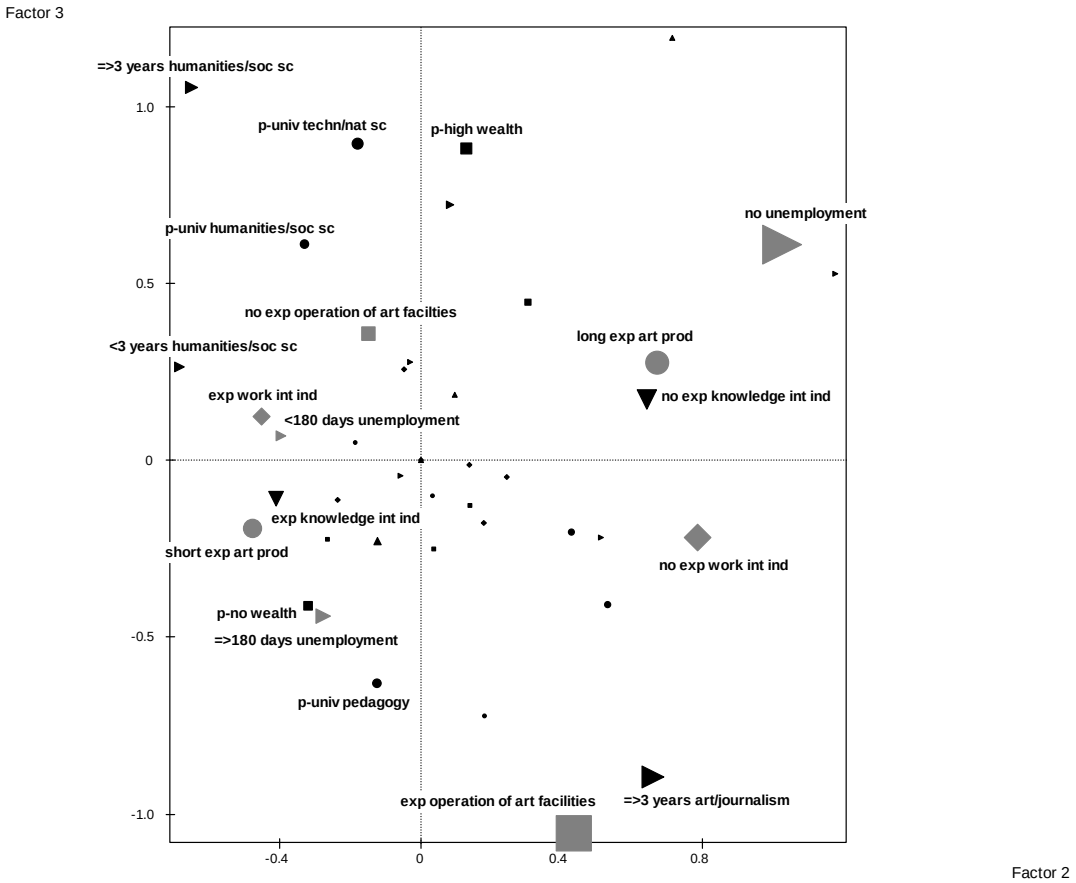



The third axis, shown in graph two, runs in a vertical line. This space mainly distinguishes between those who have much accumulated and inherited educational capital and those with little of both. The variables showing experience from operation of art facilities, the population's accumulated educational capital and inherited educational capital contribute most to this axis; taken together 61.7 percent. On one side of the graph (lower area) we find individuals with experience from operation of art facilities, which is related to having a three years or longer higher education in the arts and media. This indicates that those who studies art and media have worked in jobs such as in ticket vendors or in any other kind of jobs related to the operation art facilities such as in theatres and music halls, maybe during their studies, or after their degree, before they moved on to their current employment. This group of individuals have parents that have a higher education in pedagogy, which in the material is closely related to having an occupation as a teacher. Given this, it indicates that this group of individuals have a rather high volume of cultural capital embedded in the household from which they derive.

In the upper part of the graph we find individuals who lack experience from operation of art facilities. These individuals have a three year or higher education in the humanities and social sciences and their parents have a higher education in the humanities and social sciences or in technology and natural science. Given this, it is a group of individuals with a rather high volume of educational capital, but it is not symbolic in the same sense as the educational capital possessed by the opposite group. The individuals placed in the bottom part of the graph do not have education specifically focused on the production of art and they do not have as much cultural capital with them from their social background as their opposites.

Also contributing to the third axis is parents' wealth. Those with much field specific educational capital have parents with no wealth, even though this modality does not reaches the average contribution of modalities. Those with education in the humanities and social sciences have parents with high wealth. This indicates that there is a cultural pole placed in relation to an economic pole. The former have much inherited cultural capital with parents who are educated to the teaching profession and who have little financial resources while the latter has more inherited economic capital with parents that are educated in technology and natural science as well as in the humanities and who possess larger volumes of financial resources. The economic pole have not experienced unemployment during the past years, however, it might simply imply that this group does not have to formally undertake unemployment because of their financial resources. The cultural pole has experienced longer time in unemployment.

**Graph 3: Contributing modalities axis 2 and 3**




Above graph shows the modalities which contribute to the thirds and second axes. In this graph we can see the same differences along the third axis as in previous graph, i.e. those with little symbolic educational capital are placed in relation to those who have much. However, those with little field specific educational capital are placed in the upper left corner and the modality 'no unemployment' is placed to the right which means that this group is divided into two groups along the second axis (horizontally). Not having experienced unemployment is not an aspect of the humanities and social sciences' students along the second axis; in fact, the second axis shows that this group has experienced shorter time in unemployment. The humanities and social sciences' students are diagonally placed in relation to the art and media students. The latter group is distinguished along the second

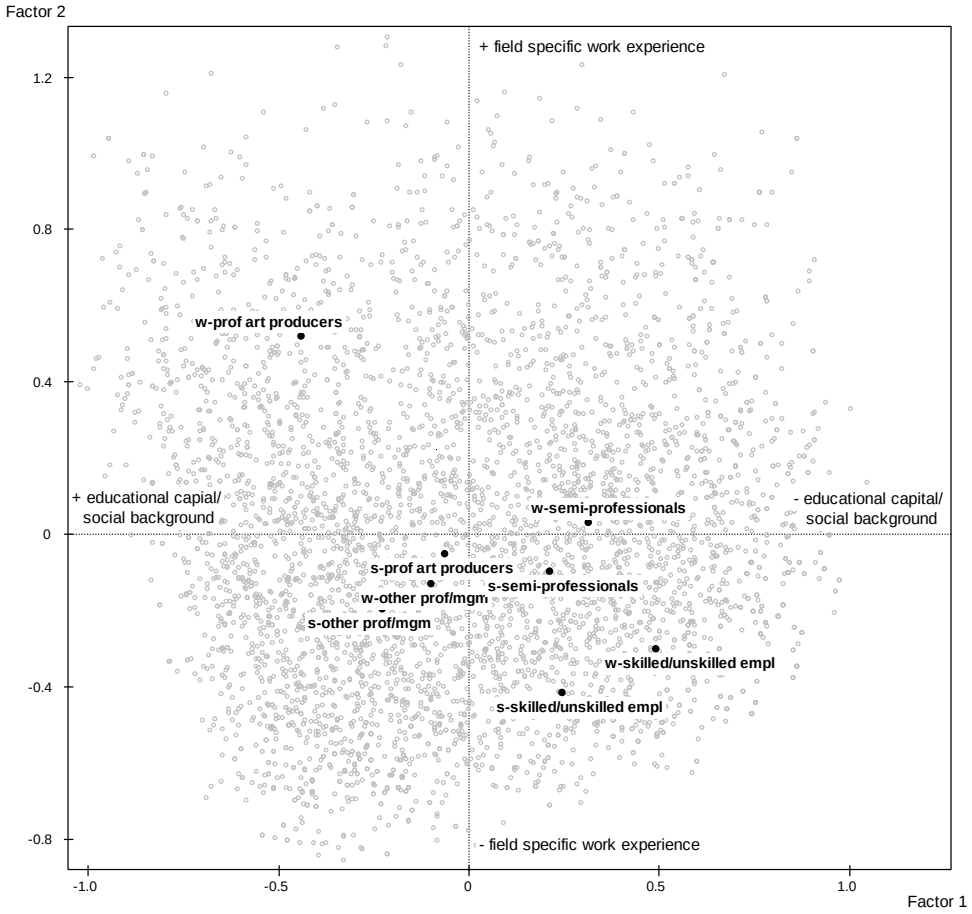
axis from those having parents with no wealth and education in pedagogy as well as long time experience of unemployment, which are modalities placed in the lower left corner in the graph.

Given this, the second axis in combination with the third, differentiate between those with little field specific work experience that comes from homes with larger volume of cultural capital (bottom left corner) and those with little field specific work experience who have parents with larger volumes of economic capital (upper left corner). It also differentiates between both these groups and those who have a larger volume of accumulated field specific work experience and education in the arts and media (bottom right corner). Finally, in the upper right corner, separated from the rest, are those with higher volumes of field specific work experience who lack field specific education in the arts and media.

*Room of individuals presented in graphs*

The following graphs show what kind of employments the different groups of individuals, presented in previous graphs, are occupying. The room of individuals shows where individuals in different occupations and type of employments (i.e. self-employed or wage-employed) are placed in relation to each other. It reveals both what resources those occupying a certain employment posses, and their relation to other employment groups. The cloud of dots in the graphs represent the cloud of individuals, i.e. all the individuals who are present in the material. Occupations that are initiated with a 'w' show wage-employment while occupations initiated with 's' show self-employment.

**Graph 4: Room of individuals, axes 1 and 2**

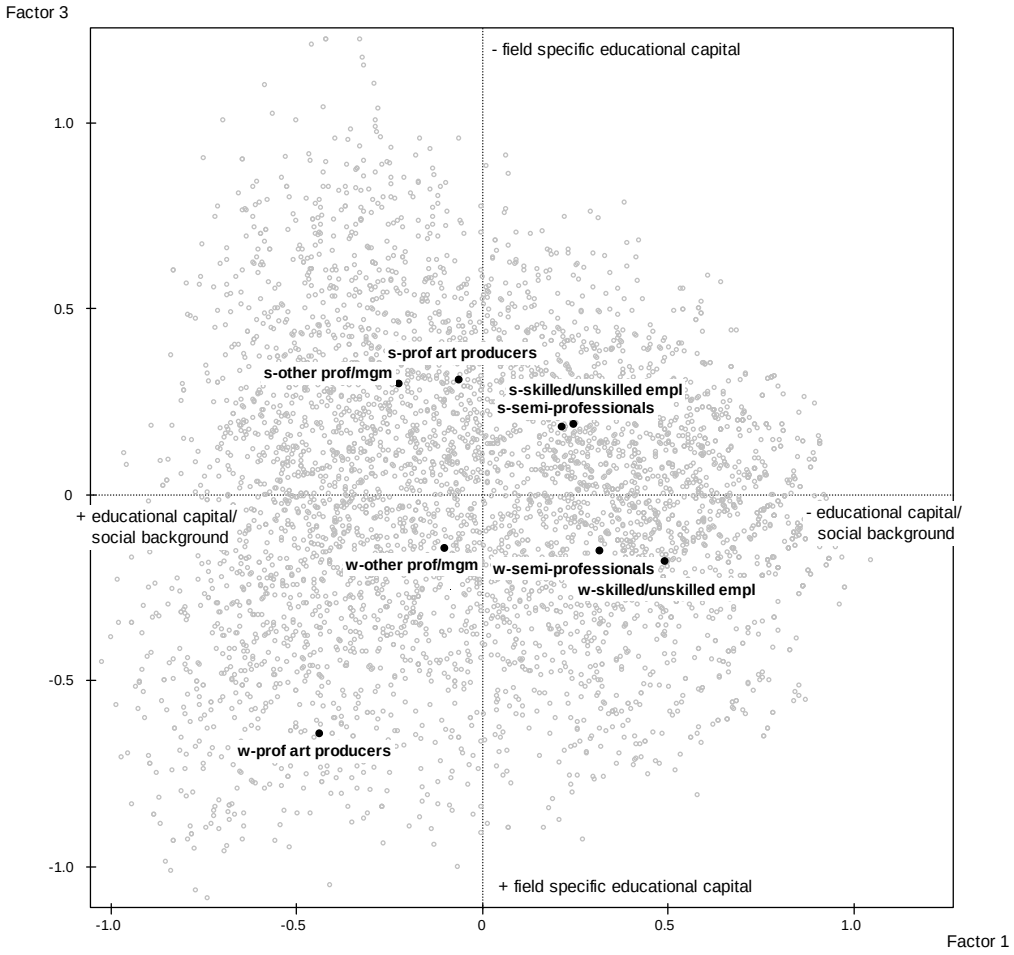


The share of the population that enters self-employment as professional art producers is 34.4 percent while 12.9 percent becomes wage-employed in the same profession. Given this, it is much more common to enter self-employment in the most commonly existing profession, i.e. professional art production, than to enter wage-employment in the same profession. Therefore, wage-employment in these professions seems rather to be dedicated for smaller elite in this market. Graph four shows that wage-employed in professional art production are distinguished from the rest of the population, including those who are self-employed in the same profession. Art producers in wage-employment generally possess more educational capital, derive from higher socioeconomic backgrounds as well as have more field specific work experience than the rest. This clearly sets them out as an elite compared to the rest. The distance between wage-employed in the arts and self-employed and wage-employed in other professions along the first axis is not large, which implies that this axis does not differentiate between them. Having an education in the arts, as well as a high socioeconomic background, render both self-employment and wage-employment in professional art production possible.

Individuals working as professionals, others than in wage-employment in professional art production, and individuals working in other employments are not distinguished. These employments are occupied by individuals who possess either a higher volume of educational capital, as well as a higher socioeconomic background, or by individuals who have less educational capital and come from working class family backgrounds. All of these employments are placed close to the centroid. Only skilled and unskilled wage-employed are distinguished from the professionals. Given this, individuals who are disposed towards skilled and unskilled wage-employments do not perceive professions as employment possibilities and vice versa.

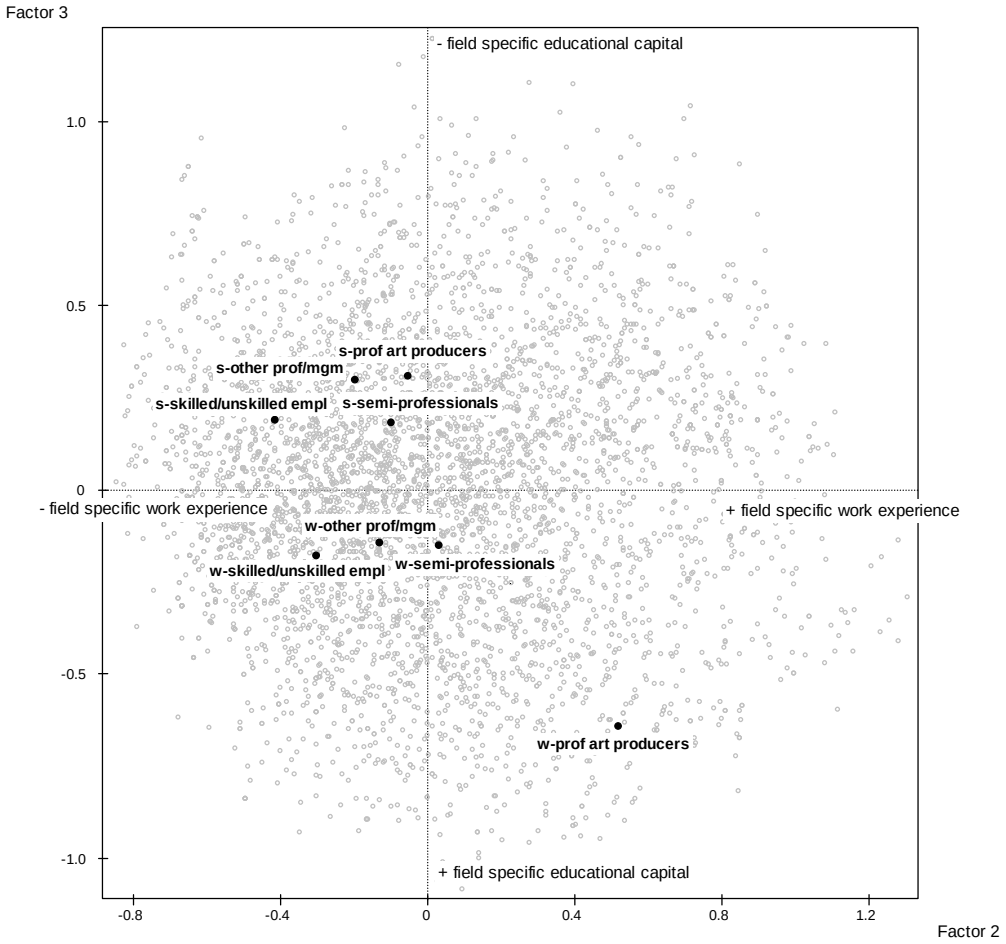
The second axis distinguishes between professional art producers in wage-employment and the rest of the population. This axis shows accumulated field specific work experience. Professional art producers in wage-employment have much more of this field specific capital than other employees. All of the other occupational groups, apart from semi-professionals, are placed below the horizontal line. Individuals working in semi-professions are however close to the line which shows that these occupations are employed by individuals with filed specific work experience, as well as by those who lack this resource.

**Graph 5: Room of individuals, axes 1 and 3**




The third axis (vertical in graph five) distinguish once again between wage-employed in professional art production and the rest of the employees. The distance is as largest between self-employed and wage-employed in this profession. Other distances are not large enough to be defined as important. The third axis shows an opposition between individuals with field specific education, no wealth and longer time in unemployment and individuals with higher education in subjects others than field specific, higher wealth and no unemployment. Professional art producers in wage-employment belong to the previous. Interesting to note is that all wage-employed are placed below the horizontal line in the graph and all self-employed are placed above. Given this, even though the distances are not large enough, the self-employed are closer to the economic pole, discussed previously, while the wage-employed are closer to the cultural pole.

**Graph 6: Room of individuals, axes 2 and 3**




The third axis combined with the second axis (graph six) shows field specific educational capital in relation to higher volume of educational capital that is not field specific and field specific work experience in relation to lack of field specific work experience. Professional art producers posses both field specific education and field specific work experience and are, accordingly, placed in the lower right part in the graph. They are diagonally placed opposite to the rest of the population, which possess less field specific work experience. No occupation is placed among those in the upper right corner who do not have any experience from unemployment.

## Discussion and concluding remarks

This paper shows that when the notion of self-employment is placed in an industry specific context, as well as related to occupation, it is possible to get a more pragmatic understanding of for whom self-employment becomes a possible strategy. People do not necessarily just enter self-employment no matter what occupation and market they are in; rather self-employment may function as a gate opener to certain positions in the market, and certain aspirations of the individual. Each market has its field specific capitals and prestigious positions worth struggling for. Thus, with a fuller understanding of the context and with what capital resources different groups of individuals face in that given context, it is possible to gain a more complex understanding of self-employment, and the individuals who act on it.

The results show that individuals with different forms and volume of resources are placed in different positions in the market of artistic production. But most of them are not distinguished by their employment. Those who possess a larger volume of educational capital and derive from higher socioeconomic backgrounds enter self-employment or wage employment in any kind of professions, the first axis does not distinguish between them. Also, individuals who enter professions, others than wage-employment in professional art production, perceive the possibility to enter semi-professional as well as skilled and unskilled employments in either employment form. It is only those who enter wage-employment in professional art production who are distinguished from other occupational skill-groups along the first axis, i.e. neither of these opposite placed occupational groups would consider, or be considered for, the others' employments. The following axes two and three distinguish between professional art producers and the remaining population, these professionals are those with most field specific work experience as well as field specific educational capital.

Work experience within the arts as well as field specific education in the arts and media are important assets in order for individuals to objectively and subjectively come into question for a position as wage-employed in professional art production. To enter self-employment is one way of gaining the field specific work experience required to employ this more prestigious position. In other words, self-employment can work as a tool for those who have an education in the arts, but lack the experience, to gain field specific work experience and perhaps move onto a wage-employment. In the arts, as in any other market, what is difficult to attain is valued more and can be used to distinguish oneself from other groups. If a resource is scarce there is more to gain, in terms of prestige, from it. In the industry of artistic production, wage-employment is limited in professional art production and therefore becomes more exclusive.

Even though there is no clear cut division between the groups that enter different employments, there are certain tendencies shown in the graphs. The first axis, which shows a division between those who have a lot of educational capital and higher socioeconomic background and those who have not, essentially distinguishes between professionals and other less skill-required occupations, regardless of employment form. The second axis, separating between those with field specific work experience and those with other kinds of work experience, points out professional art producers in wage-employment as a distinctive group. The third and final axis, which distinguishes between those with field specific educational capital, who also derive from family backgrounds with more cultural capital, and

those with high volume of non-field specific educational capital, who derive from homes with more economic capital, essentially separates between wage-employed and self-employed. In fact, when analysing occupation and employment form per se (graphs not shown in this paper), there are large differences between professionals and less skilled occupations along the first axis and between wage-employed and self-employed along the third. These results suggest that employment strategies that individuals act on can be either in the form of occupations, employment forms or a combination of both, and that they are, in fact, different in different dimensions. Given this, individuals do not only perceive occupation in combination with employment form as an altogether alternative; in certain dimensions there exist differences between employment forms regardless of occupation and in others between occupations regardless of employment form and so on.

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